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In Piam Memoriam

JACOBI RUSSELL

EPISCOPI ELIENSIS NONI QUINQUAGESIMI

NAT. DIE APR. XXX. A.D. MDCCCXX.

DEC. DIE OCT. XXIV. A.D. MDCCCLXXXV.

✠ Requiescat in pace. ✠



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PREFACE.

The following Notices, Records, and Sermons have been reprinted from the *Guardian*.

One and all of them seemed so truly appreciative of our dear Bishop's real character and life and work that I have felt anxious without delay to gather them together and place them in a more convenient form in the hands of all the Clergy of the Diocese, as well as of the Members of the College which he founded and loved in life, and for whose permanence he munificently provided at his death.

Such is the accumulated debt of gratitude which I owe to him as a Father in God, as an instructor in dogmatic truth, as a guide and counsellor in the resolution of manifold perplexities, and as a personal friend of the tenderest sympathy and affection, that I hasten to do something to give expression to the feeling that is uppermost in my mind.

H. M. L.

College, Ely, November 5, 1885.



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In Memoriam, the Bishop of Ely.

The late Bishop of Ely was born at Henley-on-Thames, April 30, 1820. His father was a hop-merchant in the Borough, of an Isle of Wight family. He was unsuccessful in business, and died at a comparatively early age, leaving a widow and an only son. The future Bishop received his early education at home. In his tenth year he went to Merchant Taylors' School, then under the efficient headship of the Rev. J. W. Bellamy (father of the present President of St. John's), a sound scholar, a high-toned Christian, and an excellent disciplinarian. Here he remained till 1838, when, being superannuated, he was elected to a Parkin Exhibition at Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he commenced residence in the October term of that year. A timely legacy from a relation gave him the means of proceeding to the University, which had long been an object of almost hopeless attainment. The late Bishop of London (Jackson) was fond of telling how, during his early connection with Henley, he had been consulted by two ladies of straitened means, mothers of boys of no ordinary promise, how to obtain University education for their sons. "One of those boys," he would conclude, "is now Sir Henry Maine, of the Council for India, the other the Bishop of Ely." There was nothing remarkable about the Bishop's school career. He was naturally inert, not to say indolent, and suffered (as to some extent he did through life) from an unduly low estimate of his own powers. At that early age he had not learnt to believe in himself, and he allowed other boys, far his inferiors in intellectual power, to ontstrip him in the race. But the real genius that was in him from time to time manifested itself in a happy translation, an original rendering of a passage, or some answer to a question demanding thought, which surprised his teachers as well as his schoolfellows, and evidenced native power far above the average. Though not remarkably diligent in school work, he was at all times a devourer of books; few lads of his age were more intimately acquainted with English literature of the best type, both in prose and poetry, including a large amount of fiction. He very early attempted poetical composition himself, and it was no small surprise to his companions to discover that their quiet and somewhat lethargic schoolfellow was actually an author, and had published a volume of poems. The little book, entitled *The Pilgrim, Memory, and other Poems*, was printed by subscription, and was at least equal to the common run of

schoolboy verse. He had no very intimate friends at school. Always a pleasant companion, with something above the average to say, and an excellent story-teller and therefore generally liked, he lived a life very much apart. School games there were none at Merchant Taylors' at that time, for there was no playground. The intercourse of the boys was thus limited to the time passed together in school hours, and the opportunities of forming school friendships were but scanty. Woodford left school, therefore, a lonely spirit, and went up to the University with school companions, it is true, by whom he was deservedly liked, but without any very intimate friend. But these companionships, in the closer intercourse of college life, ripened into friendships of the deepest and truest kind, lasting through life. But even at college he was not a man of many friends. His circle was a limited and select one, but when he loved, he loved with all his heart. His University career narrowly missed being a failure. He did but little during his freshman's year. He depreciated himself so thoroughly that he took it for granted that an ordinary "p.cll" degree was all that he could aspire to. But the examination at the end of that year awoke higher aspirations. Dr. Guillemard, the present vicar of Little St. Mary's, Cambridge, was then Fellow and Classical Lecturer of his college, and took part in the freshmen's examination. He was so much struck with the power shown in some parts of Woodford's papers that he sent for him, and finding that he was aspiring only to a "pass," told him plainly that he would be doing injustice to himself if he did not read for Honours. This may be said to have been the turning-point in his life. He began to feel his powers; to believe in himself, and to resolve to be true to himself. His line was Classical, and he chose his private tutors wisely. He read with Dr. Woodham, of Jesus, the first Latin scholar of his day at Cambridge, and the brilliant Charles Rann Kennedy, brother of Dr. Kennedy, of Shrewsbury, then Fellow of Trinity. Both were men of discernment, who saw that with all his deficiencies in scholarship and scantiness of reading their pupil was no ordinary man, and they directed his studies in the way best suited to develop his intellectual powers, as well as to improve his scholarship. His old schoolfellow, the Rev. J. Power, afterwards Master of their common college, gave him mathematical tuition. It was never anticipated that he would obtain a high degree. His previous inadequate preparation, joined to the virtual loss of his first year at college, and a somewhat slow rate in reading his subjects, forbid such a hope. His place in the class-lists, however, was more than respectable. He obtained a good Double-Second, being a Senior Optime, and a Second Class Classic in 1842, the brilliant year when Professor Cayley was Senior Wrangler and Justice Denman and the late Professor Munro headed the Classical Tripos. It was during Woodford's freshman's year that the "Cambridge Camden Society"—better known in later years as "the Ecclesiologist

Society"—sprang into being at the call of the late John Mason Neale and Prebendary Webb, of St. Andrew's, Wells-street, and speedily began to exercise a powerful influence not only over the architecture of our churches, to improve which was its original object, but over their ritual arrangement, their ornaments, and the services celebrated in them. Up to that time the Oxford movement had scarcely stirred the decorous orthodoxy of the sister University. No leading men had adopted its tenets, and its voice was not heard from any pulpit, either that of the University church or any of the parish churches. The earnest Evangelicalism awakened by Charles Simeon was still in the ascendant where any warm religious life existed, having as its chief exponents the late Professor Scholefield, at St. Michael's, and Canon Carus, Mr. Simeon's curate and successor at Trinity Church, who still survives. But though disregarded by the seniors, the *Oxford Tracts* were eagerly read by younger members of the University, and, together with Newman's sermons and Dr. Pusey's devotional works, were beginning to make their influence felt. The new architectural society, starting on the principle that a church was not a mere building to be criticised according to certain rules of art, and discussed archæologically, but a house of God erected for His praise and glory; not a mere preaching house, but a place for the worship of His people, and for the administration of His Sacraments with every becoming adjunct of dignity and beauty, all its ritual leading up to the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist—became a gathering place for the young High Churchmen of the University, where congenial spirits could meet and be sure of sympathy. Of these the future Bishop of Ely was one. His own religious training, chiefly domestic, had been of the sound old Anglican sort, and from this, though he grew sensibly and his views developed with time and experience, he never swerved. His mind was thus ripe for receiving the higher development of the Oxford school. All his inherited convictions, as well as his natural tastes, found scope among his new associates, and his connection with the Camden Society had no small influence in shaping his after-course. The president of the society from its beginning was the late Archdeacon Thorp, of Bristol, then Fellow and Tutor of Trinity. Woodford became known to the Archdeacon as a member of the society. Farther intercourse gave Thorp a high opinion of his powers, and on the occurrence of a vacancy in the teaching staff of the then "Bishop's College" at Bristol—a Church of England proprietary school, started under the auspices of Bishop Monk, to impart a true Church education, of which the Rev. Henry Dale, now rector of Wilby, Northants, was the head master, occupying the collegiate-looking building at the head of Park-street, adjacent to the Blind Asylum—on the filling of which Thorp was consulted, he at once recommended Woodford. The recommendation was accepted, and he received the appointment, which he held for three years—from 1842 to 1845. As soon as he was of sufficient age he was

ordained to the curacy of St. John the Baptist's, Bristol, of which church the late Canon Barrow, chaplain to Bishop Monk, was the incumbent. Here he speedily made his mark. Almost from the first day of his curacy he began to exhibit those great powers as a preacher by which his name became so widely and so favourably known. We believe that his first sermon was preached in St. John's Church—which was speedily restored under his auspices—on the text, a rather bold one for so young a man, Job i. 7, "And the Lord said unto Satan, Whence comest thou?" &c. It made a great effect on his hearers. There are those who can remember the marvellous sermons delivered by him, before he became generally known, to a scanty morning congregation of shopkeepers and decent poor, evidencing as much careful preparation and concentrated thought clothed in magnificent language, as if he had been called to address a congregation of the highest intellectual power and critical judgment. One such sermon on the text, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand," developing the truth of the nearness to us of the spiritual world, after many years dwells in the memory of those who heard it. Notwithstanding Woodford's shyness and unobtrusive modesty, he began to find himself called to take a position which he had little anticipated. He became a power almost from the first. His sermons attracted the attention of the intelligent citizens of Bristol, and drew large congregations wherever he went. His opinion was asked, his co-operation solicited, his advice taken in a way which would have been very detrimental to any young man of less self-distrust and simplicity of character. He speedily became a leading power on the High Church side, as opposed to the feeble, worn-out Evangelicalism then prevalent in Bristol. When the Bristol Church Union was formed he became an influential member, especially in committee. He was not a frequent speaker, but always an influential one. One who knew him well at this time says, "His real power with us lay in that gift of throwing himself into the feeling of his opponents, which was innate in him, and which through life made him so valuable in council. He grasped every side of a question and gave every opinion its due weight. He then gave his own views modestly, but decidedly." Through Canon Barrow he was introduced to Bishop Monk, who soon grasped his real greatness, and, while his life lasted, never ceased conferring on him marks of his regard and esteem. On the erection of a new church for the colliers at Coalpit-heath, near Bristol, he was appointed its first incumbent. Here he remained three years, 1845-1848, labouring earnestly among the rude and ignorant population, elevating the character of their worship, and planting the seeds of true Churchmanship where it had been previously entirely unknown. Always fond of the work of education, and eminently successful in it, he here continued to take private pupils, an occupation he had begun at Bristol, and which he carried on until his removal

to Leeds in 1868. No one was ever more successful in securing the love and reverence of his pupils, most of whom have continued his attached friends through life. With all his great kindness he was a strict disciplinarian, and on one occasion on a wilful repetition of an act of insubordination, he sent the whole of his pupils to their homes, only receiving them back again on the assurance that the rules of his household would be strictly adhered to. It may surprise some to learn that Swinburne, the poet, was one of Woodford's pupils at Bristol, and that after leaving him he had as his tutor the present Bishop of Chester, then working in his country parish at Navestock. After three years' work among the colliers—who, he used to say, were good churchgoers in summer, but deserted him in the winter, finding "Bethel a deal warmer" than the draughty new church—he himself being obliged to get licence of non-residence and remove to Frenchay, through the incurable inconveniences of his mediæval parsonage, where he used humorously to say "the chimneys were constructed for driving all the smoke into the rooms and letting none go up"—Woodford was removed by Bishop Monk to St. Mark's, Lower Easton, a suburb of Bristol. Here he gathered a large congregation, and his church became known as the centre of sound Church teaching for the whole neighbourhood. The service also, though little would be thought of it now, was of a more ornate character, and the choral music was of a higher type, than was then customary. A surpliced choir, embroidered altar-cloths, and other accessories now customary raised the cry of "Popery." This he soon lived and worked down, while his bold and vigorous preaching, displaying more fire and animation in delivery than in later years, obtained for him the *sobriquet* of "the Lion of St. Mark's." The St. Mark's dedication anniversaries gathered round him all the well-known Churchmen of the day, among whom he was an ever-growing power. At Easton Woodford remained with ever-increasing influence for seven years. In 1855 the country living of Kempford, near Cirencester, fell vacant. It was at once offered by Bishop Monk to Woodford, and as readily accepted by him. The suspicion with which he was at first received by the farmers and other leading inhabitants, who had been told that he was a "Tractarian" and a "Romaniser," soon disappeared under the influence of his genial wisdom and consummate tact, and opponents were converted into hearty supporters. They all helped forward the restoration of their grand old parish church, which raised it to the position of one of the finest village churches of the county, of which and of their vicar they were deservedly proud. From the day of its reopening—a day never to be forgotten by those who were present—his farmers, and all his parishioners, were heart and soul with him. Harvest festivals were still things of the future, but he made a point of taking part in the

old-fashioned harvest homes, when possible after a service held in church, and he was instrumental in putting these festivals under proper restraint and raising their whole tone. The parish was admirably worked and organised, with daily service and weekly Celebrations. He built a small church in a hamlet of Kempford, where his extempore sermons to the rustic congregation were no less stirring than those to a more educated audience, yet completely on a level with their capacities. But the parish, much as he learnt to love it, was not congenial to Woodford. The loneliness of the country was oppressive to him. He shrank from the solitary walks across the fields, regarding horses and cows as things to be feared, and having no knowledge of or pleasure in rural sights and sounds. He had, however, a great love for flowers, and his garden at Kempford was a source of continual delight to him, as his fernery at Ely was in later years. He had great influence over the boys and young men of the village, that most difficult class, from whom he had a goodly roll of communicants, who would always come to their vicar for counsel in any difficulty, whether in things temporal or spiritual. It was remarked of him through life that he was never too busy to give time to those who came to him for counsel or sympathy. He was conspicuous for what has been happily termed "dignified leisureliness; never in a hurry; always glad to be interrupted," and for his "unselfish peacemaking patience." His unwearied kindness in respect of individuals was very marked and productive of very beneficial results.

The removal to a rural parish, though in some respects unfavourable to the exercise of his great powers as a leader of men, and otherwise not to his taste, proved to have a most important bearing upon his future career. Kempford lay not far from the borders of Gloucestershire, within a short distance of the south-western portion of the diocese of Oxford. The advent of so distinguished a preacher was a most welcome event to all neighbouring parsons. His services were in constant requisition for great Church occasions, when a sermon of more than ordinary attractiveness was desired. In this way a connection was formed between him and the late Bishop Wilberforce, which, it cannot be doubted, led step by step to his subsequent advancement. We believe that Sir George Prevost was the link that brought the two together, and that it was at the little church of Filkins, in Bradwell parish, that Bishop Wilberforce first became acquainted with his future chaplain and trusted friend, and that the first of many journeys to be taken together was a drive to the Swindon station. As the readers of his biography will have noticed, there was probably no preacher of whom the Bishop had so high an estimate, and there were very few for whom he had a warmer regard or in whom he confided more entirely. He was appointed by him to deliver lectures at Cuddesdon as Prælector of Theology, and he became

his examining chaplain, which office he held till the Bishop's death. He was also made by him an honorary Canon of Christ Church Cathedral. At Cuddesdon he learned to know and love the present Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. King, who, it is interesting to record, was his guest in Dover-street at the time of his consecration as Bishop Wordsworth's successor last St. Mark's Day. As a counsellor he was found by Bishop Wilberforce, as by all who have consulted him, one of the soundest advisers. For he had that true Church instinct by which he at once intuitively saw the right course, from which no considerations of expediency could divert him. While resident in Gloucestershire the vicarage of Kempford was the constant place of resort for all Churchmen when any ecclesiastical difficulties arose, and, as one of the leading laymen of the county has said, however perplexed they came, they went away with every doubt cleared up, and their line of action made plain. It was only natural that when a proctorship in Convocation for the diocese became vacant Woodford was chosen to fill it. This he necessarily vacated on becoming vicar of Leeds, but he soon became a member of the Northern Convocation, and remained such with ever-growing influence till his elevation to the Episcopate. When the elevation of Dr. Atlay to the see of Hereford in 1868 placed the vicarage of Leeds at the disposal of the Crown, the late Lord Beaconsfield, then Mr. Disraeli, as Premier advised her Majesty to offer it to the vicar of Kempford. The offer had been previously made to Mr. Disraeli's neighbour in Buckinghamshire, Woodford's fellow-chaplain, the late Canon Lloyd, of Chalfont St. Giles (who had previously declined the see of Grahamstown on its first establishment), who, having refused it as not being young enough for the post, at Bishop Wilberforce's suggestion named Woodford to the Premier. It is needless to say that his mode of administration of that large and important parish fully justified the selection.

On his appointment to this important charge the new incumbent, finding that the parishioners of Leeds had been accustomed to the title in their vicars, though utterly careless of any such distinction himself, obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the only practicable mode of obtaining it except after a very considerable delay. The five years spent by Dr. Woodford at Leeds, he often said, were the happiest of his life. Though entirely unknown at Leeds when first appointed, except as Bishop Wilberforce's chaplain and an eloquent preacher, it was not long before he made a deep and lasting impression upon the laity—at first, by the wonderful simplicity of his character, his unostentatious mode of life, the exquisite charm of his manner and conversation, and afterwards, when he became known as a worker, by his power of organisation and the practical wisdom of his methods. His tact in dealing with men of different views from himself was wonderful.

Never seeming to oppose, he would insensibly lead them to his own way of thinking, and would thus eventually often bring them to propose, almost as their own suggestions, the very things he desired. This exquisite tact in dealing with those differing from him was one of the late Bishop's leading characteristics. It is remembered how at Kemsford by his judgment and winning manner he speedily got the farmers over to his side, and so managed matters that the proposal for a surpliced choir, then a very new thing, actually came from one who was at first inclined to oppose him strenuously. High as the standard of the services in Leeds parish church had long been, he sensibly raised it, and by the depth and earnestness of his preaching, characterised by sound Churchmanship with all that is most vital and true in Evangelical religion, he gathered immense congregations, numbering 3,000 at least, not only from his own district, but from every part of the town, including a large number of men, mechanics, factory hands, as well as of the upper classes residing in the suburbs, who, attending their own district churches in the morning, flocked to the old mother church in the evening, Sunday after Sunday. He soon became Rural Dean, in which office he exercised a most wholesome influence over the clergy of the deanery, especially in harmonising differences and helping adherents of opposing schools of thought to understand and sympathise with each other. While firm and unmovable in his own Church principles, he was ever ready to enter into the feelings and opinions of others, his great object being to promote real unity of spirit, and to help all to realise that they formed one body under one Head. With this view he organised schemes of Lenten sermons in the churches of the deanery, thus bringing men of different schools of thought together, and set on foot ruridecanal conferences of clergy and laity, in addition to the regular Chapter meetings. Wise, prudent, and cautious in action, he never displayed any timidity or yielded in any way to popular clamour. He always went to the root of everything on which he had to decide, and when he had once made up his mind nothing would move him. The religious education of the children of all classes had in him an unflinching and laborious advocate. When in 1870 a year of grace was given to voluntary schools in applying for building grants, he put himself at the head of the movement, and by personal canvass, with the addition of Government aid, he raised 10,000*l.* for the erection of new Church schools. He was also largely instrumental in founding large middle-class schools for both sexes in connection with the parish church, which are now more than self-supporting. We may add that during his vicariate the first Mission in Leeds was held at the parish church, followed subsequently by two general Missions throughout Leeds. When, on the sudden death of Bishop Wilberforce, in 1873—felt by him as a crushing personal sorrow—Dr. Woodford

was elevated to the Episcopal bench, the regret was universal, not only in Leeds but throughout Yorkshire. Addresses were presented by the clergy of all parties in the Church, as well as by the Sunday-schools, classes, the Church Institute, and many others. The laity raised nearly 1,000*l.* for a service of plate, suitable in his new dignity for the table of one who, though simple almost to austerity in his own daily life, was ever given to hospitality. The news of his recent death excited widespread sorrow, indicating the deep hold the memory of all that their late vicar was, and all that he did, still retained on the warm-hearted Yorkshiremen.

We must not omit to mention that on the death of Bishop Cotton the see of Calcutta was earnestly pressed upon him. Bishop Wilberforce, however, dissuaded him, telling him he was wanted for the home Episcopate. Wilberforce, who never missed an opportunity for a joke, drew an amusing picture of "Old Woodford outside an elephant." It was one of that great prelate's many disappointments that he did not live to see an event which he so earnestly desired—which indeed was brought about by his own sudden death. It was no matter of surprise when, on the occurrence of this lamentable event in 1873, Mr. Gladstone resolved that the vacancy made on the Episcopal bench should be filled by the vicar of Leeds. It is an open secret that if Bishop Harold Browne had preferred to remain at Ely, Dr. Woodford would have been called to succeed his dear friend and patron at Winchester. As it proved, Ely was the see vacated, and he was chosen to fill the Episcopal throne which his lamented death has once again left empty, to the intense sorrow not only of the clergy and laity of his diocese, but of all sound Churchmen throughout England. His health had been for some time slowly but surely failing, and his strength, which had long been at a low ebb, was overtaxed by the delivery of his Charge at his recent Visitation. He caught cold; congestion of the lungs set in; the heart became affected, and at 7 a.m. on Saturday, the 24th ult., he calmly fell asleep without pain and without fear. He was laid to rest in his own cathedral on Friday, the 30th. "*Requiescat in pace.*"

A general outline of the main features of Bishop Woodford's fruitful Episcopate—the Diocesan Fund—the Visitation of his cathedral after an interval of nearly a century and a half—the Theological College, built at his own cost, and other good works—was given by us last week. One department of his work, and that one of the most important, remains to be mentioned, his Ordinations. These were always invested with the utmost solemnity and dignity. A priest who had been present on many such occasions in other dioceses remarked, after having been at Ely, that he had never really seen an ordination before. He was one of the first Bishops to separate the examination from the ordination by an interval of some weeks, giving up the two days before laying-on of hands to devotional exercises, with a daily Celebration, and

in addition to his own address and charge, a series of addresses and meditations, given on each occasion by one carefully selected priest, to secure continuity of thought. His private interviews with the ordinands were most helpful. Not a few young deacons have testified that in these they had been taught to understand dogmatic truth better than ever before, and had been relieved of doubts and difficulties. Before a man was ordained priest he always made him answer carefully in writing this question, "What difficulties from within and from without have you yourself experienced in the exercise of your ministry?" The answer was for his eye alone. His undeviating rule was never to ordain literates, and on the same principle he sanctioned the rule of the Principal of the college to confine it to graduates. He felt that nothing could be more disastrous to the Church than to lower the standard of literary qualification for the ministry. Under the shadow of a great University he felt he must insist on a degree.

In his intercourse with his candidates for orders, as well as in his addresses to his clergy, he used to dwell on the paramount necessity of dogmatic teaching, and exhorted them to found their practice on a doctrinal basis. He greatly lamented the subjective character of so many modern sermons, with their continual appeals to the feelings rather than to the understanding. In almost, if not quite, the last published utterance of the Bishop of Ely, the Introduction to Dr. Luckock's *Footprints of the Son of Man*, he dwelt with regret on the fact that the sermons preached to our congregations are almost exclusively hortatory, and suggested the doubt "whether the constant listening to addresses whose sole object is to awaken the conscience and move the affections does not tend in some degree to defeat its own object," enforcing the need of supplementing such preaching by regular expository instruction on Holy Scripture, such as that supplied in these or similar volumes. The need of regular dogmatic teaching, and exposition of Scripture from the pulpits of our churches, was a subject on which he was never weary of enlarging as one of the chiefest wants of the age.

E. V.

The Funeral.

The last week of October, 1885, has been a marked one in the annals of the Church of England. It is hardly probable that ever before in her history the same week should have witnessed the funeral of two of her diocesan Bishops, one of the Northern and one of the Southern Province, and the consecration of one to take the place of a third over whom the grave has but recently closed. Its occurrence between the funerals of the Bishop of Manchester and of the Bishop of Ely imparted a more than common solemnity to the ceremony which took place last

Wednesday in Westminster Abbey, and it must have been felt that no better prayer could be offered for the newly consecrated prelate than that he might be a follower of those who, however widely differing in many things, were alike in simplicity of life, singleness of aim, earnest devotion to duty, and a lofty contempt of everything which many esteem greatly, compared with the exercise of their Episcopal office for the highest and most lasting good of the dioceses committed to their charge, for the glory of God, and the benefit of the souls of men. It is no mean glory to the Church of England to have produced two such Bishops. It is no light sorrow to have lost them—may we not say?—the premature victims of their abundant and untiring labours.

The funeral of the Bishop of Ely in all its surroundings presented as marked a contrast to that of the Bishop of Manchester as the characters of the men themselves. The one laid with a simple service in the quiet country churchyard which was the true home of his affections, to which, amid the din and turmoil of his busy episcopate—much as he enjoyed its ceaseless activity—his heart was ever fondly turning; amid humble country folk and rural scenes such as it was the fond dream of his life he might end his days in, no longer the Bishop, but once more the country parson: the other, with all the pomp of surpliced processions and stately ceremonial, put to rest in the ancient cathedral, of which he was so justly proud, surrounded by the monuments of his predecessors in the see, all telling of the continuity of that Church which was to him the token of Christ's Presence in the land, and the greatness of its past history.

It is a cause of sincere congratulation that the Home Secretary felt himself enabled to grant the request of the Dean and Chapter that the body of the deceased prelate might be interred in his own cathedral. The permission, however, was given with the proviso that an empty grave was to be found. No new grave could be excavated. Happily, an unoccupied vault was discovered in the chapel of Bishop West, at the east-end of the south choir aisle, and in this the interment took place on Friday last. This chapel, as many of our readers will remember, is an elaborate example of the very latest period of Gothic, with much tinge of Renaissance in the details, erected as his own mortuary chapel by Bishop Nicholas West c. 1534, corresponding to the equally gorgeous chapel of Bishop Alcock on the northern side of the choir. Here Bishop Sparke had been buried in 1836. The newly tenanted grave is on the south side of the chapel immediately under Bishop West's recessed monument.

The body of the deceased prelate was placed, awaiting burial, before the altar of the domestic chapel of the palace, itself in its costly restoration and adornment, its painted windows, mosaics, frescoes, and stall work, a monument of his refined taste and liberality. Two candles were kept burning beside the coffin; this was of the ancient shape, resembling the face of a wedge, and without the suggestive shoulder corners.

It was made in finest panelled oak, with brass mountings and furniture. Running nearly the entire length was a massive cross, with "Calvary" at foot, the inscription at the base, in Old English, being—

"Requiescat in pace."

On either side the nave of the cross and immediately above its transepts are the Ely arms (three crowns) and the deceased prelate's arms (3 leopards' heads with *fleur de lys* proceeding from their mouths), on the left hand and right hand respectively. Immediately beneath the transept of the cross were four neat rectangular plates, two on the left and two on the right respectively. Those on the left read:—

"Jacobus Russell,
Natus die Apr. xxx.
A.D. MDCCCXX."

Those on the right read:—

"Episcopus Eliensis
nonus quinquagesimus,
decessit die Oct. xxiv.
A.D. MDCCCLXXXV."

Below these plates were the mitre and pastoral staff, on the left and right respectively. It was of the old ecclesiastical shape, with straight sloping sides, as seen in ancient sepulchral slabs, designed by the late Bishop's pupil and dear friend of many years and chaplain, Rev. H. F. St. John, and carried out by Messrs. Hart. It was covered with a gorgeous crimson velvet pall, designed by Mr. Kemp, and worked at Clewer, bearing "Jesu Mercy" on scrolls. Bishop Woodford had a great dislike to the prevalent extravagant use of flowers at funerals, as tending to disguise the solemnity of death, and obscure its real character as the punishment of sin. Therefore, although many floral wreaths and crosses were sent by private friends and public bodies, only one, the gift of the household of the palace, was allowed to be placed on the coffin. Two bunches of rosebuds also lay there, one sent by the venerable Canon Carter by one of the Sisters, the other by the widow of the late C. Longuet Higgins, of Turvey Abbey. The other floral offerings were ranged round the chapel of interment, in the niches and other ornamental recesses. Of these two deserve special notice as those which it was felt would have been most highly valued by the late Bishop—a truly magnificent wreath of white flowers from the churchwardens of his former church at Leeds, and one from the Ely branch of the Church of England Working Men's Society, of which he had been one of the most earnest supporters.

There was a Celebration of Holy Communion in the palace chapel at 8 a.m., at which Canon Luckock celebrated, and the private friends and Theological College students were present. The funeral ceremony commenced at 2.30 p.m. The procession left the palace, headed by about seventy members, present and

past, of the Theological College which had been founded by the Bishop, and erected entirely at his cost, in surplices. The bier followed, with the coffin covered by its rich pall, accompanied by the Bishop's six chaplains, Dr. Luckock, Canons Evans and Paget (of Christ Church, Oxford), the Revs. H. F. St. John, V. H. Stanton, and J. Watkins, as pall-bearers. Canon Evans, the Bishop's domestic chaplain and constant companion, caring for him and ministering to him with all the devoted affection of a son, preceded the coffin, carrying the pastoral staff vested in crape. Dr. Luckock followed the bier. The non-official mourners followed, including the Bishop's relatives, Mr. Melville Woodhouse, and other members of the Woodhouse and Appleton families, his old school friend, Precentor Venables, the venerable Sir Charles Anderson, Archdeacon Pott, the Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Baker, Major Hare, Dr. Chadwick, Mr. R. Bickerton Turner, the Rev. F. J. Wood, the Bishop's secretary Mr. J. B. Lee, Mr. Malcolm Sutherland Græme, &c. The procession was met at the west door of the cathedral by the Dean and Canons (Archdeacon Chapman being absent through recent bereavement), Honorary Canons, Precentor, and other members of the cathedral body, and proceeded up the nave, the choir chanting the opening sentences to Croft's setting. The mourners were followed by the Chancellor of the diocese (Dr. Brunel), the Registrar (Mr. W. J. Evans), the Bishop's medical attendants (Dr. Latham and Mr. S. C. Harris), the Master (Dr. Searle), tutor (the Rev. C. H. Prior), and Dean (the Rev. E. J. Heriz Smith) of the Bishop's college (Pembroke), and the Bishop's butler, John Couling, his faithful servant for more than thirty years. Then succeeded the attendant Bishops, including, in addition to the Bishop of Winchester, the late Bishop's predecessor in the see, who officiated, his Cuddesdon friend the Bishop of Lincoln, the Bishops of Nova Scotia and Colchester, and Bishop Tozer. The Bishop of Newcastle was, to his deep regret, prevented being present by having to preside at his diocesan conference. Letters were also received, expressing their sorrow at their enforced absence, from the Bishops of Lichfield, Peterborough, and St. Albans, as well as from Dr. Liddon. The Bishop of Carlisle was represented by his son, the Rev. L. Goodwin. The Lord Lieutenant, Mr. J. A. Harcastle, M.P. for Bry, the Chief Constable of the Isle, and the Adjutant of the Militia followed the Bishops. The next in order were the representatives of the University of Cambridge, comprising the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Ferrers, Master of Caius, Heads of houses, the President of Queens', the Masters of Clare, Corpus, Jesus, Magdalene, Peterhouse, St. Catharine's, St. John's, Trinity Hall, and Selwyn; Professors Westcott, Hort, Churchill Babington, Cayley, Creighton, Liveing, Lumby, Stokes, Drs. Guillemard and Luard, members of the Council, &c. Such a representation of the University was singularly perfect in all its departments, and was a memorable testimony to the respect and affection entertained

for the late Bishop by the body to whom he was so intimately known. Then succeeded the clergy of the diocese, numbering close upon 300, in surplices, headed by the Rural Deans, nearly all of whom were present; the magistrates of the Isle of Ely, and the chairman of the local board of health, with nearly the whole of that body, succeeded; then came other members of the University, and the long line was closed by members of the Church of England Working Men's Society. Among the mourners who did not join the procession but awaited the bier in the presbytery were Miss and Miss Jane Appleton, Miss and Miss L. Woodhouse, Mrs. Luckock, and the domestic servants from the Palace. The long nave was lined on both sides with the inhabitants of Ely and the vicinity, by whom the late Bishop was regarded with much affection, and others. The numbers within the cathedral were estimated at 3,000. On reaching the screen the large body of surpliced clergy, with the exception of the Rural Deans, took their places under the lantern, and while the closing sentence was being sung—"The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord"—the coffin, attended by the chaplains, mourners, cathedral clergy, Rural Deans, and students, entered the choir, and the service proceeded. The two Psalms were sung to chants by Battishill and Crotch. The Lesson was read in a remarkably clear voice by Dean Merivale, and while the congregation sat, the six Chaplains remained standing round the bier. The Lesson was followed by Spohr's anthem, "Blest are the departed." The coffin was then borne to the grave, passing into the south aisle through the archway of Bishop de Luda's monument. To avoid unseemly confusion in so limited a space it was wisely ruled that none but the cathedral clergy, choir, and mourners should accompany the coffin to the grave. Bishop West's Chapel reached, the coffin was lowered, with its single wreath on its lid, the choir chanting the anthem, "Man that is born of a woman," to Purcell's music. The service was read at the graveside by the Bishop of Winchester. At the words, "Earth to earth," &c., earth was cast upon the coffin by all the six Chaplains kneeling at the side of the grave. Before leaving the grave Bishop Maclagan's hymn, "Now the labourer's task is o'er," was sung to Dr. Dykes's pathetic tune. The Blessing was given, and a return was made to the choir, the Dead March in *Saul* was played, and the procession returned in the same order to the west door during the singing, as a recessional, of the Bishop of Bedford's hymn, "For all Thy saints who from their labours rest," with its closing "Alleluias," so nobly set by Mr. Barnby. After the close of the service persons desiring to see the grave were permitted to do so in small parties to avoid crowding. The whole of the arrangements for the ceremony were well planned, and were carried out with the most perfect smoothness, and with all the solemnity appropriate to the occasion. The day was, happily, calm and

fine, the sun shining brightly on the white-robed procession as it advanced up the long nave with striking effect.

THE ELY DIOCESAN THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE.

The most permanent visible memorial of the late Bishop of Ely, calculated to perpetuate his name and the memory of his Episcopate to many future generations, is the Theological college erected by him for his diocese. The history of the college possesses peculiar interest at the present time. It is as follows. On the late Bishop's consecration, the Rev. W. M. Hoare, who had been a Cuddesdon student at the time that the Bishop was in the habit of delivering courses of lectures as Theological Prælector, suggested to him the desirability of founding a second Cuddesdon for the eastern counties, in the vicinity of Cambridge, as that was of the sister University. As a nucleus of the necessary fund Mr. Hoare offered the Bishop a sum of about 1,000*l.* in the name of himself and certain friends. The suggestion was heartily welcomed by the Bishop, who always deeply felt the importance of a period of more direct preparation for holy orders, removed from the distractions of the University, where old habits might more easily be broken off, and the spiritual life be fostered by a stricter rule, and larger opportunities of devotion. A canonry falling vacant about that time the Bishop at once offered it to the Rev. H. M. Luckcock, late Fellow of Jesus, who was then vicar of All Saints', Cambridge, and Hebrew and Divinity Lecturer at his own and King's Colleges, on the understanding that he should become the first principal of the proposed college, and it was accepted. In 1876 the work was begun by Canon Luckcock with three students. The number soon increased, and a house was taken near the west end of the cathedral as a temporary home. Its numbers continuing to grow, the Bishop in 1879 resolved to erect a permanent building for the college. The whole expense of this he took on himself, reserving the 1,000*l.* already mentioned for the necessary furniture. In May, 1881, the college buildings were dedicated with a striking ceremonial, in which a very large number of diocesan clergy and laymen took part. It may be remembered that the opening sermon was preached in the cathedral by the Bishop of Carlisle—formerly Dean of Ely—who predicted a great future for the new college. As the number of students continued to increase, the Bishop decided on the completion of Mr. St. Anbyn's design by the erection of the southern block. This was brought to a close in 1884, greatly to the improvement of the architectural effect of the building. The college, as now completed, supplies accommodation for twenty-one students, with chapel, library, dining-hall, and rooms for college officers.

The sum given by the Bishop from his own resources to the erection of the college, together with money placed in the Principal's hands for the assistance of deserving students who might be unable to afford the cost of a year's training, has amounted to not less than 10,000*l.* Two bequests of 1,000*l.* each have been left to him for the college, one by the Bishop's old friend Mr. C. Ward, of Bristol, and one by an anonymous donor, for the study of Liturgiology. These the Bishop made the nucleus of an endowment fund, and he has by his will secured the permanence of the college by making it his heir, after the payment of a few legacies. The Bishop gave regular courses of lectures to the students, in whom he ever manifested a most affectionate individualising interest. How warmly this feeling was reciprocated on their part was manifested by several costly gifts, especially the east window of the chapel, and the carved oak panelling of the dining hall; and those who were present at the annual gathering in June last will probably never forget the enthusiasm with which their founder was received when he rose to speak. To many it will abide as a pleasant memory of their last meeting.

THE LATE BISHOP OF ELY.

One of the saintliest prelates of our later English Church passed to his rest on Saturday morning last. Bishop Woodford recalled more almost than any of his contemporaries the image of the best of the Caroline Bishops. Unmarried, making his chaplains his family, his household was simplicity itself; he cared nothing for what are accounted the natural and suitable shows and accompaniments of high rank, very little for its comforts; his life, with no profession of asceticism, was, as regards his care for luxuries or even conveniences, as austere as a soldier's on service. It was not that he condemned and put away from him the usual refinements and ornaments of modern ways of living; they had no attraction for him; they did not belong to the work to which his heart was given. The gentlest, kindest, tenderest of friends, he did not see or mark the difference between his own "plain living" and what others thought necessary and lawful for health, or station, or enjoyment. The old watchword, *Pro Deo et Ecclesiâ*, was for him a sufficing one for what he wanted, for the employment of his time, for the aims of his life.

He was a man of very large and generous as well as very devout mind; but he had embraced in all its depth and greatness the idea of the Christian Church as the embodiment and instrument of God's purposes for mankind; and this conviction governed and directed his Theological judgments and his practical decisions. He was an unwavering and a fervent Churchman, a very serious and real thinker on moral subjects; he was convinced that only on the lines of the teaching of the Church, in its fulness and its fruitfulness, could the standard of a true and high morality among his countrymen be reached and maintained; and further, that only on the ancient and unbroken faith, as to the offices and gifts of the Church, could revealed religion hope to maintain itself amid the "strife of tongues." As a Churchman, he was uncompromising. Anything that threatened the creed of the Church, anything that ran counter to its spirit and temper, as shown in its language and immemorial usages, roused his indignation and resistance; anything that seemed to trench on its rights, or ignore its essential character as a religious society, and that a divinely constituted one, he was prepared to oppose to the uttermost. But it was no polemical or quasi-political opposition. For him that had no attraction. His mind was a judicial one; where he differed, he was singularly patient, and singularly just. He had no great faith in controversy, though he was

ready for it, and could state his own position with great force of reason and persuasiveness. But he saw that the interests of so divine a thing as he believed the Church to be, needed much more than intellectual victories. It was by the earnest exhibition of its profound truths, and the manifestation of the practical temper, moral and spiritual, which corresponded to them, that the hearts of men, for whom these truths were intended, must be reached.

And to this, in private and in public, with his familiar friends, and in his uninterrupted and laborious preaching, his ministry as a Bishop was devoted. To him the Church was the Church of the Crucified, as it was also the Church of the Risen and Ascended Lord; and the consciousness of his Master's perpetual Presence, and of all that followed on what his Master had done, was ever with him. It gave depth, and largeness, and solemnity to his Theology; it gave earnestness and conviction to his sermons. And it also gave great calmness and repose to his ways of teaching. With his oratorical gifts, he might easily have taken a much more prominent place than he did. But he had his diocese to attend to, and to that he attended. It was to his diocese that he spoke if he had anything of special importance to say. Weighty as his opinion and his words were, when he had to address himself to questions of general importance, he did not seek, though he did not refuse, such occasions. He had learned from his dear friend Bishop Wilberforce what a Bishop may be to a diocese. Perhaps he may have thought, too, from the same example, that work outside of it may easily become too absorbing.

It was said, at the time of Bishop Wilberforce's death, that it was the memory and the loss of Bishop Wilberforce which prompted the appointment of one whom he so valued to the see of Ely. If it was so, this is not the least of what we owe to Bishop Wilberforce. The late Bishop of Ely has been a power in the Church, in all that is most vital and genuine and profound in religion, which is hardly known to those who saw only that unpretending modesty which was the outward aspect of his devout and deep humbleness of mind. Little seen in the great world, yet to those about him, to those whom he called to help him in his work, he showed a character which represented to them a pattern, which never disappointed them, of true and holy living, and which inspired them with continual gratitude, reverence, and a tender devotedness. Such a man is more than merely a Bishop who has done his work well. He is a proof of the reality and power of goodness, which lasts and has its force when the source from which it came is unknown. R. W. C.

IN MEMORIAM—J. R. ELIENS.

O noble brow, with thoughts of high import
 So lately filled, hath Death indeed his seal
 Set upon thee, and checked the pulse's powers
 For ever busied for the Church's weal?

Yea, all is still. Imaginative force—
 That flashed in measures in thy boyhood's days,
 And in maturer years could hold entranced
 The thronging multitude with upturned gaze :

Sound judgment—on whose duly weighed decrees
 The great and simple would alike depend :
 Strong sympathy--whose magic won thy foes,
 And held in ever tight'ning bonds each friend.

Zeal for thy God—Oh, who shall tell how far
 The faith now shining brighter through the land
 Hath owed its kindling to thy words of power,
 Its stronger burning to thy fostering hand?

A mainspring wert thou, hidden in the works
 Of the great timepiece of the Church on earth ;
 Wheel within wheel depending on thy strength,
 Unwav'ring firm endurance thy true worth.

Thou watchful shepherd, the Good Shepherd's Voice
 Doth bid thee enter now His Heavenly Fold ;
 Thou faithful soldier, at thy Captain's call,
 Follow His Footsteps through the streets of gold.

To rest His sweet Voice calls. Now shalt thou lie
 In peaceful contemplation at His Feet,
 Dwelling in mysteries, till, all transformed
 By Light Divine, thou art for glory meet.

Prayer was thy strength ; Communion with thy Lord
 In His veiled Presence on His Altar Throne :
 Prayer the prevailing weapon thou wilt wield
 For us who still beneath our burthen groan.

Thou art not gone beyond our spirit's ken,
 Though this world's shadows hide thee from our eyes :
 One Lord, one Faith—and one all saints on earth
 With those who rest in sunny Paradise.

We hear "the whispers of the coming end ;"
 The Church's final conflict draweth nigh ;
 God's unseen armies muster. Fight we then,
 And share with them and thee the victory.

Sermon by the Bishop of Lichfield.

The *Bishop of Lichfield*, in preaching the University sermon at Cambridge, on Sunday week, made the following reference to the Bishops of Manchester and of Ely. The subject of the sermon was "Responsibility for the Gifts of God." The Bishop said—In speaking to-day on such a subject as this, it is impossible to forget two greatly gifted men, but with great diversity of gifts, who within the last few days have passed away from us. I, at least, cannot be silent about them—my brothers in the Episcopal office, and my personal friends.

Bishop Fraser was in every way a remarkable man—a man of high intellectual power and of great moral force. Even his outward appearance could not fail to attract the attention of all who saw him—his strong-built frame, his firm step, and erect carriage were all characteristic of the man himself. For he was in every sense a strong man; as firm in his purpose as in his step; as upright in his character as in carriage. And that bright open face, thoughtful and serious, yet ever ready to relax into a genial smile, was the true index of an open and generous heart, and of the large sympathies which were not inconsistent with strong convictions. Of his scholarship I do not venture to speak; his Theological opinions and attainments it is not my part to criticise; but his devotion to duty and his earnestness in his work are known and read of all men. Few men in our day have had a firmer hold on public attention. All his utterances were eagerly looked for and very frequently reported by the public press. His manliness and courage gave him a great influence over men of the world; the busy men of his own cathedral city as well as the men of leisure in the great metropolis. Everywhere he was followed by crowds who hung on his lips. But this practical flattery failed either to lower his aim or to weaken his utterance. He was ever the fearless preacher of righteousness, and was almost jealous of all other teaching which might seem to draw men aside from the effort after a godly, righteous, and sober life. Such was the man whom Manchester has lost, and even those who least understood him, even those who most differed from him, must feel that the Church and the world are poorer because he has passed away.

And what shall I say of your own dear Bishop? My valued, loved, and honoured friend; gone from us only yesterday; gone to the haven where he would be. You know as well as I the beautiful simplicity of his character, a simplicity without weakness, which attracted all who knew him, and, above all, those who knew him best. He was not a man to take the world by storm, and yet all his utterances were high-toned and weighty—worthy to be remembered long after more startling and brilliant words shall have died away into oblivion. His modesty and caution, born of humility, restrained him from rash or even ready judgments. He was not a man to be popular in the ordinary sense of the word; he mixed too rarely with the world, and was little conversant with its ways. But his affectionate gentleness and the beautiful truthfulness of his character endeared him to all who came to know him. His entirely unselfish character prompted the munificent generosity which he showed not only to individuals but to public institutions. The Theological College of this diocese owes to him a vast debt of gratitude for his loving care and his abundant benefactions. As a preacher many of you knew him far better than I, but it always seemed to me that his sermons were powerful and original, and deeply interesting to those who had ears to hear. His religious convictions were definite and

strong. No man could say with fuller truth, "I believe in one Catholic and Apostolic Church." No man could more lovingly admire the holy order, the high lineage, the primitive teaching, the noble history of the Church of Christ. But he was no discontented dreamer, idly asking, "What is the cause that the former days were better than these?" vainly lamenting the irrecoverable past. His whole heart and his whole life were given to that pure branch of the Church to which he especially belonged.

To that Church his loyal allegiance was firm and true. He knew (as he taught us in Selwyn College three years ago), he knew wherein its great strength lay. He was keenly alive to some of the difficulties and disadvantages attaching to its position in the present day, but he loved it with his whole soul, and one of his latest utterances was to enforce the value and importance of the place which it holds in relation to the State, and to urge the necessity of its maintenance as the National Church.

By nature timid and sensitive in an exceptional degree, he was never wanting in moral courage or in patient endurance, and in the closing hours of his suffering life these qualities only rose into ampler exercise. When the near approach of his end was made known to him, he accepted the issue with a calm trust and simple faith, and, like his Master, his face was steadfastly set to go to Jerusalem.

Such were the two distinguished men whom the Church of England mourns to-day. Diverse in their gifts, they were one in their aim, and in the great principle of their lives. Each of them as he had received a gift so he sought to minister the same for the good of others, as a good steward of the manifold grace of God. With each the supreme purpose of life and of work was that God in all things might be glorified through Jesus Christ.

And now they rest together in the Paradise of God. Now they walk before God in the land of the living. To-day, we doubt not, they take sweet counsel together in the inner sanctuary of the House of God.

May we not, then, anticipate in our thoughts and in our prayers the teaching of the holy festival of the coming week? May I not ask you now to rise up and join with me in the prayer for All Saints'?

Sermon by the Bishop of Lincoln.

The Right Rev. Dr. King (*Bishop of Lincoln*) preached on Sunday in Ely Cathedral the following sermon:—

"If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God."—1 Peter iv. 11.
Or as the Revised Version renders it—

"If any man speak, speaking as it were oracles of God."

The object of this exhortation is given in the words which immediately follow, "that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ, to Whom be praise and dominion for ever and ever. Amen." Such words might well be chosen as an antiphon or motto for the great festival which the Church keeps to-day, the festival of All the Saints; for it has ever been, and ever must be, the one supreme aim and desire of the saints to do all for the glory of God through Jesus Christ our Lord. "I have set God always before me" would be a common watchword of the saintly life.

To-day, then, we feel again encompassed by the great cloud of witnesses; the spirits of just men made perfect, of men and women,

of boys and girls, of all lands and all ages, who once, like ourselves, were living many of them outwardly common toiling lives on this damp earth below, but who have now been drawn up above this lower world by the power of the Sun of Righteousness, and surround us to-day as a cloud of witnesses, invisible indeed for the present, but most surely our own in the communion of saints.

And yet this seems to many of us to be too far off, and we long to know more of the saintly life, and what it would be like if it were in the world now.

In a book very recently published on the *Life in the English Church from the year 1660 to 1714*, the statement is made that the hagiology of the Church of England has yet to be written. Romanists and all classes of Dissenters, it is said, have celebrated their worthies far more fully than we have done; but our silence has not been for lack of material, rather from a superabundance of it. We seem from whatever cause to need some more clearly marked footprints on the heavenly road.

We need the record of the lives of some who have followed in the saintly band nearer to our own time, and who have fought the good fight and kept the faith against such enemies as we ourselves must encounter in our daily life. With great gratitude then, as an opportune gift many of us read the words which spake of him, towards whom our hearts and thoughts are turned to-day, as "one of the saintliest prelates of our later English Church." "One of the saintliest," it is the very word that we needed to-day, to bind the present with the past; to assure us of the oneness of the Body of Christ; to help us to make this festival of All Saints a fresh incentive to a holy life, proving to us that the saintly life is still possible.

Bear with me, then, brethren, if I try to arrest your attention for a few moments on one or two of the characteristics of the life of him whose loss we mourn to-day, though we think of him in the enjoyment of the brighter vision of the faithful departed. First, then, not indeed in order of importance, but as running through his whole life and reaching back to the days of his boyhood, I would mention diffidence—a constant mistrust of self; a shrinking from putting himself forward; on many occasions being thrust into a prominent position by others—though, when once there, speaking out his convictions boldly, and always acquitting himself with power. Such a combination of diffidence with power was perhaps the natural mark of a man who had the gift of a certain genius rather than of great scholarship or great learning. It surprises us at first, just as we were surprised to hear from the saintly Gordon that he was constantly afraid, not indeed of death, but for the results of what he might be empowered to do; for a genius is conscious of a power, yet of a power which he has not acquired and of which he can hardly give account. However that may be, such diffidence, such mistrust in self, is certainly a mark of true saintly life. The saints are ever thought more highly of by others than by themselves; they are better, so to say, than they know how to be; their language is marked by the surprise of the saved, "When saw we Thee sick or in prison and came unto Thee?"

Such was the case with James Russell Woodford as a schoolboy, as an undergraduate, as a priest, and as a Bishop. A list of names might easily be given of men in the foremost ranks who looked to him for great things, for which all the while he thought himself miserably unfit.

But if diffidence is a mark that can be placed as early as any in

order of time, confidence in the power of the truth should certainly be given a more prominent place in determining his whole character. The mistrust of self was balanced by a firm trust in God. We fancy we have heard him preach from the text, "O, set me up upon the rock that is higher than I;" and it would be characteristic of his whole life. The truth was to him above all things real and precious.

This reality of the truth gave him an intense realisation of the unseen world and its possible nearness—the awfulness of death and the mystery of the new life beyond; this for many years was so real as to make him shrink from the outward accompaniments of death, and from the act of dying—from the idea of a grave and its loneliness, so that it was a wish of his whole life to lie, not in a churchyard, but in a cathedral, where people would be about and worship going on. It was a matter of great thankfulness to those who were privileged to watch by him in his last moments to see how entirely the lower fear passed away, so that he appeared to be able to contemplate death in perfect peace and calmness.

It was a matter for thankfulness, too, that his wish (so unlikely in former years to have been realised) should at the last have been granted him; and so he rests in his own cathedral, hard by one who, like himself, believed and loved the Catholic Faith.

It followed to him from this clear realisation of supernatural truth that he was a devoted Churchman; both as a parish priest and as a Bishop this was a distinguishing feature of his life—devotion to the work of the Church as the great instrument of God for the regeneration of mankind, as the divinely constituted society in which man individually would find his intended perfection, as being the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. This seemed to us to be the great power of his preaching; he spoke as the bearer of divine utterances; he brought us into the presence of the truth, and made us feel that the truth was something real, independently of man's apprehension of it or opinions about it. It was this which made the pauses in his sermons so effective, because they were pauses after the statement of dogmatic truth. A friend has mentioned to us the effect of one of his sermons still remembered after many years, which he concluded after a pause of five or six seconds with the words—"We have no more." He had brought his hearers into the presence of the truth, and there he would leave them.

It was this intense realisation of the truth which gave such a peculiar magnificence to his utterances, and which left the impression not so much of the memory of a well-turned sentence or of a clever argument, as of the awfulness of a truth brought very near. It was this that Sunday after Sunday gathered together some three thousand persons of all ages and classes into the parish church at Leeds, and made his Leeds vicariate perhaps the most vigorous and the happiest time of his life. It was certainly this same confidence in the power of the Christian faith which caused him to make the foundation of a Theological college a chief work of his Episcopate. To this in his lifetime he gave no less than 10,000*l.*, and this on his death he left his heir. The Theological college might indeed be regarded as a representative of himself, for it would suggest exact Theology, but Theology in relation to life—young life full of sympathy and affection.

This clear realisation of the truth, this devotion to the Church as the Body of Christ, gave him an absolute tenacity of principle. Never would he sacrifice in the slightest degree any matter of principle to expediency, or to stop a popular cry; not that his own

firm hold upon the truth made him wanting in sympathy for others ; quite the contrary. A large-hearted, generous sympathy for those who differed from him was a marked feature in his character. Definite in his own, he was tolerant of other people's views so long as they were in their own way doing real work for God.

At no time perhaps was the influence of this definiteness together with sympathy more apparent and effective than at the ordination. All were impressed with the solemnity, reality, and devotion of the Bishop and those who were with him ; and many were there brought ultimately into fuller relations with the truth than they had known before. Neither did the realisation of the higher truth make him indifferent to what might be called lower things, provided they had a relation to the higher. Thus to him the love of the beautiful was most real, not so much in nature, perhaps, as in art. Poetry and music were to him a source of great delight ; a grand chorus would move him to tears. The beautiful side of worship was a real charm to him. Church architecture, sculpture, painted glass, all gave him an intense interest.

But with all this he preserved in himself a singular simplicity, a disregard, indeed, for personal comfort and ease, a kind of natural unintentional austerity, which, together with his appreciation of the beautiful, was a precious protest against that spurious kind of pagan culture which would make "life the end of life, and our whole nature a complex medium of reception towards the vision of our actual experience." It was consistent with his firm hold upon objective truth that he saw the necessity of urging the younger clergy to be careful to preserve a due proportion in their teaching between instruction and exhortation. He feared the latter often predominated ; it was for this reason that on this very day, twelve months ago, he commended in a Preface that work on St. Mark's Gospel, *Footprints of the Son of Man*, for which not only this diocese but many others must be deeply grateful. The same intuitive perception of this, the splendid value of objective truth, led him to dislike any exaggeration of the subjective side, whether in hymns or devotions. For himself, the *Devotions of Bishop Andrewes* were his constant companion, and few things are more touching than to note the reality with which he used these, striking out the names in the *Intercession* which did not apply to him, and writing on the margin Easton, Kemsford, Leeds, letting Ely remain in the text, as used by Bishop Andrewes himself.

But it is time to close these imperfect remarks on the characteristics of this simple but truly saintly life. We must, however, mention one other—his great affectionateness, we might say his playful humour, his boyish playfulness ; if you will, his sense of fun. In this he was like St. Hugh of Lincoln, who is described as being full of talk, and joyousness, and fun, *verborum urbanitate facetus*, and for the same reason, because his mind and heart were fixed on the unchanging eternal joys. This gave him a peculiar inward security and joyfulness of mind—*continuâ cordis hilaritate et mentis securitate iocundus*. This affectionateness was offered freely to all, but especially to all those who helped him in the one work of his life, building up the Church of God. The attendance at his funeral showed this. "The representation of the University," it was said by one most competent to judge, "was singularly perfect, and was a remarkable testimony of affection for the Bishop." There were the chief representatives of the diocese and county and city—others more

simple but not less sincere—his old servant, after thirty years of unbroken service, the carpenter from his country village in Gloucestershire, many from the town of Leeds, his old pupils, his former curates, his devoted and inseparable chaplain, members of the Church of England Working Men's Society—to which he was the first Bishop to hold out a friendly hand—all these and many others were evidences of that deep affection which strove to win the love of those with whom he worked, that he might teach them the faith and attach their hearts to God. Have we not here then, brethren, what at the beginning we said we needed, something that might form part of the hagiology of the Church of England, the unworldly life, living and working in our modern busy world?

And what are the lessons we shall learn from it? To have more trust in God, to be watchful to preserve in this practical age—this age of benevolence and working for the people—a conscientious exposition of the truth independently of any passing phase of public opinion. To be tenacious, indeed, of the truth, but yet to regard "Theology rather as a divine life than a divine knowledge;" to believe in the unapparent capabilities of the people, to desire their perfection, to desire to make them saints, to work in and with and for the Church of Christ as being the divinely appointed society in which the head and heart and will of man will find their highest perfection and satisfaction. To be ready to love one another with a more martyr-like, Christ-like love—a love that is prepared for self-sacrifice in any form, because we judge, if Christ so loved us, we ought also to lay down our lives for the brethren. And if this seems too simple, too ordinary to enable us to take our place in the noble band of those whose memory we recall to-day, let us remember that our Lord and Master chose for His own forerunner not one endowed with gifts to do extraordinary and uncommon things—"John did no miracles, but all things that John spake of this Man were true." To be loyal to the truth as it is in Jesus, to witness to Him in our daily life, to be ready to witness to Him if He ask for it, by a martyr's death—this is to follow in the footsteps of the saints. This is the pathway in which he whom we mourn to-day has left footprints for us to follow. On this pathway, we patiently persevere, we believe we shall meet him again, and know that he is not lost, but only gone before.



The Proposed New Church of St. John's,
Cavendish Avenue, Cambridge.

DEAR SIR,

WE are taking steps towards erecting a District Church in this rapidly increasing Suburb of Cambridge. Seeing that the population of this District now exceeds 500 and several new houses are being erected, we are very anxious that provision should be made, *at once*, for its Spiritual needs; and, as the Parish Church is too far distant for most of them to attend, the only remedy appears to be to build a Church in the midst of this new district

You will see by the annexed letters that our scheme has the warm approval of the Lord Bishop of the Diocese and the Archdeacon of Ely.

We have, just now, a capital opportunity for securing Land, sufficiently large for Church, Parsonage and School, right in the centre of the District, and we should be deeply grateful if you would kindly send us a small donation?

We are, Dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

WALTER BECK, Vicar of Cherry Hinton,	} <i>Executive Committee.</i>
JOSEPH CLARK, Station Road,	
J. H. FLATHER, M.A., Emmanuel College,	
J. JENKIN, Cavendish Avenue,	
J. G. ELWORTHY, Rock Road, <i>Secretary,</i>	

LETTERS FROM BISHOP AND ARCHDEACON.

I. *Letter from the Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF THE* } DIOCESE.

November 6, 1891.

DEAR MR. BECK,

I am glad to hear your Committee propose to erect a new Church in the Parish of Cherry Hinton, and I think they are wise in at once taking steps to secure a site large enough for Church, School and Parsonage. I enclose a subscription, and trust that you will succeed in your endeavours, as that part of the Parish promises to increase rapidly in population.

Yours very sincerely,

ALWYNE, ELY.

II. *Letter from the ARCHDEACON OF ELY.*

THE COLLEGE, ELY,

November, 11, 1891.

MY DEAR CANON BECK,

I wish I could have been present at the Meeting in Cavendish College to consider the spiritual and educational needs of the fast-growing neighbourhood near the Hills Road. The generous and enthusiastic feeling shewn on the occasion augurs well for the fulfilment of your own earnest desire to obtain the necessary site and buildings, Church, Parsonage and School. Of course the first building to be erected is the Church, so as to provide conveniently suitable means of Divine Worship for the hundreds already settled in this new district of your Parish, and for the increasing numbers sure to be added as new houses spring up in the streets and avenues laid out for building..... From what I know of those who have so readily come forward to help in the good work, I can have no doubt of a successful issue. May the Divine Blessing go with this new effort to strengthen and advance the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour in Cherry Hinton and close to Cambridge.

With every kind wish,

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

W. EMERY,

Archdeacon of Ely.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

- The Rev. the Master of Peterhouse (chairman).
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ely.
 The Venerable the Archdeacon of Ely.
 The Rev. the President of Queens' (Rural Dean).
 The Lord Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire.
 The Worshipful the Mayor of Cambridge.
 The Rev. the Master of Corpus Christi College.
 The Rev. the Principal of Ridley Hall.
 The Rev. V. H. Stanton, D.D., Ely Professor of Divinity.
 The Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, M.A., Professor of Latin.
 The Rev. A. J. C. Allen, M.A., late Fellow of Peterhouse.
 The Rev. H. B. Beedham, M.A., Clare College.
 The Rev. F. H. Chase, M.A., Principal of the Clergy Training School.
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 Mr. C. J. Clay, Cambridge.
 Mr. F. F. Mullett, Cambridge.
 Mr. Walter Hicks, Trinity College.
 Mr. H. Drake, St. John's College.
 Mr. A. J. Pitkin, St. John's College.
 Mr. J. Jenkin, Cherry Hinton.
 Mr. Alf. Jones, Trumpington House.
 Mr. H. H. Emson, Cherry Hinton.
~~Mr. Thos. Peter Ward, Cherry Hinton.~~
 Mr. I. G. Elworthy, Cherry Hinton.
 Mr. J. E. Marsh, Cherry Hinton.
 Mr. A. Kett, Cambridge.
 Mr. E. Kett, Cambridge.

The following donations have been contributed and promised.

	£	s.	d.
The Bishop of Ely	15	0	0
Dr. Campion	10	0	0
Dr. Perowne	5	0	0
Archdeacon Emery	2	2	0
Canon Beck (Vicar of Cherry Hinton)	10	10	0
C. J. Clay, Esq.	10	10	0
Rev. A. J. C. Allen	10	10	0
J. Jenkin, Esq.	10	10	0
Miss Fillingham	10	10	0
J. Clark, Esq.	10	10	0
Rev. H. Hall	5	0	0
Rev. C. Butler	5	0	0
Rev. F. H. Chase	2	2	0
W. Hicks, Esq.	5	5	0
F. Mullett, Esq.	5	5	0
Mr. and Mrs. Walker (Strathmore)	6	6	0
Mr. J. G. Elworthy	5	0	0
Mr. Groves	2	2	0
Miss Ward	2	2	0
Mr. Drake	1	1	0

Messrs. Foster's, Mortlock's, and the London and County Banks have also kindly promised to receive donations.

THIRD EDITION.

THE AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION

AND

THE SUFFERINGS OF THE CLERGY.

BY

R. E. PROTHERO,

FELLOW OF ALL SOULS' COLLEGE, OXFORD.

REPRINTED FROM "THE GUARDIAN."

LONDON:

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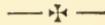
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P R E F A C E.



At the close of last year I accepted an offer from the Editor of the *Guardian* to inquire into the effects on clerical incomes of the prolonged agricultural depression. The results of my inquiry are contained in the following five letters.

These so-called letters are really articles. The abstract form and want of local colour are due, partly to the difficulty of investigating the private liabilities of men in the rank of the rural clergy, partly to the necessity, when information of this character was obtained, of avoiding the identification of the informant. The ground on which the pledge of secrecy was in one case exacted was significant enough in its latent meaning—"If names were divulged it might injure my credit."

It is not suggested that all clergymen have in an equal degree suffered from the agricultural depression. The inquiry was mainly confined to the counties of Northampton, Huntingdon, and Essex, and the borders of Nottingham, Leicester, Lincoln, North Warwick, and Buckingham, the districts in which the prolonged depression was known to have produced its most disastrous results.

Even in these counties only general statements are possible, owing to the varying circumstances of different benefices and different localities.

Clergymen who are titheowners only, in counties unaffected by anti-tithe agitation, have, at the worst, passed from the enjoyment of ease to the practice of economy; they have lost their margin of comfort.

Clergymen who are titheowners in counties upon which the anti-tithe agitation has taken a firm hold have been compelled to make remissions varying from 10 to 25 per cent. upon the existing value (90 per cent.) of the tithe rent-charge. Their income has already dropped from the 112 of twelve years since: it is also reduced by arrears. But in case they refuse to make abatements they lose their incomes altogether.

Clergymen whose income is derived partly from tithes and partly from glebe, and whose benefices are situated in a county into which the anti-tithe agitation has spread, are still worse off. They sustain a double loss. Their tithe is reduced,

or refused, and they are obliged to take whatever rent they can get from their glebes.

But the clergymen who have suffered most heavily are those whose income is exclusively derived from glebe. If they let their land, the rent falls 33 to 50 per cent. Those who have been compelled from inability to find tenants to farm their own land have lost their rent and their private capital as well. I only encountered a single instance in which glebeowners farming their own land would not have been, but for private means or friendly assistance, literally and without metaphor, starving.

Upon the results of my inquiry two general questions seem to arise—(1) what immediate measures of relief are possible? (2) What is to be the ultimate fate of tithe rent-charges and of glebe-lands?

Speaking generally on a subject which is treated in detail in my letters, I have come to these conclusions:—

1. *As to Tithes.*—As a temporary relief the payment of tithes must be undertaken by the landlords; but the only final solution of the tithe difficulty is, I believe, their compulsory redemption,* a course which I venture strongly to advocate.

2. *As to Glebes.*—A gradual sale, wherever reasonable offers can be obtained, is advisable. An immediate sale, forced on by panic, will glut the market with land; the proceeds of such a sale at present prices would realise little more than the auctioneer's charges. Meanwhile the legal impediments by which glebeowners are hampered in the development of their land can be, and ought to be, at once removed. No legislative change will remove the personal and professional difficulties under which clerical landlords must inevitably labour. But they may be modified. For a discussion of this part of the subject the reader is referred to the third and fifth letters.

The difficulty which is experienced in filling up vacant glebe livings may be partially and temporarily met by further amendments of the Pluralities Acts giving increased powers to Bishops to throw livings together.

For the immediate distress of glebeowners the following appears to me the most efficacious form of relief. I do not put the scheme forward as one of those many devices for

* In describing Mr. Ryde's scheme (Fourth Letter) I only advocate its principle—namely, compulsory redemption by co-operation between the landlords and the Government.

raising money which threaten to turn the year of Jubilee into a year of tribulation.

Glebeowners have sunk a large amount of private capital in the improvement of their lands, for the repayment of which they have no security and on which they receive no interest. Again they have charged their glebes with heavy loans raised for the same purpose from Land Improvement Companies. If the land is unlet the premiums fall into arrear, and the companies or their assignees are compelled to foreclose. By this process two livings have been already disendowed, and the same fate hangs suspended by a hair over several midland county benefices. All the possible increase on the present value of the land is for ever lost to the Church. Again, clergymen in more prosperous times incurred charges to Queen Anne's Bounty for building houses; these charges now hang like millstones round their necks. Again, pensions were granted to retiring incumbents under the Incumbents' Resignation Act, which were calculated upon the old value of the living, but which have now become wholly disproportionate. The result of the loss of private capital and of the incidence of these annual fixed charges is that, as their incomes fall, clergymen are compelled to sell, pledge, or drop their life insurances, and thus to leave their families wholly unprovided for.

In the foregoing paragraph are summed up some of the most disastrous results to the Church and the clergy of the agricultural depression. Is there any remedy? I should propose that a fund be raised for the purpose of redeeming the charges held by Land Improvement Companies and, in cases where the charge was reasonably incurred, by Queen Anne's Bounty, and extending the period over which is to be spread the repayment of principal and interest. The relief to individuals would be great and immediate; and the Church would escape the danger of being disendowed through foreclosure of mortgages. The income or, if a sufficient sum were raised, the surplus might be devoted towards the following purposes:—1. In case of the death or resignation of glebeowners, who have sunk private capital on their glebes in structural improvements or improvements of so permanent a nature as drainage, compensation should be offered to them, or their representatives, and a charge be taken upon the benefice for the repayment of the amount, principal and interest. 2. An amendment of the Incumbents' Resignation Act seems imminent; a sliding scale

and *minimum* income for the real incumbent will be fixed. But no amending Act can be retrospective in its operation. In the case of pensions settled before the impending amendment, the real incumbent might be paid the difference between the sum which he pays for the fixed pension and that which he would pay under the sliding scale. 3. The abandonment or the mortgage of life insurances is the most lamentable result of agricultural depression. A clergyman becomes unable from diminution of professional income to keep up his insurances; the society might on the security of his policy give that temporary aid which often is all that is required; or, if from the same cause he was forced to drop the policy, and the case were one of genuine distress, the society might deal more leniently with the vendor than any public company which has to consider the interests of its shareholders. I need not indicate the many forms such leniency might assume.

What sum of money would be required for this task? In the diocese of Peterborough alone upwards of 50,000*l.* of private capital has been sunk in the improvement of glebe, and an equal amount has been raised for the same purposes by charges from Land Improvement Companies. Of this latter sum a considerable portion has been now paid off. It is probable that 150,000*l.* would go a long way towards redeeming all the land improvement charges throughout the country. It is to be remembered that great mineral wealth in the shape of ironstone is to be found under the glebes in Northants; in some instances this source of wealth is untouched owing to a dead-lock between the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the patrons. If legislation facilitated the development of the minerals under glebe-lands throughout the county, a sum could be raised which, supplemented by private subscriptions, and applied as I have indicated, would confer an inestimable boon on the distressed clergy. The work of redeeming land charges might be effected piecemeal: it might be commenced even with 1,000*l.* If once the society were launched it would float of itself, and, as a Clerical Land Improvement Company, would prove an invaluable means of removing the stigma of bad farming which not unfairly lies on glebe-lands. With its aid glebes would become more lettable and more salable.

R. E. PROTHERO.

I.—THE GENERAL EFFECT UPON CLERICAL INCOMES OF AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION.

At the present day it is impossible to regard the lot of landlords who depend for their incomes solely on their rents as altogether enviable. Their social position has ceased to be exceptionally dignified or secure. Among the many illusions which the experience of the nineteenth century has removed, none has been more rudely dispelled than this unsubstantial dream of the felicity of the landlords. The idyllic squire has taken his place with the Arcadian shepherd as the most unreal of poetic fictions. But the public mind is unsatisfied without an ideal of pastoral happiness. In the absence of other competitors the country clergyman has been selected to play the part. The delusion gathers strength, fostered by the misrepresentations of agitators and encouraged by the silence of the clergy themselves, that the parsons during the past ten years have enjoyed a comfortable shelter on the lee-side of the storm. It is admitted that lay landlords have lost at least a third of their rents, and tenant farmers a large portion, if not the whole, of their working capital; but it is assumed that incumbents continue to receive their revenues from land, little, if at all, diminished in amount by agricultural distress. Incumbents are held up to public condemnation as extortioners who squeeze blood out of stones, as sleeping partners in a losing business, as drones who paralyse the energies of farmers, and cripple the resources of landlords, by drawing from the land, without risk or anxiety, comfortable fixed incomes which can only be paid out of the capital of working agriculturists.

It is at least an open question whether the connection of the clergy with the land is desirable in the best interests both of the Church and of the nation. Life tenancies and fixed money payments charged upon the land are necessarily incumbrances to agriculture. On the advantages or inconveniences of rent-charges or glebe lands I shall have something to say hereafter; nor is it my present purpose to discuss the amount of truth contained in the complaint against clerical landlords. The point upon which I am now insisting is that the connection of the clergy with the land has created a widespread discontent, and that this discontent is in a large measure due to the impression that the clergy have neither borne their fair share of agricultural distress, nor done their utmost to raise the burdens

under which landed interests have collapsed. This feeling is fed from many other sources, such as the covetousness which the possession of land always engenders in the landless, or the conviction that it is impossible for the clergy to be good landlords. But leaving out of sight all other sources of discontent except the belief in the immunity and the apathy of the clergy, it is manifest that judgment cannot safely be permitted to issue against the parsons by default, that it is not only just but prudent to lay the true facts before the public, and that both the sufferings of the clergy and the peculiar conditions by which, as agriculturists, they are hampered, are too little known or too generally ignored. It is with this object that the present inquiry has been instituted. The investigation has been principally confined to the dioceses of Peterborough, Ely, St. Albans, Lincoln, and Oxford; but the area has been considerably extended by the information of well-known and experienced land agents, whose wide business connections have made them acquainted with other parts of the country. The result of the inquiry shows that, in the first place, so far from enjoying any immunity from agricultural loss, the clergy have suffered as acutely as any other class; and that, in the second place, their great and self-denying efforts to meet the agricultural crisis have been thwarted by impediments from which lay landlords and tenants have been long relieved. They have a claim on sympathy; they have also a claim for redress.

The prudence of raising the question can hardly be challenged. Agricultural distress has reached such a point of depression that it is no longer wise to conceal the sufferings of the clergy. If the turning-point in the lane were reached, it might be possible to keep silence; but the turn is still out of sight. If agriculture is indeed passing through the tail of the storm there is a terrible sting in the tail. Wheat continues to pour into the country at a price with which English farmers cannot hope to compete; barley cannot be grown with profit; stock still shows a downward tendency; few farmers are able to make their rents. At a fat-stock market held within the last fortnight in the midland counties the highest prices which were realised ranged from 10*l.* to 12*l.* lower than those of 1885; and while 40*l.* was the selling price of prize animals last year 30*l.* was the largest sum paid in 1886. Money has been made in inferior beasts which have turned out well; it has been lost over the higher class. On Lord Exeter's Barghley estate fourteen tenants have recently given notice to quit; other Northants landlords, like the Duke of Buccleuch, Lord Lilford, Sir Frederick Robinson, and Mrs. Stopford Sackville, are hardly in a better position. On the heavy land districts of Essex much land fell out of cultivation after the wet seasons of 1879, 1880, 1881; most of it has since been brought back

into some sort of occupation; but it is often let for such grazing value as it produces, or is held on at nominal rents by tenants who are only bound to continue to cultivate and to pay the outgoings. The area of corn cultivation, if the price of horses affords any indication, is rapidly contracting. Farm horses, which in 1882 fetched 35*l.* a piece, are now sold for 10*l.* In some portions of the country farmers are leaving the sinking ship at any sacrifice, throwing up their farms, and realising what they can get. Six working horses, old, but serviceable and good, were offered six weeks since in Peterborough market at 30*l.* As yet agricultural labourers have suffered comparatively little. But farmers can no longer afford to employ an adequate amount of labour. If nothing is done to relieve depression, hundreds of agricultural labourers will this winter be turned off to swell the starving and desperate mass of the unemployed which fringes the borders of our glittering civilisation. Meanwhile all the profits of agriculture are passing into the hands of the butchers and the bakers. The price paid by the consumer is wholly disproportionate to the sum paid to the producer. It was suggested to me by a gentleman of considerable agricultural experience that if the Government fixed week by week the price of bread and meat on a fluctuating scale determined by the selling price of wheat and stock, together with an allowance of a fair profit for middlemen, they might not only reduce the price of meat and of bread for the consumers, but impose a small import duty on foreign produce. Agriculture has reached so low a level in this country that in many districts it is almost an expiring industry. Under such circumstances the most rigid economists might defend the imposition of an import duty, provided that it can be accompanied by a cheapened loaf and a cheapened joint.

The present state of agriculture is a formidable danger to the property of the clergy. In moments of popular panic somebody is always hanged, and the victim who is dragged to the lantern is generally innocent. Necessity knows no laws; in stormy times the Church is a convenient Jonah for all political parties. Too many statesmen appear to think that the violation of established and fundamental laws is an evil of less magnitude than a political inconsistency or an avowed change of opinion. Men will drive a coach-and-four through a hundred Acts of Parliament sooner than bate one jot of their economical theories. It may be at once conceded that a pressure so severe as the present agricultural distress demands that the land should be as free as possible from all incumbrances. But until the clergy are placed in the same position as lay landlords and lay tenants, they have not received fair play or enjoyed the same opportunities o

Doing their duty by the land. To force on a compulsory sale of glebe lands would at the present moment ruin parochial endowments; such a step could only be justified, if it were proved that the clergy, enjoying the same advantages as other landlords, neglected the duties and accepted only the privileges which belong to property. An inquiry into the effects on clerical incomes of agricultural depression necessarily widens out into an investigation of the peculiar conditions of clerical land-holding and a survey of the different schemes put forward in the interests either of the clergy or of agriculture. The result of the whole will, I venture to think, evoke widespread sympathy for the hardships of the clergy, establish a conclusive case for the extension to the parsons of advantages already conceded to lay landlords and tenants, and possibly incidentally suggest some reasons why legislators should hesitate before proposing or sanctioning hasty schemes for dealing with tithe rent-charges or glebe lands.

So far I have insisted only on the worldly prudence of bringing before the public the sufferings which the country clergy have undergone in consequence of agricultural depression. No one esteems a soldier who brags of his exploits, or values a parson who boasts of his virtue. Perhaps a layman's experience of the conduct of the clergy under peculiarly trying circumstances may help the public to do more justice to a class which is tongue-tied in its own defence by the highest motives of self-respect.

Within the last six years the clergy have had the opportunity of showing to the world an example of patient endurance of suffering. Witnesses examined before the Duke of Richmond's Agricultural Commission described the position of glebeowners as "deplorable;" since that date their position has steadily deteriorated. Yet their hardships have been borne without complaint, in silence, and with quiet dignity. The preservation of self-respect has been their sole reward. But when patience itself, as I have endeavoured to show, becomes the source of misrepresentation, it has been pushed beyond the point where it ceases to be a virtue. Many landlords have shown a most practical and generous sympathy with their suffering neighbours. They have taken the glebe lands into their own hands, have paid the full rent to the parson, and borne the loss themselves. But it is only the wealthiest squires and men who enjoy an income derived from another source than land who can afford to make such sacrifices. The relief, great though it has been, is necessarily so partial as only to touch the fringe of the distress.

Many persons form as false an impression of the lives of the country clergy as our ancestors conceived of the conditions of pastoral felicity. Strephon or Corydon in Chelsea china are as

much like the real shepherd as Old Leisure feeling his apricots on a sunny wall resembles the modern country parson. The different aspects which the same place may assume convey the lesson of the two aspects presented by clerical life. In spring or summer a prettily built parsonage, with fields sloping down to a bright stream, approached through cool lanes redolent with wild flowers, and resonant with the song of birds, is attractive enough. When the sun shines it is a pleasure to feel that you are six miles from the railway station; even the village street looks so quaint and picturesque and its inmates so cheery that it seems impossible for the clergyman ever to desire to exchange any extra-parochial thoughts. Visit the same place in the winter after floundering through lanes ankle-deep in mud, with a leaden sky overhead, and a north-east wind chilling to the bone or driving a sleety rain into your face. The only signs or sounds of life in the deserted dripping village street are the beery steam which issues from the public-house, the wail of some half-fed child, or the shrill scold of an angry wife; the stream has made an ague-exhaling lake within a few feet of the windows of the parsonage, and it cuts the inmates off from their nearest neighbours by a flood which runs knee-high across the road. Outsiders are far too ready to forget that there are two sides to clerical life in the country, both in its material and in its spiritual aspect. Many men feel capable, when the sun shines, of a burst of momentary enthusiasm; but they shrink from the constant discharge of duty which often consists in a monotonous round of wearisome details.

All the temporal advantages of the clerical profession are, at least in the midland counties, entirely removed. The clergy feel the pinch of poverty, not, perhaps, in its acutest form of actual hunger, but in the loss of all those so-called luxuries which in their position and surroundings are really necessaries. First came inconvenience from delay and uncertainty in receipt of income; then the humiliating necessity of asking for credit; then the certainty that rents would not be paid; then the pressure of creditors and the refusal to give further credit; then the expenditure of private capital and the mortgage of life insurances; then the application to friends. The house and its surroundings are ill-adapted to a constantly narrowing income. The outdoor establishment is reduced, the garden cannot be maintained, the horse and carriage are sold. The same process is followed indoors. Servant after servant is discharged till not one is left; then follows the careful husbanding of fuel, the severest practice of domestic economy, even the disposal of books, furniture, and apparel. Sons are withdrawn from school or college, daughters are obliged to go out as governesses; life insurances are sold, pledged, or allowed to drop. Sometimes

an effort is made to obtain pupils; but the connection of the clergyman with school or college has expired, and pupils are hard to get; if they are found, the hard-worked, dispirited parson doubles his labours and the home circle is invaded by strangers. More often than not no pupils can be obtained, and then begin the ghastly struggle to maintain appearances and the secret grapple with positive want. The clergy have long had to deal with poverty as their only neighbour; it has now become their own constant and unwelcome guest. Yet all the while, at very heavy personal sacrifices, the clergy have clung to their posts. The Church services must be maintained, and the curate's salary is paid by an incumbent who envies his subordinate his salary, and would gladly, if it were possible, step down in the clerical ladder. No one will give more than the parson, and the clergy are still obliged to head subscriptions to schools and local objects; the wants of the sick poor have still to be met by soups and jellies and clothing. The farmers cannot afford to give alms, but the parson out of his scanty pittance must supplement the offertory with larger donations that its recipients may not suffer by its diminution. The parson is often the only man of education or refinement in the parish; he cannot seek the society of his friends, for he has no means of locomotion; he cannot solace himself with books, for he can no longer afford to buy them, or even to subscribe to a library; he cannot, like the squire, shut up his house and leave the neighbourhood. He has no fellow-sufferer with whom he can compare notes; the farmers may understand his loss, but their well-meant sympathy is often expressed with execrating frankness; the labourers grumble that he cannot employ them as he used, and is less able to minister to their wants. Yet, as has been said, the clergy have not only clung to their posts, but borne their heavy trial with an uncomplaining dignity which is worthy of their noble calling. Every temporal advantage of their position is disappearing; little remains to encourage the parson in a life which has always had more than its usual share of disappointment, except his faith and the sense of sacred duties conscientiously performed. It may be that the result will be to purify and elevate the character of the country clergy. If so, the refining process will ultimately raise their position and extend their influence, but meanwhile the furnace is exceeding hot.

This is no fancied or exaggerated picture of the sufferings of the country clergy. In its entirety it is true only of individuals; but, if the clergy were not possessed of private means, it would hold good almost universally of glebeowners in the midland counties. It is upon those clergymen whose incomes are derived solely from land allotted in lieu of tithes, that the blow has fallen with the greatest severity.

But the tithe rent-chargers have also suffered heavily. Their losses are by no means confined to the natural results of the fall in the corn averages. If this were all, they would have no ground for complaint. They have experienced difficulty where none has been experienced by lay impropriators in obtaining payment of tithes. In many cases it is impossible to collect tithes at all, and arrears have accumulated for several years, the greater part of which are irrecoverable. In other cases the clergy have only obtained payment by consenting to a reduction of from 10 to 25 per cent., a course in which they are, in my opinion, ill-advised: any readjustment of the tithe rent-charge should be effected by Parliament and be general in its operation. But as compared with glebeowners, even ecclesiastical tithe rent-chargers have been in clover. Of all the classes interested in agriculture, whether landlords, tenants, or labourers, the losses of the glebeowners have been by far the most severe.

In the succeeding letters I propose to deal in detail with the effect of agricultural depression on the incomes of clerical tithe rent-chargers and glebeowners, to give instances and statistics in support of my conclusions, and finally to discuss the various schemes which have been proposed for the relief of clerical distress.

II.—THE EFFECT UPON THE TITHEOWNER.

In my first letter I endeavoured to show how strong and widespread an impression was growing up that the parochial clergy are evading their fair share of agricultural loss, or barely touch with their little fingers the heavy burden which has crushed the landed interests. Because the clergy have been patient, long-suffering, and silent, it is supposed that they are in no distress. Under such circumstances they can no longer afford to hide their losses or to conceal their self-denying struggles to do their duty both by the land and their profession. The condition of many of the country parsons, and especially of the glebeowners, is disastrous, if it is not absolutely ruinous; no one who investigates the facts can continue to believe that they either enjoy immunity from agricultural distress, or refuse to extend a hand to sinking tenants. I hope to show that the clergy as a body are bearing an equal, and sometimes an excessive, share in the general calamity, and that, in the face of legal impediments, by which no other class of agriculturists is hampered, they are striving at the cost of heavy self-sacrifices to meet the unexampled difficulties of their present position.

In this second letter I propose to deal with the clerical titheowners, to show how their incomes have been affected by agricultural depression, and to discuss the honesty of the anti-tithe agitation. From the nature of the subject and the very varying circumstances of different localities, only general statements are possible. Cases must necessarily occur in which many of my remarks cease to be applicable or require large modifications.

It is possible that at the present moment titheowners, both lay and ecclesiastical, are suffering less than ordinary owners or occupiers of land. Though this seeming inequality is, in the case of clerical titheowners, with which alone I am concerned, more apparent than real, it is aggravated by political agitation and exaggerated by the results of the almost universal arrangement which renders occupiers liable for the tithe rent-charge. A popular feeling has been created against tithe which is with difficulty removed. Farmers themselves believe that they pay the tithe out of their own reduced capital; they see that the present value of the charge is disproportionate to the prices they themselves receive for corn; and they naturally resent the payment. In point of fact tenant farmers have as little to do with tithe as they have with the land-tax; they are merely its transmitters, the conduit pipes through which landowners pay

it to titheowners. The Tithe Commutation Act of 1836 treats the tithe as a landlord's charge, a charge upon the land, and not a burden upon its produce. Landlords cannot be acquitted of a large share of the blame for the present resistance to the payment of tithe.

The area over which the anti-tithe agitation extends widens rapidly. In Wales the payment of tithe is a burning question. Yet, agriculturally, there is less reason for the agitation in Wales than in England. The tithe is generally less than in this country: and the Welsh farmer, till within the last two or three years, weathered storms which wrecked hundreds of English tenants. In the Principality the agitation is stimulated by political causes and fomented by Dissenting ministers and the proprietors of vernacular newspapers. It does not fall within my province to discuss the character of a local movement which is directed less towards relief from an agricultural grievance than towards the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church in Wales. In the English counties the movement is more purely agricultural, though even here it often assumes a political aspect. Before the pressure of agricultural distress commenced, no opposition was made to the payment of tithe; and it is therefore to this cause that the present agitation is *mainly* due. Drowning men clutch at straws; farmers welcome any prospect of relief from the disbursement of cash; many are sincerely convinced that they pay tithes not as part of, but in addition to, the rent.

If the only remedy proposed for the present agitation is that the tithe should be paid by the landlords farmers will scarcely be satisfied. They paid the tithe while it was rising; now that it is falling they are told that it will be undertaken by landlords.

Resistance to tithe is spreading rapidly in England; it is encouraged for their own purposes by political tramps; it is even in some instances supported by landowners. Along the Welsh borders, in Monmouthshire, Herefordshire, and Cheshire, opposition has already made considerable progress. In Kent the Extraordinary Tithe Redemption Act of 1836 (49 and 50 Viet., c. 54) has diminished the unpopularity of one form of tithes, though it cannot be said to have satisfactorily settled the question. But ordinary titheowners have also encountered great opposition in the collection of their tithes. Tithes in Kent are extremely high; and the incongruities, especially in such districts as Romney Marsh, exceptionally great. Rich pasture which makes the rent pays a modus of 1s.; and arable land on the other side of the hedge, which is often a dead loss to the farmer, pays a tithe of 12s. an acre. The difference arose from the difficulty experienced in taking a tithe of grass; the titheowner accepted a customary payment called a *modus decimandi* in lieu of his tenth. These arrangements were left untouched by the

Tithe Commissioners in 1836. Remissions have been made on many estates, and by many clergymen, of 10 and 15 per cent. In all abatements, or claims for abatement, the reduction is made not upon the par value, but upon the 90 per cent. which represents the present value of the tithe rent-charge. In Hampshire farmers demand a reduction of 25 per cent. on the tithe; their demand has not been acceded to, and at Andover they have opened a subscription list to resist any action taken for the recovery of the charge. In Essex large arrears have accumulated through the unwillingness of titheowners to apply the cumbersome and unpopular means of enforcing payment which the law provides. Considerable sums have been altogether lost to titheowners through the operation of the Statute of Limitations, or through the land falling out of cultivation; in many cases payment has only been obtained on the condition of abatements of from 10 to 20 per cent. At the present moment a general tithe war is imminent in the county. Reductions of 20 per cent. have been asked by the tenants of Hatfield Broad Oak and of Great Bardfield. In both cases the titheowners, Trinity College, Cambridge, and Guy's Hospital, have refused to make the reduction claimed. The Essex Chamber of Agriculture recently resolved that a revaluation and reapportionment of the tithe was rendered imperatively necessary by the depreciation of land and the value of its products. Elsewhere in the east of England, in Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk, there is but little opposition to the payment of tithe. In the midland counties scarcely any difficulty has been experienced in the collection of the money; this class of property is comparatively rare; the persons interested in resistance are few and scattered. Yet, even in these favoured districts, abatements have been asked and given of from 5 to 15 per cent. Agricultural depression and political agitation combine to make the country as inflammable as touchwood. If once resistance takes a hold on a county it will spread like wildfire. Yet, apart from the political question with which the movement is associated, and apart from the advantages of emancipating the land from all fixed charges, no thinking man reasonably acquainted with the nature and history of tithes can sympathise with the anti-tithe agitation or uphold its justice.

I have said that at the present moment titheowners, both lay and clerical, are perhaps better off than other landlords. The rent-charge payable this year is possibly more than the titheowner would realise if he still continued to take a tenth of the gross produce of arable and pasture land. In any such comparison the amount of produce which is wasted in removing and hosing a tenth taken in kind must be considered. The tithe rent-charge may be more than the titheowner would have realised under the old system; it is probably not so much as

the landlord would have lost. Even if it were conclusively proved that the tithe rent-charger now enjoys the best of the bargain, and that the diminution in the value of his share of the produce, as shown by the tables, does not equitably represent the share which he ought to bear in the diminished value of the total produce, it by no means follows that his share in the general burden is disproportionately small.

In the first place, titheowners are still receiving their shares, hitherto unpaid, of previous prosperity; at the time they profited less by the increment than any other agricultural class; their profits are, from the nature of an income which is calculated on averages, spread over several years. In the second place, although war may in the interval send corn up to famine prices, titheowners will continue for the next seven years to suffer from the recent period of distress. So long as the existing arrangements are maintained for the payment of tithes between landlords and occupiers both these considerations introduce an apparent element of injustice into the position of tenant farmers. If a farm changed hands the farmer who rents in bad times is paying tithes which are abnormally high owing to profits reaped by his predecessor. Even this appearance of injustice could not exist if landlords had acted up to the spirit of the Commutation Act of 1836. Neither the profits nor the losses of titheowners are immediate; both are spread over a considerable period of years. Many other considerations must be borne in mind in estimating the amount of the clerical titheowners' share in the general burden. Large arrears are accumulating, the amount of which is not adequately represented upon the books, because large sums are now irrecoverable; considerable abatements have been made, varying from 5 to 20 per cent.; tracts of land have fallen out of cultivation, upon which tithe ceases to be payable; rates fall with increased severity upon tithes in proportion as the assessment value of farms decreases with the reduced rental. Lastly, clerical incomes are subject to peculiarly heavy deductions for the payment of curates and the conduct of divine service, the repair of chancels, the support of schools, the maintenance of local clubs and societies, and the administration of charities. This last class of professional outgoings may be almost regarded as absolute charges upon the income of the clerical titheowner; the money which they represent is spent in and for the benefit of the parish; and the burden falls with greater weight upon the parson in consequence of the increase in the surrounding poverty.

Figures are generally misleading; but they render abstract statements more concrete and definite. The total value of tithe rent-charge, as commuted and apportioned in 1836, is in round numbers four millions. Of this three-fifths, or 2,400,000*l.*, are in

possession of clerical incumbents. From this sum may be deducted 5 per cent. for collection (120 000*l.*), 10 per cent. for the fall in 1886 from the par value (240,000*l.*), 10 per cent. for rates and taxes (240,000*l.*), 5 per cent. for arrears, abatements, and other losses (120,000*l.*). The net value of the rent-charge received by clerical titheowners is, therefore, 2,400,000—720,000*l.*=1,680,000*l.* From this sum must be deducted 20 per cent. for the almost absolute charges which fall upon parochial incumbents. The sum which represents the real value to the parsons of the tithes may be estimated at 1,680,000*l.*—336,000*l.*=1,344,000*l.* The two doubtful figures, the 5 per cent. for arrears, &c., and the 20 per cent. for clerical outgoings, are probably considerably below the mark; and it may be doubted whether the ultimate value to incumbents of the tithe greatly exceeds a million pounds a year.

In estimating the losses of landowners and tenants one standard by which the loss is measured is the selling value which their respective properties previously possessed. If the same test be applied to tithes, the loss will be far greater than the amount at which it has been calculated above. Thus the selling value of a tithe rent-charge twelve years ago was 125 per cent. If the loss of the titheowner is measured by the difference between 125 per cent. and the present par value of 90 per cent., *minus* 5 per cent. for arrears, &c., it represents a loss of 40 per cent. Sir James Caird estimated the agricultural loss last year as compared with ten years ago as follows:—Landlords, 30 per cent.; tenants, 60 per cent.; labourers, 10 per cent. The relative positions of the losers will probably remain much the same in 1886-7. Upon this scale titheowners raise the average of loss in their class; among landlords at least they are bearing an equal share of the burden. In comparison of their 40 per cent. loss with the 60 per cent. loss of the tenants clerical titheowners are entitled to pray in aid the heavy deduction of 20 per cent. which is made from their incomes for parochial purposes.

In discussing the advantages of the redemption of tithes it must be remembered that the income of the incumbent is the only income which is and must be spent in and for the parish. From this point of view the testimony of M. de Lavergne as to the effect of the abolition of tithes in rural districts of France is not without its value:—

“ Cette suppression des dîmes a eu en réalité bien moins d'importance qu'on le croit. La charge a été déplacée non détruite. . . . Le clergé y a perdu en tout une vingtaine de millions de revenu; mais croit-on que cette somme les contribuables l'avaient gagnée? Je ne serais pas bien embarrassé si j'avais à désigner dans notre budget actuel, non pas vingt millions, mais cent, moins utilement dépensés dans l'intérêt des campagnes que le produit des anciennes dîmes. D'un autre côté, la rente du sol s'est accrue en général du montant des dîmes et les cultivateurs, propre-

ment dits, à l'exception de ceux qui étaient propriétaires, n'ont rien gagné."—(*Economie Rurale*, &c., p. 8, ed. 4, 1874.)

If the question of tithes is regarded from the broadest point of view of national interests, is it absolutely certain that the nation would gain by their so-called abolition? History might be searched in vain for an instance in which the plunder of Churches put a penny into the pockets of the people.

I have said that the question of tithes is really one between landowners and titheowners; and I have endeavoured to show that the arrangement into which tenants enter to pay tithes introduces an apparent element of unfairness. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the farmer has hired his farm with the full knowledge of the amount of the rent-charge, subject only to the fluctuations in the septennial averages, and that for the last few years the fluctuations have been continuously downward and to his advantage. The farmer has assumed the responsibility for the tithe, against the interest of the titheowner, and against the policy of an Act of Parliament. So long as the arrangement was to his advantage he remained silent; now that it has turned against him he complains, and often honestly, of the incidence of the charge. In 1868 the tithe rent-charge was only worth 100*l.* 13*s.*; but the actual value calculated on the price of corn for that year was 125*l.* Did the farmers think it necessary then to pay the difference? Will they, supposing that a war sends up prices, think it their duty, if they are now granted abatements, to pay the tithe rent-charges calculated upon the prices of corn in each single year of agricultural prosperity? The titheowner did not profit to the natural extent by the "piping times." It is hard that he should now be asked to share in the loss when he was never offered a share in the gain.

Many objections are taken to tithes. Some of them are wholly frivolous. It is difficult to suppose the statements that tithes raise rents or lower wages to be seriously entertained. Half the land in England is tithe-free. In Northants, for instance, there is scarcely any tithe. Are wages higher in this county or rents lower? Do farmers who rent tithe-free farms pay more to their labourers than their neighbours who occupy land subject to tithe? Does a yeoman, farming his own land tithe-free, give higher wages than those who pay both tithe and rent? Neither do tithes raise rents. A B rents a farm of 100 acres at 1*l.* an acre. It makes no difference to him whether, if his land is tithe-free, he pays the whole rent to the squire, or, if it is subject to tithe, 18*s.* to the squire and 2*s.* to the parson for every acre in his holding. The farmer's position is exactly that of a Loudon householder, who, in addition to his rent to the lessor, pays a ground-rent to the ground landlord. A house islet

to A B for 250*l.*; it cannot make an atom of difference to him whether he pays 50*l.* of this rent as ground-rent to the ground landlord, or pays the whole rent to the landlord, who himself satisfies the claim of the owner of the soil. Other objections possess greater weight. But the Act of 1836, by which the tithe was commuted and apportioned, has been for half a century treated as a final settlement of the question. Land has been bought and sold and tithes have changed hands upon this understanding. It is perilous to tamper with the security of property. But, subject to this general caution, it may remove misconceptions if some of these objections are examined.

It is said, for instance, that titheowners are better off under the rent-charge than they would be if they continued to take tithes in kind. Such a comparison is difficult to institute; it is, in fact, impossible, because it is inconceivable that modern notions of property could coexist with the practice of taking tithes in kind. Men often talk as if corn was the only produce which affects the question. But in all cases in which the provisions of the Act were not superseded by voluntary agreements the method adopted took into consideration the gross value of tithes in kind of the produce of meadow, pasture, and arable land, of the tenth pig, the tenth cock of hay, the tenth pail of milk, the tenth fleece, the tenth egg, the tenth calf, the tenth lamb, as well as the tenth sheaf of wheat, barley, or oats. The average annual value of all tithes paid in kind during a period of seven years was ascertained, and the amount, subject to certain deductions within a specified margin, was taken as the sum to be paid as a permanent composition on the lands of the parish. The sum thus ascertained and fixed was then commuted into a corn rent. The sum was divided into three equal parts, and respectively apportioned to wheat, barley, and oats at the prices per imperial bushel of 7*s.* 0½*d.* for wheat, 3*s.* 11½*d.* for barley, and 2*s.* 9*d.* for oats. The quantity of corn was fixed by the purchasing power of the sum which was the ascertained annual value of the produce in kind; the money henceforth to be paid by way of rent-charge varied with the value of the fixed quantity of wheat, barley, and oats. The result of this system is that, in order to compare the relative positions of titheowners in 1836 and in 1886, it is not sufficient to ascertain the different values of corn, but the present value of all produce in kind on which tithe was then payable must be estimated. Farmers often claim that the corn rent was fixed at Protection, not at Free-trade, prices; but it is obvious that at the prices of to-day the purchasing power would be increased, and the fixed quantity of corn apportioned to the land would be larger. Similarly it is complained that the tail corn is not now taken into account in estimating the septennial averages. But

in 1836, if tail corn had been included in the estimate, the tithe-payer would have suffered, because the fixed quantity which the money would have purchased would have been increased. A more valid objection seems to be that oats and barley, from their cheaper prices and larger quantities, have exercised an undue preponderance in the calculation of the averages. While wheat fell enormously, barley and oats till recently made their old prices, and thus negatived the effect upon the averages of the fall in wheat. If railway rates and other charges for the carriage of corn swell the prices on which the averages are calculated, a case is established for a change in the method of ascertaining the amount of the tithe rent-charge. This is an innovation which the Act of 1836 did not contemplate. But, subject to this possible exception, for half a century sales have been determined, contracts entered into, bargains struck, valuations made, on the system established by the Tithe Commutation Act. Tenant farmers are not really concerned in the adjustment of the tithe rent-charge, and, as between tithe-owners and landowners, who are the only persons concerned, the landowners have enjoyed the best of the bargain.

As between landowners and titheowners it must be remembered that since 1836 rents have nearly doubled; before the Commutation Act a tenth of this increment would have gone to the titheowner. Sir James Caird clearly shows how the Act has operated to the detriment of titheowners. The effect of the Act was to prevent the clergy progressing in material resources in proportion to the advance of land improvement. Whether or not this was the intention of the Legislature, the result cannot be considered unfair since titheowners do not in any way contribute to agricultural progress. Since 1836—

“The land rental of England has risen 50 per cent., and all that portion of the increase which previous to 1836 would have gone to the Church has gone to the landowners. . . . A tenth of that would not, however, by any means adequately represent the loss to the Church and the gain to the landowners; for the tithe in kind was the tenth of the gross produce which was equal to much more than a tenth of the rent of arable land. In 1836 the money value of the tithe, as compared with the land rental, was as 4 millions to 33. In 1876 the tithe was still 4 millions, but the land rental had risen to 50. If the old principle of participation had continued, the annual income of the Church would have been 2 millions greater than it is.”—(*The Landed Interest*, p. 133, Fourth Edition, 1880.)

In another respect Sir James Caird shows that landlords have profited at the expense of the Church. Near large towns land has increased in value 100 per cent. :—

“It was never contemplated,” writes Sir James, “that the landowners should thus obtain the whole growing value of the land without leaving any part of it for the support of religion” (p. 135).

The alliance of landowners with tenants in the anti-tithe

agitation s, in my opinion, short-sighted, if it is not actually dishonest. Landowners bought their land at a less price because it was subject to tithe; they never purchased or acquired the rent-charge; it can be no grievance for them to pay what never belonged to them; it is no hardship not to receive interest on capital which they have not invested. Their successors inherit what their predecessors bought, neither more nor less; they are in exactly the same position with respect to the charge, neither better nor worse. The alliance is foolish, because the confiscation of tithe will necessarily shake the security of every form of property. It may be true that tithes are sacred to purposes, while private property is sacred to persons; but the various forms of property are so inextricably connected that a blow which is struck at one inevitably wounds the whole. The security of all property would be endangered if a form of property, which is the oldest in the country, were diverted from objects which are *ex hypothesi* useful and beneficial to purposes of a different if not antagonistic nature. The alliance is foolish for two other reasons. If "abolition" meant that for the future no one should pay tithes, landlords would receive a present of the amount. The nation might gain indirectly by the unrestricted ownership of the land. But it is absolutely inconceivable that in the latter end of the nineteenth century a proposal would be made to enrich landlords with a pecuniary benefit of so large an amount. Whatever is done with tithes they will not be in this sense abolished. They will be exacted by Church Property Commissioners instead of parsons; the new collectors will not be hindered by any conflict of duties in their appeal to the law; no grace will be allowed; and every facility will be given to Government officials to enforce payment. Landlords assuredly will be no gainers if the right to tithes is transferred from the clergy to an all-powerful machine which knows no mercy and allows no plea for delay. Again, if the clerical tithe rent-charge is transferred to secular uses, what argument can be pleaded for the retention of lay impropriations? Tithes in the hands of laymen are the proceeds of the dissolution of the monasteries, of endowments which enabled monastic establishments to be schools, penitentiaries, asylums, and poor-houses. There is no pretence for asserting that the original purposes of the donors are fulfilled. The same cannot be said of parochial endowments; the country clergy still perform the duties for the performance of which parochial tithes were originally appropriated. No distinction can be drawn between tithes paid to the clergy and tithes paid to laymen, except that the former earn them, while the latter do not. To most minds both forms of property are equally inviolable.

But lay tithes, if any degree of comparison in their sanctity as property can be admitted, are infinitely more open to attack.

From what has been said it will, I hope, be conceded that clerical titheowners are neither apathetic nor relieved from agricultural distress. The tenant farmer is not really concerned with the solution of the question; and it is obvious that the clergy have every right to demand that the landlords should carry out to the very letter the spirit of the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836. The present position of clerical titheowners is painful to the extreme. They are dependent on bankrupts for their bread. Their position as spiritual advisers is seriously compromised when they at the same time appear as creditors pressing struggling tenants for payment of tithe. The dilemma is one in which the clergy ought not to be placed; it is one which the law never intended them to occupy; it is one into which landlords and tenants have thrust them for their mutual advantage. Many suggestions have been made in the interests of agriculture, or of the Church, or of the landlords, or of tenants for the redemption of tithe. The wholesale confiscation of tithes is a proposal which is not likely to be seriously entertained; it is put forward by its advocates on the principle which prompts a dealer to ask twice as much as he intends to take. I reserve the discussion of the proposals which may be considered as really before the country for my final letter.

Meanwhile the position of the clergy is peculiarly painful. Their incomes are small; the claims upon them are already large, and are increasing under the pressure of agricultural distress. To many of them reductions or remissions mean sheer want, or the abandonment of one or more of their spiritual agencies. It is infinitely to their credit that they have preferred to starve themselves rather than the Church. The loss of income consequent on the fall of the averages means the difference between comparative comfort and a struggle to make both ends meet. The clerical titheowner is at the same moment called upon to exercise a more abundant charity: he, as it were, buys want out of the labourer's cottage by offering her a home in his own house. This is the opportunity which is seized to demand from the clergy a further reduction in their already narrowed incomes. The alternative which is presented to them in many parts of the country is the absolute refusal of any tithe at all. The temptation to secure some payment by granting abatements is necessarily great; in many cases their credit is pledged and they are themselves pressed for payment. So, again, the condition of the tithepayer is, as they well know, disastrous; the tithe may be the last straw which will break his back. Between want at home and want abroad, how ought they to act? The clergy are, in my opinion, most ill advised if they grant abate-

ments of the tithe. It is their obvious duty, by the benefice which they hold, as well as by a Church which still has a future before it, that they should maintain the income undiminished. They may have a legal right to make reductions; but they have not, in my opinion, any moral right. When once they have collected the tithe, their duty by the benefice is performed; they may do what they like by their own. Public policy condemns reductions of the tithe; it has nothing to say to the most unbounded exercise of private charity. Whatever is to be done for the adjustment of the tithe question should be done by an Act of Parliament, generally, and once for all.

III.—THE EFFECT UPON THE GLEBEOWNER.

Anciently all the land of the country held by laymen was subject to the obligation of paying tithe. Unless a special exemption could be proved there was no lawful discharge from the duty. But at the present day half the land in England is freed from tithe rent-charge; in some districts it is scarcely known. Under the Enclosure Acts, which were so numerous at the close of the last and the commencement of the present century, lands were assigned to the clergy in lieu of tithes. The value of a tenth of the produce was commuted, not in a corn rent, but in land. Perhaps, in the strictest sense of the word, the lands thus allotted are not glebes; but it is to the lands which were given to the clergy instead of tithes that I refer throughout the following remarks. In the Midland counties, and especially in the dioceses of Peterborough and Ely, very little ecclesiastical property is held in tithe rent-charges. Clerical incomes are almost entirely derived from the rental or other profits arising out of glebe-lands.

It has been said that as compared with glebeowners titheowners are now in clover. On the other hand, in times past, glebeowners benefited to the full by the increase in the amount and the value of agricultural produce, which within fifty years doubled the rental of land. The effect of the Tithe Commutation Act was to deprive titheowners of their proportionate share in this increment. Titheowners derive from the land the limited profits, and ought now to suffer the limited losses, of rent chargers; glebeowners enjoyed the natural profits, and now, as I hope to show, suffer more than the corresponding losses, of landowners. The incomes of glebeowners swelled enormously by the exchange of tithes for land in the "piping times" of rural prosperity. The fortunate Midland incumbent not only possessed the moral advantages of his professional position; he also enjoyed the social *prestige* and the country pleasures which were the monopoly in the far-off days of agricultural felicity of the landed squirearchy. A complete revolution has been accomplished; the scale of the glebeowner's prosperity has kicked the beam.

To the incumbent the possession of land has often become an intolerable burden which alienates his parishioners, narrows the sphere of his influence, clogs and impedes him in the adequate performance of his clerical duties. It identifies him with the farming interest, to which in many rural districts the majority of his parishioners are opposed. If he lets his glebe farms he

enters on the delicate relations of a landlord towards distressed tenants. In these days every farmer is more or less in arrear or difficulty. The door of a debtor is closed in the parson's face whether he knocks as a minister or as a creditor. Appeals for repairs and improvements are made to him in his capacity of clergyman, of which he would hear nothing if he were a lay squire. How can he preach charity and mercy to his tenants, when he has instructed his solicitor to distrain or given them notice to quit their holdings? How, on the other hand, is he to live if he does not get his rent? If he shows indulgence to a struggling tenant, whose moral character is praiseworthy, he not only loses money himself, but he injures the labourers. When farmers fall into difficulties, they cannot employ sufficient labour. The "wet and dry" man curses the parson for his leniency; but the moment a tenant is dismissed, he is the first to make a personal application to the clerical landlord of the parable of the unmerciful servant. If the incumbent farms his land himself, he is obliged to keep on lazy or bad workmen, because he knows that no man whom he discharges will ever again darken the doors of his church. From first to last he is obliged to set off against his certain loss as a landlord the possible spiritual benefit which he may confer on his tenants and his servants. He is perpetually impaled on the horns of a dilemma; if he exercises forbearance he injures himself and his land; if he enforces his rights he loses his spiritual influence. With him it is a case of "Heads you win, tails I lose." He is certain to lose his income or his popularity—or both. I have said nothing of the mental anxiety and ceaseless worry of farming business. The land must at least distract his attention, if it does not end by absorbing his interests.

The Legislature has wisely set its face against the modern revival of Parson Trulliber. Much of the enthusiasm of the older race of clergy was spent upon the due rotation of crops. In the beginning of this century an Archdeacon visited a churchyard which he found cultivated for barley. Turning to the rector he said, in a tone of severity, "This must not occur again." "Oh, dear no!" returned the bucolic rector, "it will be turnips next year." An Act passed in the present reign shows the desire of the Legislature to direct the enthusiasm of incumbents into more professional channels than those of farming or of trading. But the Committee of Convocation upon Clerical Incomes, and those of the clergy who have accepted the report of that body, are, in my opinion, entirely mistaken in their reading of the statute in question (1 and 2 Victoriae, c. 106, ss. 28-31). But whatever is its true construction it plainly intimates the intention of the Legislature to prevent the incumbent sinking his clerical duties in his farming propensities.

On the meaning of the statute I shall have something to say in my final letter. At present it is sufficient to point out that the examples of the past, the policy of modern law, and the experience of the present coincide. They clearly indicate that the extension, or, indeed, the continuance, of the system of clerical farming, which is a necessary but deplorable result of recent agricultural depression, is prejudicial to the best interests of the parochial clergy.

As I have before said, glebeowners have not murmured against their reverse of temporal fortune, however much they may regret its indirect effect upon their spiritual influence. Mere repining is as useless as it is unmanly. The craving for sympathy, if publicly expressed, produces a complete revulsion of feeling, or at the most excites a pity which is largely mingled with contempt. The clergy have preferred to maintain silence respecting their heavy losses and deprivations. No well-wisher to the Church would desire to drag to light the private affairs of the parochial clergy, or to parade their misfortunes in the hope of exciting compassion. Self-respect would reject any expression of sympathy, aroused by such means, as little short of insult. But many reasons render it prudent that the truth should be told respecting the effect upon their position of recent agricultural depression. Two will suffice. First, a false construction has been placed upon their silence, sometimes in ignorance, often by design; secondly, the peculiar difficulties by which glebeowners are impeded in the cultivation of their land are not only misunderstood or ignored, but imperatively require removal.

In these days of highly spiced literature local colour and vivid description are almost essential to force and effect. General statements are by comparison flat and spiritless. The temptation is great to indulge the public taste by painting with a full brush and warm glow of colour telling scenes of clerical poverty. The material is abundant, the pigments bright and varied. But I venture to think that I shall best meet the wishes of those who have given me information if I continue to treat the subject in the style rather of the *parti grisâtre* than of the *parti flamboyant*. Description and local colouring may, and probably must, lead to the identification of places and of persons. Abstract statements possess at least one advantage—they preserve the *incognito* of those who have only given information on the distinct understanding that names shall not be directly or indirectly divulged.

I propose in the following letter to illustrate the extent to which glebeowners have suffered from the prolonged agricultural depression, and to indicate one of the chief reasons which has caused the blow to fall upon them with exceptional

severity. The fuller treatment of this latter part of the subject I reserve for my final letter.

The present position of glebeowners is disastrous and often ruinous. Attention has been frequently called to their condition. Witnesses examined before the Duke of Richmond's Agricultural Commission described it, even in the early years of the present depression, as "deplorable;" it was made the subject of an inquiry by committees appointed at diocesan conferences in the dioceses of Ely, Norwich, Peterborough, and possibly elsewhere; upon petition of the Rural Deans in the diocese of Peterborough, a committee of Convocation was nominated in May, 1884, "to consider the present state of the law as affecting incumbents dependent for their incomes on land." Finally, a return is before me which shows the depreciation which has taken place between 1880 and 1886 in the net value of all the livings in Episcopal patronage in one of the midland dioceses.

The committee appointed by the Diocesan Conference of Peterborough in 1881 received 336 returns from the clergy within the diocese, representing 49,629 acres of glebe lands. They reported that "9,373 acres were in the hands of seventy-nine clergy from inability to find tenants;" and that "glebe rents had generally undergone a reduction of about 25 per cent." The committee of Convocation nominated by the Prolocutor in May, 1884, issued its report in March, 1885. They received nearly 500 returns from benefices in the dioceses of Ely, Peterborough, St. Albans, and Salisbury. The general result of the inquiry showed that glebe lands had depreciated in value "from 43 per cent. of the previously received income from this source in the archdeaconry of Huntingdon to more than 25 per cent. in the least affected districts." Finally, the above-mentioned return of the depreciation within the last six years of the value of the livings in Episcopal patronage includes nearly 100 benefices. Some of these livings are town parishes; others have been augmented by Queen Anne's Bounty, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or the Diocesan Society. The remaining thirty-four parishes show a reduction of rather more than 25 per cent. between the net value in 1880 and in 1886.

But the reduction in rent, heavy though it is, by no means covers the whole of the loss which the clergy have sustained. In 1881 197 clergymen in the diocese of Peterborough made returns of having spent from 1870 to 1880 (in round numbers) 75,000*l.* on the improvement of farms and buildings. Of this total sum, 38,000*l.* was raised by loans from Queen Anne's Bounty or land improvement companies. The remaining 37,000*l.* was private capital, sunk in the land without a shadow of security for the principal, and with but slight prospect of any

interest on the investment. In 1885 the Committee of Convocation reported that private capital to the extent of more than 50,000*l.*, had been invested in the glebes, without any security, by the incumbents of the diocese of Peterborough alone. If the ratio which existed between the two sums in 1881 were adequately maintained, the private capital was met by a similar sum raised upon loan. There is every reason to believe that considerable sums have been spent from private sources in the two years which have elapsed since the committee of Convocation issued their report. Thus, in addition to a reduction of rent which in 1884 varied between 43 per cent. and 25 per cent., the incomes of glebeowners are diminished by annual charges for interest and repayment of loans to the amount of 50,000*l.*, and are at the same time lessened by the almost entire loss of interest upon private capital of the same amount.

Two years have elapsed since the returns were made to the committee of Convocation, and the interval has rather witnessed a deterioration than an improvement in agricultural prospects. More private capital has been expended and more money charged upon livings for the interest and repayment of loans. Rents continue to require reduction, and glebe-lands are still unlet. But these considerations by no means exhaust the whole of the glebeowner's loss. It is a serious matter that his rental steadily falls, while the charges upon his income increase and his private capital dwindles. But it is not everything. Heavy arrears of rent have accumulated which have been totally lost, together with the taxes paid upon them in advance. Other arrears are still nominally recoverable at law, but the payment cannot be practically enforced, because the tenant has lost his capital and there is nothing worth a distraint. If the glebe farm has been let, the incumbent has probably incurred the expenses both of the landlord and of the incoming tenant. As landlord he has paid the quitting tenant compensation for unexhausted improvements; he has also been compelled to take to the valuations as if he were himself the incoming tenant. If he is fortunate enough to relet his land, the new tenant altogether ignores the valuation, and probably demands to occupy the land rent-free for the first six months of his tenancy. Still more unfortunate is the lot of the incumbent who has his glebe thrown upon his hands. If he farms the land himself, he probably takes to it in bad condition, foul and impoverished; consequently he must expend more labour upon the soil in order to recover it, and he does so at a time when stock or farm produce is falling in price. It is no light matter for a life tenant to borrow capital and stock a farm. He is a bold man who does so without experience and without the security which every tenant now enjoys for unex-

hausted improvements. He is an exceptionally lucky man if he does not lose his capital as well as his rent. But what is he to do? If he does not let or cultivate his glebe he must either resign or starve. In some cases an incumbent was saved from this last fate by a subscription among his neighbours. But such generous interpositions are necessarily rare.

There is every reason to believe that the year 1886 will prove the most disastrous of the series of ruinous seasons. The country has not yet appreciated the full extent of the mischief of the prolonged agricultural depression. Many farmers are holding on in hope of a turn, with exhausted capital, employing less and less labour, unable to prevent their land from becoming year by year more foul and poverty-stricken. If the turning-point is not yet reached, if farmers have not yet touched bottom, more and more land will be thrown up, or heavier reductions of rent will be required. Mr. C. S. Read's gloomy prognostication seems entirely warranted by facts, that if tenant-farmers continue to lose at the rate at which they have recently lost, there will not in the next ten years be one tenant-farmer left in the country. The bare existence of most of the glebeowners is bound up with the revived prosperity of tenant-farmers.

Sometimes the income of livings has been so reduced that it has entirely disappeared; it is swallowed up by charges for the repayment of loans and other outgoings. Sometimes rents have altogether ceased because incumbents have allowed their glebes to fall out of cultivation sooner than face the loss which they would inevitably incur as farmers. In two cases even the land itself has gone, and the benefice has been wholly disendowed. In Bedfordshire a land improvement company was compelled to foreclose its mortgage and sell the glebe in order to recover its money. Similarly in Cambridgeshire the glebes of the benefice were charged with a loan advanced for drainage and farm buildings. Rents fell; arrears of the annual payments accumulated; finally, the company, or its assignee, sold the land in order to repay its loan. At this moment on a glebe in Lincolnshire a similar crisis is approaching. The glebe consists of 374 acres. The old rental was 680*l.* It is subject to a charge of 223*l.* to a land improvement company. The land is unlet; all the payments are in arrear; and there is, apparently, no alternative but the sale of the whole or part of the glebe. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that in many parishes it is difficult to provide for the spiritual needs of the people, or that many glebeowners do not obtain bread and cheese from their benefices, or that the description given in my first letter holds good in its entirety of some clerical landlords. All that was said respecting the almost absolute charges which fall upon clerical titheowners applies with equal force to glebeowners. They are obliged to occupy houses built

in better times and not adapted for narrow incomes; to keep in repair the chancels of churches reared at no penurious scrutiny of nicely calculated less or more, to maintain the provision for divine service, to head local subscriptions, to dispense an abundant charity. Their incomes wane and their professional outgoings wax each successive year of their distress. Meanwhile rates fall upon them with increasing severity, mocking their position by their assessment upon an income which they have long ceased to receive.

Naturally glebe livings are difficult to fill, when the incumbent has to draw upon his private income for the privilege of performing his spiritual duties. As a dignified ecclesiastic said to me, "I have to hawk about my livings in the advertisement columns of the newspapers." One so-called benefice has remained vacant for three years. The proper form of advertisement for a glebe living in the midland counties would be—"Wanted, an experienced farmer, with capital and in holy orders, to take a farm of 500 acres, with rectory attached." More than once I heard the expression, "If I had not private means I should starve." Nor was this a figure of speech: it represents a grim fact.

Before illustrating by examples the effect of agricultural depression upon the incomes of glebeowners, let me advert to a point which has impressed me forcibly. It is the immense difficulty of collecting accurate and clear statistics which shall be unmistakable in their effect. The return of Episcopal patronage, to which I have before alluded, is a case in point. Upon its results it might be argued that *glebe-livings have only depreciated 25 per cent.* There is nothing in the return to support this conclusion. It must be remembered that there has been no good agricultural season since 1874, and that, if the depreciation had been calculated on the last twelve years, instead of the last six, the amount would be far greater. Also, there is no return to show whether the income of these livings is derived wholly from glebe or wholly from tithe or from both; or whether the value has been increased by such windfalls as sales of land to railways, or wayleaves to ironstone companies—accidents which do not affect the question of the effect of agricultural depression, but which have saved several glebe incumbents from comparative ruin. Also it is often almost impossible to estimate the net value of a glebe-living at any one moment of time. If the land has been in hand for a year, or has been relet on the condition that for six months it should be rent-free, or an arrear has accumulated, or a sum is given back which varies every year in amount, what figure is to be returned? No single column will give even an approximate idea of the value. Some figure must be set down; the figure chosen is generally the ratable value of

the land, though possibly a third of the amount has not been realised. Finally, the figures do not in other respects appear to be absolutely reliable. I visited five of the parishes included in the return, and took down from the lips of the incumbents, or have since received in their handwriting, independent accounts of the very heavy losses which they had sustained and were still sustaining in the period covered by the official return. In two out of the five parishes the official return did not disclose the facts which had been made known to me. Probably the incumbents, weary of making returns, repeated as the net value in 1886 the net value of six years before. I also compared a large number of returns which I had obtained personally with those made to *Crockford's Directory* for 1885. In seventeen cases the printed returns gave no hint of losses which, as compared with the income of 1874, ranged from 30 to 70 per cent. Probably some of the printed returns may have been corrected in the *Directory* for 1886. But they were equally misleading when they were made in 1885. Doubtless to furnish returns is not the most important duty of clergymen, even in the case of publications which are recognised as semi-official statements of the endowments of the Church. Yet reticence seems here to be carried beyond the limits of prudence. Even land-hunger might be sated by a feast upon facts. The other day I read in a pamphlet published by the Liberation Society that *it was notorious that the returns made by the clergy of the value of their benefices were 25 per cent. below their real value.* It is impossible to rebut the charge by appealing to the accuracy of *Crockford's Directory*; and practical men might say that the accusation served the clergy right.

Many of the examples which I now proceed to give are *extreme* instances of the effects of agricultural depression. I do not wish it to be supposed that the condition of the glebe-owners is universally so disastrous. Some of the cases show a reduction in rental of from 80 to 90 per cent.; others show a loss, not only of the entire rental, but of private capital besides. The cases cited of losses sustained from inability to find tenants fairly represent general results. But the effect of agricultural depression is less uniform where tenants have been obtained. So far as I have been able to judge the actual depreciation in the average rental of glebe livings between 1874 and 1886 varies from 33 per cent. to 50 per cent., or between one-third and a half. Taking the glebes which are thrown on the hands of their owners with those which have been let at reduced rentals, the depreciation may be estimated at between a half and two-thirds upon the previous rentals. But, as I have before said, the mere reduction of the rental does not at all represent the actual loss sustained.

In many instances glebeowners have been compelled to take their farms into their own hands, either from inability to let their farms, or from the rapid impoverishment of the land by ruined tenants. In such cases glebeowners have lost heavily.

(1) The annual value of a benefice, calculated upon an average of six years ending in 1878, was 50*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* For the six years ending in 1885 the following were the receipts:—

For allotments, orchard, rent of small fields, fees, tithe rent-charge, &c.	£689	5	8
Receipts from farm	5,286	6	8
Valuation of stock, tenant right, &c.	1,661	13	10
	<hr/>		
Total expended upon farm in six years	£7,628	6	2
	<hr/>		
Balance	£7,175	1	6
	<hr/>		
Balance	£153	4	8

Average income for the last six years £75 10 9

The glebe farm was valued as if it were an ordinary farm; but no incumbent can claim tenant-right in unexhausted improvements; therefore the total profits must be reduced by the item included in the valuation for tenant-right. (2) The glebe lands of a second benefice consisted of 250 acres of good "red" land; 105 acres are pasture, and 145 arable. In 1874 the land, which is described as "some of the best in the county," and lies conveniently close to two railway stations, was let in two farms at a rent of 2*l.* an acre. In 1881 both farms fell vacant. The incumbent, at a cost of 1,500*l.*, drained the land, repaired the farm buildings, reroofed barns, and built sheds. Everything was done to put the land in a lettable condition. But since 1881 the farms have been unlet; no reasonable offer has been received. Consequently the glebe is farmed by the incumbent at an annual loss which this year will probably amount to 200*l.* (3) The average net income of a third benefice, calculated on the seven years ending in Christmas, 1879, was 1,005*l.*, deducting landlord's rates, &c., only. The income was derived from a glebe of 700 acres, consisting in about equal proportions of good red land, inferior red land, and poor cold land. In 1882 the whole of the glebe, with the exception of about 30 acres let in allotments, was thrown on the parson's hands in an impoverished condition. From 1882 to 1885 inclusive he cleared expenses, but made nothing for rent. In 1886 he knows that his income will be "nil"; possibly his books will show a loss of from 100*l.* to 200*l.* During the period 1882 to 1886, 5,650*l.* have been expended in working the glebe. (4) The balance-sheet of a fourth glebeowner shows the following results. The acreage of the glebe is 235 acres, with a considerable proportion of stiff heavy clay. It is farmed by the incumbent, who took to the land in a very foul and exhausted condition. He has a good bailiff working under his supervision.

He has sunk a considerable sum of money in improvements, although neither he nor his representatives can make any claim for tenant-right. For the year 1885 the profits amounted to 14*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* But if the rent is placed on the debit side (250*l.*), the accounts show a loss for the year of 235*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* (5) In a fifth case the glebe consisted of 130 acres of useful land, within a ring fence, and advantageously situated. The land was robbed by two successive tenants, and finally thrown upon the parson's hands in an exhausted condition. The glebeowner is a man of considerable experience in high-class farming. But the times have been too much for him. He has sunk 1,000*l.* of private capital; he has received no interest upon the principal, and he has no security, as has been pointed out, for his investment; he has of course received no rent. This year, after six years' work, the accounts for the first time meet—without rent or interest (careful accounts have been kept). The best stock has been bred on the farm; the best labourers are employed, and interested in their work by a modified system of co-operative farming. The glebeowner has failed to farm with profit because the land had to be reclaimed from the deplorable condition in which it was left at a heavy expense and in the midst of falling prices. These instances might be multiplied. They afford a fair sample of the results where incumbents have been compelled to farm their glebe-lands for themselves. Probably scarcely one has farmed arable land at a profit in 1886; the yield of corn is bad, and the prices of cereal produce low; cattle of all sorts are making poor prices; and sheep alone give the farmer an absolute profit. Without private means it is obvious that, in the last four instances, which are samples drawn almost at random from a host of examples, incumbents could not afford the luxury of parochial duties; not only would they be unable to meet the heavy calls which are made on clerical incomes, but they would literally and without metaphor starve.

The alternatives to farming at almost certain loss are to accept any offer that is made for the land, or, if it is impossible to let the glebe, to allow it to fall out of cultivation. In one case the timely expenditure of private capital has saved the land. A glebe farm consisted of 500 acres of strong land, requiring careful drainage and attention. In good years it had been let at a rental of 1,000*l.* a year. In 1880 the present glebeowner found the land in a very neglected condition. Of the 500 acres, 360 were grass, forty-five arable, fifty nominally arable, but really uncultivated, and a mass of twitch and weed. Forty-five acres were laid out in allotments, two-thirds of which were out of cultivation. The present incumbent was fortunately a man of practical experience, possessed of private means, and accustomed to the management of land.

He has seeded down about sixty acres of his arable land, and now only thirty acres out of 500 are arable. Ten acres are laid out in allotments, and forty acres are kept in hand, which could be let without difficulty at 30s. an acre. With the exception of these forty acres all his land is let. Two farms consist of 130 and 120 acres respectively; the remaining eight are let in small holdings of from fifty-six to four acres. The incumbent has expended 1,500*l.* on the improvement of the glebe. The rent of 460 acres is 600*l.* in 1886, not counting 60*l.*, the estimated rental of the land, in hand. Upon the old rental there is a loss of 340*l.* a year. But there can be no doubt that, had the incumbent not been a man possessed of experience and capital, the loss would have been infinitely greater. "It is almost certain," said the glebeowner, "that unless I had been in a position to make this outlay the glebe would have become comparatively valueless."

In many instances the rental of glebe farms has dwindled almost to nothing. Those who have obtained tenants are scarcely better off in point of income than those whose land is unlet. (1) A benefice consisted of 123 acres of glebe, 10 pasture, the rest arable. In 1875 the rent was 220*l.* a year. For the seven years ending in 1885 the average income of the clergyman was 45*l.* gross, or, deducting a charge to Queen Anne's Bounty, 25*l.* (2) A second living was, in 1880, of the net value of 445*l.* The income was derived from a glebe of 283 acres. Now, in 1886, the net value of the living, after deducting rates and taxes, tithes, and a charge to Queen Anne's Bounty for the repair of the chancel and for farm buildings, is 28*l.* a year. (3) A third clerical income is derived from the rent of 240 acres, chiefly arable, let in two farms and eight acres laid out in allotments. In 1880 the land was let at an average rental of 32s. an acre. For three years the two farms were thrown on the parson's hands. During that period he had, at past seventy, to turn farmer and cultivate the land himself. Not only did he lose the rent but nearly 1,000*l.* of private capital. Now, in 1886, the land is let at 15s. an acre. But the glebe is now charged with an annual sum for principal and interest on a loan raised for drainage purposes of 22*l.*; and this year the incumbent was obliged to give back to one of his tenants 27*l.* 10s. Thus the living which in 1880 was worth 384*l.* has now dropped to 180*l.*—22*l.*—27*l.* 10s = 130*l.* 10s. (4) In a fourth case the income of a family living in private patronage is derived from a glebe of 474 acres of strong wheat-growing land which is now comparatively worthless. A thousand pounds has been expended within the last twelve years upon the improvement of the glebe. In 1874 the gross rental was 905*l.* and the net value 641*l.* In 1886 the gross rental was 364*l.* and the net value 130*l.* (5) In a fifth case 328 acres of glebe land was formerly let at a rent of

508*l.*; the average rental for the last three years was 188*l.* On this glebe the incumbent has expended 800*l.* of private money. (6) Another benefice consisted of 411 acres of glebe land. The former rental was 578*l.* 10*s.* The present rental received is only 179*l.*; the ratable value of the land is 240*l.*, but it has not been realised. If the incumbent were asked to make a return of the value of this benefice he would probably return it at the ratable value for the vacant land *plus* the rent actually received for the land occupied by tenants. But the result would obviously be misleading. The living, it may be added, is charged with the annual payment of 158*l.* 10*s.* Thus the rent actually received covers the annual charge and leaves a margin of 20*l.* 10*s.* (7) The gross annual value of a benefice consisting of 589 acres formerly realised 1,100*l.* a year. In 1886 the rental has fallen to 771*l.* The net value of the living now amounts only to 271*l.* More than 3,500*l.* has been invested in the improvement of the land from private sources, if that can be called an investment, which pays little or no interest and offers no security for the principal. (8) Another living consists of 150 acres formerly let at 318*l.* The farm is now vacant, and it is offered at 25*s.* an acre. If this rent could be obtained, it would show a reduction of 130*l.* The living is subject to a charge to Queen Anne's Bounty of 64*l.* a year.

These instances will suffice to illustrate the terrible depreciation in the value of glebe livings which has resulted from prolonged agricultural depression. Some glebeowners have escaped the full effect of the storm, because their land is accommodation land or possesses a sporting value, and thus the old rental has been maintained. Others, again, have not suffered in proportion to their neighbours because a part of the income of their benefice consists of tithe rent-charge, or has been augmented by the proceeds of sales of land to railways, or of wayleaves over the glebe granted to ironstone companies. But where an incumbent is solely dependent for his income on the rental or the produce of glebe farms, and where the land is heavy and possesses no exceptional value which raises it out of the category of purely agricultural districts, his position is one of disaster if not of ruin. He has felt in an acute form the pinch of poverty. He lives without servants, without fires, without books, and on the food of an ordinary labourer. The percentage of the loss sustained by glebeowners exceeds that of ordinary landowners, and as a rule they have less to fall back upon and are less able to afford the diminution of income. Any practical man who considers the peculiar disadvantages under which incumbents labour in the management of their land would expect their losses to be exceptionally severe. The blow was unexpected; it found glebeowners wholly unprepared for the coming struggle;

their land was ill-drained, inadequately provided with farm buildings, and so highly rented and held on so insecure a tenure that it attracted only the worst class of farmers. From ignorance of agricultural matters the clergy are generally bad landlords. Even when incumbents are well versed in rural affairs, the uncertainty of their interest in the land not only deprives them of the best stamp of tenants, but robs them of the ordinary inducements which stimulate landlords to improve their estates. An incumbent enjoys only a life interest in his glebe; he does not know or care for his successor; he does not do his duty by his family if he makes a large outlay of private capital upon land which passes at his death to strangers. He has not even the ordinary incentives or the moderate security of tenant-farmers; he is under no obligation to farm the glebe in a husband-like manner; neither he nor his representatives are entitled to claim compensation for unexhausted improvements. It is frequently said that glebes are a standing reproach for their bad farming to the rural economy of the country. If the charge is true, a considerable part of the blame attaches to the Legislature. This portion of the subject I reserve for my final letter, when I shall venture to suggest some legal changes in the position of glebeowners, which may assist them to hold their own with ordinary landlords.

IV.—THE RELIEF OF THE TITHEOWNER.

Tithe rent-charges and glebe lands are assailed from many different points. Objections may be urged against the first which do not apply to the second. Yet both forms of property may be attacked on the common ground of religion and of agriculture. One group of assailants rallies round the banner of Disestablishment and Disendowment. One division of this party, waiving the question of property which is involved, urges that parochial endowments are public property in the same absolute sense as the produce of the taxes; the other asserts, without any violation of legal principles, that all property devoted to the maintenance of religion may be, and ought to be, appropriated by the nation, because the purpose to which it is dedicated is obsolete, if not mischievous. Either section of this party would be content to preserve tithe rent-charges, and to apply their proceeds to secular objects. With this side of the attack I do not propose to deal.

The second point of view from which glebe lands and tithe rent-charges are assailed is that of the agriculturist. In the interests of farming the only objection to the tithe rent-charge is not its object, but its existence. It is said that the tithe rent-charger is a sleeping partner, and the glebeowner a hybrid landlord who is over-indulgent to bad tenants and rarely helps those who are disposed to improve their holdings; neither is, in fact, in a position to do his duty by the land. This charge is in the main true. On general grounds it is eminently desirable that the land should be freed from all fixed charges, so that its use and occupation may be absolutely free and unrestricted. Similarly it is essential that owners and occupiers of land should enjoy ample security for their outlay of capital, and should feel the strongest inducements to develop to the utmost the resources of the soil. Agriculture demands the removal, as far as possible, of fixed charges secured upon land, and the general substitution of full ownership for limited life-interests.

Both the temporal and spiritual interests of the clergy seem to demand that their incomes should be derived from another source than land; a revenue derived from land is at the present day neither dignified nor secure. A fluctuating, uncertain income, greatly diminished by the expenses of collection, subject to large deductions for bad debts, extracted after long delays, and often at the cost of bitter irritation, from the pockets of distressed parishioners is in many respects a less desirable revenue than a stipend smaller in amount but punctually paid, a stipend

which is subjected to no delays, difficulties, or expenses of collection, a stipend which never fluctuates or remains in abeyance. Ask the parochial clergy—whether the tithe rent-chargers of Wales and Essex, or the glebe-owners of the midland counties—which they would prefer, and you would receive but one answer.

The higher interests of the Church seem to me to point in the same direction. It is desirable that clerical incomes should be disengaged from the land, not only because the possession of land by the few always awakens envy in the less fortunate many, which militates against the acquisition by the clergy of moral influence; nor is it desirable merely because agriculturists as well as clergymen have pecuniary reasons for complaining of the existing state of things. The presence of a resident landlord, like the clerical tithe or glebe owner, in every parish is a public advantage which cannot be ignored; but whatever be the form assumed by parochial endowments, severance from the land, not removal from the parish, is contemplated. The question, thus limited, must be determined on wider grounds. Agriculture is a matter of national interest; the welfare of a people in a large measure depends upon its prosperity. It is important that the land should produce the largest possible quantity of food, and employ the largest possible amount of labour. It is still more essential to give every reasonable facility to the free development of the labouring classes which are engaged in the cultivation of the soil. If the connection of the clergy with the land limits its productiveness and hinders its social utility, the position which the Church occupies is one of antagonism to the interests of the nation.

If any change is contemplated in the existing relations of the clergy to the land, one thing is imperatively necessary in the interests of the Church and of the nation, as well as of the classes more directly interested. If useful work is to be done the general policy must be from the first determined. Parliament ought to be prepared with its final answer to the questions whether the land is ultimately to be freed from tithe rent-charge, or whether such limited ownerships as those of glebe-owners are to be continued. Until these questions are answered every patch which is put in the existing system will only make the rent worse. We have already had an illustration of the uselessness of tinkering at reforms; the Extraordinary Tithe Act will not hold water, but is already found to require further alteration. The same Act also affords a warning of the manner in which the interests of the clergy may be whittled away in a series of compromises in which they always occupy the position of the weaker party. So long as legislation drifts aimlessly on, blown hither and thither by the capricious

gusts of the *popularis aura*, we may contemplate as certain the accumulation of a mass of useless Acts, no sooner framed than they are amended, modified, or repealed, which will involve the whole question in an intricate knot that only the knife can disentangle. In whose hand is that weapon likely to be placed? Will passion or reason guide the stroke? If, on the other hand, the policy is settled, changes may be made gradually and with mature consideration. Nor will the Church or the country really suffer from delay. Less loss will be inflicted by the maintenance, in all its details, of the existing system than would inevitably result from hasty, ill-considered legislation. Some immediate relief may be administered to distress; many of the agricultural and clerical objections to tithe rent-charges or glebe lands as they exist are capable of removal, or, at least, of large diminution.

In this letter I propose to deal with tithe rent-charges, and in my next, and last, with glebe lands. In each of them I shall offer some suggestions on the two questions which arise on both divisions of the subject--(a) What immediate changes are desirable or practicable? (b) What ought to be the ultimate goal towards which legislation should be directed?

As I previously pointed out, landowners have profited largely at the expense of titheowners. They have derived considerable benefit both directly and indirectly from the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836. Every invention which increases or cheapens production diminishes the amount of the charge; they are able to develop to the full the resources of the soil without considering the increased tax of the tithe; they have gained, and rightly gained, the whole increment which has within the last half-century resulted from agricultural progress. In all these respects, as well as many others, the Tithe Act has worked fairly and has promoted agriculture. But when the titheowner gave up his claim to share in the increased profits of the land what was his *quid pro quo*? He took a fixed rent-charge instead of a tenth of the produce, on the understanding that he would be relieved from the odium and unpopularity which his existing relations with the occupiers necessarily produced. The contract has been performed on the one side, for the landowner has been enriched at the expense of the titheowner; it has not been performed on the other, for the titheowner is still placed in the unpleasant relation towards the occupier from which the Legislature intended that he should be relieved. How has this one-sided result been produced? By an arrangement between the landowner and the occupier, entered into for their mutual advantage without the consent of the titheowner, often against his will, and always against his interest. Yet this arrangement between landlord and tenant

persevered in throughout prosperous seasons, is now made the excuse to bring pressure to bear upon the titheowner to waive his legal rights. A correspondent of a leading London daily paper warns the clergy against swelling the cry that the rent-charge should be levied upon the landlords, lest that class be turned from friends into foes. Every one is aware that landed interests have suffered heavily by agricultural depression; and the clergy, who have in countless instances received sympathy, aid, and encouragement from their squires, are probably the last people who would wish to add to the burdens of landlords. But if landowners have all along paid the tithe, if they have only used farmers as the transmitters of their money, there can be no additional burden in the resumption by the real paymaster of his legal obligation. Many landlords have already accepted the duty, which has always remained theirs, of paying the tithe themselves directly. Higher interests are at stake than those of money. The continuance of the present arrangement imperils the stability of the Church as well as of the fundamental principles of property. Compulsion is an ugly word; but, if landowners will not voluntarily accept their legal position, they must be compelled to do so.

It is, I think, plain that the tithe rent-charge must be paid by landlords not mediately, but in the first instance. It is a fluctuating payment dependent on septennial averages. If the average was triennial, as has been proposed by the Essex Chamber of Agriculture, or even if it was computed annually, the aggregate payment in a series of years is necessarily the same. The landowner is a permanent holder of land; the farmer a temporary occupier. It does not concern the permanent holder whether the tithe rent-charge is calculated on a septennial or triennial average, or even whether it is annually computed; to him it will be the same thing in the long run. But the incidence of a septennial average may affect temporary occupiers injuriously. If the payment of the tithe is resumed by the landlord, nothing need be said respecting the redemption of small tithes in towns; they will be paid in a lump sum by the landlord instead of being collected in dribbles with great difficulty and at considerable expense from a number of small struggling occupiers. For the same reason the various suggestions for fixing a new period for the average need scarcely be considered. Many high agricultural authorities urge that the charge should vary with the prices of each year. The present state of foreign politics seems to render such a change detrimental to the interests both of titheowner and tithepayer. War would raise prices rapidly and largely; they would fluctuate quickly. Not only would the titheowner's income be unsettled, but

the sudden rise and fall would introduce a gambling element into farming which would be altogether disastrous. The experience of agriculturists in the first twenty years of the present century condemns any such change by its appalling record of ruin and bankruptcy.

So far, then, the only change proposed is that tithe should be paid directly by the landlord. The result of the proposed change will be advantageous to both the clergy and the landlords, who are really the only parties concerned in the question. The clergy will be at length relieved from the false position in which they are placed towards the tenant farmer, and a fruitful source of misconception and hostility will be checked at the spring. The landlord will be in a better position to judge of the length of tether which he can safely allow to his tenant. At the present moment parsons can distrain for two years' arrear of tithe, and their claim is a first charge upon the land. Many landlords, if the occasion arose, would be unpleasantly surprised by finding that the farm produce on which they calculate as security for rent is subject in the first instance to the parson's claim for two years' arrears of tithe. Again, landlords will be better able to calculate what remissions of rent they may reasonably grant. At the present moment a farmer can play off landlord against parson, demand reductions from the one because he has to make a payment to the other, and often obtain abatements from both.

The shape which the present agitation has assumed is the demand for a recommutation of the tithe rent-charge. Here, again, the bargain made between landlords and tenants for their mutual advantage has plainly inspired the cry. But in any discussion of the principles of the Commutation Act of 1836 it must be borne in mind that that arrangement was sanctioned by the Legislature, that it is confirmed by reiterated Acts of Parliament, supported by hundreds of legal decisions, acted upon in innumerable sales and transfers of land, ratified by every purchase of tithe rent-charges, strengthened by repeated and undisputed acts of ownership. In all dealings with land for the last half-century the bargain made in 1836 has been regarded as permanent. Round it have grown up the vested interests and the reasonable expectations of fifty years. Changes cannot be lightly made in the terms of a bargain, thus made and ratified, solely on the ground that it is disadvantageous to a class which is not one of the parties to the original contract, nor even concerned in its present effect. To transfer the payment of tithes from tenants to landlords will postpone the question which is ultimately at issue; it will not bring about a final settlement. Similarly, any readjustment of the averages can only prove a temporary expedient. It is alleged that the present mode of calculating the averages

is unfair because no account is taken of inferior wheat, which does not come into the market, but is consumed by stock, or because the average is kept abnormally high owing to the excess of barley and oats over wheat, upon which it is calculated. Other objections may be urged against the principle adopted in 1836, which are more or less true and weighty. But as between titheowner and landowner, it is confidently submitted that these questions are immaterial. Existing landowners have, with few exceptions, acquired or inherited their property subject to the arrangement then made: the bargain struck between the two parties has greatly benefited the tithepayer; many of the considerations which agitators seek to introduce into a new arrangement would, if entertained in 1836, have operated to the disadvantage of the landowner. If it can be proved that the prices of corn on which the averages are calculated include railway and loading dues, a case is shown for change; this artificial increase in price was never contemplated in the original bargain. But, except in this instance, there does not exist, in my opinion, any ground for the demand for recommutation.

The agitation which the landlords' arrangement has fostered will be used to pare down the interests of the clergy; when this has been effected by a recommutation the agitation will recommence; the first step in legislation will shortly be followed by another Act compelling landlords to redeem the diminished charge. On the other hand, it is possible that the present agitation against tithe is artificial, and that if the payment is transferred from the tenant to the landlord it would gradually disappear. So, again, it is possible that the future will not be so bad as the present. On these points there may be wide discrepancies of opinion: I can only state my own conviction that nothing short of a complete redemption of the tithe will ever permanently settle the questions which tithe rent-charge has always raised.

The issue really is whether the tithe rent-charge, which is, in fact, a first mortgage on the land on which it is payable, should be permanently redeemed once and for all. There can, I think, be no dispute that the removal of this fixed money payment secured upon the land is demanded in the interests of agriculture. No doubt agriculture prospers best when capital is free. The argument equally applies to the land-tax or any other form of charge secured upon land. Some of my readers may be familiar with Carleton's *Farm Ballads*; if so, they will remember "The Mortgage:"—

"We worked through spring and winter, through summer and through fall,

But the mortgage worked the hardest and steadiest of them all;
It worked on nights and Sundays, it worked each holiday;
It settled down amongst us and it never went away.

Whatever we kept from it seemed almost as theft ;
 It watched us every minute and it ruled us right and left.
 The rust and blight were with us sometimes and sometimes not ;
 The dark-browed, scowling mortgage was for ever on the spot.
 The weevil and the cutworm, they went as well as came ;
 The mortgage stayed for ever, eating hearty all the same.
 It nailed up every window, stood guard at every door ;
 And happiness and sunshine made their home with us no more.
 Worm or beetle, drought or tempest, on a farmer's land may fall ;
 But for first-class ruination, trust a mortgage 'gainst them all."

Allowing for some poetic exaggeration, these verses express the paralysing effect upon farming of fixed charges upon land. A mortgage produces the same effect in England as Mr. Carleton found that it worked in America. It must be remembered that tithes are not more an obstacle to agriculture than any other form of mortgage; yet, though tithe rent-charges differ in no material respect from the land-tax, and though neither are properly a charge upon tenant farmers, the latter have conceived a widespread, deep-rooted, and ineradicable objection to tithe rent-charge. Looking to the tendencies of modern legislation, will any shifting of the incidence of the charge diminish its unpopularity? Will it be possible to convince tenant farmers that the charge does not raise rents, or labourers that it does not lower wages? I venture to think that, in some form or other, the redemption of the tithe rent-charge is, sooner later, inevitable. On the details of any proposal there must necessarily be great differences of opinion. Titheowners and tithepayers are not likely to agree offhand upon the number of years' purchase, or the compulsory nature of the clauses.

By far the best and most equitable scheme for the redemption of the tithe rent-charge is that put forward by Mr. Ryde, past president of the Surveyors' Institution. It will be found in the *Transactions of the Society*, Vol. XIX., part iii., pp. 57 to 95. He assumes that the average "price of corn for any seven years in the future will not approximate more closely to the average price of the years 1828 to 1835, upon which the rent-charge was originally based, than 90 per cent." He proposes to redeem the whole rent-charge at this figure. In other words, the sum with which he deals is at par value 4,000,000*l.*; but it is reduced by 10 per cent. to represent the present fall in the averages, and 15 per cent. for the cost of collection and rates and taxes to 3,000,000*l.* Three-fifths of this sum is owned by parochial incumbents, the remaining two-fifths being in the hands of impropiators. The whole of this sum of 3,000,000*l.* is to be compulsorily redeemed by the landowners "at twenty years' purchase, or 60,000,000*l.*; but it is proposed to borrow the sum of 75,000,000*l.* (being the amount of twenty-five years' purchase)." The balance of 15,000,000*l.* is to go to augment the purchase money of parochial tithes to twenty-eight and a half years' purchase.

The result to the clerical titheowner will be a net and certain income, paid quarterly, of 86*l.* a year, in lieu of his present uncertain income of 100*l.* a year. Mr. Ryde relies on the cumulative power of money at compound interest when regularly invested by annual payments to recoup the principal in forty-seven years. At the end of that period—

“We shall have not only the land made of the value which land and tithe rent-charge together now possess, but we shall have in addition to that 75 millions of pounds sterling created by the thrift enforced by the Redemption Act.”

The scheme is one which deserves careful attention.

Mr. Ryde's plan is, of course, open to objections. It may be said, for instance, that the redemption at 90 per cent. is unfair. No doubt the average value of the charge since 1836 has been 3 per cent. above par. But it is obvious that the average of the next seven years, unless a great war should in the interval temporarily raise prices, will witness a reduction even upon the 90 per cent. of 1886. Nor is it likely that the present generation will witness any material rise in the price of corn. The full resources of India are yet undeveloped; but already she can throw vast quantities of corn upon the home market at prices which defy English competition. A formidable objection was suggested to me by Mr. Smith Woolley, another past President of the Surveyors' Institution, that the scheme, if carried into effect, will make the clergy Government stipendiaries. But it is submitted that this objection is more formidable in theory than in fact. The clergy are already represented as salaried servants of the State, and, though the statement is absolutely erroneous, it is largely credited; also no relation into which the clergy are brought with the Government is so detrimental to their interests as their present dependence upon poverty-stricken parishioners. Another objection is that it is hard to compel landlords, whose land is their ruin, to buy up a further interest in land. Men are often compelled to sell in the interests of the public; have they ever before been compelled to buy? Landlords may urge that it would be equally just to compel the titheowners to buy out the landowners; no doubt numbers would be glad to sell. On this point it is only fair to say that Mr. Ryde's scheme holds out large advantages to the landlords which would begin to accrue from the moment that the scheme of redemption is set in operation:—

“It will,” says Mr. Ryde, “place it out of the power either of the titheowner or the landowner to object to the price paid for the rent-charge if the same rate of interest which is represented by the purchase-money is charged to the landlord for the loan. For instance, supposing the price to be paid for a rent-charge of 100*l.* a year to be twenty years' purchase, or 2,000*l.*, it is proposed to charge the landowner during the continuance of the loan 5 per cent.—that is, 100*l.* a year—interest upon the

principal. The landowner will pay 100*l.* a year interest instead of 100*l.* a year rent-charge, for a period not exceeding fifty years, after which time there will be nothing to pay. He will derive an immediate benefit from the fact that, in lieu of a fluctuating rent-charge, he will have a fixed and terminable one. He will have acquired the exchange upon a 5 per cent. calculation, whereas, eventually, it will become to him a 3 per cent. property. That will be accomplished in this way. In any estimate of the salable value of his land the amount of net rent is that which is capitalised. A farm worth, say, 600*l.* a year, but subject to 100*l.* a year tithe rent-charge, is only of the value of 500*l.* a year net. This at thirty years' purchase is 15,000*l.* When the tithe rent-charge is removed the net value will be 600*l.* a year, and the capital value 18,000*l.* The increase in value being 3,000*l.*, the price which it is proposed to charge for this increase is 2,000*l.* There is, therefore, a gain to the landowner of 1,000*l.* in capital value without any payment for it. That is not the only gain which the landowner will make. His land will daily become more valuable as time passes by. The value of the land will continue to increase in anticipation of its being freed from the rent-charge, and after a few years have passed away that increase will become very material."

If the tithe rent-charge is to be redeemed, the financial arrangements of Mr. Ryde's scheme appear to be admirably worked out. By co-operation between the Government and the landowner it is plain that the titheowner's interests could be equitably adjusted, the land relieved from the burden of the rent-charge, a vexed question permanently solved, and a great increase made to the agricultural capital of the country by the compulsory thrift which the scheme entails. It may be asked, Why distinguish between parochial and impropriated tithes? Why pay for the former twenty-eight and a half years' purchase and for the latter only twenty years' purchase? The reasons are sufficiently obvious. The clergy as a body earn their tithes, except in the opinion of those who are opposed to the maintenance of any religion whatever. Again, the tithe rent-charge represents gifts to the parochial clergy or to monastic and conventual establishments; it represents an endowment for spiritual ministrations as well as an endowment for what may be called State purposes of education, maintenance of paupers, &c. The first endowment was given to the parish priest, the second to the monk and nun. Parochial tithes were given to the parish clergy to perform divine service, to practise hospitality, to instruct the people in religion by precept and example. They were never given to the poor, uncouth, unlearned parish priest to vie with the regular clergy in the maintenance of schools, workhouses, asylums, penitentiaries. On the other hand, it is incontrovertible that monastic endowments, now partially represented by tithe rent-charge in the hands of impropiators, were partly bestowed for these objects. In the case of the parochial clergy the will of the "pious

founder" is still carried out, if not verbally, at least in close accordance with the "*cy près*" doctrine; but in the case of the lay impropiators the original purpose of the tithe is wholly disregarded. This difference in origin and in application is not urged in defence of anti-tithe agitation. On every existing principle of the law of property tithe rent-charges seem to me inviolable. But I only insist upon the difference in order to explain the distinction drawn between tithes in the hands of the clergy and tithes in the hands of laymen.

V.—THE RELIEF OF THE GLEBEOWNER.

Agricultural distress has fallen upon the glebeowners with exceptional severity. The extraordinary losses which they have experienced are not due to any inferiority of their land. The parcels of which their glebes are composed are often extremely scattered; they are generally situated at an inconvenient distance from the village. But in quality the soil is often some of the best in the parish. When the Enclosure Acts were passed the heavy lands, which before the general introduction of roots and before the recent agricultural depression were most highly valued, rarely fell to the lot of the parson. He was apportioned the lighter lands which fringed the edge of the common field. The parson in fact got the rind of the cheese. But the rind is now worth more than the inside; it is only the light lands that make the rent. Distance and want of compactness are thus compensated by the character of the soil. How, then, are the exceptional losses of glebeowners to be explained? Because glebeowners have been placed at a great disadvantage in the management of their land, personally, professionally, and legally.

The clergyman is generally ignorant of rural matters. The son of a country squire may be hopelessly plucked for the Army or his "Little-go;" but when he succeeds to his estate he knows something of the management of landed property; he has imbibed his knowledge as it were with his mother's milk. The parson, on the other hand, may be a brilliant scholar, or a profound theologian; but he knows nothing of farming or of farmers. When he is called to the management of landed property he refreshes his memory with the *Georgics*, perhaps heaves a gentle sigh of regret that he had studied the "De Officiis" instead of the "De Re Rusticâ," and enters with a light heart on a difficult profession in which science without practice is a frequent cause of ruin. He soon finds that he must buy his experience, and the necessity comes upon him at an age and under circumstances when he can ill afford so expensive a purchase. Very often he is as unreasonable as he is ignorant. Accustomed to be infallible in the pulpit, he forgets that he may blunder in the farmyard. He is generally too poor a man to meet energetic tenants half-way in improvements. Even if he has the means he neither possesses the requisite knowledge nor feels the ordinary stimulus to lay out money upon the land. He does not know when to extend a helping hand, or when to give a notice to quit; he lets one

tenant run too long; he pulls up another too short. Uneasily conscious that his knowledge is limited, he mistakes suspicion for caution; he is parsimonious where he should be generous, a spendthrift when he ought to be a miser. He is not in the same position as an ordinary landlord. His children cannot inherit the glebe lands. Not only is he a life tenant, but he does not know his successor. His duty to his family prevents him from laying out private capital to benefit a stranger.

The personal disadvantages of glebeowners are increased by professional and legal difficulties. I have already spoken of the dilemma on which glebeowners are perpetually impaled, and the risk which they always run of losing their income or their popularity, or both. He is disinclined to be strict in enforcing agreements lest he should quarrel with his parishioners; at the same time he cannot afford the risk of having his land unlet. But in other ways the clergyman is prohibited by his profession from fair competition with lay farmers. If he farms himself he is forbidden by law to buy or sell in public markets. At a sale of stock he cannot punch a beast in the ribs with his own clerical fist; samples of wheat or barley must not be drawn from the clerical pocket. On every sale or purchase he has practically to pay commission. If he buys, he must make his bargain by deputy, and the bailiff is known as the parson's man; if he sells, the auctioneer puts up his stock as the parson's beasts. He is less well served by his men. The master's eye is more than ever necessary in farming. In some districts, for instance, of Northants the able-bodied men have been drafted into the iron-stone works; those who remain are idle, lie-about fellows, who only work by compulsion. The quality of the agricultural labourer has universally deteriorated. Everywhere he works less hard, and is less generally useful. The employer is only master on Saturday night. No clergyman can afford the time to be always with his men, and, if he is not, the wages are not earned. If the glebeowner lets his farm he does not attract the best class of tenants. Many farmers deserve every consideration for their honourable efforts to keep their engagements; but to give them a chance of farming successfully they demand a large outlay of capital in buildings, drainage, and improvements. They know that glebeowners are, as a rule, unable to afford the expenditure, and for this and other reasons they do not compete for glebe farms. Consequently parsons are very often compelled to fall back upon inferior tenants. Numbers of farmers merely skin and rob the land by improper cultivation, and then throw up their holdings. Farming to leave has become a profession. A midland county land-agent overheard an altercation between an outgoing and incoming tenant. "Don't tell

me," said the outgoer, "how I ought to leave a farm. I've left five in seven years, so I ought to know something about it." The first victim of these *chevaliers* of agricultural industry—these so-called farmers who live by their wits—is the parson. Before the yearly tenancy has expired he bitterly regrets his bargain.

When the agricultural depression commenced glebe lands were often wholly unprovided with farm-buildings, for they had been let to men who farmed them with other lands; they were neglected by tenants who left the glebe without manure, or allowed it to become foul, and robbed the parson to pay the squire; they were ill drained; the rents were screwed up to the head; the amount of arable land was out of all proportion in comparison with the scanty pasture; many of the tenants were men of straw, who went down at the first breath of the storm; others who were more substantial men were ruined because the glebeowner did not know the exact moment when to assist his tenant or had not the requisite capital to give a helping hand. For the last twelve years agriculture has been a struggle against odds; what chance has the glebeowner had of improving the position in which the commencement of the depression found him?

The law puts the finishing touch to the glebeowner's difficulties. But, judging from the report of the committee and the resolutions upon it which were agreed to by the Lower House, Convocation seems to exaggerate the legal impediments by which the glebeowner is encumbered. Convocation holds that no spiritual person "licensed to perform the duties of any ecclesiastical office" may farm more than eighty acres of land without the consent of the Bishop. The point is of some importance, as in the midland counties some Archdeacons have acted in accordance with the opinion expressed by Convocation. The question turns upon the meaning of 1 and 2 Vict., c. 106, ss. 28-30. The 28th section forbids any spiritual person, beneficed or performing ecclesiastical duty, "*to take to farm for occupation by himself by lease, grant, words, or otherwise for term of life or of years, or at will,*" above eighty acres of land without the consent of the Bishop. The words quoted are the governing words of the section. Glebeowners who cultivate their own glebes, squire parsons who cultivate their own demesnes do not take land to farm under a lease, grant, or any other written or verbal contract; they do not occupy their own lands as tenants for terms of life or years or at will. The section cannot therefore be directed against glebeowners or squire parsons. What, then, is its meaning? It applies only to the clergy as tenant-farmers; its object is to prevent clergymen from farming on a large scale by forbidding them to rent, as tenants, more than eighty acres of land without the consent of the Bishop. The two following

sections support this construction. Section 29 forbids spiritual persons, *inter alia*, to buy and sell for profit or gain. Section 30 provides that it shall not be deemed to be illegal trading if spiritual persons buy or sell for gain or profit cattle, &c., necessary for the occupation, &c., of *any glebe, demesne lands, or other lands or hereditaments which may be lawfully held and occupied by such spiritual person*. In other words, so long as spiritual persons do not buy or sell in person in any market, glebeowners farming their own glebes, squire parsons cultivating their demesnes, or clergymen who have rented land in compliance with section 28 may buy and sell for profit or gain, so far as is necessary for the proper cultivation of the soil.

In several other legal points I differ with all respect from the opinions expressed by Convocation. The law with regard to emblements or way-going crops does not appear to me to be correctly stated. Convocation also doubts whether the severed produce of glebes held in hand, such as corn in stacks or hay in ricks, is the property of a resigning incumbent, or, if the benefice is vacated by death, of the representatives of a deceased incumbent. Nothing short of express words in a special statute will, in my opinion, divest incumbents or their representatives of rights of property universally enjoyed.

Apart from doubtful points, there are indisputable difficulties which the law has imposed on glebeowners in the successful development of their land. The Agricultural Holdings Act, for instance, confers upon one class of tenants security for unexhausted improvements, which is not enjoyed by life-tenants in the peculiar position of glebeowners. I have described the condition of glebe farms at the commencement of agricultural depression. A bold and well-timed expenditure of capital upon the land saved many private landlords from ruin: they were justified in the outlay because they knew that their families would inherit the benefit of the capital; similar expenditure was even more urgently needed upon glebe farms; but was the outlay justified when only strangers benefited? A few years pass, and the principle which would confer upon glebeowners the required security is granted to ordinary tenants. Tenant farmers are now entitled to compensation for unexhausted improvements. But the glebeowner can claim nothing from his successor even for structural improvements. He may have erected at his own private cost farm buildings where none existed before; out of his private capital he may have built farm-houses and cottages. These buildings may be absolutely necessary; without them the land would fall out of cultivation. Yet he receives no compensation; probably he or his representatives may be further mulcted for dilapidations upon buildings which he has given as a free

gift to his successor. Still less can the glebeowner obtain compensation for drainage, or for a long course of liberal farming, for bones, chalk, clay, artificial manure, or feeding-stuffs consumed on the holding. The Legislature has admitted that the maxim, "*Quicquid plantatur solo accedit solo*," is absurd in its application to tenants; it compensates the tenant for the additional value which his enterprise and capital has bestowed upon his land; it has practically conceded that without this compensation agriculture cannot be successfully practised. Yet for the unfortunate glebeowner the Legislature retains in all its vigour this obsolete maxim; and legislators denounce glebe farms as a standing reproach to English agriculture. It penalises the clergy by an excessive handicap, and sneers because they are last in the race. Shall we apportion the blame? How many of the assailants would have done what the abused class of glebeowners have done? It is no slight proof of the public spirit by which glebeowners have been animated, that they have sunk so much private capital in the laud—an outlay which cannot benefit their children, an outlay for which they have no security, which yields the smallest and most uncertain interest, and which by the operation of the Dilapidation Acts is often the source of further loss. The majority have struggled, though their loss was certain and immediate, to keep the land going and to restore it to better condition. Another circumstance renders this outlay still more unselfish. In ordinary tenancies there exists an implied contract to cultivate in a husband-like manner. The tenant-farmer is open to a counter-claim on the part of the landlord for a breach of this implied covenant. No such contract exists between an incoming and outgoing incumbent. If the land is allowed to fall out of cultivation the outgoing incumbent incurs no liability to his successor.

While the Agricultural Holdings Act thus dangles before the eyes of the glebeowner a security which his tenant enjoys, but from which he himself is debarred, the Act has in another respect proved an unmixed evil to the parson. Not only does it refuse to relieve him of the millstone round his neck, but it hangs a fresh weight thereon. In all contracts with regard to the land it arms the tenant-farmer with a weapon which makes him master of the situation. Suppose a living changes hands. The new incumbent goes to the tenant, and says, "Well, Mr. A., I suppose you will go on on the old terms." "Oh, dear, no," says the farmer, "I want a redaction of so much per cent. on my rent, and such and such improvements." "I can't do it," replies the parson. "Very well," retorts the farmer, "then I throw up, and bring my claim for unexhausted improvements against you." If the parson refuses to

yield to such pressure he pays a heavy bill for improvements in which he never benefited; the farm is thrown on his hands; he risks its being unlet. Suppose that he has not obtained a tenant when the former occupier leaves. He has, as landlord, to pay compensation on some of the twenty-three improvements of the Agricultural Holdings Act; he is lucky if he escapes litigation with an opponent who is advised by a speculative attorney and is prepared to go bankrupt if the law decides against him. Against this pressure secs. 29 and 39 of the Agricultural Holdings Act afford no adequate protection or relief. The glebeowner has also to take to the valuations as if he was the incoming tenant. At the end of three or six months he finds a tenant; the latter pooh-poohs the valuation, refuses to take to the fallows which the former tenant set off against his rent, and probably demands to hold the farm for nothing during the first half-year of the tenancy.

Already the long-continued agricultural depression has made the Act comparatively valueless. It was framed to encourage capitalist farmers who were eager to lay out money on their holdings. Where are they now, and where is their capital? The boon is extended too late. It is like the cheap loaf offered to artisans who cannot earn wages. What will be shortly required is an Act to deal with small, not large farmers, with men who have little money of their own, rather than with capitalists. The probable outcome of the distress will be a large increase of small holdings, and the practical disappearance of the middle-sized farm of from 150 to 600 acres. The eye and hand of the master or the capital of the machine-owning farmer will alone overcome the difficulties of existing conditions. If the prophecy proves correct, there is some hope that the position of the glebeowner may be considered; he will no longer stand alone. The Agricultural Holdings Act of 1883 is framed, so far as the glebeowner is concerned, in the expectation that the tenants will effect improvements. On many glebe farms more pasture is urgently required. But laying land down to grass is an expensive process; glebe tenants cannot find the money. So again by breaking up middle-sized farms into smaller holdings glebe lands might be let. But here again a large expenditure is required, and the small farmer cannot afford the outlay. In both cases the glebeowner would, I believe, sink his private capital, supposing him to possess it. But if he does, he is absolutely without any security for his investment. Who can expect poor men to face the risk?

Much has been done to remove the stigma of bad farming which rests upon glebe-lands; but much remains to be done. Large sums of money, raised by charges or out of private capital, have been expended on farms and buildings, but a considerable

amount has been wasted through the inexperience of the clergy and the operation of the Dilapidation Acts. If the clergy had spent as much on their land as they have on their houses they would be in a better position. Yet in this respect they have only imitated the example of their lay brethren, who have overbuilt themselves in every part of the country. The money is gone; the living is charged with the repayment; it is useless to dwell on what might have been. The Bishops exercised no efficient control over loans from Queen Anne's Bounty; they have now become more careful. It is eminently desirable that the Bounty-office should imitate the example of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and send round an officer to inspect and approve the work which is done. The principal impediments which now exist to the development of glebe lands are the inexperience of glebeowners, the insecure tenure which glebe farms afford to tenants, the want of any security for unexhausted improvements as between outgoing and incoming incumbents.

The inexperience of clergymen in the management of land might be met by the employment of agents. It may be objected that if the land will not support the owner it will not afford a living to the owner and an agent. But I venture to think that in nearly all cases a practical agent would deal more wisely with the land than an inexperienced and often unreasonable parson. Lawyers are not the best class to whom the management of property can be intrusted; yet it is to country solicitors, if anywhere, that the clergy generally turn. Again, it is not necessary to employ as an agent a man who is so full of work that he only takes a cursory glance at the land with his left thumb in his *Bradshaw* and his right hand on the rail, and his right foot on the step of his dogcart. What is wanted in each archdeaconry is a sensible, practical, and experienced farmer, who will give both the glebeowner and the tenant sound advice, and who can spare the time to inspect the condition of every part of the glebe at least twice a year. In these hard times it would not be difficult to find farmers of high standing among their brethren who, for a per-centage on the rents, would undertake a practical supervision of the land.

The insecure tenure of glebe farms might be obviated by joining patrons with incumbents as lessors. On the other hand, tenants are in these days shy of taking leases. A lease is too often only a protection to the tenant; it cannot be enforced against them. Yet probably the best tenants of glebe farms were to be found on family livings, where it was supposed that the arrangements of one incumbent would be respected by his successor. Undoubtedly insecurity of tenure lowered the class of glebe tenants. At the present moment farmers exaggerate the insecurity in order to obtain reductions of rent. If care

was taken such a lease as that indicated might meet this difficulty. Some step should be taken in the direction of increased security, for not only in times of prosperity is the objection sure to be revived, but in the present crisis it is repeatedly used against glebeowners.

But the chief obstacle by which glebeowners are impeded is the want of compensation for unexhausted improvements. On the one hand, incoming incumbents should be able to claim against their predecessors compensation for neglect of glebe lands; on the other, outgoers should be able to claim from their successors compensation for unexhausted improvements. The outgoer should stand towards his successor in the double relation of a tenant to a landlord and of a landlord to a tenant. He should enjoy the benefits and incur the liabilities of the Agricultural Holdings Act. At the same time care must be exercised that no improvements are claimed which are not absolutely necessary or indisputably useful. For this purpose the assistance of an experienced surveyor is essential; and such an officer might well unite his functions as a check upon extravagance with his duties as a guide to inexperience. Whatever legislation is framed to confer upon incumbents security for their unexhausted improvements might well contain clauses clearing up all doubtful points, such as the right of incumbents to emblements on lands which they hold in their own hands. At the present moment an incumbent who resigns his benefice is not entitled to growing crops, because he determines his interest in the estate by his own act. The existing law can hardly be considered in a satisfactory state. A Bill dealing with many of these and kindred topics has, I believe, been framed by the Archdeacon of Oakham.

The amount of the loans charged upon clerical residences and glebe lands is very large. The utmost difficulty is experienced in paying the annual premiums out of falling rents. No reasonable objection can be made to the rate of interest payable to Queen Anne's Bounty. But, in view of the continued depression, it is desirable that the Loans Extension Act of 1881, which expired in 1884, should be revived, and power given to throw the repayment of loans over a longer period in order to reduce the amount of the annual instalments. I have already quoted instances in which land improvement companies have foreclosed their mortgages. Two livings have been thus disendowed. The recent Act prohibiting ecclesiastical lands from being charged under certain circumstances with money for improvements does not, of course, affect charges already made. Large tracts of land may, therefore, be sold away from the Church at a heavy sacrifice. Can nothing be done to prevent this? A recurrence of this loss can only be prevented by a redemption of the loans.

Resources exist which might be utilised for this purpose, especially in the diocese of Peterborough, where the danger is most urgent. Though the surface of glebe lands yields no profit the subsoil is often of enormous value. Ironstone exists in large quantities at from 3ft. to 12ft. from the surface. At present this mine of wealth is unworked, owing to conflicts between the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the patrons of the benefice. It would be easy to raise sufficient money from this source to take up the Land Improvement Charges, and thus to save for the Church the advantage of any prospective improvement in the value of the land. Another fixed charge which hangs like a dead weight round the necks of the clergy, whether glebeowner or titheowner, is the liability incurred under the Incumbents' Resignation Act. The gross income of a living derived partly from tithe partly from glebe in 1879 was 759*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.* Out of this a pension was payable to the late incumbent of 245*l.* In 1886 the gross income has fallen to 597*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*; but the pension remains the same. The nett value of the living has fallen from 397*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* to 240*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* Thus the pension now exceeds the nett income of the incumbent, who is responsible for the care of the parish, and for whose benefit the endowment is intended. The committee of Convocation recommended that the Incumbents' Resignation Act should be "amended so as (1) to provide that the charge should not exceed one-third part of the net revenue actually received for any one year; and (2) to secure a reserved *minimum* for the incumbent who is responsible for the actual duties of the cure." Such a change appears to be not only expedient but equitable.

The points to which I have alluded by no means exhaust the changes which might be made to mitigate the sufferings of the clergy, and to give them the same chances of developing the resources of the soil that are already enjoyed by the rest of the community. The question of rates is one upon which I have no time or space to dwell. This is a grievance which the clergy share with all owners and occupiers of land. But I take the opportunity of expressing my thanks to the Rev. A. C. Dicker and others for the information upon the subject which they have kindly placed at my disposal. I hope I may be able on some future occasion to turn it to account.

There remains the larger question, What is to be the ultimate fate of clerical glebe lands? Are they to remain in the hands of the clergy? Are they to be transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners? or are they to be sold? If the latter course is pursued are patrons to have the right of pre-emption? or is the land to be sold to the highest bidder? With these questions must also be considered the proposal to sell the glebes for allotment purposes.

I am well aware of the importance of the secular side of the position of the clergy, and of the value of maintaining in each parish an independent landowner. I also recognise the possibility of a steady increase in the value of land. Yet on the whole I think that the interests of the Church, the clergy, and the nation would be best served by the disentanglement of clerical incomes from the soil. If this is, for the sake of argument, conceded, I propose very briefly to consider the various schemes which have been suggested to effect the change.

The tendency of modern agricultural legislation sets strongly against the accumulation of large properties in single hands. It is still more opposed to the tenure of land by corporations. The proposal to transfer glebe lands to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners appears to be in fatal conflict to these tendencies. The advantages to the clergy would be great, but, apart from the expenses and difficulties of management, any scheme which contemplates the accumulation of large estates in the hands of corporations can hardly be considered as practicable.

It would be unjust on the part of the Legislature to compel the sale of Church lands at the present moment. The large quantity of land thrown upon the market, the compulsory nature of the sale, the low prices of agricultural produce all combine to render the policy of a forced sale in the highest degree prejudicial to the interests of the Church. If the land is to be sold at all, it must be offered gradually and without compulsion. It is impossible to suppose that the value of land has been permanently reduced; in course of time it will most certainly revive. To sell in a panic is simply financial suicide. There is force in the arguments which are used to obtain for patrons a right of pre-emption; but the object of a sale is to improve the position of the rural clergy. To this consideration it appears to me that the claims of patrons must yield. If a clergyman finds a buyer at a fair price, fixed by a competent valuer, he ought, in my opinion, to be able to convert his land into Consols. Incumbents would most easily obtain increased facilities for the sale of glebe lands if they were placed in the position of tenants for life under Lord Cairns's Settled Estates Act. This was in fact the principle of a Bill introduced into the House of Commons in 1885, to which the names of Mr. Courtney and Mr. Ince, Q.C., were appended. The Bill, which proposed *inter alia* to give increased facilities for the sale of Church lands, was subsequently dropped. But the principle on which it proceeded seems to deserve the support of Churchmen; it has already received the sanction of a committee of Convocation, though additional restrictions on the power of sale were at the same time rightly recommended.

There remains the proposal to sell glebes for allotment grounds. The scheme betrays some ignorance of the condition of rural parishes. Most parishes are fully provided with allotments; sometimes the supply is greater than the demand. If allotment labourers are encouraged to become tenant-farmers, their troubles at once begin. Allotments are invaluable, so long as the labourers consume their own produce. But in the market they cannot compete with large farmers, except where their proximity to a town affords a ready sale for garden stuff. If all the lands which in these letters have been treated as glebes are to be included in the sale, the larger portion is unsuitable for the purpose from its distance from the village. In this case the Bill must contain a clause giving the Government the monopoly of laying out allotments, for, in more than one instance, the labourers have thrown up their old allotments so soon as they obtained more convenient tracts. If, on the other hand, only glebes proper are to be sold, the proposal is grossly unfair to glebeowners. Very often it is only the attraction of the land near the village which enables them to let their remote and scattered parcels. Take away the glebe proper, and the best chance of finding tenants for glebe lands will be gone.

In concluding my letters I beg to express my thanks to the number of clergymen who have kindly rendered me assistance, and whose letters I have in many instances unavoidably left unanswered. I also received valuable aid from many landlords; also from Mr. Smith Woolley, of South Collingham, Newark; Mr. Castle, of the firm of Messrs. Field and Castle, of Oxford; and Mr. Peter Purves, of Huntingdon. I must also acknowledge my special obligations to the Bishop of Peterborough and the Ven. Archdeacon of Oakham, without whose advice and assistance I should have been unable to collect any real information respecting the effect of agricultural depression on the incomes of the clergy.

The Guardian.

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The Peace of God
St. John's. 22 Oct 1882

J. Gwatkin

The Position of Members of the Church of England
in a College in the University of Cambridge.

A LETTER

ADDRESSED TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY

BY

JOHN SPICER WOOD, D.D.

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ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
March 24, 1882.

MY LORD,

I trust that I shall not be thought guilty of presumption, if I take leave to address your Lordship on a subject which may well be thought to have peculiar claims upon the attention of one who is at once a Bishop of the Church and the Visitor of the College of which I am a member. I desire to bring under your Lordship's notice, and under the notice, if it may be, of others whom it may concern, the position in which, by the operation of the Universities' Tests Act of 1871, in conjunction with the statutes of the College, whether those that were in force at the time that Act was passed or the revised statutes which have already received the sanction of the Commissioners and are now before Parliament, members of the Church of England are placed in this College, and I believe also in other colleges in the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

The subject is one which seems as yet to have attracted little or no attention. Much has indeed been said and written about the state and prospects of religion in general, and of the Church of England in particular, and the dangers to which they are exposed in these universities. But that which constitutes by far the greatest peril of all has been passed over without any notice whatever, so far as I have observed. For there surely can be no greater peril to the Church of England and to religion, than that the Church herself should deliberately abandon the foundations on which alone she can rest as a Christian Church, should abdicate her sacred functions in relation to her members, and should allow them, without even so much as a word of remonstrance on the part of her bishops, her priests, or her laity, and even with the active assistance of

some of them, to be transferred to societies which it is an outrage on the name of Christ to regard as in any way entitled to represent His Church. And this is what the Church of England is now doing in these colleges.

The Governing Bodies of colleges, I need not remind your Lordship, are no longer, in law, composed exclusively, as they were before the passing of the Act of 1871, of members of the Church of England; and they are every year coming to be more and more, in fact, composed indiscriminately of men of any or of no religious profession whatever, chance-medleys of churchmen, dissenters and unbelievers. Yet to such bodies has been entrusted ever since that Act was passed, and is still under the revised statutes to be entrusted, the entire control, without any limitation whatever, of the religious instruction and the religious discipline, and with only the most trifling limitations, of the religious worship of all members of the Church of England who are residing in these colleges. All alike, old and young, fellows and undergraduates, priests and laymen, are placed, in all that concerns the exercise of their most sacred rights and the discharge of their most sacred duties as members of the Church of Christ, wholly at the mercy of these bodies, now alien to the Church of England, alien to the Church of Christ. And the Church of England, at large, in the persons of her bishops, her clergy and her laity, looks on in stolid indifference, while the rising generation of fellows of colleges who may still desire to cling to their ancient mother, even when she proves herself, as alas! she so often does prove herself, the stepdame rather than the nursing mother of her sons, and the flower of the Church's youth, and they who should be the future hope of her clergy, are brought under the yoke of this shameful, this antichristian bondage.

I have no intention to intrude upon your Lordship any question as to the changes in the conditions of admission to fellowships, or of retention of them, which were effected by the Act of 1871, or will be effected by the revised statutes of colleges when they shall have come into force. I take

it for certain, that for the future every member of a college, from the Master downwards, and therefore every member of its Governing Body, will be perfectly free to reject, not only the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England, but all religious faith whatsoever. It is only to the portentous powers in relation to religion, so far as members of the Church of England are concerned, which have now become vested in these bodies, notwithstanding these changes in their constitution, and are, under the revised statutes, to be vested in them in perpetuity, that I desire to direct attention.

According to the preamble of the Act of 1871, its purpose was to remove disabilities "under proper safeguards for the maintenance of religious instruction and worship." It was, I presume, with a view to provide some such safeguard that, after it had been enacted that all disabilities on the score of religious profession should be removed, the Act went on to provide as follows :

"Nothing in this Act shall interfere with or affect, any further or otherwise than is hereby expressly enacted, the system of religious instruction, worship, and discipline which now is, or which may hereafter be lawfully established in the said universities respectively, or in the colleges thereof, or any of them, or the statutes and ordinances of the said universities and colleges respectively relating to such instruction, worship, and discipline."

Now it may well be that members of Parliament in either House, profoundly ignorant as they were, with the very rarest exceptions, of the nature and constitution of the bodies with which they were dealing, may have thought that by this clause they were providing some real safeguard. In reality, so far as members of the Church of England are concerned, the safeguard was wholly illusory. Since the year 1860, when new statutes were imposed upon colleges by the Commission which was appointed by Parliament in 1856, saving that Morning and Evening Prayers were to be said every day in the college chapel, according to the order of the Church of England, except for some grave cause to be approved

by the Master and Seniors, there was absolutely no system whatever established in this College, or I believe in other colleges, which was not wholly dependent on the will and pleasure of the Governing Body. It had been the policy of that Commission to sweep away entirely the definite system of worship, of instruction, and of discipline in accordance with the system of the Church, for which all previous statutes of colleges had made provision; and under the pretext that their Governing Bodies must of necessity be composed exclusively of professed members of the Church of England, and must therefore be under all possible obligations, legal and moral, to regulate such matters in accordance with the order of the Church, to invest them with absolute power in the regulation of them. The Act of 1871 having for its express object the removal of all restrictions in respect of religious profession in the case of fellows of colleges, and therefore of members of their Governing Bodies, the only effect of this clause is to recognise, and by recognising to confirm, the right of the Governing Bodies, though now no longer composed exclusively of members of the Church, to exercise as against members of the Church of England the same powers in respect of religious worship, religious instruction, and religious discipline as by the statutes of 1860 they were empowered to exercise when they were exclusively composed of members of the Church. And both by the Act itself and by the statutes which have received the sanction of the Commission, the powers of the Governing Body as against members of the Church have even been extended.

It may be necessary to enter into some detail in order to shew the full extent of the powers with which this body is thus entrusted in this College.

In the first place, then, the Governing Body has now, and is to have for the future, entirely in its own hands the appointment and removal of the persons who are to conduct the Divine Service, to preach, or to celebrate the Holy Eucharist in the college chapel. Previous to the year 1860 it had no such power. But since the statutes of that year came into force there has not been a single member of the College in Holy

Orders, from the Master downwards, who has had any right whatsoever, except such as the Governing Body might choose to give him *de die in diem*, to discharge any of his sacred functions in the college chapel. This was surely a very large power indeed to be given to the Governing Body, even when it was to be composed exclusively of members of the Church. It is absolutely intolerable that it should be handed over to a Governing Body composed indiscriminately of men of any or of no religious profession. It is one of the grave abuses of the English Church—an abuse the range of which has been very largely extended by the Universities' Tests Act—that persons who are outside the pale of the Church should have right of patronage in her parishes. But in these cases the patron's power expires when once his presentee has received institution from the Bishop. He has no power to remove him, or to withdraw from him the emoluments of his office, or to interfere with him in any way in the discharge of his duties. Whereas in a college as now constituted, not only does the Governing Body appoint and remove at pleasure the person who is to officiate in the college chapel, and determine, equally at its pleasure, whether he shall have any stipend or not, but no one so appointed can officiate at all in the college chapel except under such rules and regulations as the Governing Body may choose to lay down.

For in the next place, the Governing Body is empowered to “make such regulations as it may deem expedient for the due celebration of Divine Service, and for the due maintenance of religious worship and discipline;” and the Deans are required to “give effect to such rules and regulations as may from time to time be made by it.” This, again, is a power which was not possessed by the Governing Body, except within very narrow limits, before the year 1860; and it gives to this body, in effect, the entire control of everything relating to the services in the college chapel. Under cover of it the Governing Body claims and exercises the right to determine all those variable matters in the conduct of Divine Service which in a parish are regulated by a duly ordained minister of the Church. On its

members, and on them alone, it depends not only whether services are to be said or sung, whether they are to be plain or choral, whether hymns are to be used or not, and if used, what they are to be, whether sermons are to be preached or not, and who are to preach them, but even to suspend the services altogether when they please. Nay, more, the Governing Body claims and exercises the right to determine all matters relating to the administration of the Sacrament, whether it shall ever be administered or not, and if it is administered, how often and under what conditions. These, again, were surely large powers to be entrusted even to a body composed exclusively of members of the Church, powers which elsewhere in the Church are entrusted only to the Church's own ordained ministers, in subordination to the Bishop. It is intolerable that such powers should be entrusted, as against members of the Church, to men not one of whom shall be under any obligation, legal or moral, to have any regard in the exercise of his powers to the doctrine or discipline of the Church. The possession of such power, taken in conjunction with the power of appointing and removing at pleasure those who are to officiate, not only degrades the clergy who take service under them to the position of "tame Levites" in the hands of the members of the Governing Body, but places the whole body of members of the Church of England in the college practically at their mercy in all that concerns Divine Worship.

These are powers which the Seniority as reconstituted by the Act, and the Council as constituted by the revised statutes, take over from the Seniority as constituted by the statutes of 1860. But as if the Governing Body, by being thrown open indiscriminately to persons who are aliens and enemies to the Church and to religion, were thereby rendered all the more fit to regulate the religious worship of members of the Church, the Act of 1871 went on to enlarge its powers of interference in this respect, and the Commissioners appointed to revise the statutes have still further extended them.

For whereas the Governing Body, so long as it was composed exclusively of members of the Church, whatever other powers

it might possess, had no power to tamper with the services as they stand in the Prayer Book, the Act of 1871, which for the first time removed all religious restrictions, went on to provide that it should be "lawful for the Visitor of any College, on the request of the Governing Body thereof, to authorise from time to time in writing the use on week-days only of any abridgement or adaptation of the Morning and Evening Prayer in the chapel of such college instead of the order set forth in the Book of Common Prayer."

Now, the only thing that can be said with any certainty with regard to this clause is that it makes distinct provision for enabling members of that "unevangelical alliance" of churchmen and separatists and misbelievers and unbelievers which is to constitute the Governing Body of the future, to lay the Prayer Book from time to time on their dissecting-table to be cut and carved by them to suit their own purposes, and then imposed, thus mutilated and most probably stripped of all definite doctrine, on the young and untrained members of the Church who will constitute almost the whole body of those who will be affected by such changes, as if it had the sanction of the Church.

Even if it could be expected that the authorisation of the Visitor would in all cases be sought for any changes that might be made in the substance of the services, the services themselves must first have undergone the manipulation of this unhallowed conclave; and though in the case of this College the Visitor is a Bishop of the Church, the Visitor of a College is not now in all cases of necessity so much as a member of the Church, any more than the members of a Governing Body are. But in reality the Visitor's authority will ordinarily be assumed to be given unless some one or other of the very few persons who have the right, be found also to have the determination, to invoke his interference. The great mass of those who will be affected by such changes have no right of appeal whatever. The Governing Body, so long as it does not make suddenly any very startling change, will practically have the power, and having the power must be expected to exercise it, to modify and mould the daily

services in accordance with whatever may be the predominant sentiments of its members. For it is not in the nature of such a body not to exercise powers which it legally possesses. It is to be expected rather that it will stretch its powers to the utmost, and be constantly encroaching on the rights of those who are made subject to it. And when members of the Church have once recognised the right of such a body to regulate their religious affairs, they have deprived themselves of all reasonable ground of complaint if it should exercise its right without any regard to the doctrines or the ordinances of the Church.

But while Parliament thus enlarged the powers of the Governing Body in relation to the services of the college chapel, the Commission in its revision of the statutes has still further extended its powers in relation to those who are to officiate in the services. By the revised statutes (c. 38) it is provided that the Council "shall appoint . . . some one or more *persons* to act as chaplains, and shall, if necessary, provide stipends for these persons from the revenues of the college;" and further, that "sermons shall be preached in the college chapel at such times and *by such persons* as the Council may direct." Thus in future the *persons* who are to be appointed to discharge these important functions, besides being wholly dependent on the good pleasure of the Council for their appointment, their removal, and their maintenance, are not required to be persons in Holy Orders, not even to be persons in the communion of the Church. They may be open and avowed separatists from the Church, open and avowed depravers of her doctrine and her discipline, nay, even open and avowed unbelievers in Christ or in God. Nor, if these statutes are to be imposed upon the College, would any one have any right to complain if a Council which is to include among its members persons of any or all of these classes should use the powers entrusted to it to appoint such persons to discharge these sacred functions. And he must be a very sanguine person indeed who can imagine that the law, as at present administered, would furnish any effectual means of preventing such an appointment.

It is possible that even as the law now stands there may be

nothing to prevent the appointment of a layman to preach, or even to conduct Morning and Evening Prayers, in a college chapel. And it may be, too, that no principles of the Church of England or of the Church of Christ would be violated if a layman in the communion of the Church were appointed to preach, or even to say Morning and Evening Prayers, provided he received his commission to do so from the recognised authorities of the Church. But it is a widely different thing when the power is given to appoint any "person" whatsoever, without any limitation, to a body composed, so far as religious profession is concerned, of any persons whatsoever, to a body which has not, and cannot have, any authority of the Church. It is said, I believe, that the statutes are worded as they are in this respect in view of the possibility of the law being so altered before long as to admit of laymen officiating in churches generally. One might have hoped that if the Commissioners, two of whom were bishops of the Church, thought it worth while to exercise a little forethought with regard to a possible contingency of this kind, they would at least have had some forethought also as to the position of members of the Church under not merely a contingent state of things, but under a change which has already been made in the constitution of the body to which by their statutes they are making them subject. But in point of fact, what we have to expect from new statutes drawn up in such terms as that to which I have drawn attention, is that they will be regarded as in themselves sufficient authority, in point of law, for doing away with all restrictions in regard to the persons appointed to officiate, at least in college chapels.

Thus far with regard to the powers entrusted to the Governing Body of the College in the regulation of the services in the college chapel and of the ministers thereof. I pass now to the powers given to it in respect of the religious instruction of members of the Church who are *in statu pupillari*. And here we are met by a new enactment altogether. By the Act of 1871 it is enacted that "the Governing Body of every college subsisting at the time of the passing of this Act in any of the

said universities shall provide sufficient religious instruction for all members thereof *in statu pupillari* belonging to the Established Church." I presume it is intended that by this description members of the Church of England should be understood, though the term "Established Church" is unknown to the authoritative documents of the Church, or known only to be condemned if used as a distinctive term, and though this very Act and the statutes which are founded upon it are instituting a new syncretistick "establishment," to take the place of the Church of England in these colleges. But however that may be, no college has yet, I believe, taken any steps to give effect to this enactment. Now, however, the Commissioners are seeking to compel colleges to act upon it by embodying it in the revised statutes and making provision for carrying it out. In the revised statutes of this College is a provision in these terms: "The Council shall appoint some one or more persons to give religious instruction to members of the College *in statu pupillari* who belong to the Established Church."

Now what has been said already with regard to the appointment of "persons" to act as chaplains and to preach in the college chapel applies with equal, nay with greater, force in regard to this enactment. For there is not in this case even the restriction, illusory as I am persuaded even this will prove, which is involved in what is supposed to be the general law in relation to consecrated chapels. It is not required that this religious instructor should be in Holy Orders. It is not required that he should have any commission to teach derived from any Church authority. It is not required that he should be in the communion of the Church. It is not required that he should be so much as a Christian by profession. And as regards the instruction to be given, it is not required that it should be in harmony with the doctrine and discipline of the Church. And if it were, such requirement would be useless, when, in case of question, there is no authority to determine the question but a "Council" composed indiscriminately of persons of any or no religious profession. A strange council, indeed, to claim the authority of a council of the Church and decide

what is to be taught as the doctrine of the Church! A ready instrument in the hands of a majority of the Council for impressing from time to time upon the minds of the younger members of the Church who resort to these colleges for their education, and impressing as if they were the doctrines of the Church of England, whatever may be the notions in relation to religion which may be predominant in the chance-medley of religionists which may constitute the Council for the time being.

Lastly, the Governing Body of the College is empowered by these revised statutes, as it was by the statutes of 1860, to "make such regulations as they may deem expedient for the due maintenance of religious discipline."

Previous to the year 1860 the religious discipline of a college was a well-defined system, founded on the laws of the Church, and prescribed by the statutes of the college, to be observed as matter of obligation by the fellows and scholars who constituted the college in the proper sense of the term, and only binding in a subordinate degree on those persons *in statu pupillari* who are commonly called pensioners. The Commissioners of 1856 swept away all this statutory system, and placing the fellows of the college under such obligations only as arose out of their own deliberate profession of being *bonâ fide* members of the Church of England, empowered them, under the restraint of such obligations, to enforce upon other members of the college such a system of religious discipline as from time to time they might deem expedient. The fellows of colleges have now secured their own release from all religious obligations whatsoever. And yet the fellows of this College are seeking to procure by statute for a Governing Body, which is to be a committee of themselves, the power both to impose upon those members of the Church who are *in statu pupillari*, under the name of religious discipline, any obligations which they may think fit, and to dispense with those rules of discipline which the Church herself has laid down, and even to debar both fellows and undergraduates, at their pleasure, from all opportunity of observing them within the precincts

of the College. It is doing no injustice to a religious system which rests on such foundation to pronounce it nothing less than an "organised hypocrisy." And wide indeed may we expect the "wide reign of hypocrisy" to become, if such is to be the system in which the future clergy of the Church are to be trained, as being the system of the Church of which they are members.

It is difficult to say precisely what does and what does not come under the head of religious discipline, and the more so where the power is mainly exercised in dispensing with the Church's rules of discipline in regard to her own members, or obstructing the observance of them. But I can at least state something, founded on a long experience, as to the powers which are actually claimed and exercised by the Governing Body of a college in this respect.

This body, then, though itself outside the Church's pale, will claim and exercise, in the name of religious discipline, the right to prescribe to members of the Church *in statu pupillari* what services, and how many, they are to attend in the college chapel, and this without any regard to what may be the Church's own discipline in the matter. It will claim and exercise the right to determine whether fellows of the college who are in Holy Orders shall be allowed to observe in the college chapel the discipline prescribed by the Church in respect of communicating in the Blessed Sacrament, and whether, indeed, any members of the college, fellows or others, shall have any opportunity of communicating at all, or if they have, how often it shall be, and under what conditions. It will claim and exercise the right, though it be in entire violation of the Church's own order, to require that any persons who choose to offer themselves shall be admitted to the Holy Communion, though they are known not to be confirmed, nor to have any desire to be confirmed, nay not even to be baptised. It will claim and exercise the right to prescribe that young men shall read the lessons in the chapel services, though it be known that they are not members of the Church, not baptised, not even believers in Christ or in God. It will claim and exercise the right to determine on what

conditions testimonials for Holy Orders shall be given, and its members may even sign testimonials to the effect that the candidate for Holy Orders has not to their knowledge maintained anything contrary to the doctrine and discipline of the Church, though they themselves may be open depravers and repudiators alike of its doctrine and its discipline. And when the religious instructor shall have been palmed off upon the members of the Church *in statu pupillari*, they will claim, I presume, and exercise, in the name of religious discipline, the right to compel those for whose benefit he is supposed to be appointed to attend the instructions which he may give.

Such, my Lord, is the system of government—I will not desecrate a name which is inseparably bound up with the most sacred of all names by calling it a system of Church government—under which the members of the Church of England are now placed in this College, and are for the future to be placed, in all that concerns the exercise of their most sacred rights and the discharge of their most sacred duties as members of the Church. Such are some of the powers—some, I say, for where all is made to depend, mediately or immediately, on the Governing Body, and nothing can be done without its intervention, it is impossible by any mere enumeration of particulars to convey an adequate conception of the full extent of the powers which such a body may legally exercise;—such are some of the powers entrusted, as against members of the Church, to a Seniority of nine or a Council of thirteen, as the case may be, in which the churchman is to sit down in unhallowed conclave with the separatist, the heretick, the unbeliever, the Jew, it may be, or the apostate priest, to determine from time to time what shall be the religious worship, the religious discipline, or the religious instruction of all members of the Church in this College. Such is the position, shameful and degrading beyond all parallel in the history of the Church of Christ, to which, ever since the Act of 1871 was passed, all members of the Church in this, and I believe in other colleges, have been reduced by law, to which bishops from without and priests from within have been lending all the aid in their power to reduce them in fact, and which the

Commissioners by their statutes, which are now before Parliament, propose to entail in perpetuity on all future members of the College who shall have the misfortune to be members of the Church of England.

It may help to a due appreciation of this system if we consider what would be the case if a similar system were to be adopted in all that relates to the Church and her members in the several parishes of your Lordship's and of other dioceses. Let it be supposed, then, that when the system of School Boards was first instituted, Parliament had been pleased to enact that there should be a School Board for every parish, constituted in respect of religion as School Boards are now constituted. And to make the parallel more complete, let it be supposed that these Boards were either close corporations, the vacancies in which should be filled up by co-optation, or committees of such corporations. Suppose that to such Boards Parliament had given the entire control, not only of the secular instruction of all the young people of every parish, but also specifically of the religious instruction of all those between the ages, say, of eighteen and five-and-twenty who were members of the Church of England, while those who were not members of the Church were exempted from their control; that they were empowered to determine what should be the nature of the instruction to be given under the name of religious instruction to these members of the Church, and to appoint and remove at their pleasure the "persons" who should give this instruction, persons of any or of no religious profession being alike eligible for this purpose. Suppose further that the regulation of all matters connected with Divine Service and the administration of the Sacraments in the parish church were placed in the hands of these School Boards, with no other limitation but that the daily services must be either those which are prescribed in the Prayer Book or some abbreviation or adaptation of them which should be authorised by the nearest magistrate it may be in a country parish, by the mayor in a borough, by the bishop, perhaps, in a cathedral city; that the office of the incumbent being abolished and

its revenues confiscated to the purposes of the School Board, the Board should be required to appoint from time to time some one or more "persons" to act as chaplains, with no requirement even that these "persons" should be in Holy Orders, or even members of the Church, and should, if necessary, provide stipends for these persons out of the revenues of the Board; that the chaplains so appointed should hold office entirely at the pleasure of the Board, and should be allowed to officiate in the parish church only under such rules and regulations as the Board should choose to make from time to time; and that the sermons that should be preached in the parish church should be preached only at such times and by such "persons" as the Board should direct. Suppose, finally, that the Board was empowered to enforce, under penalties, the attendance of all those young men at the services and sermons and instructions thus directed, unless they, or their parents on their behalf, claimed exemption for them on the ground that they were not members of the "Established Church"; to determine when, if at all, and under what conditions any person should be admitted to receive the Holy Eucharist in the parish church; and, generally, to make any regulations which they might deem expedient for the due regulation of what they might regard as religious discipline, not only with regard to those young men, but with regard, in many respects, to all members of the Church residing in the parish.

Now the system which I have been supposing to be applied to the government of the Church in a parish is in every single feature precisely that under which all resident fellows of this College who are members of the Church of England, priests or laymen, and all members of the College who are *in statu pupillari*, are now placed, and if these iniquitous statutes are to become law, are for the future to be placed. There is absolutely no difference whatever in the cases, but in one single particular, and this particular it is which constitutes at once the peculiar peril of our position here as churchmen, and the peculiar responsibility of those who were fellows of the College

when this system first began to steal its insidious way into our midst. It is this. In the case which I have supposed the Board which is to exercise the functions of the Council comes into existence from the very first a *colluvies gentium* in respect of religious profession; whereas in our case provision is made for the gradual intrusion, into a body which at first is composed exclusively of members of the Church, of an alien element, which shall slowly, it may be, and insidiously, but surely and inevitably, work its way into power under the apparent shelter of the Church, which all the while it is undermining, and under the fostering care of members of the Church, lay and clerical, without whose help such a system could never have been brought into operation at all, and could not even now be sustained in operation for a moment, but out of whose control it must, in the very nature of things, very soon pass altogether.

Now in the system of the English Church a college in either of the universities has always been dealt with as holding, in relation to its members, the same position as a parish holds in relation to those who are residing in the parish. It has been regarded, in fact, as being itself a Church, in the narrower sense of the term, one of the constituent bodies, the combination of which makes up the Church in the larger sense. It is the only sphere within which the Church has made any provision for the exercise, on the part of her members residing in the college, of any of their spiritual rights or the discharge of any of their spiritual duties as members of the Church of Christ. It is in the chapel of their college alone that they have ever had any right to worship, in it alone that they have ever had any right to receive the Holy Eucharist. It is on the clergy of their college alone that they have ever had any claim for any spiritual ministrations, from them alone that they could ever claim to receive religious instruction, at their hands alone that they could ever claim the benefits of religious discipline. In the parishes of the town we are but strangers, kindly received, it may be, if we go to their churches or seek the ministrations of their clergy, but received only as strangers.

We have no right to a place in their churches, no claim on the services of their clergy. We are therefore no better than outcasts in religion when the Church abdicates her sacred functions and allows them to be handed over to a body which it is a desecration of the name of Christ to recognise as representing His Church. It is, indeed, no more than the sober truth to say that, as things now are, when members of the Church come within the walls of a college, they are placed outside the pale of the Church of England, outside the pale of the Church of Christ. Church of Christ, Church of England, as an organised body, there is none in a college as now constituted. The place of the Church is occupied, all her functions usurped, by a body which rests upon foundations and is organised on principles which are altogether alien to those on which the Church of Christ was planted and organised by her Divine Head.

I fail to see, my Lord, how a system of worship, of instruction, of discipline which rests only on such authority as this can have any claim on the allegiance of any member of the Church of England, of any member of the Church of Christ. I fail to see how any member of the Church of England to whom it is not a matter of indifference that the Church of which he is a member should part company with the Church of Christ, can accept such a system for himself or consent to take any part in the administration of it. I fail to see how any person in Holy Orders, who regards himself as having a Divine commission to minister in the Church of Christ, can take service in sacred things under a system of government which is false, as this is, to the very fundamental principles of the Church in which he holds his commission. Above all, I fail to see how any one with any sense of responsibility to the Church of England, as being the Church of Christ in this land, can take any part in compelling those members of a college *in statu pupillari*, who are members of the Church of England, to accept such a system of government in all that concerns their rights and duties as members of the Church, as being the system of the Church of which they are members.

When a system of government in respect of religious worship, religious instruction, and religious discipline claims the allegiance and is forced on the acceptance of members of the Church, they have surely a right to expect that such system shall be founded on the principles and be in accordance with the order of the Church of which they are members. Let it be considered, then, what this system really is, when regarded in relation to the recognised principles of the Church of England, which we have been accustomed to believe are no other than the principles of the Church of Christ.

The Church of Christ, whether the term be understood in its widest or in its narrowest sense, and whether regard be had to its ordinary members or to those who are admitted to office and administration in it, is, in its very essence, "a congregation of faithful men," of believers in God and Christ. This, according to a definition which we, at least, who are members of the Church of England are bound to accept, however it may be overlooked in the present day by many who allow their minds to be so sophisticated by fictions of a National or an Established Church as to let the Church of Christ pass altogether out of their sight, is the very primary condition to be satisfied by any body which shall claim to represent to us the Church of Christ. Further, we have been accustomed to believe that the Church of England claims not only to rest on this foundation, the rock on which alone the Church's Divine Founder declared that He would build His Church, but to follow in its superstructure lines of order and government which are not of merely human ordinance but of Divine Institution, and transmitted to her from Christ and His Apostles in common with the whole Church of Christ throughout the world. And accordingly it has hitherto been a recognised principle of the Church of England, not only that no man could be regarded as a member of the Church who was not baptised on profession of faith in Christ, or who deliberately renounced such faith, but that none should be admitted to offices of administration in the Church who were not themselves amenable to the doctrine and the discipline of the Church, and were not ad-

mitted to such offices in accordance with the Church's own divinely ordained order.

But here we have now, in these colleges, since the Act of 1871 was passed, governing bodies constituted, the very charter of whose existence is that their members shall be free to reject, at their pleasure, not only the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, but even that faith in Christ and in God which lies at the very foundation of the Church of Christ, and without which there can be no Church at all; bodies which by their very constitution, by the primary conditions of their existence, are *not* "congregations of faithful men," not composed of persons baptised into the faith of Christ, not composed of persons who own any allegiance to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England, but chance-medleys of believers and unbelievers, of baptised and unbaptised persons, of men who may be in the communion of the Church, and of men who may be in any and every stage of alienation from and hostility to the Church of England or the Church of Christ. And yet by the same Act by which these bodies were for the first time constituted under these conditions of membership, and by the revised statutes which are to consolidate and perpetuate their powers, these bodies are erected, by the former, it may be, through inadvertence, by the latter deliberately, into the sole Governing Bodies of the Church of England in these colleges. Their members are made the supreme rulers of the members of the Church of England in all that concerns the exercise of their spiritual rights and the discharge of their spiritual duties as members of the Church of Christ. As against the members of the Church they are invested with powers which are virtually absolute in all that concerns religion, powers greater than those which the Church entrusts to her own commissioned clergy. Every function of the Church in respect of government, of discipline, of worship, of instruction, is made over to them. Each of these bodies is palmed off upon us as if it were, within the sphere of the college whose Governing Body it is, the very "persona" of the Church, the sole representative of her office in relation to her children.

It is not merely some new abuse, some new disorder, some new anomaly in the Church that we have here to deal with. It would be no light matter, if it were no more than this. There are surely abuses, disorders, anomalies enough already in the Church of England to tax the patience and try the faith of those who would fain believe that, in spite of all, she is still the Church of Christ in this land. What we have here to deal with is an entire subversion of the very foundations on which alone a Christian Church can rest. That which, in whatever degree it has hitherto found place in the Church through the guilt and the neglect of her rulers, has always hitherto been recognised as nothing short of a scandalous abuse, a shameful disorder, an indefensible anomaly, is now taken up through these colleges into the very system of the Church, and made to be, so far as they are concerned, her normal condition of existence, her sole legitimate order, her constant and permanent use, even though the Church herself, as a divine order of things, perishes in the using of it. We have here the deliberate establishment, in the name of the Church of England and under the shelter of her authority, of a power which is not of the Church, which is not Christian, and yet in all spiritual things shall claim the allegiance and be lord of the conscience of all who are members of the Church in these colleges; the deliberate intrusion of the misbeliever and the unbeliever into the very sanctuary of the temple of God. For the first time, I think I may safely say, in the history of the Church of England, in the history of the Church of Christ, is a system of government deliberately intruded upon the members of the Church, which within the sphere of its operation dislodges the Church from the rock of faith on which she was planted by her Divine Founder, and commits her to the ever-shifting quicksands of opinion of the members of a merely secular association; which dissociates her members utterly from the divine order of government which she has inherited from all past ages of the Church, and brings them under a form of government which, as applied to members of the Church of Christ in respect of religion, is nothing short of antichristian; which severs her yet

living members, as they come under its malign influence, from the living Body of Christ, and binds them in unhallowed bonds to a dead and noxious body, which is intruded into the place of that living Body,—so to be cast abroad on the wide waters of misbelief and unbelief, which our bishops are never weary of telling us are now seething around the Church and threatening to engulf her, and to be dragged down into their depths, unless they themselves shall have the strength and the resolution to break the fatal bonds. And it is at what has hitherto been as the very heart of the Church, in the places from which she has been wont to draw her fresh life-blood, in the colleges to which the flower of her youth and the future hope of her clergy have been accustomed to resort, that this system has been established. And bishops from without and priests from within seem quite content to have it so, and to do all that in them lies to make the Church at large believe that this system is in reality the Church's own divinely ordained system, still as in times past in operation among us.

What conception of a Church, we may well ask, what of the relation in which the Church of England stands to the Church of Christ, do the bishops expect that they who are taught to regard such a system as this as the system of the Church of England shall carry away with them from these colleges? What machinery could be better devised, on what stage erected with more surety of success, for making the transition smooth and easy from the Church of England, as she still claims to be, the pillar and ground of the truth in this land, to that Church of the future, dear to the heart of many modern disciples of the late Dr. Arnold, which whenever it comes before us in "questionable shape," is seen to bear on its front the unmistakable marks that it is none other than a veritable reign of antichrist, a National Church so called, in which it shall be matter of indifference whether there be one Lord, or one Faith, or one Baptism, or even one God and Father of all, provided only that there be one Nation? What right will bishops or clergy, or laity have to complain, who shall have allowed such a system to grow up in our midst, if, ere another generation be

passed away, the young men whom they shall themselves have decoyed, or allowed to be decoyed, into these houses of antichristian bondage should go forth from them prepared to become the very Janissaries of the false prophet into whose hands they have been given for tribute? It must surely have been in unconscious irony, in tacit recognition of the real nature of the system which they were establishing in this College, that the Commissioners by whom the statutes of colleges have recently been revised, while carefully removing from the statutes of this College every restriction which could bar the election to its mastership of an open and avowed atheist, should nevertheless have retained in those statutes the requirement, once in strict harmony with the purpose for which the College was originally founded but now become immeasurably profane, that the person so elected, be he who or what he may, shall be admitted to his office by being installed in the chief place in the college chapel. Fit symbol, indeed, of the reign, already begun in these colleges, of the man of sin who, being what he is, nevertheless "sitteth, as God, in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God."

And it is at the very time when Parliament itself is shaken to its centre by the shock of the controversy about Mr. Bradlaugh that the statutes by which the abomination of desolation is thus to be set up in perpetuity in these colleges are laid before Parliament. The members of a great political party, not without the strong sympathy of many of their ordinary opponents, are profoundly scandalised by the intrusion into the House of Commons of one who makes no secret of his atheism. And yet the members of the same party are looking on, apparently with entire indifference, while statutes are lying on the table of the House by which, if they are allowed to become law, misbelievers and unbelievers of every kind will be intruded by Parliament into the very sanctuary of the Church of Christ, and invested in perpetuity with the legal right to regulate at their will the religious worship, the religious instruction, and the religious discipline of all members of the Church of England who are residing in these colleges.

But we can hardly be surprised that ordinary members of Parliament should shew so little sense of consistency if the bishops of the Church look on and take no heed, or even turn aside to help in imposing this monstrous yoke upon their fellow-members of the Church of England. The Primates and some bishops of the Church can join in a mild remonstrance against the admission into Parliament of persons who refuse to acknowledge that there is a God. But during all the years that the unbeliever and misbeliever have been stealing into fellowships in these colleges, which carry with them the possession of these portentous powers in relation to the Church, neither the Primates nor any of the bishops have taken any steps to protect the members of the Church against the intrusion of such men into the government of the Church, or even so much as remonstrated against it. And two bishops, as members of the Commission, have made themselves distinctly responsible for the drafting of the statutes by which such men are to be confirmed in the possession of these powers in perpetuity. Are we really to believe that it is a greater scandal that an atheist should be admitted into the House of Commons than that he should be intruded by Parliament, with the help of bishops, into the government of the Church of Christ?

Surely, my Lord, it is vain and worse than vain to protest against the admission of atheists into Parliament, and then quietly to acquiesce in the intrusion of such persons into the government of the Church, nay, even take part in intruding them. It is idle and worse than idle for churchmen to profess to be shocked that a man should play fast and loose with the sacred sanction of an oath, and then play a part themselves in the "organised hypocrisy," which I dare to affirm that the religious system of colleges now is. It might, indeed, seem ludicrous, were it not rather matter for the gravest indignation, that fellows of colleges, having procured their own exemption from all the religious obligations which were designed to attach to them in these colleges, should now be seeking, as they are seeking by means of the revised statutes, to secure to themselves the power to impose, notwithstanding, even under legal

penalties, any obligations they may think fit, under the name of religion, on those who shall be members of the Church of England. But it is not of those who may reject the doctrine and discipline of the Church for any of the countless forms of misbelief and unbelief that are current in the world that we have any right to complain, if, under the pretext of abolishing religious tests, they have procured for themselves and now seek to secure such monstrous rights of interference in the government of the Church, and if, having such rights, they should use them to their full extent, either to "liberalise" the Church of England, as it is called, and strip her of all distinctive doctrine or discipline, or to tide over for a time that "moral interregnum" which begins to stare men in the face when they go about to establish a kingdom of righteousness which shall not be a kingdom of God.

The real responsibility for allowing such statutes to be imposed upon these colleges, if, as seems only too probable, they are to be imposed upon them by law, must rest solely upon the Church of England herself in the persons of her bishops, her clergy, and her laity, to whose supine indifference—to say nothing of the active aid of some from whom the Church had a right to expect better things—it is due that the misbeliever and the unbeliever gained a footing in the government of the Church in these colleges in the first instance, and are now establishing their hold in perpetuity. And the real responsibility for giving effect to this system of government, by which the Church of England is started on a path which is not the path marked out by our Lord for the Church of Christ to tread, and once started must ever diverge more and more from her divinely appointed course, must rest on those heads and fellows of colleges, whether laymen or in Holy Orders, but above all on those in Holy Orders, who choose to accept it for themselves, to serve as its ministers, to join with aliens and enemies of the Church in the administration of it, and to impose it, as the system of the Church, on the young men who are helpless in their hands. But responsibility must surely rest in even a larger measure on the bishops, who are the divinely

appointed rulers of the Church, if their voices are not heard, or heard only to be speaking smooth things and prophesying deceits, when the Church is drifting on the quicksands, and their hands are not seen at the helm, or seen only, as has unhappily been the case in some recent instances, to be steering her into the midst of them. The most fatal wounds of the Church are ever the wounds wherewith she is wounded in the house of those who should be her chiefest friends.

Parliament by the Act of 1871 created—for it was in reality a new creation—governing bodies of colleges which, for very obvious reasons, were even more unfit to have the regulation of the religious affairs of members of the Church of England, unless it were for the express purpose of demoralising and disintegrating the Church, than any casual collections of the same number of men could have been. But whatever ulterior objects some of the promoters of this measure may have had, there is no reason to suppose that members of Parliament of either House, with perhaps a few exceptions, had any other object in view but to open, as they conceived, to all classes of her Majesty's subjects, certain posts of honour and emolument which had heretofore been in exclusive possession of members of the Church of England. And if, when this measure was in progress, the archbishops and bishops of the Church had used their high vantage-ground as Lords of Parliament to press upon Parliament, with aught of the unanimity and urgency with which, but two or three years after, they pressed upon it a measure of most evil omen for the Church, the necessity of providing that the governing bodies of colleges, which by that measure were to be opened indiscriminately to persons of any or of no religious profession, should no longer have any right or power to interfere in the regulation of the religious worship, the religious instruction, or the religious discipline of members of the Church, or at least that no members of these bodies should have power to interfere unless they were members of the Church, it is difficult to believe that Parliament would have refused to listen to them. Such a provision as this was the only "safeguard" for members of the

Church which could be of any real value. There were ample precedents for such a provision even in cases where only the external affairs of the Church, and not its internal administration, were concerned. And when so momentous a change was made in the constitution of bodies which had always from their very foundation been most intimately associated with the Church, and under their latest statutes had been invested with almost absolute powers in the regulation of religious matters, on the ground of their being composed exclusively of members of the Church, it was so obviously just and equitable that such provision should be made, that one may be excused for believing, until better instructed, that Parliament would have assented to it, if proposed by the chief rulers of the Church. But instead of this I fear it must be admitted that it was due mainly, if not entirely, to the action of the bishops, whether acting of their own motion and sharing the ignorance of ordinary members of Parliament as to the real constitution of these colleges, or at the instigation of members of colleges, whose "corporate selfishness" too often forbids them willingly to part with any power which they have once possessed, however unfit to possess it they may from altered circumstances have become, that Parliament imposed upon colleges "safeguards," so called, in regard to religion, which, so far as the members of the Church are concerned, are only safeguards in the sense in which fetters and manacles are so, safeguards which serve no other purpose but to ensure that the limbs shall not have free play, and must at any cost be cast off, if the whole body is not to be paralysed.

There may, then, be some ground for thinking that the position in which the Church and her members have been placed in these colleges since the Act of 1871 was passed, has been the result rather of the ignorance and inadvertence of the legislature than of its deliberate intention. But if the statutes which are now lying before Parliament are to become law, no such excuse can be pleaded. Deliberately and of set purpose as the Commissioners have swept away every restriction which might possibly have ensured that some members of the Govern-

ing Body in this College must always be persons in Holy Orders, as deliberately have they, by their revised statutes, placed in the hands of this Governing Body all and more than all the powers, with regard to the government in all sacred things, the religious worship, the religious instruction, and the religious discipline, of members of the Church, which a Seniority composed only of members of the Church ever possessed, more even than the Act of 1871 itself gave. When this Commission was appointed, as a sequel to the Act of 1871, being appointed as it was when a political party was in power which makes large professions of superior attachment to the Church, it might reasonably have been expected that its members would have received instructions to look into the bearing of the changes introduced by that Act upon the position of members of the Church in colleges, to redress whatever wrong might have been done them through ignorance or through inadvertence, and to provide against it for the future. Such wrong could hardly have failed to be done under any circumstances when so entire a reversal of the constitution of colleges was made as that which was made by the Act of 1871; and the wrong that was in fact done under that Act was done almost in the most aggravated form that was possible. Whether it fell within the scope of the instructions given to the Commissioners, or whether it was open to them, in any way, to redress the wrong, it is not for me to say. But when, being instructed to have regard in any changes they might make to the main design of the several founders of colleges, they were able to "read into" this instruction, as they have done in regard to this College, a permission to set aside the last remaining traces of a regard for the main, not to say the sole, design of the Foundress, it is difficult to believe that their hands were so straitly tied that they must needs deliberately confirm and even enlarge the powers which Parliament had indirectly, and perhaps unintentionally, given to the governing bodies of colleges, as against members of the Church. Yet this is what a Commission has done which includes among its members two bishops of the Church. It is hard to see in what respects we,

who are members of the Church, are better off for the presence of these bishops on the Commission than we should have been if the two members for Northampton had been in their place. And they at least would not have cast that glamour over the eyes of men which gives to bishops a prodigious power for evil when they "interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn" not to arrest but to sanctify wrong-doing.

Perhaps even now, if the bishops could be induced to put the matter fairly and fully before Parliament, Parliament might be induced to redress the wrong, so far as it results from its own action, if these results are not what Parliament itself intended; and these statutes, so far as they place the entire control of all that relates to the religious worship, the religious instruction, and the religious discipline of members of the Church of England, in the hands of governing bodies which are so manifestly unfit to be the depositaries of such power, might be disallowed. But it cannot be expected that Parliament should do anything to help the members of the Church, if they do not care to help themselves, or that members of Parliament should trouble themselves about the divine order of the Church, if her bishops and clergy are willing to sacrifice it rather than face in time any difficulties there may be in maintaining it. Churchmen are only too prone to complain of Parliament, of dissenters, of unbelievers, of I know not whom, when in reality they have only themselves to thank for what befalls them.

When the Act of 1871 was passed, it was still open to the governing bodies of Colleges then in existence, composed, as from the very necessity of the case they then were, of men who by their own profession were *bonâ fide* members of the Church of England, and in no inconsiderable degree of persons in Holy Orders, to abstain from bringing this system into operation in matters relating to religion. It was open to every member of a governing body to decline to bear any part in putting such a system into force; open to every fellow of a college in Holy Orders to decline to take service under it; open to every fellow, whether lay or clerical, to decline to accept its ordinances for

himself; open alike to governing bodies to decline any longer to impose, and to every fellow to decline to take part in imposing, upon the younger members of the college, who were members of the Church, obligations in respect of worship, of instruction, or of discipline, which could thenceforth rest only on the authority of a body which had and could have no claim to represent the authority of the Church, in whose name, nevertheless, those obligations should be imposed. It was open to heads and fellows of colleges who were members of the Church—and whatever may be the case with those who do not profess to regard the Church as anything but a purely civil institution, it was surely the only course open to those who profess to have any regard for what are sometimes called Church principles—to hold altogether aloof from a system by which for the first time in the history of the Church of England, in the history of the Church of Christ, the whole administration of the Church was transferred to bodies which, I do not scruple to say, as I have said before, it is an outrage on the name of Christ to regard as representing His Church. It was open to them by voluntary action, under the sanction of the Bishop within the limits of whose diocese, if not within his diocesan jurisdiction, the college should be situated, to organise a system of worship, of instruction, and of discipline which should have been in harmony with the system of the Church of which they are members, and should have enabled them to retain in her communion those younger members of the Church who should be committed to their care. It was open to the bishops of the Church to have given such encouragement and sanction to such a system as should have secured to it the confidence of the great mass of the members of the Church, who now, in hopeless ignorance of the utter hollowness and falsity of the ground on which we stand, commit their sons and their friends to a system from which, if they knew it as it really is, they would shrink with abhorrence. But it was not open either to the members of governing bodies to put such a system in operation, or to fellows of colleges in Holy Orders to take service under it, or to members of colleges, lay or clerical, to accept it for them-

selves, still less to have anything to do with forcing its acceptance upon others, or for bishops to give it their sanction and encouragement, and yet not be held responsible for imposing upon the members of the Church of England, as if it were indeed and in truth the Church's own system, a system of government which is false to the very first principles, subversive of the very foundations, of the Church of Christ.

But heads and fellows of colleges who are members of the Church have taken this responsibility upon them, and bishops have encouraged them to do so. Setting aside the very charter of the Church's existence as a Church of Christ, they have started on its insidious way, and are now sustaining, this false and treacherous system. And so it comes before the world in the first instance in the name and with the apparent authority of the Church of England, wears for a while her livery and even flaunts itself in her latest fashions, and has religious services, held in consecrated chapels and conducted by duly ordained priests, which, for the present, differ but little from the services of the Prayer Book, and are even tricked out to appear, in the strange jargon of the day, "bright and hearty" services. And simple folk who never think of looking beneath the surface, coming to these colleges and seeing that to all appearances things are going on as they were before, think that after all there has been no serious change in their constitution. And yet all the while the ground is hollow beneath our feet, and the foundations of this specious fabrick are slowly but surely slipping away from under us. They who build on these foundations can rear no other city but a city of confusion, though, seen through that dim haze of a vague religiousness which is fast settling down upon the Church, it may seem, for a while, to the ignorant and the unwary, to be a veritable City of God. But no City of God, no Church of Christ, is here. Neither consecrated building, nor particular forms of worship, nor the service of duly ordained priests, nor yet all these combined, can constitute a Church, where the congregation of faithful men, organised in accordance with the ordinance of Christ, is wanting. And such congregation is wholly wanting here. Faithful men there are,

but they are not an organised body. An organised body there is, but it is not a body of faithful men, still less of men organised in accordance with the ordinance of Christ. Yet such a body it is that now claims to stand in the place of the Body of Christ, a veritable antichrist, to all members of the Church of England in a college.

There are those, I am aware, who, with that singular incapacity for facing unpleasant realities which seems to be a congenital weakness of members of the English Church, cherish the fond delusion that there will always be on the governing body of a college a majority of members of the Church, or that, failing this, those who are not members of the Church will leave the conduct of religious matters to those who are. Surely never was delusion more groundless. What reason indeed can there be for expecting, when once the change in the conditions of admission to fellowships shall have had time to produce its full effect, that the governing body of a college shall be composed in any larger proportion of professed members of the Church than any other society formed under similar conditions, a municipal corporation, for instance, or a school board, or a gas company; or that it shall be, any more than these would be if entrusted with like powers, under the influence, in matters relating to religion, of those of its members who are members of the Church, when all its members will have equal rights of interference, and they who are not members of the Church, having such rights, will assuredly have the very strongest inducements to use them for the purpose of moulding the Church to their own notions of what it ought to be? The plain truth of the matter is that societies such as these, when once they come to be composed of persons elected solely for literary or scientific qualifications, must be expected from the very nature of the case, under the conditions of modern life, to be composed in even larger proportions than any other purely secular societies, if not of persons who are distinctly attached to some one or other of the many sects that are separated from the Church, yet of persons who shall sit loose to the doctrines and the discipline of the Church and even to all religious faith. And from any of

these it is as vain to expect that they will abstain from interfering in the religious affairs of members of the Church, if they have the legal right to interfere and can promote objects of their own by doing so, as it would be childish to complain of them for so using rights which churchmen themselves shall have given them. But indeed it is altogether a new and a most portentous conception of the Church of Christ, and of the Church of England, which makes her government a mere game of hazard, at which the members of the Church shall sit down with the alien and the enemy to make stakes of the sacred trust which their Lord has committed to their charge, and gamble away the inheritance not of themselves alone but of all those younger members of the Church who are entrusted to their care.

“It is vain in logick and even demoralising in practice,” if I may adopt the language of a distinguished statesman on a somewhat kindred matter, that bishops and clergy and laity of the Church should think that they can acquiesce in the introduction of such a system into these colleges and not be responsible for committing the Church of England at large to principles which strike at the very foundation of her claims to be regarded as a Christian Church. There is surely enough in the present condition of the Church of England to warn us that she cannot admit false principles into her system with impunity, even when they seem only to touch the hem of her garments, and do not, as these do, poison her life-blood. The slighted logick of the closet only too often finds its sure avenger in the inexorable logick of results; and the Church is even now reeling under the results which have followed on her rulers’ disregard of the principles of the Church of Christ in her government in matters not to be compared in importance with those which are here in question. And yet while Churchmen are seeking and scarcely knowing how to find a remedy for the evils and embarrassments which have been entailed upon the Church by the neglect of her true principles on the part of past generations of Churchmen, they are allowing a system to come into existence before their eyes, and are even helping it to the birth, which violates the very fundamental

principles, sets aside the very primary conditions, of her existence as a Church of Christ. Bishops and clergy in Convocation can see that Parliament, constituted as it now is, is wholly unfit to interfere in the regulation of the affairs of the Church, though its interference, from the very nature of the case, can only be remote and occasional in its operation, and does not supersede the government of the Church by her own divinely ordained ministers. Yet bishops and clergy in Convocation look on with placid unconcern while the whole government of the Church in spiritual things, down to the minutest points of detail, is transferred in these colleges to bodies which are already as open to avowed atheists, to say nothing of others who are alien or hostile to the Church, as ever Parliament can become, and while the present generation of heads and fellows of colleges is handing on not only the temporal, but the spiritual charge which was entrusted to them, as members of the Church of Christ, for the service of the Church and the furtherance of the Christian faith, to another generation which shall know neither Church, nor Christ, nor God, by them to be used, if they choose, in the service of antichrist and for the subversion of the Christian faith. Can we wonder that statesmen should take so little heed of churchmen when they complain of the violation of the Church's principles, if they themselves shew so little regard even for the very first principles of the Christian Church?

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

J. S. WOOD.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY.



RESULTS OF APPEALS

TO THE

ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS

IN

RITUAL CASES.



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Church Association Tracts.

No. X.

RESULTS

OF APPEALS TO THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS IN RITUAL CASES.

The number and importance of the points, upon which the Church Association has been instrumental in obtaining an authoritative declaration of the Law applicable to the Church of England, will best be judged of by examining them in a connected form; and thus all parties interested can readily ascertain what is the Law on these hitherto controverted points.

The Council have endeavoured throughout the contest to avoid all irritating remarks, although sometimes under considerable provocation. They reprint an article from the monthly *Intelligencer* which best expresses their views and aspirations.

“The final report of the Royal Commissioners on Ritual has justified in a remarkable degree the policy adopted by the Church Association. It will be remembered, that when the public mind was in a state of considerable agitation on account of the novelties introduced into the mode of conducting Public Worship, and the resumption by some of the clergy of costumes and ornaments, which were supposed to have been finally banished from the Church of England, the opinions of eminent Counsel were taken by the leaders on each side of the controversy, which by their diversity on several material points, tended rather to increase than allay the excitement that prevailed. It was at this time that the late Mr. R. C. Hanbury addressed a letter to the *Times*, which resulted in the appointment of a Committee, whose able and energetic exertions induced the Government to advise Her Majesty to issue the Royal Commission on Ritual. The proceedings against the Incumbent of St. Alban’s had then been commenced, and some strong endeavours were made to induce the Church Association to suspend proceedings, and to abandon all attempts to obtain an authoritative legal decision on the points at issue, until after the Commissioners had made their report.

“This was a trying moment for the Council of the Church Association; but, anticipating the long delay, which has actually occurred before the publication of the Report, and fearing that, whatever that Report might be, there would be the utmost diffi-

culty in inducing the Government to introduce any new measures into Parliament, the Council decided, that their duty remained unaltered to persevere in the necessary steps for obtaining the decision of the Judicial Committee.

“The final Report has at length appeared, and we may confidently assert that, but for the legal proceedings which the Church Association have conducted at very great expense, no solution of the points at issue would have ever been arrived at, and the Church of England would have been torn in pieces by conflicting parties, each of whom would have insisted that the law was on its side.

“There is every reason to believe that, before the close of the present year, every disputed point on Ritual will have received a final and authoritative decision. It would be presumptuous for the Church Association to assume that the decision will be in their favour on every point; but the immense advantage of having ascertained the actual condition of the law on these matters will assuredly be acknowledged, when each party shall have had sufficient time to reflect on the duties imposed on them by the removal of all doubt and uncertainty on the questions so long at issue.”

ELEVATION OF THE PATEN AND CUP ABOVE THE HEAD.

The sanction of the Court refused to any unnecessary elevation whatever.

The Lord Chancellor (Lord Hatherley), in delivering the Judgment of the Privy Council, on December 4th, 1869, said—

“It is most desirable, and their Lordships are all of opinion, that it should be distinctly understood, that they give no sanction whatever to a notion that any elevation whatever of the Elements, as distinguished from the mere act of removing them from the Table, and taking them into the hand of the Minister, is sanctioned by law. It is not necessary for their Lordships to say more (but most undoubtedly less we cannot say) than that we feel nothing has taken place in the course of this cause, that can possibly justify a conclusion, that any elevation whatever, as distinguished from the raising from the table, is proper or is sanctioned.”—*Judgment Privy Council, Martin v. Mackonochie, Law Reports, Privy Council Appeals*, Vol. iii. part 1, 1870, page 63.

Alluding to the acts complained of at St. Albans, Lord Chelmsford, in delivering the Judgment of the Privy Council, Nov. 25th, 1870, said—

“It appears then, that the practice is, that, upon the officiating clergyman reaching the solemn words of institution in the Prayer of Consecration, he drops his voice so as to be nearly inaudible; a bell begins to toll; that he then elevates (not the paten but) a wafer, and replacing it upon the communion-table, bows his head down towards the table, and remains for some seconds in this position; that he then elevates the cup, and replacing it on the table bows down as before, after which the administration of the elements commences.” . . .

“Now, the conclusion to be drawn from this statement of facts is, that Mr. Mackonochie having determined to yield the merest literal obedience to the precise letter of the monition, had resolved that neither he nor his curates should elevate the paten or the cup above their heads during the Prayer of Consecration; but in consequence of the difficulty of keeping to the exact degree of elevation intended, the officiating clergyman, unconsciously and unintentionally, elevated the wafer and the cup to the extent mentioned in the affi-

davits. But if Mr. Mackonochie has been (as he admitted), carefully scanning the monition and the Order in Council to see how he could keep exactly within them, and has been acting upon his understanding "that legal judgments should be interpreted according to their letter," he has no right to complain of the letter, if the monition is applied against him, and he is made accountable for an actual non-compliance with its terms, whatever his intentions to obey it may have been. The act of elevation to the prohibited degree was witnessed; the secret intention could not be known. That the elevation charged took place during the Prayer of Consecration appears from the evidence of Mr. Mackonochie, that the raising of the wafer and of the cup takes place after the words of institution in each kind; consequently, the wafer, at least, must be raised as the Prayer is proceeding.

"In the attempt to satisfy his conscience, and to shelter himself under the narrowest literal obedience to lawful authority, Mr. Mackonochie has been a second time foiled. Upon the former occasion their Lordships, after expressing their opinion judicially that the monition had been disobeyed, did not think it necessary to do more to mark their disapprobation of Mr. Mackonochie's course of proceeding than by directing that he should pay the costs of the application. Upon this repetition of his offence their Lordships think that they ought to proceed further. They therefore declare that Mr. Mackonochie has not complied with the monition in respect of the elevation of the paten or wafer, nor as abstaining from prostration before the consecrated elements. And they order, that he be suspended for the space of three calendar months from the time of notice of the suspension, from all discharge of his clerical duties and offices, and the execution thereof—that is to say, from preaching of the Word of God, and administering the Sacraments, and celebrating all other clerical duties and offices; and, further, that he pay the costs of this application."—*Judgment of Privy Council, Martin v. Mackonochie, Law Journal Reports, Ecclesiastical Cases*, Vol. xl. part 4, April, 1871, p. 5 to 7.

ELEVATION OF CHALICE.

The Rev. John Purchas was charged, "that while reading the prayer for the 'whole state of Christ's Church Militant here on earth,' you stood with your back to the people, in front of the middle of the holy table, and while reading the word 'oblations,' as a religious ceremony took up the chalice, then being on the said holy table, and elevated it above your head."

The Dean of Arches pronounced such elevation to be illegal.—*Judgment of Court of Arches, Elphinstone v. Purchas, Law Reports, Ecclesiastical Courts*, Vol. iii. part 1, 1869-70, p. 109.

ELEVATION OF OFFERTORY ALMS.

"The Rev. John Purchas was charged that he, during the Communion Service as officiating minister, after receiving the alms contributed at the offertory, elevated the same, and then, placing the same for a moment on the holy table, did forthwith remove the same and hand them to an acolyte or attendant, who took them away and placed them on the credence table, instead of suffering the same to remain on the holy table."

The Dean of Arches said,

I admonish Mr. Purchas to abstain for the future from doing or sanctioning the acts so charged.—*Ibid.* p. 100.

PROSTRATION OR KNEELING DURING THE PRAYER OF CONSECRATION.

The Lord Chancellor (Lord Cairns), delivering the judgment of the Privy Council, Dec. 28th, 1868, said—

The evidence remains that the Respondent, after commencing the prayer of consecration standing, paused in the middle of the prayer, knelt down, inclining or prostrating his head towards the ground, and then, rising up again, continued the prayer standing.

In order to bring the conduct of the Respondent on this head to the test of

ecclesiastical law, it is proper now to turn to the Rubric of the order of the administration of the Holy Communion.

The Rubric before the prayer of consecration then follows, and is in these words :

“When the priest, standing before the table, hath so ordered the bread and wine that he may with the more readiness and decency break the bread before the people, and take the cup into his hands, he shall say the prayer of consecration as follows.”

Their Lordships entertain no doubt on the construction of this Rubric, that the priest is intended to continue in one posture during the prayer, and not to change from standing to kneeling, or *vice versâ*; and it appears to them equally certain that the priest is intended to stand and not to kneel. They think that the words “standing before the table” apply to the whole sentence; and they think this is made more apparent by the consideration, that acts are to be done by the priest before the people as the prayer proceeds (such as taking the paten and chalice into his hands, breaking the bread, and laying his hands on the various vessels) which could only be done in the attitude of standing.

This being, in their Lordships’ opinion, the proper construction of the Rubric, it is clear that the Respondent, by the posture, or change of posture which he has adopted during the prayer, has violated the Rubric, and committed an offence within the meaning of the 13th and 14th Charles II., cap. 4, secs. 2, 17, 24, taken in connexion with the 1st of Elizabeth, cap. 2, and punishable by admonition under sec. 23 of the latter statute.

It was contended on behalf of the Respondent, that the act complained of was one of those minute details, which could not be taken to be covered by the provisions of the Rubric; that the Rubric could not be considered as exhaustive in its directions.

Their Lordships are of opinion, that it is not open to a minister of the Church, or even to their Lordships in advising Her Majesty as the highest ecclesiastical tribunal of appeal, to draw a distinction in acts, which are a departure from or violation of the Rubric, between those which are important and those which appear to be trivial. The object of a Statute of Uniformity is, as its preamble expresses, to produce “an universal agreement in the public worship of Almighty God,” an object, which would be wholly frustrated if each minister, on his own view of the relative importance of the details of the service, were to be at liberty to omit, to add to, or to alter any of those details. The rule upon this subject has been already laid down by the Judicial Committee in “*Westerton v. Liddell*,” and their Lordships are disposed entirely to adhere to it: “In the performance of the services, rites, and ceremonies ordered by the Prayer-Book, the directions contained in it must be strictly observed; no omission and no addition can be permitted.”

On the whole, their Lordships are of opinion that the charge against the Respondent of kneeling during the Prayer of Consecration has been sustained, and that he should be admonished, not only not to recur to the elevation of the paten and the cup as pleaded in the 3rd article, but also to abstain for the future from kneeling or prostrating himself before the consecrated elements during the Prayer of Consecration, as in the same article also pleaded.—*Privy Council Judgment, Martin v. Mackonochie, Law Reports, Privy Council Appeal Cases, Vol. ii. 1867-9, pp. 381 to 385.*

Lord Chelmsford, in the judgment of the Privy Council, Nov. 25th, 1870, said—

The remaining charge to be considered against Mr. Mackonochie is, his sanctioning kneeling or prostration before the consecrated elements during the Prayer of Consecration. Their Lordships (as already mentioned) having upon the former occasion, when Mr. Mackonochie was charged with disobedience to the monition, decided that the genuflexion, which he practised, amounted to kneeling. Mr. Mackonochie, with the same object which he has always had in view, to pay only the closest literal obedience to the monition, gave notice to his curates, that he intended thenceforth to bow without bending the knee at the part of the Prayer of Consecration where he had previously knelt. This

intention he and his curates carried out, according to the description given in the affidavits, by bowing down towards the table after replacing the wafer upon it, and remaining some seconds in that position; and adopting the same course with respect to the cup. Mr. Mackonochie stated that upon some of these occasions his forehead may have touched the table, but that this was no part of the act of bowing, his object being merely a low bow. Their Lordships do not regard a reverential bowing in the light of an act of prostration, as contended for by the learned counsel for the appellant; but the posture assumed and maintained for some seconds by Mr. Mackonochie is certainly not a mere bow, but a humble prostration of the body in reverence and adoration. Their Lordships consider that the charge against Mr. Mackonochie of sanctioning prostration before the consecrated elements is therefore fully proved.—*Privy Council Judgment,* Martin v. Mackonochie*, 25 Nov., 1870, *Law Journal Reports, Ecclesiastical Cases*, Vol. xl. part 4, April, 1871, p. 7.

LIGHTED CANDLES.

The Lord Chancellor (Lord Cairns), delivering the judgment of the Privy Council, Dec. 23rd, 1868, said—

The facts, therefore, on this part of the case, appear to be that the Respondent uses two lighted candles during, with reference to and as an accompaniment of, the Communion service, and not for the ordinary purpose of giving light, and that these candles are placed on a ledge of wood which is placed on the Communion-table.

The Dean of the Arches seems to have considered, that all the practices complained of before him, including this use of lighted candles, were ceremonies. The Respondent, in the argument of his counsel at the bar, appeared to prefer to treat the question as one of ornament, and Mr. James said he considered the lighted candles “part of the symbolical decoration of the altar.”

If it were necessary to decide which of these views is correct, their Lordships would feel disposed to agree with the Dean of Arches that, however candles and candlesticks may *per se* be looked upon as a part of the furniture or ornaments of the church, taking the word ornaments in the larger sense assigned to it by this Committee in “*Westerton v. Liddell*” (*Moore*, p. 156), yet the lighting of the candles and the consuming them by burning throughout, and with reference to a service in which they are to act as symbols and illustrations, is itself either a ceremony, or else a ceremonial act forming part of a ceremony, and making the whole ceremony a different one from what it would have been, had the lights been omitted.

There is a clear and obvious distinction between the presence in the church of things inert and unused, and the active use of the same things as a part of the administration of a sacrament or of a ceremony. Incense, water, a banner, a torch, a candle and candlestick may be parts of the furniture or ornaments of a church: but the censuring of persons and things, or, as was said by the Dean of Arches, the bringing in incense at the beginning or during the celebration, and removing it at the close of the celebration of the Eucharist, the symbolical use of water in baptism, or its ceremonial mixing with the sacramental wine; the waving or carrying of the banner; the lighting, cremation, and symbolical use of the torch or candle: these acts give a life and meaning to what is otherwise inexpressive: and the act must be justified, if at all, as part of a ceremonial law.

If the use of lighted candles in the matter complained of be a ceremony or ceremonial act, it might be sufficient to say that it is not—nor is any ceremony in which it forms a part—among those retained in the Prayer-book, and it must therefore be included among those that are abolished; for the Prayer-book, in the preface, divides all ceremonies into these two classes; those which are retained are specified, whereas none are abolished specifically or by name, but it is assumed, that all are abolished which are not expressly retained.

* Similar Judgment in Court of Arches, *Elphinstone v. Purchas*.

As to the argument, that the use complained of is at most only part of a ceremony, their Lordships are of opinion that, when a part of a ceremony is changed, the integrity of the ceremony is broken, and it ceases to be the same ceremony.

It remains to be considered whether the use of these two lighted candles can be justified as a question of "ornaments" according to the definition of that term already referred to. It was in this sense that the argument for the Respondent appeared to prefer to regard them; and the learned Judge of the Arches' Court also, although, at the earlier part of his judgment, he had stated that the matters complained of before him must be considered as "ceremonies," appears ultimately to have applied to the use of the lighted candles the law or Rubric as to ornaments.

The Rubric or note as to ornaments, in the commencement of the Prayer-book is in these words:—

"And here it is to be noted, that such ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained and be in use as were in this Church of England, by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI."

The construction of this Rubric was very fully considered by this Committee in the case of "Westerton v. Liddell" already referred to; and the propositions which their Lordships understand to have been established by the judgment in that case may thus be stated:

First.—The words "authority of Parliament" in the Rubric, refer to and mean the Act of Parliament 2d and 3d Edward VI, cap. 1, giving Parliamentary effect to the first Prayer-book of Edward VI., and do not refer to or mean canons or Royal injunctions, having the authority of Parliament made at an earlier period.—(*Moore, Special Report*, p. 160.)

Second.—The term "ornaments" in the Rubric means those articles the use of which in the services and ministrations of the Church is prescribed by that Prayer-book.—(*Ibid.* p. 156.)

Third.—The term "ornaments" is confined to these articles.—(*Ibid.* p. 156.)

Fourth.—Though there may be articles, not expressly mentioned in the Rubric, use of which would not be restrained, they must be articles which are consistent with, and subsidiary to, the services; as an organ for the singing, a Credence-table from which to take the sacramental bread and wine, cushions, hassocks, &c.—(*Ibid.* p. 187.)

In these conclusions, and in this construction of the Rubric, their Lordships entirely concur, and they go far, in their Lordships' opinion, to decide this part of the case.

The lighted candles are clearly not "ornaments" within the words of the Rubric, for they are not prescribed by the authority of Parliament therein mentioned—namely, the first Prayer-book; nor is the injunction of 1547 the authority of Parliament within the meaning of the Rubric. They are not subsidiary to the service, for they do not aid or facilitate—much less are they necessary to—the service; nor can a separate and independent ornament, previously in use, be said to be consistent with a Rubric which is silent as to it, and which by necessary implication abolishes what it does not retain.

It was strongly pressed by the Respondent's counsel, that the use of lighted candles up to the time of the issue of the first Prayer-book was clearly legal; that the lighted candles were in use in the Church in the second year of Edward VI.; and that there was nothing in the Prayer-book of that year making it unlawful to continue them. All this may be conceded, but it is in reality beside the question. The Rubric of our Prayer-book might have said: those ornaments shall be retained which were lawful, or which were in use in the second year of Edward VI., and the argument as to actual use at the time, and as to the weight of the injunction of 1547, might in that case have been material. But the Rubric, speaking in 1661 more than one hundred years subsequently, has, for reasons, which it is not the province of a judicial tribunal to criticise, defined the class of ornaments to be retained by a reference, not to what was in use *de facto*, or to what has lawful in 1549, but to what was in the Church by authority of Parliament in that year; and in the Parliamentary authority, which this Com-

mittee has held, and which their Lordships hold to be indicated by these words, the ornaments in question are not found to be included.

Their Lordships have not referred to the usage as to lights during the last three hundred years; but they are of opinion, that the very general disuse of lights after the Reformation (whatever exceptional cases to the contrary might be produced), contrasted with their normal and prescribed use previously, affords a very strong contemporaneous and continuous exposition of the law upon the subject.

Their Lordships will, therefore, humbly advise Her Majesty, that the charges as to lights also has been sustained, and that the respondent should be admonished for the future to abstain from the use of them, as pleaded in these articles.—*Privy Council Judgment, Martin v. Mackonochie, Law Reports, Privy Council Appeal Cases, 1867-9. pp. 386 to 392.*

INCENSE.

The Dean of Arches, in delivering judgment, March 28, 1868, said—

The charge against The Rev. A. H. Mackonochie as to the use of incense is twofold; and is as follows:

(a.) “That he used incense for censuring persons and things in and during the celebration of the Holy Communion, and permitted and sanctioned such use of incense.”

This mode of using incense had been discontinued before the institution of the suit.

(b.) “That he unlawfully used incense in and during the celebration of the Holy Communion, and permitted and sanctioned such unlawful use of incense.”

It (incense) certainly was in use in the Church of England in the time of King Edward the Sixth's first Prayer Book. The visitation articles of Cranmer as to forbidding the censuring to certain images, &c., supplies one of the proofs of this fact. On the other hand the use of it during the celebration of the Eucharist is not directly ordered in any prayer book, canon, injunction, formulary, or visitation article of the Church of England since the Reformation.

It is not, however, necessarily subsidiary to the celebration of the Holy Communion, and it is not to be found in the rubrics of the present Prayer Book, which describe with considerable minuteness every outward act, which is to be done at that time.

To bring in incense at the beginning or during the celebration, and remove it at the close of the celebration, of the Eucharist, appears to me a distinct ceremony, additional and not even indirectly incident to the ceremonies ordered by the Book of Common Prayer.

Although therefore it be an ancient, innocent, and pleasing custom, I am constrained to pronounce that the use of it by Mr. Mackonochie, in the manner specified in both charges, is illegal and must be discontinued.—*Judgment of the Court of Arches, Martin v. Mackonochie, Law Reports, Ecclesiastical Cases, Vol. ii. 1867-9, pp. 211-215.*

The Rev. John Purchas, was charged, “That he used incense for censuring persons and things, and for other purposes, as a matter of ceremony, in and during the celebration of the Holy Communion, and also in and during other parts of Divine Service, and there permitted and sanctioned such use of incense.”

The Dean of Arches admonished Mr. Purchas to abstain for the future from doing or sanctioning the acts so charged.—*Judgment, Court of Arches, Elphinstone v. Purchas, Law Reports, Ecclesiastical Courts, Vol. iii. part I, 1869-70, pp. 99 to 101.*

The said Rev. John Purchas was charged: “That he did cense or permit to be censed, during Divine Service, the crucifix, placed and standing on the holy table or narrow ledge.

The Dean of Arches admonished Mr. Purchas to abstain for the future from doing or sanctioning the acts so charged.—*Ibid.* pp. 99 to 101.

MIXING WATER WITH THE SACRAMENTAL WINE
USED IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE HOLY COMMUNION.

The Dean of Arches, in delivering judgment, Feb. 3, 1870, said,

"I admonish Mr. Purchas to abstain for the future from, during the celebration of the Holy Communion and as part of the ceremonies thereof, mixing water with the sacramental wine used in the administration of the Holy Communion, and permitting and sanctioning such mixing and the administration to the communicants of the wine and water so mixed."—*Extract, Judgment Court of Arches, Elphinstone v. Purchas, Ibid.* pp. 100, 101.

The Lord Chancellor, Lord Hatherley, delivering the judgment of the Privy Council, Feb. 23, 1871, said,

Their Lordships now proceed to the 16th article, which charges that, on a certain day, the defendant "administered wine mixed with water instead of wine to the communicants at the Lord's Supper." The learned judge in the Court below has decided that it is illegal to mix water with the wine at the time of the service of Holy Communion; but he decides, that water may be mixed with the wine "provided that the mingling be not made at the time of the celebration."

Their Lordships are unable to arrive at the conclusion that, if the mingling and administering in the service water and wine is an additional ceremony, and so unlawful, it becomes lawful by removing from the service the act of mingling but keeping the mingled cup itself and administering it. But neither Eastern nor Western Church, so far as the Committee is aware, has any custom of mixing the water with wine apart from and before the service.

As to the second question, the addition of water is prescribed in the Prayer-book of 1549; it has disappeared from all the later books, and this omission must have been designed. . . . These directions make it appear, that the wine has not been mingled with water, but remains the same throughout. If the wine had been mingled with water before being placed on the table, then the portion of it, that might revert to the curate, would have undergone this symbolical mixing, which cannot surely have been intended.

As the learned judge has decided that the act of mingling the water with the wine in the service is illegal, the private mingling of the wine is not likely to find favour with any, whilst the former practice has prevailed both in the East and the West, and is of great antiquity, the latter practice has not prevailed at all; and it would be a manifest deviation from the Rubric of the Prayer-book of Edward VI. as well as from the exceptional practice and directions of Bishop Andrewes. Upon this 16th Article, however, whether it be more or less important, their Lordships allow the appeal, and will advise that a motion should issue against the defendant.—*Extract, Privy Council Judgment, Hebbert v. Purchas, Law Journal Reports, Ecclesiastical Cases, Vol. XI. part 6, June, 1871, pp. 49, 50.*

VESTMENTS.

Cope at Morning or Evening Prayer.

Albs with patches called Apparels.

Tippetts of a circular form.

Stoles, of any kind whatsoever, whether black, white, or coloured, and worn in any manner.

Dalmatics. Maniples.

The Dean of Arches, delivering judgment, Feb. 3, 1870, said,

It is unlawful, therefore, for Mr. Purchas to wear or authorize to be

worn, a cope at morning or at evening prayer; albs with patches called apparels, tippets of a circular form, stoles of any kind whatsoever, whether black, white, or coloured, and worn in any manner; dalmatics and maniples, which latter ornament, it appears from the evidence, was worn on one occasion by one of the officiating clergymen, though it does not appear that Mr. Purchas wore one himself. As to the girdle and the amice, it is not proved that Mr. Purchas wore them or suffered them to be worn.—*Extract from Judgment in Court of Arches, Elphinstone v. Purchas, Law Reports, Ecclesiastical Courts, Vol. iii. part 1, 1869-70, p. 94.*

The Chasuble.—Tunics or Tunicles.—Albs.

The Lord Chancellor, Lord Hatherley, in delivering Judgment, Feb. 23, 1871, said,

The charges, which are the subject of this appeal; are that the respondent has offended against the statute law and the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, . . . by himself wearing and sanctioning and authorizing the wearing by other officiating ministers, whilst officiating in the Communion Service, and in the administrations of the Holy Communion in the said church, a vestment called a chasuble, as pleaded in the 36th article; and by himself wearing, and causing or suffering to be worn by other officiating clergy, when officiating in the Communion Service in the said church, certain other vestments called dalmatics, tunics or tunicles, and albs.

We find it convenient to adopt the order followed by the learned Dean of the Arches, and to examine first, the charge of wearing and causing to be worn, a chasuble, tunics, or tunicles and albs in the celebration of the Holy Communion.

It is necessary to review shortly the history of the Rubric, usually known as "the Ornaments-Rubric," which governs this question.

The first Prayer Book of King Edward VI. 1549, contains the following Rubric at the beginning of the Communion office:—

"Upon the day and at the time appointed for the ministration of the Holy Communion, the priest, that shall execute the holy ministry, shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say, a white albe, plain, with a vestment or cope, and where there be many priests or deacons, then so many shall be ready to help the priest in the ministration as shall be requisite, and shall have upon them likewise the vestures appointed for the ministry, that is to say, albes with tunicles."

In the second Prayer Book of Edward VI. (1552) this was altered, and it was ordered, that the minister "shall use neither albe, vestment, nor cope, but being archbishop or bishop he shall have and wear a rochet, and being a priest or deacon he shall have and wear a surplice only."

The Prayer Book of Elizabeth (A.D. 1559) provided, that "the minister at the time of the communion, and at all other times of his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI, according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this book."

This Committee has already decided (*Liddell v. Westerton*), that the words "by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI." refer to the first Prayer Book of King Edward VI.

The Act of Parliament set in the beginning of Elizabeth's book is Queen Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, and the 25th clause of that Act contains a proviso, "that such ornaments of the Church and the ministers thereof shall be retained and be in use, as was in this Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI, until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of the Commissioners as appointed and authorised under the Great Seal of England, for causes Ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this Realm."

The Prayer Book therefore refers to the Act, and the Act clearly contemplated further directions to be given by the Queen, with the advice of Commissioners or of the Metropolitan.

In the year 1564 appeared the Advertisements of Elizabeth. They make order for the vesture of the minister in these words :—" In the ministration of the Holy Communion now in cathedral and collegiate churches, the principal minister shall use a cope, with gospeler and epistoler agréably ; and at all other prayers to be said at the said Communion Table to use no copes but surplices. That every minister, saying any public prayers or ministering the Sacraments or other rites of the Church, shall wear a comely surplice with sleeves, to be provided at the charge of the parish." (Cardwell, Doc. An. I, 396.)

These Advertisements were very actively enforced within a few years of their publication. An inventory of the ornaments of 150 parishes in the Diocese of Lincoln, A.D. 1565-1566, has been published by Mr. Edward Peacock ; and it shews, that the chasubles or vestments and the albs, were systematically defaced, destroyed, or put to other uses, and a precise account was rendered of the mode of their destruction. Proceedings took place under Commissions in Lancashire in 1565 and 1570 ; in Carlisle in 1573 and following years, when " vestments seem to have disappeared altogether." (Rev. J. Raine, " Vestments," London, 1866). There is no reason to doubt, that all through the country commissions were issued to enforce the observance of the Advertisements within a few years after they were drawn up.

These, then, are the leading historical facts, with which we have to deal in the difficult task of construing the Rubric of Ornaments. The vestment or cope, alb, and tunicle were ordered by the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. They were abolished by the Prayer Book of 1552, and the surplice was substituted. They were provisionally restored by the statute of Elizabeth, and by her Prayer Book of 1559. But the injunctions and the Advertisements of Elizabeth established a new order within a few years from the passing of the statute, under which chasuble, albe and tunicle disappeared. The canons of 1603-4, adopting anew the reference to the Rubric of Edward VI, sanctioned in express terms all that the Advertisements had done in the matter of the vestments, and ordered the surplice only to be used in parish churches. The revisers of our present Prayer Book in 1662, under another form of words, repeated the reference to the second year of Edward VI, and they did so advisedly, after attention being called to the possibility of a return to the vestments. . . .

Their Lordships think that the defacing and destroying, and converting to profane and other uses of all the vestments now in question, as described in the Lincoln MS. published by Mr. Peacock, shew a determination to remove utterly these ornaments, and not to leave them to be used hereafter when higher Ritual might become possible.

In order to decide the question before the Committee, it seems desirable first to examine the effect of the Church legislation of 1603-4. The 14th Canon orders the use of the Prayer Book without omission or innovation, and the 80th Canon directs that copies of the Prayer Book are to be provided, in its lately revised form, and, by implication, the Ornaments-Rubric is thus made binding on the clergy. Canon 24th directs the use of the cope in cathedral and collegiate churches upon principal feast days, " according to the Advertisements for this end, anno 7 Elizabeth." Canon 58th says that " every Minister saying the public prayers, or ministering the Sacraments or other rites of the Church, shall wear a descent and comely surplice with sleeves, to be provided at the charge of the parish." There can be no doubt, that the intention here was not to set up a contradictory rule, by prescribing vestments in the Prayer Book and a surplice in the Canons which give authority to the Prayer Book. It could not be intended, in recognising the legal force of the Advertisements, to bring back the things which the Advertisements had taken away: nor could it be expected, that either the minister or the people should provide vestments in lieu of those, which had been destroyed, and accordingly no direction is given with regard to them. The provisions of the Canons and Prayer Book must be read together, as far as possible; and the Canons upon the vesture of the ministers must be held to be an exposition of and limitation of the Rubric of Ornaments. Such ornaments are to be used as were in use in the second year of Edward VI, limited as to the vestments by the special provisions of the Canons themselves; and the contemporaneous exposition of universal practice shew, that this was

regarded as the meaning of the Canons. There does not appear to have been any return to the vestments in any quarter whatever. . . .

But whether this be so or not, their Lordships are of opinion, that as the Canons of 1603-4, which in one part seemed to revive the vestments, and in another to order the surplice for all ministrations, ought to be construed together; so that the Act of Uniformity is to be construed with the two canons on this subject, which it did not repeal, and that the result is, that the cope is to be worn in ministering the Holy Communion on high feast days in cathedrals, and collegiate churches, and the surplice in all other ministrations. Their Lordships attach great weight to the abundant evidence, which now exists that from the days of Elizabeth to about 1840 the practice is uniformly in accordance with this view; and is irreconcilable with either of the other views. Through the researches that have been referred to in these remarks, a clear and abundant *expositio contemporanea* has been supplied, which compensates for the scantiness of some other materials for a Judgment.

It is quite true, that neither contrary practice nor disuse can repeal the positive enactment of a statute, but contemporaneous and continuous usage is of the greatest efficacy in law for determining the true construction of obscurely framed documents. . . .

Their Lordships will advise Her Majesty, that the defendant Mr. Purchas has offended against the Laws Ecclesiastical in wearing the chasuble, alb and tunicle; and that a monition shall issue against the defendant accordingly.—*Extract from Privy Council Judgment, Hebbert v. Purchas, Law Journal Reports, Ecclesiastical Cases, Vol. xl. part 6, new series, June, 1871, pp. 39 to 48, 50.*

WAFER BREAD.

The Rev. John Purchas was charged with using "wafer bread, being bread made in the special shape and fashion of circular wafer instead of bread such as is usual to be eaten," and with administering the same to the communicants.

The Lord Chancellor, Lord Hatherley, in delivering Judgment, Feb. 23, 1871, said,

It is at least worthy of notice, that when Cosin and others at the last revision desired to insert the words making the wafer also lawful, these words were rejected.

But their Lordships attach greater weight to the exposition of this Rubric furnished by the history of the question. From a large collection of Visitation Articles, from the time of Charles II., it is clear that the best and purest wheat bread was to be provided for the Holy Communion, and no other kind of bread. They believe, that from that time till about 1840 the practice of using the usual wheat bread was universal.

The words of the 20th Canon, to which the Visitation Articles refer, point the same way. The churchwardens are bound to supply "wheaten bread," and this alone is mentioned. If wafer bread is equally permitted, or the special cakes of Edward VI.'s first Book and of the injunctions, it is hard to see why the parish is to supply wheaten bread, in cases where wafers are to be supplied by the minister or from some other source. And if wafers were to be in use, a general injunction to all churchwardens to supply wheaten bread would be quite inapplicable to all churches, where there should be another usage.

Upon the whole, their Lordships think, that the law of the Church has directed the use of pure wheaten bread, and they must so advise Her Majesty.—*Extract, Privy Council Judgment, Hebbert v. Purchas, ibid. pp. 50, 51.*

Bells—Agnus Dei in wrong part of Service.

The Rev. John Purchas was charged with having "caused a small bell to be rung divers times during the Prayer of Consecration in the service of the Holy Communion, such ringing being simultaneous and connected with the consecration of the elements, and with the elevation of them, as in the preceding Articles mentioned."

"And also with having caused to be said or sung, before the reception of the elements and immediately after the Prayer of Consecration in the Communion

Service, the words or hymn or prayer commonly known as 'The Agnus,' that is to say:—'O Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world, have mercy on us;' which said words are appointed to be said only as a part of the said hymn or prayer at the conclusion of the said service, namely, after the reception of the elements by the communicants is completely ended, and after the Lord's Prayer and the other prayer then appointed and the Gloria have been said, and immediately before the final blessing."

On both points the Dean of Arches said,

I think these articles are substantially proved; and that in these circumstances the additional rites or ceremonies must be considered as illegal, on the principle of the decision in *Martin v. Mackonochie*; and I accordingly admonish Mr. Purchas to abstain from the use or sanction of the particular rites and ceremonies so charged for the future.—*Extract Judgment Court of Arches, Elphinstone v. Purchas, Law Reports, Ecclesiastical Courts, Vol. iii. part 1, 1869-70, pp. 98, 99.*

Sign of the Cross.—Kissing the Gospel Book.

"The Rev. John Purchas was charged, That during the saying of the Apostles' creed and Nicene creed, and at the pronouncing of the Absolution in the order for Holy Communion, and at the giving of the elements to the communicants, and during the pronouncing of the Benediction, after the sermon, and on certain other occasions, when about to mix water with the wine, and when about to consecrate the same, you, being then the officiating minister, made the sign of the cross by the appropriate gesture for that purpose, the same being intended as and constituting a ceremony."

"And further that you being present, and responsible for the due performance of Divine Service during the Communion Service, directed, caused, or permitted and sanctioned a certain clergyman then assisting you in the performance of Divine Service by reading the Gospel for the day, to kiss the book from which he read the Gospel, such kissing of the book being intended as and constituting a matter of ceremony, the said book, during such reading of the Gospel, being, in a ceremonial manner, held before him by a deacon or attendant."

The Dean of Arches said,

The ruling of the Privy Council in the case of *Martin v. Mackonochie*, with respect to the kneeling of the priest during the Communion Service, seems to me to apply to the acts of devotion complained of in these articles, which I must therefore pronounce illegal.—*Ibid.* p. 108, 109.

Leaving the Holy Table uncovered on Good Friday.

The said Rev. John Purchas, was charged, that "on Good Friday, 1869, when there was no administration of the Holy Communion, caused or permitted the holy table to be and remain during Divine Service without any decent covering, such as is enjoined and required by the 82nd Canon of the Church."

The Dean of Arches said,

The leaving of the holy table wholly bare and uncovered during Divine Service is, I believe, a practice without warrant from primitive use or custom; but it is certainly contrary to the 82nd Canon, which governs this question, and is therefore illegal.—*Ibid.* p. 107.

POSTURES.

Standing in front of the Holy Table with back to the people during the Prayer of Consecration.

The Lord Chancellor, Lord Hatherley, in delivering the Judgment of the Privy Council, Feb. 23, 1871, said,

It remains to consider part of the 17th article of charge, which sets out that the respondent during the whole of the prayer of consecration at the Holy Communion "stood at the middle of that side of the holy table, which, if the said holy table stood at the east end of the said church or chapel (the said table in St. James's Chapel, in fact, standing at the west end thereof), would be the west side of such table, in such wise that you stood between the people

and the said holy table, with your back to the people, so that the people could not see you break the bread or take the cup into your hand." The learned judge deals with this charge very briefly, believing it to have been settled by the judgment in *Martin v. Mackonochie*. He says, "I must observe, that the Rubric does not require the people should see the breaking of the bread, or the taking of the cup into the priest's hands; and if it did so prescribe, the evidence in this case would establish that all the congregation could see him take the cup into his hand, and some of them at least could see him break the bread." The Rubric on this point is this: "When the priest, standing before the table, hath so ordered the bread and wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the bread before the people, and take the cup into his hands, he shall say the prayer of Consecration, as followeth." Their Lordships are of opinion that these words mean that the priest is so to stand that the people present may see him break the bread and take the cup into his hands; although the learned judge is right if he means to say that the mere words do not speak of seeing.

Their Lordships think, that the evidence of the witness Verrall, which there is no reason to doubt, proves that "generally the congregation could not see" the breaking of the bread, because the respondent had his back turned to them. As regards the cup, the witness said that they could see him take the cup into his hand, but being asked further, he says, "I could tell he was taking the cup into his hand." This is consistently explained by supposing, that the witness and others could see a certain motion of the respondent, which from their knowledge of the service and from the subsequent elevation they were sure was the taking of the cup into his hands. It would probably be impossible in any position so to act, that all the congregation could see or that all should be unable to see; but we take it as proved, that the greater part of the congregation could not see the breaking of the bread or the act of taking the cup into the hands.

The facts being established, their Lordships proceed to consider the question itself. In default of argument on the respondent's side, they have been somewhat aided by a large mass of controversial literature, which shews how much interest this question excites, and which has probably left few of the facts unnoticed.

The Rubric upon the position of the table directs, that it shall "stand in the body of the church or in the chancel, where morning and evening prayer are appointed to be said." This is the same as the Rubric of 1552, 1559, and 1604, excepting the verbal alteration of *are* for *be*. It goes on, "And the priest standing at the north end of the table, shall say the Lord's Prayer with the Collect following." The table is a moveable table. By the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth (*Cardwell, Doc. Annals I., p. 210*) it is ordered, "that the holy table in every church be decently made and set in the place where the altar stood, and there commonly covered as thereto belongeth, and as shall be appointed by the visitors, and so to stand, saving when the Communion of the Sacrament is to be distributed; at which time the same shall be so placed in good sort within the chancel, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministrations, and the communicants also more conveniently and in more number communicate with the said minister. And after the Communion is done from time to time, the same holy table to be placed where it stood before." If this custom still prevailed of bringing the table from the east and placing it in the chancel, the two Rubrics would present no difficulty. The priest standing on the north side as directed by the one, would also be standing before the table, so as to break the bread before the people and take the cup into his hand as required by the other. No direction was given for a change of position in the Prayer of Consecration in the second book of King Edward VI., but only a change of posture in the words, "standing up." But before the time of the Revision of 1662, the custom of placing the table along the east wall was becoming general, and it may fairly be said that the revisers must have had this in view.

The following questions appear to require an answer, in order to dispose of this part of the case: what is meant by the "north side of the table?" What change, if any, is ordered by the Rubric before the Prayer of Consecration? And what is the meaning of "before the people" in that Rubric?

As to the first question, their Lordships are of opinion that "north side of the table" means that side, which looks towards the north.

They have considered some ingenious arguments intended to prove, that "north side" means that part of the west side that is nearest to the north. One of these is, that the middle of the altar before the Reformation was occupied by a stone or slab called *mensa consecratoria* and *sigillum altaris*, that the part of the altar north of this was called north side, and that to the south of it was called the south side. Without enquiring whether English altars were generally so constructed, which is to say the least doubtful, their Lordships observe that in the directions for the substitution of a moveable table for the altar and for its decent covering, and its position at various times, there is no hint, that this is to revive this peculiarity of the altar which it replaced; and they do not believe, that the table was so arranged or divided.

Another argument is drawn from the Jewish Ritual. On offering sacrifices before the Lord, the altar was to be sprinkled with the blood, and a red line was drawn across the altar to mark the height at which it should be sprinkled; and it is argued that the line being only in front, the priest must have stood in front in order to see it and be guided by it. But on the other hand the line probably went all round the altar, and the sprinkling was applied to all the sides. And even if the fact was rightly stated, it would be impossible to allow an argument so remote and shadowy to supersede the plain sense of a direction so clear in itself. When the table was placed in the body of the church or chancel, the priest or minister was to stand on the north side of it, looking south.

When it became the custom to place the table altarwise against the east wall, the Rubric remained the same. And there are many authorities to shew, that the position of the minister was still upon the north side or end, facing south. It is only necessary to cite a few. Archdeacon Pory (1662), in his Visitation Articles, says, "The minister standing, as he is appointed, at the north side or the end of the table when he celebrates the Holy Communion." In the dispute between the Vicar of Grantham and his parishioners (1627), Bishop Williams plainly shews, that whichever way the table was to stand, which was the matter in dispute, the position of the minister was on the north. "If you mean by altarwise, that the table shall stand along close by the wall, so that you be forced to officiate at one end thereof (as you may have observed in great men's chapels), I do not believe that ever the Communion tables were otherwise than by casuality so placed in country churches." He also says, "I conceive the alteration was made in the Rubric to shew which way the celebrant was to face." (Heylin, "Coale from the Altar," and Williams, "Holy Table.") Heylin says, quoting the Latin Prayer Book of 1560, "I presume that no man of reason can deny, but that the northern end or side, call it which you will, is *pars septentrionalis*, the northern part." ("Coale from the Altar.") When Bishop Wren was impeached in the House of Lords, A.D. 1636, for consecrating the elements on the west side of the table, he answered that he stood on the north side at all the rest of the service except at the Prayer of Consecration. "He humbly conceiveth it is a plain demonstration, that he came to the west side only for the more conveniency of executing his office, and no way at all in any superstition, much less in any imitation of the Romish priests, for they place themselves there at all the service before and at all after, with no less strictness than at the time of consecrating the bread and wine." Nicholls (Commentary on Common Prayer, published 1710), Bennett (Annotations on Book of Common Prayer, 1708) Wheatley (Rational Illustrations of Common Prayer, 1710), confirm the view, that, when the table was placed east and west, the minister's position was still on the north.

Their Lordships entertain no doubt whatever, that when the table was set at the east end the direction to stand at the north side was understood to apply to the north end, and that this was the practice of the church.

It will be convenient to consider next, what is the meaning of the words "before the people," in the Rubric before the Consecration Prayer. Nicholls observes — "To say the Consecration Prayer (in the recital of which the bread is broken) standing before the table, is not to break the bread before the people, for then the people cannot have a view thereof, which our wise Reformers, upon very good reasoning, ordered that they should." That stress was

laid on this witness of the people of the act of breaking, appears by other passages; for example, Udall says—"We press the action of breaking the bread against the papist. To what end if not that the beholders might thereby be led unto the breaking the body of Christ." (Communion Comeliness, 1641.) Wheatley says—"Whilst the priest is ordering the bread and wine he is to stand before the table; but when he says the prayer he is to stand, so that he may with more readiness and decency break the bread before the people, which must be on the north side. For if he stood before the table, his body would hinder the people from seeing, so that he must not stand there, and, consequently, he must stand on the north side, there being in our present Rubric no other place for the performance of any part of this office."

Their Lordships consider, that the defendant, in standing with his back to the people, disobeyed the Rubric in preventing the people from seeing the breaking of the bread.

The north side being the proper place for the minister throughout the Communion office, and also whilst he is saying the Prayer of Consecration, the question remains, whether the words "standing before the table" direct any temporary change of position in the minister before saying the Prayer of Consecration? This is not the most important but it is the most difficult question. One opinion is that of Wheatley, quoted above, that the Rubric sends the priest to the west side of the table to order the elements, and recalls him for the prayer itself. This, however, would be needless if the elements were so placed on the table, as that the priest could, "with readiness and decency," order them from the north side, as is often done.

It would also be needless in any case, where the Communion table was placed in the body of the church or in the chancel with its ends east and west. And though this position is not likely now to be adopted, the question is whether that was the law at the time this Rubric was drawn. Now the Rubric prescribes, that the table shall stand "in the body of the church or in the chancel where morning and evening prayers are appointed to be said;" and there are two cases, which occurred in 1633, those of Crayford (Cardwell, Doc. Annals, ii. 226) and St. Gregory's London (Ibid. ii. 237), which shew that the table, though placed at the east end, might be moved for convenience' sake and under competent authority. This, too, is the view of Bishop Wren in 1636 (Ibid. ii. 252) "That the Communion table in every church do always stand close under the east wall of the chancel, the ends thereof north and south, unless the ordinary gave particular directions otherwise." Should the table be placed with its ends east and west, it would be absurd to enforce a rule that the priest should go to the west end to order the elements, seeing the north side would be in every way more convenient.

Upon these facts their Lordships incline to think, that the Rubric was purposely framed so as not to direct or insist on a change of position in the minister, which might be needless; though it does not direct a change of posture from kneeling to standing. The words are intended to set the minister free for the moment from the general direction to stand at the north side, for the special purpose of ordering the elements; but whether for this purpose he would have to change the side or not is not determined, as it would depend upon the position of the table in the church or chancel, and on the position in which the elements were placed on the table at first. They think, that the main object of this part of the Rubric is the ordering of the elements; and that the words "before the table" do not necessarily mean "between the table and the people," and are not intended to limit to any side.

The learned judge in the Court below, in considering the charge against the defendant, that he stood with his back to the people during the Prayer of Consecration, briefly observes "the question appears to me to have been settled by the Privy Council in the case of *Martin v. Maconochie*." The question before their Lordships in that case was as to the posture and not as to the position of the minister. The words of the judgment are: "Their Lordships entertain no doubt on the construction of this Rubric" [before the Prayer of Consecration] "that the priest is intended to continue in one posture during the prayer, and not to change from standing to kneeling, or *vice versa*; and it appears to them

equally certain, that the priest is intended to stand and not to kneel. They think that the words 'standing before the table' apply to the whole sentence; and they think this is made more apparent by the consideration, that acts are to be done by the priest before the people as the prayer proceeds (such as taking the paten and chalice into his hands, breaking the bread, and laying his hand on the various vessels) which could only be done in the attitude of standing."

This passage refers to posture or attitude from beginning to end, and not to position with reference to the sides of the table. And it could not be construed to justify Mr. Purchas in standing with his back to the people, unless a material addition were made to it. The learned judge reads it as if it ran, "They think that the words standing before the table apply to the whole sentence, and that before the table means between the table and the people on the west side." But these last words are mere assumption. The question of position was not before their Lordships; if it had been, no doubt the passage would have been conceived differently, and the question of position expressly settled.

Upon the whole then, their Lordships think, that the words of Archdeacon, afterwards Bishop, Cosin in A.D. 1627 express the state of the law, "Doth he [the minister] stand at the north side of the table, and perform all things there; but when he hath special cause to remove from it, as in reading or preaching upon the Gospel or in delivering the Sacrament to the communicants, or other occasions of the like nature." (Bishop Cosin's Correspondence. Part I, p. 106. Surtees Society.) They think that the Prayer of Consecration is to be used at the north side of the table, so that the minister looks south, whether a broader or a narrower side of the table be towards the north.

It is mentioned that Mr. Purchas' chapel does not stand in the usual position; and that, in fact, he occupied the east side when he stood with his back towards the people. If it happened, as it does in one of the Chapels Royal, that the north side had been where the west side usually is, a question between the letter and spirit of the Rubrics would have arisen. But the defendant seems to us to have departed, both from the letter and the spirit of the Rubrics; and our advice to Her Majesty will be, that a monition should issue, to him as to this charge also.—*Judgment of Privy Council, Hebbert v. Purchas, Law Journal Reports, Vol. xl. part 6, of new series, 1 June. 1871; Ecclesiastical Cases, pp. 51-55.*

Standing in front of the middle of the Holy Table with back to the people while reading the Collects next before the Epistle.

The Rev. John Purchas was charged that "you directed, sanctioned, or permitted a certain other clergyman, then officiating for you, in the presence of you, the said Rev. John Purchas, to read the collects next before the Epistle for the day in the Communion Service, standing in front of the middle of the Holy Table, with his back to the people; and that on a certain other occasion you, the said John Purchas, read such collects yourself, standing with your back to the people."

The Dean of Arches said,

As to this charge the proof is, that both Mr. Purchas and the assistant clergyman on the several occasions stood before the Holy Table with their backs to the people. It is not proved that the assistant clergyman, on the occasion mentioned, stood before the people. The rubric, which governs the position of the minister at this period of the service, is the one preceding the Lord's Prayer at the beginning of the Communion Service:—"And the priest, standing at the north side of the table, shall say the Lord's Prayer, with the collect following, the people kneeling;" and, after the interval of the Ten Commandments, the rubric enjoins the priest "to stand as before." I am aware that learned persons hold that these words, "the north side," mean "the north side of the table's front," and possibly they do so; but, in the absence of any argument before me to this effect, I think I must take the *prima facie* meaning of the rubric, and consider it as the north side of the whole table; and upon this ground I must

decide against Mr. Purchas upon this Article.—*Judgment of Ct. of Arches, Elphinstone v. Purchas, Law Reports, Ecclesiastical Courts, Vol. iii. part 1, 1869-70, p. 110.*

Standing at the foot of the Holy Table with back to the people, while reading the Collects after the Creed at Evening Prayer.

Standing with back to the people, while reading the Epistle.

The Dean of Arches said,

Two charges are contained in that part of the 19th Article to which I have not as yet referred :

(a) "And that . . . on Sunday evening . . . , you, the said Rev. John Purchas, did . . . , while reading the collects following the creed, stand in front of the middle of the Holy Table at the foot of the steps leading up to the same, with your back to the people:"

(b.) "And that . . . you, the said Rev. John Purchas, directed, sanctioned, or permitted the Epistle in the Communion Service to be read in your presence by a minister standing with his back to the people."

The Dean of Arches gave the following decision—

The first offence appears to me plainly contrary to the rubric; and the second, though perhaps not governed by any positive order in a rubric, is obviously contrary to the intent of the Prayer Book, the Epistle not being a prayer addressed to God, but a portion of the Scriptures read to the people.—*Ibid.* pp. 110, 111.

Gospeller attended by Acolytes and a Crucifer with Crucifix, while reading the Gospel.

Te Deum, sung at the Communion Table, immediately after Evening Service, with Crucifix and banners about the minister.

The Dean of Arches said,

The following Articles, which I have grouped together, contain charges against Mr. Purchas for using, during the time of, or so immediately connected with, the prescribed services, as to be practically undistinguishable from it; rites or ceremonies other than and additional to those prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer :—

"V. That . . . you, the said Rev. John Purchas, caused a group of acolytes, or attendants, to stand or kneel round you, and a person called the crucifer to stand by the side of you, bearing a crucifix or gilt cross, with the figure of the Saviour thereon, as a matter of ceremony during the reading by you, the said Rev. John Purchas, of the Gospel in the Communion Service; that on certain other occasions . . . , the 'Te Deum' being on each of such occasions sung as a part of evening service immediately after the evening prayers, in the said church or chapel of St. James's, Brighton, aforesaid, the congregation remaining in the said church or chapel during the singing thereof, you, the said Rev. John Purchas, during the singing thereof, caused the said crucifer, with his said crucifix, and the bearers of banners, to stand holding the same as a matter of ceremony near to you, the said Rev. John Purchas, and in front of the holy table."

I think these Articles are substantially proved; and that in these circumstances the additional rites or ceremonies must be considered as illegal, on the principle of the decision in *Martin v. Mackonochie*; and I accordingly admonish Mr. Purchas to abstain from the use or sanction of the particular rites and ceremonies so charged for the future.—*Ibid.* pp. 97 to 99.

PROCESSIONS.

A Procession, immediately before or after Service, singing a hymn, and composed of—Thurifer, carrying and swinging incense; Crucifer, with Crucifix; Acolytes, with lighted candles; Deacons or others with banners; Choristers, dressed in red and white; Ceremoniarus, in cassock and cotta, with blue tippet; Rulers of the Choir, in copes; Clergy, in copes.

Palms, Lighted Candles and Crucifix, carried in procession at and as a Ceremony connected with Divine Service.

Blessing of, and giving to the people, Palms on Palm Sunday.

The Dean of Arches said,

There are various charges relating to particular kinds of processions organised by Mr. Purchas in his church, which I will now deal with; they are to be found in the following articles:—

“IV. That you, the said Rev. John Purchas, on several occasions, . . . immediately before, but at the hour appointed for the commencement of the prayers appointed to be read at morning and evening service respectively, and *without any break or interval, and as connected with and being the beginning of and a part of the rites and ceremonies of public worship on the said several occasions*, in the presence of the congregation then assembled in the said church or chapel of St. James’s, Brighton, for the purpose of hearing divine service, formed, or caused to be formed, a procession composed of a thurifer carrying an incense-vessel containing incense, swinging the same; a crucifer bearing a crucifix, or a large cross, with a figure of the Saviour thereon; two acolytes, or boys dressed in red and white, with red skullcaps on their heads and bearing lighted candles; several deacons, or other persons, bearing one or more silk banners, with a cross or other device embroidered on each of such banners; divers choristers dressed in red and white; a person, called a ceremoniarus, in cassock and cotta, with blue tippet; two persons, called rulers of the choir, in copes; you, the said Rev. John Purchas, and the other officiating ministers of the day, in copes: that the procession so formed proceeded round the said church or chapel of St. James’s, singing a certain hymn, being No. 100 of the hymns contained in a book called ‘Words of the Hymnal Noted,’ or some other hymn from the same book; and that, immediately on the return of each of such processions on each of the said several occasions to the choir, the prayers for the day were commenced; and that on a certain other occasion, to wit, on Sunday, February the 28th, 1869, immediately after the benediction at evening service, and *without any break or interval, and as connected with and forming the conclusion of and part of the rites and ceremonies of public worship*, formed, or caused to be formed, a like procession to the one immediately hereinbefore mentioned, and proceeded therewith round the said church, singing as aforesaid in the presence of the congregation assembled.”

“XIV. *That you then,*”—that is, after doing certain acts, which fall under another category, and which I will consider presently, —“*formed or caused to be formed a procession* consisting of a thurifer with his incense-vessel containing incense, the crucifer with a large crucifix, acolytes or boys with lighted candles, the person called ceremoniarus, an assistant minister, and you, the Rev. John Purchas, in a cope, followed by several members of the congregation each with a lighted candle; that the procession so formed proceeded round the interior of the said church or chapel singing; that thereupon afterwards you, the said Rev. John Purchas, took off your cope, and wearing a white alb with gold stole and chasuble, proceeded to the Communion Table and, after being yourself censured, commenced the Communion Service, during the reading of which the congregation extinguished their candles. That after the collect and epistle had been read the said candles were, during the reading of the Gospel, again lighted and were then again extinguished; each of the Acts in this article hereinbefore set forth, being of the nature of and intended by you as and constituting a religious ceremony.”

“XXVI. That you, the said Rev. John Purchas, in the said church or chapel of St. James’s, Brighton, aforesaid, on the Sunday next before Easter, March the 21st, 1869, at Morning Service, and during or immediately after the conclusion of morning prayer, and before the commencement of the Communion Service, sprinkled or caused to be sprinkled with so-called holy water, and blessed or consecrated, or caused to be blessed or consecrated, and censed, or caused to be censed, divers palm branches then laying on a table placed near to the Communion Table, and that after the said morning prayer was concluded you caused the said palm branches to be distributed to yourself and to divers other clerks in holy orders, to persons of the choir and members of the congregation then and there present in the said church or chapel; and that *you then caused to be formed a procession* in the said church or chapel, with a crucifix borne before it, and consisting of the thurifer, choristers, priests, and others, which said procession then proceeded round the interior of the said church or chapel, chaunting, and elevating the said palm branches, and accompanied with lighted candles; and that on the return of the procession the Communion Service was immediately commenced and proceeded with, the whole taking place in the presence of the congregation then assembled to hear Divine Service as a part of Divine Service, and as a ceremony connected therewith, without break or intermission.”

It appears to me from the evidence, that these particular processions have been so conducted as to constitute a further rite or ceremony in connection with the morning and evening service, and in addition to those prescribed by the rubrics for those services. I must therefore, placing them under this category, pronounce them illegal.—*Ibid.* pp. 95-97.

Blessing of, and giving to the people, Ashes on Ash Wednesday, Candles on the day of the Purification of the Virgin Mary (Candlemas Day).

The following charges were made,

“XIII. That you, the said Rev. John Purchas, did, on Ash Wednesday, at morning service, immediately after the conclusion of the Communion, and before commencing the Communion Service (you being then the officiating minister), proceed, as a matter of ceremony in connection with the Divine Service of the day, to take from the holy table a certain vessel, previously placed thereon, filled with a black powder being or resembling ashes; and did then bless or consecrate the same, and did then rub a portion of such powder on the foreheads of certain persons, members of the congregation, who then knelt before you for that purpose (to wit, certain other clergymen then present, the person called the ceremoniarus, a person called a ruler of the choir, and certain acolytes, or boys); and did further then publicly invite any other members of the congregation to come forward for the like purpose; after which, none others having come forward, the Communion Service was commenced and proceeded with.”

“XIV. That you, the said Rev. John Purchas, on the day of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, in the morning, and when no artificial light was necessary during the performance of divine service, to wit, while the Litany was being read, censed or caused to be censed, afterwards sprinkled or caused to be sprinkled with holy water, or water previously blessed or consecrated, a number of candles then placed and being on a small table close to the Communion Table, and that you then, after the Litany was finished and before the commencement of the Communion Service, lighted the said candles and distributed them to divers members of the congregation, who then, by your direction or sanction, held up the same so lighted.”

The Dean of Arches said,

I think these Articles are substantially proved; and that in these circumstances the additional rites or ceremonies must be considered as illegal, on the principle of the decision in *Martin v. Mackonochie*; and I accordingly admonish Mr. Purchas to abstain from the use or sanction of the particular rites and ceremonies so charged for the future.—*Ibid.* pp. 97-99.

Candles lighted when not wanted for the purpose of giving light, and used in any of the ways following—Carried on Candlemas Day and Whit Sunday; used at reading of the Gospel; placed on the Communion Table or on a ledge over it, and seeming to be part of it, or about or before the Communion Table, either during the Communion Service or other parts of the Morning Service; Paschal light at Easter.

The specific charges were,

“ X. That you, the said Rev. John Purchas, in the said church or chapel of St. James’s, Brighton, aforesaid, on divers occasions . . . used lighted candles on the holy table or communion table (or on a ledge immediately over the said table, and appearing and intended to appear part thereof), during the celebration of the Holy Communion, as a matter of ceremony, and at times when such lighted candles were not wanted for the purpose of giving light, and permitted and sanctioned such use of lighted candles.”

“ XI. That you, the said Rev. John Purchas, on Christmas day 1868, on the day of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, February the 2nd, 1869, and on Easter Sunday, 1869, used lighted candles standing on and about and before the communion table during the performance of other parts of the morning service than the Communion Service, as a matter of ceremony, and when they were not wanted for the purpose of giving light. That you also during the whole of Divine Service on Easter Sunday, 1869, kept a very large lighted candle, called a paschal taper, placed and standing towards the south side of the communion table, as a matter of ceremony, and when it was not wanted for the purpose of giving light. That you also, at various times, during the performance of Divine Service (to wit, on Sunday morning, November the 1st, 1868; Sunday morning, March the 21st, 1869, and Whit Sunday, May the 16th, 1869,) caused acolytes, or attendants, as a matter of ceremony, to bear about, move, set down, and lift up various lighted candles when the same were not needed to give light.”

The Dean of Arches said,

I admonish Mr. Purchas to abstain for the future from doing or sanctioning the acts so charged in these articles.—*Ibid.* pp. 99-101.

Notices of “High” Celebrations.

Notices of Feasts not directed by the Church to be observed.

The charge was as follows:—

“ That you, the said Rev. John Purchas, in the said church or chapel of St. James, Brighton, aforesaid, on Sunday morning, November the 1st, 1868, publicly during the performance of Divine Service, that is to say, at the conclusion of the Nicene Creed, gave notice that on the morning of the next day there would be a ‘high celebration of the Holy Eucharist’ at eleven o’clock.” . . . and that you, on the same day, after the sermon, gave, or caused to be given, notice that on the next Friday, ‘being the Feast of St. Leonard,’ there would be a celebration of the Holy Eucharist at eleven o’clock; and that on Sunday, the 8th of November, 1868, after the Nicene creed, you gave notice that the Holy Eucharist would be celebrated on Wednesday, ‘being the Feast of St. Martin;’ and on Friday, being the ‘Feast of St. Britius.’ And that on Sunday morning, January the 31st, 1869, after the Nicene creed, you gave notice that ‘on Tuesday next, being the Festival of our Lady, there would be a high celebration of the Holy Eucharist at eleven o’clock in the morning.’”

The Dean of Arches said,

The Prayer Book does not warrant, in my opinion, this particular mode of announcing that the Eucharist will be celebrated. According to the rubric, after the Nicene Creed notice is then to be given of the Communion, and according to the rubric after the Church militant prayer, “When the minister giveth warning for the celebration of the Holy Communion . . . after the “sermon or homily ended he shall read the exhortation following.” It appears

to me that the epithet "high" has no sanction from the rubric, and, though perhaps in itself not very material, cannot legally be used.

It appears from the evidence, that at different times notices were given that the feasts of St. Leonard, St. Martin, and St. Britius would be observed. The rubric, after the Nicene creed, directs that "the curate shall declare unto the people what holy-days or fasting days are in the week following to be observed." Mr. Purchas is not charged with having violated the law by omitting to give notice of these holy-days or fasting days, but by having given notice of holy-days, which the church has not directed to be observed. I think the holy-days, which are directed to be observed, are those, which are to be found after the preface of the Prayer Book, under the head of "A Table of all the Feasts that are to be observed in the Church of England throughout the year." The feasts of St. Leonard, St. Martin, and St. Britius are not among these; I therefore think the notices of them were improper, and I must admonish Mr. Purchas to abstain from giving such notices for the future.—(*Extract from Judgment, Arches Court. Elphinstone v. Purchas, Ibid. pp. 111, 112.*)

Notices of Mortuary Celebrations.

Interpolation of a Prayer, while reading the Communion Service after the Collect for the Queen.

Epistle and Gospel, not in the Prayer Book, read at a Mortuary Celebration.

Ceremonies on admission of an Acolyte or Choir Boy immediately before Service.

The charges were :—

"That you, the said Rev. John Purchas, in the said church or chapel of St. James's, Brighton, aforesaid, on Sunday, March the 14th, 1869, at evening service, and immediately on the conclusion of your sermon, gave notice that on the next day there would be 'a mortuary celebration for the 'repose of a sister at eleven o'clock;' and that on Monday morning, March the 15th, 1869, while performing Divine Service in the said church or chapel, namely, while reading the Communion Service, immediately after the collect for the Queen, and before the Epistle, you interpolated and said the following words, that is to say:—'O God! whose property is ever to have mercy and to 'forgive, be favourable unto the soul of this Thy servant' (thereby meaning the soul of the deceased person for whose repose the said mortuary celebration was made), 'and blot out all her iniquities, that she may be loosed from the chains 'of death and be found meet to pass unto the enjoyment of life and felicity 'through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.' After which, 1 Thess. chap. iv., verse 13 to verse 18, was read as the Epistle, and the rest of the service was proceeded with, John chap. vi., verse 37 to verse 40, being read as the Gospel."—(p. 40.)

"That you, the said Rev. John Purchas, in the said church or chapel of St. James's, Brighton, aforesaid, on Whit Sunday evening, May the 16th, 1869, at the usual hour for, and immediately before, the commencement of evening prayer, and in the presence of the congregation then assembled to hear Divine Service, made, received, or admitted a new acolyte or choir boy, by causing him then to kneel on one of the steps before the holy table, and reading some words or sentences out of a book, and making the sign of a cross over him, and putting into his hands a candlestick with candle, and afterwards, in like manner, putting into his hands decanters or glass bottles of wine and of water, those actions collectively being intended as and constituting a religious rite or ceremony."

The Dean of Arches said,

I think these Articles are substantially proved; and that in these circumstances the additional rites or ceremonies must be considered as illegal, on the principle of the decision in *Martin v. Mackenochie*; and I accordingly admonish Mr. Purchas to abstain from the use or sanction of the particular rites and ceremonies so charged for the future.—*Ibid. pp. 98, 99.*

Metal Crucifix, not part of architectural decorations, on or in apparent connection with the Holy Table, and seeming to be part of its furniture, covered and uncovered ceremonially and bowed to by the Minister.

The charges were :—

“That you, the said Rev. John Purchas . . . placed or caused to be placed upon the Holy Table, or on a narrow ledge resting thereon or connected therewith, or fixed immediately above the same, so as to appear to the congregation to be in contact or connection with the Holy Table, a large metal crucifix with a figure of the Saviour thereon (the same being intended for a ceremonial or religious purpose, and not being a part of the architectural decorations of the church, but being placed on such ledge with the object and intention of being made to appear a part of the furniture of the Holy Table); and that you, on the said several occasions, allowed the same so placed to remain there during the performance of Divine Service, and during the celebration of the Holy Communion. That you, the said Rev. John Purchas, also, during Lent, having covered, or caused to be covered, the said crucifix so placed on the Holy Table or narrow ledge as aforesaid, with a white veil striped with a red cross, allowed the same to remain on the said Holy Table or narrow ledge so covered during the performance of Divine Service. That you also afterwards (to wit, on Easter Sunday, March the 28th, 1869), having previously removed, or caused to be removed, such veil, kept the said crucifix during Divine Service so uncovered; the circumstance of the said crucifix being so kept covered and uncovered, being intended as and constituting on each of the said occasions a ceremonial and symbolical observance during and connected with such Divine Service.”

“That you, the said Rev. John Purchas did immediately before and during the performance of Divine Service bow and do reverence to the said crucifix.”

The Dean of Arches said,

I think I am bound to conclude from the evidence before me, unimpeached as it is by any other testimony, and in the absence of any explanation, that the crucifix has been introduced into or connected with the performance of the services prescribed by the Prayer Book, so as to constitute an additional rite or ceremony. And I must admonish Mr. Purchas to abstain from the practice complained of in these Articles.—*Ibid.* p. 105.

Figure of the Infant Saviour with lilies over the credence table at Christmas.

Stuffed Dove over the Holy Table on Whitsun-Day.

The charges were :—

“That you, the said Rev. John Purchas, on the occasion of a celebration of the Holy Communion at Midnight on Christmas Eve, the 24th of December, 1868, placed or caused to be placed, on a shelf just above the credence-table in the said church, a modelled figure of the infant Saviour, with two lilies on either side, the same being so then placed as a part of the ceremonial of the service of that night, and which was subsequently removed; and that on Whit Sunday, May the 16th, 1869, you placed or caused to be placed, in the said church or chapel, above and hanging over the holy table, a figure, image, or stuffed skin of a dove in a flying attitude, and kept the same so placed during Divine Service, the same being so then placed and kept as a part of the ceremonial of the service.”

The Dean of Arches said,

I think the result of the evidence is that these figures, having regard to the time and the services during which they were brought in and removed, being also emblematic in their character, were ceremonially used upon the occasions referred to, and that, according to the judgment in *Martin v. Mackonochie*, they were therefore illegal.—*Ibid.* p. 107.

Crucifix or Image of our Lord on the Cross and Images of the Virgin Mary and St. John on the reredos.

The Registrar of the Consistorial Court of Exeter, in delivering Judgment, on the 5th May, 1871, said, it would be presumptuous in the Court to come to any other conclusion than that the crucifix, or other images not on monuments or painted windows, is not a lawful decoration in a church. The Court does not consider the placing of other images on each side of the figure of our Lord on the Cross, called in the pleadings a Calvary, renders the said figure of our Lord so placed less unlawful. Such figures were often so placed on the rood lofts, which were ordered to be removed. The object of the law was to prevent "peril of idolatry," which at least would not be lessened by such figures being placed in an attitude of adoration beside the figure of our Lord. The Court accordingly grants a license of faculty for the removal of the crucifix or image of our Lord on the Cross, and the other images, from the reredos of Lynton Church, and condemns Thomas Baker and William Taylor in the costs of these proceedings.—*Extract Judgment, Consistorial Court, Exeter, 5th May, 1871.*

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ABSTRACT OF POINTS DECIDED IN THE
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In the "St. Alban's Case."

Martin v. Mackonochie.

Mr. Mackonochie was charged with the following four offences against the laws ecclesiastical, on all of which the Court pronounced his practices to be illegal.

1. The elevation during or after the Prayer of Consecration in the Order of the Administration of the Holy Communion of the paten and cup ; and the kneeling or prostrating himself before the consecrated elements.
2. Using lighted candles on the Communion-table during the celebration of the Holy Communion, when such candles were not wanted for the purpose of giving light.
3. Using incense in the celebration of the Holy Communion.
4. Mixing water with the wine used in the administration of the Holy Communion, during the celebration of the Communion.

In the "Purchas Case."

Elphinstone afterwards Hebbert v. Purchas.

Mr. Purchas was charged with wearing vestments and adopting ceremonies, all of which, as noted below, were pronounced illegal by the Court.

Vestments.

5. Cope at Morning or Evening Prayer.
6. Albs with patches called Apparels.
7. Tippetts of a circular form.

8. Stoles, whether black, white, or coloured.
9. Dalmatics at the Communion Service.
10. Maniples worn by the Ministers.
11. The Chasuble at the Communion Service.
12. Tunics or Tunicles at the Communion Service.
13. Albs.

Ceremonies.

14. Ceremonial mixing water with the wine at the Holy Communion.
15. The Administration of Wine with which Water has been mixed previous to the Service.
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17. Elevating the paten and cup during the Prayer of Consecration.
18. Kneeling and prostration during the Prayer of Consecration.
19. The use of sanctus and saering bells rung during the Prayer of Consecration.
20. Agnus Dei, sung after the Prayer of Consecration and before the Communion of the people.
21. Sign of the Cross, made by the Minister at the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, Absolution in the Communion Service, giving of Sacrament to the people, Benediction, mixing the Chalice in the Service, Prayer of Consecration.
22. Kissing the Gospel Book before reading the Gospel.
23. Standing with back to the people and elevating the cup while reading the Prayer for the Church Militant.
24. Elevation of the Offertory Alms, and removing them to the Credence table instead of suffering them to remain on the Holy Table.
25. Leaving the Holy Table uncovered on Good Friday.
26. Standing in front of the Holy Table with back to the people, while reading the Prayer of Consecration.

27. Standing in front of the middle of the Holy Table with back to the people, while reading the Collects next before the Epistle.
28. Standing at the foot of the Holy Table with back to the people, while reading the Collects after Creed at Evening Prayer.
29. Standing with back to the people, while reading the Epistle.
30. Gospeller attended by Acolytes and a Crucifer with Crucifix, while reading the Gospel.
31. Te Deum, sung at the Communion Table, immediately after Evening Service, with Crucifix and banners about the minister.
32. A Procession, immediately before or after Service, singing a hymn, and composed of—Thurifer, carrying and swinging incense; Crucifer, with Crucifix; Acolytes, with lighted candles; Deacons or others with banners; Choristers, dressed in red and white; Ceremoniaris, in cassock and cotta, with blue tippet; Rulers of the Choir, in copes; Clergy, in copes.
33. Palms, Lighted Candles, and Crucifix, carried in procession at and as a Ceremony connected with Divine Service.
34. Blessing of Palms and giving them to the people during Divine Service on Palm Sunday.
35. Blessing of Candles and giving them to the people during Divine Service on the day of the Purification of the Virgin Mary (Candlemas Day), Ashes on Ash Wednesday, and Palms on Palm Sunday.
36. Candles lighted when not wanted for the purpose of giving light, and used in any of the ways following, during Divine Service, —Carried on Candlemas Day and Whitsun-Day; used at reading of the Gospel; placed on the Communion Table or on a ledge over it, and seeming to be part of it, or about or before the Communion Table, either during the Communion Service or other parts of the Morning Service; Paschal light at Easter.

37. Incense, used for censuring persons or things or burnt ceremonially, in or immediately before Divine Service and as subsidiary thereto.
38. Notices of High Celebrations and of Feasts not directed by the church to be observed.
39. Notice of Mortuary Celebration—and Interpolation while reading the Communion Service, after the Collect for the Queen, of a Prayer, Epistle and Gospel, not in the Prayer Book, read at a Mortuary Celebration.
40. Admission of a Choir Boy, with certain ceremonies, immediately before Service.
41. Metal Crucifix, not part of architectural decorations, on or in apparent connection with the Holy Table, and seeming to be part of its furniture, covered and uncovered ceremonially and bowed to by the Minister.
42. Censuring the Crucifix.
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MR. MURRAY'S LIST.

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CORRESPONDENCE

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RELATING TO THE

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HOLY COMMUNION.

(REPRINTED BY PERMISSION.)

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1871.

PREFACE.

THE letters and papers contained in this Pamphlet are the result of that portion of the Judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case of 'Hebbert *v.* Purchas' which deals with the position of the Priest during the Prayer of Consecration, and of subsequent occurrences referrible to that Judgment.

They are now collected and reprinted, not in any spirit of party warfare, but in the earnest hope, and with the hearty prayer, that they may, if candidly studied, conduce to the glory of Almighty God, and the peace and prosperity of His Church. The Editors are certain that the cause of truth and godliness can but be advanced by the free, but reverent, discussion of a question which lies very near to the consciences of so many devout members, clerical and lay, of the Church of England.

November, 1871.

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CORRESPONDENCE AND DOCUMENTS,

ETC.

I.

THE PLACE OF THE PRIEST AT THE PRAYER OF CONSECRATION.

BY A. J. B. HOPE BERESFORD, ESQ., M.P.

SIR,—I desire to bespeak your attention to the portion of the judgment of the Judicial Committee in ‘*Hebbert v. Purchas*,’ which refers to the position of the Priest at the Prayer of Consecration. The prelates and judges who sat on that Committee must be well aware, from the lifelong interest which they have taken in the affairs of our Church, that the practice of the Priest standing during the Prayer of Consecration in front of the Holy Table is no part of that series of ceremonies which has come into such prominence and created so much disturbance during these late years under the ill-chosen appellation of ‘Ritualism.’ It is a practice which can be shown to have existed all through the Reformed Church of England, while its more general and continually spreading adoption dates from the earliest days of that Church revival which already numbers nearly forty years. Those who adhere to it, both clergy and laity (for it is as dear to laymen as to

priests), act from the conviction fortified by study that the position of the Priest in front of the Holy Table is the natural interpretation of the rubric, continuously witnessed to in the Reformed Church of England, and as they believe recognised by the Privy Council in ‘*Martin v. Mackonochie.*’ But they attach a peculiar value to the position, because they feel that it most completely realises the Christian idea of the minister of our Lord and Saviour standing forward as the *præses* of the congregation to offer up their devotions before the Holy Table at the supreme moment of the highest act of worship. Ecclesiastical history from first to last proves to them that this position is emphatically and alone the one consistent with the uniform tradition of the Catholic Church—undivided and divided—from the earliest ages till now, and that it is, and ever has been, the usage both of the separatist bodies of the East and of those Protestant communities of the Continent which preserve a liturgical framework of worship. With every desire, therefore, on their part to treat with respect a Judgment of the Privy Council, they cannot but feel that the formal prohibition of this position—which has gone on so long unrebuked by many of our Bishops, and encouraged by some of them—would be a fresh breach of Christian unity and a fresh obstacle to any truthful reunion. The only variation in the ancient position of the celebrant of which they had a trace in Church history is that in the early *basilicæ* the priest would stand on the far side of the altar, facing the people. But in that use, as in the practice of later ages, the central position of the celebrant was invariably observed.

I feel that I am not violating the confidence of the living or of the dead if I mention an incident which occurred during the sittings of the Ritual Commission. The question had arisen there of some alteration in the rubric intended to embody the views which have now been enunciated in the recent judgment. Thereupon the chairman, Archbishop Longley, rose, and after premising that his own practice and feelings were adverse to

the central position of the Priest, emphatically stated that it was adopted by so many of the clergy that any attempt to limit it would produce 'exasperation.' This was a strong word from one so mild and courteous as Archbishop Longley, and I noted it at the time. It produced its effect in the Commission, and the question was not again raised. In the spirit of the Archbishop's warning, I contend that it is the duty of all who love our Church, and who desire to live and die in her service, to see that this exasperation shall not break out.

I recognise but one way to check it; and that is, that the rulers of the Church, while leaving to Mr. Hebbert and his friends their triumph over Mr. Purchas, should not make any attempt to give vitality to this prohibition in the case of other churches. If they should, unhappily, embark on such a campaign, they will inevitably light the flame of lamentable discord through the land. It is not in human nature that the numerous clergymen who observe, and the more numerous laity who cherish, the observance as the practice in all times of the Universal Church, as in their deliberate judgment most conformable to the rubric, and as recently established by the Privy Council, should at once turn the whole current of their convictions and alter their procedure in a matter intimately bound up with their most sacred devotional feelings. The hardship will be greater, because they have never thought of enforcing their practice on others. All they have ever desired has been to be left in peace to observe the highest ordinance of religion in what they consider the way most agreeable to the doctrine of Christ.

A. J. B. BERESFORD-HOPE.

II.

THE PURCHAS JUDGMENT AND THE LAITY.

BY A. J. B. BERESFORD-HOPE, ESQ., M.P.

SIR,—I addressed you shortly after the Judicial Committee had reported upon the case of ‘*Hebbert v. Purchas*,’ upon the grave consequences with which that document was fraught. Everything that has since occurred has proved that I was not an alarmist, and that I did not exaggerate. At the present stage of the excitement, after the Remonstrance of nearly 5000 clergy has been presented, and after the prayer of Mr. Purchas for a rehearing has been rejected, I must trouble you with some reflections upon a side of the question which has been too much overlooked in the many letters which the discussion has produced. The interest of the laity in the subject is a matter which must be faced and answered before the clergy can properly decide upon their future conduct. The party among the laity which values the realities of Sacramental Worship is as compact and as well defined as the corresponding one among the clergy; and it would be little less than immoral for the latter to commit themselves to any definite action without considering the feelings of the lay worshippers. That term comprises persons of every station in life and of every variety of means, professions, intellect, and taste; but in the main it divides itself into two great divisions—those of middle age and above, and those below. The former division are persons who have passed in years of consciousness from the less to the more complete type of worship, and who accept it after trial of both kinds; but the younger generation is to a great extent composed of those to whom the higher type is the natural and regular one, whose earliest recollections of childhood are mixed up with it, and to whom any sudden and vital alteration would be the severest moral shock. I am the more careful to make

this distinction because the Bench of Bishops being, like the Judicial Committee, men of middle or later life, may be apt to overlook a circumstance of great practical value in determining the right course under present circumstances. I speak of higher and lower, of more or less complete, type of worship, for I decline to accept the plausible pretext that, with that much larger portion of High Churchmen to whom the use of vestments is unknown, the only practical difference growing out of the late decision will be the position of the Priest during the Prayer of Consecration. I heartily recognise the fact that the validity of the Sacrament is not affected by the Priest's position—as little would it be affected by the Priest wearing a shooting-jacket instead of a surplice. The Speaker might preside in the House of Commons in a wideawake and an Ulster. But in this world of matter as well as mind, externals have an importance wholly independent of their intrinsic value. In this particular case I fully believe that the prevalence of the north-end position has been for generations a great popular drawback to the due appreciation of the Holy Mysteries. The persons who have managed the recent prosecutions had no idea of staking time and money upon so narrow an issue as a mere question between north and west; and the judgment of the Court, from the unhappy technical and unsympathetic form which it assumed, would, if silently accepted, have had results far wider and more calamitous. I do not hesitate to affirm that these results would have been the practical discouragement of the great truth of Sacramental Worship, for which so many of the laity as well as of the clergy have through long years been contending, as the mainstay of their devotional life. They have learned to sum up and concentrate their devotions in the 'perpetual memory' of Christ's 'one oblation of Himself once offered,' as the crowning act of their public worship, to which common prayer and praise, reading of Lessons, Litanies, and sermons, all tend. In this great act of worship they are naturally jealous that all things should be done 'decently and in order.' In particular

they have learned to appreciate how congruous with Christian antiquity, and with the circumstances of the action itself, it is that the Priest, when he makes and blesses the Great Oblation standing before them as their representative, and before the Lord's Table as God's minister, should do so in the one position and posture in which he can represent both characters. They have also, by an impartial investigation of our present rubrics, attained the conviction that the one rubric on which the question has since 1662 turned can only have any other interpretation by a very forced construction; and their study of English ecclesiastical history has proved to them that,—whereas the position of the Priest at this part of the service was a subject of contest during the century and more of fermentation through which the Reformed Church of England had to pass before it settled down—this very rubric was at the last settlement framed by the very man who stands out in history as the defender of the position to which they cling. Such were the feelings with which High Churchmen waited to hear how the Judicial Committee would handle that portion of the Dean of Arches' judgment which pronounced that, in accordance with the ruling of the Committee in a former case, Mr. Purchas acted in conformity with the rubrics when he consecrated before the Holy Table. If the Committee had confirmed the Judgment of the Court below, no one of the persons whom that decision would have comforted would have dreamed of forcing compliance on any one to whom the practice was distasteful. But the Committee might have been unable to accept the ruling of the Dean of Arches, and it might have taken a course which we have now learned from their own mouths, when they rejected the application for the rehearing, that even they can recognise. They might, as Sir John Taylor Coleridge has pointed out in his pamphlet, have considered what was 'expedient,' and, under what seemed to them the difficulties of the case, have abstained from pronouncing any opinion. This result would have quite contented High Churchmen, and left the *locus standi* of the other side unaffected. But

even if the Judicial Committee had felt themselves constrained to look, not to expediency, but to the *summum jus*, and had accompanied their decision with some words of sympathy for that large array of some of the most devoted members of the Church whom they must have known that they were wounding in the tenderest place, there would have been a basis for those friendly explanations which mitigate even where they cannot cure. Instead, we found what, with the highest personal respect for the members of that Committee, I must designate as a condemnation of what certainly is the general practice of the universal Church, hard and unsympathetic in tone, incomplete and perfunctory in its treatment of the broad historical bearings of the questions, and yet finding time, as if in irony, to stop and play with a fanciful analogy from the Jewish altar, casually discovered in some recent pamphlet, and ending with Mr. Purchas's penal condemnation in costs.

I have now very earnestly to petition the clergy, in what they may hereafter do, to be very considerate for their flocks. 'The law is the law, and must be obeyed,' is what we shall probably hear; and as an abstract proposition it meets with my absolute assent. I should be unworthy of my position of a law-maker if I did not uphold it. But *latet dolus in generalibus*. The law is the Statute Law of the land, and has to be obeyed in all the fulness of every minute provision of every Act of Parliament. So in matters ritual, 'the law' means the Act of Charles II., of which the Prayer-book is a schedule. The late decision of the Privy Council neither professes nor has any power to make any new law, but only to explain one portion of that schedule. The 'law is to be obeyed' in the regulation of worship, just as much or as little now as it had to be obeyed six months ago. I therefore demand from every man, prelate, dignitary, priest, or layman, who has since the Purchas Judgment suddenly woken to a sense of the stringency of the law, to relax no efforts to secure that 'all Priests and Deacons are to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayers either privately

or openly, not being let by sickness or some other urgent cause; to enforce recognition both 'of all the Feasts that are to be observed in the Church of England throughout the year,' and of the 'vigils, fasts, and days of abstinence to be observed in the year;' and by remonstrance, and, if unsuccessful, by recourse to the lawful authorities, to provide that at the time of Communion the Priest shall say the words of delivery to each communicant, and in general to carry out in their completeness all the directions contained in the Prayer-book. Those who wish to stamp out that venerable usage of the Priest's position—on which it is possible, without disrespect, to believe that Cosin was as likely to have been right as the Judicial Committee—will have justified their claim to enforce passive obedience by appealing to the moral stringency of law, when they show an equal zeal on behalf of other provisions of the Church's ritual system, which are as plain as the point involved in the late decision is, from their point of view, uncertain. Until they do so, they stand liable to a charge of partisanship which it will be difficult for them to rebut, while the question of the Priest's position inevitably takes its place in that long list of varying usages, at which the wise toleration of our age is contented to connive. This connivance is the price of maintaining the establishment of the Church in its material amplitude; but it has also a religious value as a concession to devotional prepossessions, which may, without danger to the common faith, be allowed to indulge in varying manifestations in accordance with the feelings of individual sympathisers.

The demand upon any clergyman's conscience to alter his practice in deference to the distinct majesty of law is in the present case the slightest which can be conceived. The danger of distressing and disturbing those lay-worshippers who seek their souls' constant food at the table of the Lord is the greatest.

A. J. B. BERESFORD-HOPE.

III.

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD AND THREE CHURCH-
WARDENS OF BUCKINGHAM.1. *The Three Churchwardens to the Bishop.*

*To the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of
Oxford.*

The humble Memorial of the undersigned Churchwardens of the parish of Buckingham in the county of Buckingham,—

Showeth that the parish church of Buckingham, in the county of Buckingham and within the diocese of your lordship, has been duly consecrated and dedicated to the purpose of divine worship, and the Rev. William Foxley Norris of Buckingham is the Vicar of the said parish.

Your memorialists are parishioners and inhabitants of the said parish and personally resident therein, and they severally are in the habit of attending divine service in the said church.

That the Reverend William Foxley Norris has been and is in the habit in his said church during the prayer of consecration in the order of the administration of the Holy Communion of standing during the whole of the prayer of consecration on that side of the communion-table which, if the said table stood at the east end of the said church, would be the west side of such table in such wise that he stands between the people and the said table, so that the people cannot see him break the bread or take the cup into his hand.

That the said Reverend William Foxley Norris is in the habit of standing in front of the communion-table with his back to the people during the communion service in the church when directed by the rubric to stand at the north side of such table.

That the said Reverend William Foxley Norris, in the said church on Good Friday last, when there was no administration of the Holy Communion, caused or permitted the communion-

table to be and remain during divine service bare and without any covering.

That the several acts, practices, and ceremonies above mentioned are unlawful additions to and variations from the form and order prescribed by the Acts of Uniformity and the Book of Common Prayer, and the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, and have respectively been decided to be illegal in and by the judgments of the ecclesiastical courts made and pronounced in that behalf.

That complaints have been made to the Reverend William Foxley Norris of the above-mentioned practices, and he has been reminded of their illegality and requested to discontinue them, but notwithstanding, he still continues to carry on and exercise the acts and practices above complained of, and in consequence thereof some of the inhabitants and parishioners of the said parish are precluded by conscientious motives from attending divine service and from partaking of the Holy Communion, and many others who continue to attend divine service find their consciences much vexed, and the spiritual profit and advantage to their souls lessened and impaired by reason of such acts and practices.

Your memorialists believe that very many of the parishioners and inhabitants of the said parish object upon conscientious grounds to the acts and practices above mentioned.

Your memorialists therefore humbly pray your lordship that the Reverend William Foxley Norris, his curates, and all other clerks or persons assisting in the performance of divine service in the said church, may be monished and ordered to discontinue the practices, acts, and ceremonies above mentioned; and that your lordship will be pleased make such further order in the matter for enforcing the discontinuance of such practices, acts, and ceremonies as your lordship shall think fit.

And your memorialists will ever pray, &c.

(Signed)

HENRY SMALL,
JAMES HARRISON,
WILLIAM SOWERBY.

2. *The Bishop's Reply.*

Cuddesdon Palace, Wheatley, July 31, 1871.

DEAR SIR,—I have given my best attention to the memorial which you have sent me, praying me to issue a monition to the Vicar of Buckingham, in respect of certain variations from the order of divine service prescribed by the Act of Uniformity. It has been necessary for me to consider it in connexion with other complaints which I have received. Immediately after the publication of the Judgment in the case of ‘*Hebbert v. Purchas*,’ I was requested to monish a clergyman of the diocese in respect of additions to, and variations from, the order of the rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer, especially of the introduction in the Communion Service of an unauthorised vestment—the academical gown. I declined, after careful consideration of that complaint, to interfere.

It appeared to me to be inexpedient to enforce, or attempt to enforce, rubrical conformity in isolated cases, of which complaint happened to be made, unless I had been prepared to require throughout the diocese virtual uniformity in all respects. The result of endeavours to enforce uniformity in former times did not encourage me to make this attempt; nor could I have made it without doing some violence to principles of toleration which have long been familiar to me. I must at least have been assured that the general feeling and opinion of Churchmen approved such a course, before I could persuade myself to adopt it. These are general considerations; the case you have brought before me has further difficulties peculiar to itself. The present Vicar of Buckingham is a clergyman of high character, moderate opinions, and strict fidelity in the discharge of his spiritual functions. I know few clergymen, even in this diocese, more conciliatory in conduct and more generally esteemed. It would be repugnant to all my notions of a Bishop’s duty to single out such a clergyman for censure, while

the negligent and careless, for such unhappily are to be found, provoke no observation, and incur no attack.

I have thought it due to your office as the churchwarden of an important parish to enter into some of the reasons which prevent me from acceding to the prayer of your memorial. Had I come to a different conclusion, I should have desired some expression of opinion from the other churchwardens and from the principal parishioners before I complied with its request.—I am, dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

H. Small, Esq.

J. F. OXON.

3. *Mr. Small to the Bishop.*

Buckingham, 2nd August, 1871.

My Lord,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's letter of the 31st ultimo in reply to the memorial signed by myself and two other of the churchwardens of this parish, which I propose to publish with the correspondence.

If your lordship, in the instance cited in your letter, refers to the use of the academical gown as a preaching vestment, I can quite understand your lordship refusing to monish one of your clergy to abstain from such use, as it has never been decided to be illegal; but I entirely fail to see the bearing of this upon the present case, as your lordship will have noticed that all the acts complained of in the memorial have been declared to be illegal, one by the Court of Arches and the others by the highest Court of Appeal in Ecclesiastical Causes in this realm.

One of the clergy of your diocese sets the law at defiance, and your lordship refuses to interfere. Could the most bitter opponents of our Church desire it otherwise?—I have the honour to be, my Lord, your lordship's obedient servant,

HENRY SMALL.

To the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

4. *The Bishop's Reply.*

Cuddesdon Palace, August 4th, 1871.

Dear Sir,—I write, in reply to your letter, to say that I shall not object to the publication of our correspondence, if it is published entire.

Whether the use of the academical gown would be pronounced illegal, I must decline, in view of the remarkable conflict of recent judgments in such matters, to pronounce. I feel less difficulty in saying that the introduction of a vestment, unknown to the rubrics, in the middle of a service, is a variation from and addition to the order of that service, in the plain meaning of the words. Whether any number of legal decisions will secure absolute uniformity in these things, as I have already said, I greatly doubt. That the treatment which such questions receive in the arena of a law court is unfavourable to Christian charity, and to the growth of spiritual religion, I have no doubt at all.—I remain, dear sir, yours very faithfully,

J. F. OXON.

 IV.

With reference to the foregoing Correspondence, Mr. Hubbard addressed the following Letter to the Editor of the 'Buckingham Express':—

Addington Manor, 16th August, 1871.

Sir,—I regret to see by your two last numbers, not only that some inhabitants of the town of Buckingham are dissatisfied upon a few points connected with divine service at the parish church, but that letters have been published representing the

Vicar of the parish as one 'who sets the law at defiance,' and exciting public disapprobation against the Bishop of the diocese 'for refusing to interfere.'

In our free country it is futile to expect that men differently trained, and differing in mind and disposition, should not differ in opinion even where unanimity is most to be desired, as touching the public service of God. An enlarged experience, and, above all, Christian charity, will, however, teach men that where the law is silent or dubious, and they cannot agree, they may 'bear and forbear,' while each retains his own opinion of what is best.

Into a mere conflict of opinions I should not desire to enter; but it is possible that your correspondents have considered the subject on which they address you from one side only, and that reasons may exist which, if duly weighed, might induce them to qualify the conclusions they have expressed.

To call any man a 'law-breaker,' a 'defiant of the law,' is to apply to him a term of reproach: yet the gravity of the reproach depends upon the position of the maker of that law. The Law of God is supreme, and its infraction admits of no extenuation. The knowledge of God's Law is given to us by the Church, and the Church's law ought to be, and as Churchmen believe—in all essentials—is, in harmony with the law of God. The law of the State—a power ordained by God—ought to harmonise with the laws of God and of His Church, and it binds the consciences of its subjects, unless it contravenes the supreme authority of the Divine Law. When this happens, the subject of the State, however loyal, if he be a Christian, has no option but to become a 'law-breaker,' and it has been as law-breakers of this character that God's people in all ages have vindicated by constancy and suffering, even unto death, their fidelity to Him who is Lord of all.

Plainly, therefore, if the Legislature or any judicial Court in England, by the enactment or interpretation of a statute, were to impose on clergyman or layman obligations irreconcilable with

his faith in or his duty to God, he would be bound to defy the law—to be a ‘law-breaker.’

But no such conflict of secular and spiritual authority confuses the question raised by your correspondents touching the position of the celebrant at the Communion Service during the Consecration Prayer.

Mr. Purchas’s practice was to say the Consecration Prayer ‘standing before the table,’ and looking eastward. A complaint of his eastward position was carried by appeal from the Arches Court to the Privy Council, and by them declared to be illegal.

But Mr. Purchas had no counsel and made no defence in either court, and the decision thus given by the Privy Council, although valid as against Mr. Purchas, is powerless as a declaration of the law in any other case. The reason for both these consequences is obvious. Mr. Purchas, or any other clergyman similarly accused, could not be allowed to escape a conviction by refusing to defend himself. Other clergymen subjected to the same charge could with no justice be convicted upon the precedent of a decision given at the close of a trial in which evidence and argument were lavishly supplied,—but upon one side only. Eminent counsel consulted upon the force of the decision in the undefended case of Mr. Purchas have given as their opinion, ‘that the decision may be questioned . . . and that the decision will not be considered conclusive in a new case.’

Learned jurists, moreover, declare that the Purchas decision is not only *not law*, but is directly at variance with the Mackonochie decision, which *is law*. In that earlier case the Privy Council, after a trial elaborately argued upon both sides, decided that ‘Mr. Mackonochie had violated the rubric by kneeling instead of standing during a part of the Consecration Prayer,’ and they grounded their decision upon the words—‘When the priest *standing before the table* ;’ which, they say, apply to the whole sentence. The Priest, therefore, ‘for the ordering of the elements’ taking the posture ‘*standing*,’ and

the position '*before the table,*' can change neither posture nor position until the conclusion of the Consecration Prayer.

The Committee of the Privy Council who tried Mr. Purchas allege that in the Mackonochie case, the '*posture*' and not the '*position*' was in question: that is quite true, but the rejoinder is, that the construction of the rubric, which fixes the celebrant in a '*standing*' posture, and so precludes his '*kneeling,*' equally precludes his '*walking.*' Once let the minister 'stand before the table' looking east (as he is in some churches assumed legally to do by Mr. Purchas's judges), and it becomes impossible for him consistently with the rubric, as interpreted in the Mackonochie case, to leave that side of the table, until he releases himself by completing the Consecration.

Law cannot contradict itself, and as the decision in the Mackonochie case was law, the utterly contrariant decision in the Purchas case *is not law.*

Your correspondents have drawn invidious comparisons between the course pursued by the Bishop of Oxford and that taken by the Bishop of London and by the Primate. The Bishop of London's subsequent utterances were naturally in agreement with the judicial decision, to which he was a party; a decision which we are bound to believe was arrived at most conscientiously, but which may be fairly questioned, seeing that Wheatley and Nicholls, neither of them great authorities, and differing widely in their views of Eucharistic ritual, are cited as the main supporters of the conclusions of the court, and seeing that the present state of the law is summed up in words written by Archdeacon Cosin in 1627 — when the rubric upon which the whole controversy turns was not in existence.

The Archbishop of Canterbury is quoted as saying, 'that every person in a responsible position is bound to see that the law is obeyed:' But does this refer to the recent judgment as law? If so, it is quite consistent with the respect and deference due to the office and persons both of the Primate and of the Bishop of London to believe that they had not appreciated

the legal contradictions and practical confusion which would result from an attempt to apply generally the monition issued against Mr. Purchas personally.

Another case may arise in which the question of the position of the celebrant at Holy Communion may be thoroughly argued on both sides, and may receive a solution, fortified not only by all legal requisites, but by the fulness and fairness of treatment which will command intellectual approval. I am far from undervaluing the blessing of uniformity in public worship. The strength of the Church depends not only on her members sharing in the same faith, but on their being able heartily to unite in the celebration of divine worship in any of her consecrated buildings. The irreverence and neglect of former years, and the arrogance and self-will of recent times, have between them wrought lamentable divisions in the Church, and startling discrepancies in her public services; and one cannot but wish that, so far as the enforcement of the Church's laws can avail, their action should be invoked in the cause of uniformity. But to do this successfully requires consummate wisdom and perfect impartiality.

We may all help the desired result if, while we strive for unity, we keep the path of charity; and as regards the special object of this letter, we shall, I trust, all rejoice to feel that there is positively, in no sense, any cause for regarding the Vicar of Buckingham as a 'law-breaker,' or the Bishop of Oxford as an abettor of lawlessness.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

J. G. HUBBARD.

V.

PREFACE TO 'A CHARGE DELIVERED TO THE CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF CALCUTTA AT THE VISITATION IN MARCH 1871.' By ROBERT MILMAN, D.D., Bishop of Calcutta, Metropolitan in India and Ceylon.

DEAR BRETHREN IN CHRIST,—I must apologise for the delay in the transmission of my Charge delivered in March last. There was one important return which I had hoped to obtain before I printed it; but as this is not likely to be ready for some time, I have thought it better to make no further delay. I feel, indeed, that the hurry of events has already outrun much that I had said. Nevertheless, I have concluded to print the Charge exactly as I delivered it, as I understand that there has been some doubt as to one or two of my expressions. The judgment against Mr. Voysey has been given, and on his refusal to retract Deprivation has followed. His conduct since seems thoroughly to have confirmed the necessity of the sentence.

The Judgment against Mr. Purchas has also been delivered since I spoke to you in the Cathedral. The defendant unfortunately had no counsel. Yet a re-hearing of the case has been refused. Whether the same decision would be again arrived at on the last point,—the position of the Clergyman in celebrating the Holy Communion—I am not sure. It seems to me that the ruling on this point is contrary to the plain meaning of the rubric. I mean with relation to the word 'before.' I should hardly think it possible that it can be enforced in another case, and I cannot come to the conclusion that this particular decision will be a permanent precedent. I do not wish unnecessarily to enter into the question further. It does not appear to me a matter of great importance, except as to the treatment of a rubric apparently of the plainest meaning. I

am, of course, aware of the contrary arguments, and I have read the Judgment twice carefully; but while they would produce considerable uncertainty, and prevent imposing the direction as a necessary rule, they seem to me inconclusive against such a definite rubric as that of which I am speaking.

May God in His mercy deliver us from all strife and party spirit, and hasten on the day of His grace and the reunion of all His people in Christ Jesus.

VI.

THE BISHOP OF CARLISLE ON THE PURCHAS
JUDGMENT.

The Bishop to Chancellor Burton.

Rose Castle, May 31, 1871.

Dear Mr. Chancellor,—I have lately received from the Dean of Chichester a copy of a document entitled ‘A Remonstrance addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England on occasion of the Report of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council *in re* Hebbert *v.* Purchas.’ As I observe that your name is amongst the signatures to this important document, and as the presence of your name must of necessity add much to the weight of the Remonstrance both to my mind and throughout the diocese of Carlisle, I think it right, and I am quite sure you will not object, that I should address to yourself the remarks which I may deem it necessary to make.

In the first place, let me say that I regard the presence of your name amongst the signatures as a sufficient proof that there is no intention on the part of the remonstrants of exhorting the Bishops to set law at defiance. You would be the last person to approve of so improper a course: and although such

an interpretation has in some quarters been put upon the Remonstrance, and although I am constrained to grant that some of the language used might be interpreted so as to carry such a meaning, still I am convinced that this is not what is intended, and that if this had been the intention, you, at least, would never have given the sanction of your name to a proceeding so entirely contrary to all sound principles of Church government.

I will explain what I understand to be the meaning of the Remonstrance.

I perceive that the remonstrants confine themselves entirely to one point—namely, ‘the position of the minister during the Prayer of Consecration at the Holy Communion.’ With regard to this one point the remonstrants trust that the Bishops will abstain from acting upon the decision of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council. By their language I conceive that a prayer is conveyed to the Bishops, not to take any active part in enforcing conformity to the law as now declared: I conceive that the remonstrants desire that, inasmuch as many rubrics which are plain in their meaning are nevertheless broken, and yet no notice is taken by the Bishop unless his interference is specially invoked, so the rubric concerning the position of the minister during the Prayer of Consecration should be deemed one of those which may be regarded as not requiring a hard and iron conformity.

To this general view of the case I am quite disposed to assent; indeed, I should have considered the course which I have now indicated as the only wise and practicable course, even if it had not been pressed upon me by the remonstrants. Supposing a complaint brought before me by persons entitled to make the complaint, I must deal with it upon its merits; but I am certainly not disposed to adopt any extraordinary proceedings for the purpose of enforcing the rubric in question in a manner which I do not think it right to adopt with regard to other rubrics which are clear in their meaning.

I am the more disposed to take this course for the following reason. It is very difficult, in a question which concerns position or posture, to be quite sure that a rubric has been broken. The highest Court of Appeal has decided that Mr. Purchas has, by his conduct, broken the rubric; but it would have to be shown that any clergyman against whom a complaint was made had done what Mr. Purchas has done, in order to make Mr. Purchas's condemnation apply to him: and I think I am not wrong in saying that this demonstration would not always be quite easy; and it is conceivable that the whole course of prosecution and trial which has been gone through in the case of Mr. Purchas might be necessary in the case of another clergyman against whom the same kind of complaint was made.

If we compare that portion of the late judgment which refers to the position of the minister with that which refers to the vesture to be worn by him, we shall perhaps see this point still more clearly. The question of the legality of the vestments ordered in the First Prayer-book of King Edward VI., upon which legal authorities were much divided, has now been definitively settled, and it is ruled that those vestments may not be worn. It appears to me that there can be no question as to what is the duty of the clergy in this matter, and no doubt whether in any given case the law has been infringed or not; the assuming the Edwardian vestments, or those which are supposed correctly to represent them, is an act of a clear overt character which can scarcely admit of two opinions. This, however, is not quite the case with regard to position: for example, suppose that there are two clergymen at the Lord's Table, is it unlawful for the clergyman on the south side to take any part of the service? The Epistle is almost always read from the south side, and not unfrequently the Prayer for the Church Militant, and several other portions of the service; yet no standing on the south side of the Lord's Table is recognised, either by the Prayer-book or by the judgment.

In truth, there seems to me to be almost an impossibility involved in the attempt to make written rules which shall hold in all cases, without the help afforded by the interpretation of custom ; and I confess that I regret exceedingly that in the recent prosecution and judgment the case of the vestments, which was really doubtful, and concerning which many persons were in great uncertainty, was mixed up with the question of the position of the minister during the Prayer of Consecration. I could have wished that this smaller matter had been left to local taste or local tradition.

So far as the diocese of Carlisle is concerned I need not tell you, Mr. Chancellor, that the judgment does not very nearly affect us. Whatever may be our faults and breaches of rubric, they are not greatly in the direction indicated by the practices of Mr. Purchas, which have been now condemned. Nevertheless fifty clergymen of the diocese, if my reckoning be correct, have signed the Remonstrance ; and it is due to them, perhaps also to the more numerous body who have not signed, that I should explain what my views on this subject are, and what my conduct is likely to be.

On the whole, my desire is to interfere as little as possible. Where unrubrical practices have crept in, I would trust to the clergy, now that attention has been pointedly called to the subject, to reform their practice in accordance with the directions of the Prayer-book, bearing in mind, however, that charity is greater than rubrics, and that one of the first considerations in every parish is to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. Above all, I would take this opportunity of expressing my most earnest hope that the clergy will not be led by the excitement of the times to give to these rubrical matters an importance which does not belong to them : I do not deny that innovations may be mischievous, and that they may even be undertaken with the purpose of bringing about ends which most of us would consider deplorable ; but after all we must remember that we owe much of our improved decorum and decency of

worship to innovators who were strongly condemned some years ago, and that in the nature of things forms and ceremonies are not, and ought not to be, matters of the very highest moment.

To me the great question is, whether a clergyman preaches the Gospel in his Church, and acts out the Gospel in his parish: and if he does these things I do not think it is wise to examine too carefully the spot which he occupies, and the direction in which he looks, when he celebrates the mysteries of our faith.— I am, dear Mr. Chancellor, yours faithfully,

HARVEY CARLISLE.

To the Worshipful Chancellor Burton.

VII.

CASE AND COUNSEL'S OPINION ON THE PURCHAS JUDGMENT.

(Referred to in Mr. Hubbard's Letter, p. 21.)

The following appeared in the leading journals:—

HEBBERT *v.* PURCHAS.

SIR,—We are desired to forward to you herewith a copy of a case recently submitted by us to the Solicitor-General, Mr. Manisty, and Mr. Bowen, in reference to the late decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case of Hebbert *v.* Purchas, together with a copy of the opinion thereon.

We also send an extract from the shorthand writer's minutes of what took place at the late unsuccessful attempt to secure a re-hearing of this case on the 26th ult., which will be found to corroborate the views entertained by those eminent counsel.

We are, Sir, your obedient servants,

FEW AND CO.

2 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden,
May 16, 1871.

CASE.

With this Counsel will receive a copy of the Judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case of *Hebbert v. Purchas*.

It will be seen that the Judgment prohibits certain proceedings in the public Services of the Church of England as against the Prayer Book and Canons, and the Act of Uniformity; and that it orders monitions to be addressed to the defendant prohibiting him from repeating the acts so alleged to be in breach of the laws of the Church.

A considerable difference of opinion is entertained as to whether the decision of the Court is *in personam*, or *in rem*, and whether the merits of the judgment can be questioned and the self-same points re-discussed in a fresh case if brought before the Court in the instance of another clergyman performing all or any of the acts recently observed by Mr. Purchas, and condemned by the judgment in question, such as the vestments and the position of the celebrant at the Prayer of Consecration in the Service of Holy Communion.

We content ourselves with presenting the bare question for the consideration of counsel, without attempting to refer them to the great cases on the point, as it is necessary to ascertain the law on the point with the least avoidable delay.

Counsel will therefore please consider the foregoing proposition and advise thereon in consultation.

OPINION.

We are of opinion that the decision in the case of '*Hebbert v. Purchas*' may be questioned; and that the same points which were involved in, and decided by it, may be reconsidered in the case of any other clergyman against whom proceedings may

hereafter be taken. At the same time it cannot be doubted but that the decision is an authority which every Committee of the Privy Council will respect, though they may not consider themselves absolutely bound by it.

Having regard to the peculiar circumstances under which the decision in '*Hebbert v. Purchas*' was arrived at, and the nature and character, as well as importance, of the questions involved in it, we think it may reasonably be expected that the decision will not be considered conclusive in a new case.

JOHN DUKE COLERIDGE.

H. MANISTY.

CHARLES BOWEN.

EXTRACT FROM SHORTHAND WRITER'S NOTES.

The Solicitor-General: All I propose to do is to draw your lordships' attention to what I venture to call the direct verbal contradictions between the utterances of the Supreme Court of Appeal, and to point out to your lordships that the Supreme Court of Appeal has now the means of reconciling them. I do not mean to say that the Supreme Court of Appeal cannot or may not reconcile them; all I say is, that there stand apparent contradictions; and as long as those contradictions stand apparent it is surely a ground upon which the Church at large may claim to be heard, and have a right to put in a claim that there should be some more distinct examination of how it is that these judgments of equal authority, and pronounced, as I venture to think, in one sense at least, upon exactly the same points, are to be followed by persons desirous of obeying that which has been laid down by the highest tribunal as the law.

Lord Cairns: That question might be raised in another case.

LONDON:

STRANGWAYS AND WALDEN, Printers, 28 Castle St. Leicester Sq.

AN
ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE SIGNATURES
TO A
REMONSTRANCE
ADDRESSED TO THE
ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND

ON OCCASION OF THE REPORT OF THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL *IN RE* HEBBERT *v.* PURCHAS.

LONDON :
SOLD BY MESSRS. JAMES PARKER & Co., 377, STRAND.
1871.

THE
REPORT OF THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE OF THE
PRIVY COUNCIL IN "HEBBERT *v.* PURCHAS."

"TO THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF THE CHURCH
OF ENGLAND.

"We, the undersigned Clergy of the Church of England, hereby offer our solemn Remonstrance against the Decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Case of 'Hebbert *v.* Purchas.'

"Without referring to all the points involved in this Judgment, we respectfully submit the following considerations touching the Position of the Minister during the Prayer of Consecration at the Holy Communion:—

"1. That the Rubrics affecting this particular question having been diversely observed ever since they were framed, the Judicial Committee has given to these Rubrics a restrictive interpretation condemnatory of a usage which has continuously existed in the Church of England, and has for many years widely prevailed.

"2. That this Decision is opposed to the comprehensive spirit of the Reformed Church of England, and thus tends to narrow the Church to the dimensions of a sect.

"3. That this restriction will press very unfairly upon a large body of Clergy who have never attempted, by resort to Law or otherwise, to abridge the liberty of those whose practice differs from their own.

"4. That the rigorous enforcement of a Decision so painful as this is to the consciences of those whom it affects might involve the gravest consequences to a large number of the Clergy, and lead to results most disastrous to the Established Church.

"On these grounds, although many of us are not personally affected by the Judgment, we earnestly trust that your Lordships will abstain from acting upon this Decision, and thus preserve the ancient liberty of the Church of England."

March 8th, 1871.

*Alphabetical List of the Clergy who have signed the above
Remonstrance.*

- Abbot, Bradley, M.A., Vicar of Christ Church, Clapham, Surrey.
Abdy, Albert Channing, M.A., Curate of Linslade, Leighton Buzzard.
Abraham, Charles John, D.D., Bishop, Coadjutor to the Bishop of Lichfield.
Abney, Edward Henry, B.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of St. Alkmund's, Derby, and
Domestic Chaplain to Lord Belper.
Acland, C. Lawford, M.A., Royal Grammar School, Colchester.
Acock, Edgar Morton, M.A., Chaplain of Christ Church and of Magdalen College,
and Assistant Master in Magdalen College School, Oxford.
Acton, John, M.A., Vicar of Iwerne Minster, Dorsetshire.
Adam, George Robert, M.A., 23, Chester Terrace, S.W.
Adams, Cadwallader Coker, M.A., Vicar of Anstey, and of Shilton, Warwickshire.
Adams, Dacres, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Bampton, Oxon.
Adams, Daniel C. Octavius, M.A., Anstey, Coventry.
Adams, E. Cay, M.A., Rector of Hawkechurch, Dorset.
Adams, Edward Richard, B.A., Vicar of Biscot, near Luton, Beds.
Adams, George Hill, B.A., Curate of Northfield, near Birmingham.
Adams, Henry Cadwallader, M.A., Vicar of Dry Sandford, Berkshire.
Adams, Richard, M.A., Rector of St. Stephen's, Hulme, Manchester.
Adams, W. Fulford, Incumbent of Little Faringdon, Berkshire.
Adams, William Pigott Cay, B.A., Curate of Fenny Stratford, Bucks.
Adamson, Edward Hussey, M.A., Vicar of St. Alban's, Heworth, Durham.
Adamson, William, M.A., Incumbent of Winster, Cumberland.
Addenbrooke, Edward, B.A., Perpetual Curate of Smethwick, Staffordshire.
Addison, William Geo. Sinclair, M.A., Vicar of Hartpury, Gloucestershire.
Agassiz, Rodolph, M.A., Curate of Swepston, near Ashby-de-la-Zouch.
Ainger, George Henry, D.D., Hon. Canon of Carlisle, Vicar of St. Bees, and
Principal of St. Bees Coll., Cumberland.
Ainslie, Alexander Colvin, M.A., Preb. of Wells, and Vicar of Corfe, near Taunton.
Ainslie, Robert, M.A., Preb. of Lincoln, Rural Dean, Vicar of Great Grimsby.
Airy, William, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Keysoe, Bedfordshire, Rector of
Swineshead, Hunt. and Domestic Chaplain to the Duke of Manchester.
Aitken, James, M.A., Incumbent of Chorleywood, Rickmansworth.
Aitkens, Charles Haughton, M.A., Vicar of Aylsham, Norfolk.
Alder, Henry Robert, M.A., Somersham, late Dean of Capetown.
Aldersey, John, B.A., Curate of Kirkland, Cumberland.
Alderson, Frederick Cecil, M.A., Rector of Holdenby, Northampton.
Aldham, Harcourt, B.A., Vicar of Stoke Prior, near Bromsgrove, Worcestershire.
Aldham, Vernon Harcourt, M.A., Curate of Old Windsor, Berkshire.
Alexander, Harvey, B.A., Rector of Stoke Rivers, Devon.
Alford, Clement, M.A., Curate of Willesden, Middlesex.
Alington, Alan Marmaduke, M.A., Rector of Benniworth, Lincolnshire.
Alington, Charles A., B.A., Rector of Mucton and Vicar of Burwell, near Louth.
Alison, Laughton, S. Margaret's Home, East Grinstead.
Allen, Edward, M.A., Rector of Holy Trinity, Salford, Manchester.
Allen, Edward, Tiverton, Devon.
Allen, Francis Edwin, M.A., Incum. of St. Giles, Knowle, Chard, Somerset.
Allen, George Samuel, M.A., Rector of St. Michael's, Manchester.
Allen, John, B.A., Curate of St. George's, Barrow-in-Furness, Lancashire.
Allen, John, M.A., Vicar of Lancaster.
Allen, John C., M.A., Bournemouth.
Allen, Thomas Watson, B.A., Curate of All Saints, Warwick.
Allen, William Maxey, M.A., Vicar of Shouldham, Norfolk.
Alley, Fred. Augustus, B.A., Curate of East Lavington, Wilts.

- Alleyne, Arthur Osborne Gibbes, Rector of St. Edmund's, Exeter.
 Allfree, Francis Ralph, B.A., Curate of Keystone, Hunts.
 Allott, Henry Hepworth, M.A., Curate of Polesworth, Warwickshire.
 Allsopp, Rd. Winstanley, LL.B., Curate of Coleshill, Berks.
 Alsop, James Richard, B.A., Vicar of Acton Trussell with Bednall, near Stafford.
 Alston, Edward Constable, M.A., Rector of Dennington, Suffolk.
 Amphlett, Martin, M.A., Rector of Church-Lench, near Evesham.
 Amps, James Henry, B.A., Gunnislake, Tavistock.
 Anderson, Charles Cuyler, Curate of Knowlton, Kent.
 Anderson, Ebenezer, B.A., Rector of Manston, Dorset.
 Anderson, Fortescue L. M., B.A., St. Baldred's, North Berwick, East Lothian.
 Anderson, Frederic West, M.A., Curate of St. Mark's, Surbiton, Surrey.
 Anderson, James Richard, B.A., Rector of Felbrigg with Metton, Norfolk.
 Anderson, John Danucey, M.A., Rector of Thornton Watlass, near Bedale, Yorks.
 Anderson, Matthew, M.A., Vicar of Buckland, near Dover, Kent.
 Anderson, T., M.A., Incumbent of Pokesdown, Christchurch, Hants.
 Anderson, Thomas William, Curate of Dennington, Suffolk.
 Anderson, Wm. Paley, B.D., Vicar of Winsford, Somerset.
 Andrewes, Nesfield, B.A., Curate of Slinfield, Sussex.
 Andrews, Percy, M.A., Curate of Whitechurch, Salop.
 Andrews, William, M.A., Vicar of Kelsterne, near Louth.
 Angel-Smith, Francis A., M.A., Minor Canon of the Cathedral, and Rector of St. Peter with Holy Cross, Canterbury.
 Annand, A. W., B.A., Vicar of Roade, near Northampton.
 Anson, Hon. Adelbert John Robt., M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Sedgely, Stafford.
 Anson, T. Architel, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Longford, Derbyshire.
 Anstey, Chas. Chr., M.A., Rector of St. Levan, near Penzance.
 Anstey, Chas. Alleyne, M.A., Vicar of Cogges, Witney, Oxon.
 Anstey, Henry, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Helston, Cornwall.
 Anstice, J. Ball, M.A., Vicar of Hungerford, and Incumbent of Denford, Berks.
 Anstis, Matthew, M.A., 44, Gloucester Square, Hyde Park, London.
 Anstiss, George William, M.A., Curate of Dudley, Worcestershire.
 Antrobus, George, M.A., Vicar of Beighton, Derbyshire.
 Appleton, John H., M.A., Incum. of St. Mark's, Staplefield, near Crawley, Sussex.
 Appleton, Robert, M.A., Staplefield, near Crawley.
 Apthorp, George Fras., M.A., Curate of Birdsall, Dom. Chap. to Lord Middleton.
 Archbold, Thos., M.A., Master of the Middle Class School, Burgh, near Boston.
 Arher, William John Bellew, Vicar of Churchill, Somerset.
 Arden, George, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Dunsford, near Exeter.
 Arkwright, George, M.A., Rector of Peneombe, Herefordshire.
 Armfield, Henry Thomas, M.A., Minor Canon of the Cathedral and Vice Principal of the Diocesan Theological College, Salisbury.
 Armitage, Joseph Ackroyd, M.A., Rector of St. Philip's, Whitwood, Yorkshire.
 Armistead, Thomas Bell, B.A., Burton, Westmoreland.
 Armstrong, Alfred Thos., M.A., Perpetual Curate of Ashton-upon-Ribble, Lancashire.
 Armstrong, Benj. John, M.A., Vicar of East Dereham, Norfolk.
 Armstrong, John, Rector of Wallsend, Northumberland.
 Armstrong, John Hopkins, M.A., Curate of St. Mary's, Reading.
 Armytage, North Green, B.A., St. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth.
 Arnold, B. North, B.D., Vicar of Caverswall, Staffordshire.
 Arnold, Frederick Montagu, M.A., Kingston-on-Thames.
 Arnott, A. Philip, M.A., Curate of St. Matthias, Stoke Newington, Middlesex.
 Arnott, Samuel, M.A., Vicar of Christ Church, Turnham Green, Middlesex.
 Arthur, Thomas, Chaplain to Medway Union.
 Arthur, William Libon, B.A., Curate of St. Paul's, Truro, Cornwall.
 Arrowsmith, Robert, M.A., Vicar of Stoke with Walsgrave, near Coventry.
 Ash, Jarvis Holland, D.C.L., Tunbridge Wells.

- Ash, Richard Robert Drummond, M.A., Vicar of Cocking, Sussex.
 Ashe, Halcot, Curate of Wasperton, Warwick.
 Ashe, James William, Vicar of Garton in Holderness, Yorkshire.
 Ashfield, Edmund Wodley, M.A., Vicar of Felmersham, Bedford.
 Ashley, G. E., M.A., 9, Denmark Terrace, Brighton.
 Ashwell, Arthur Rawson, M.A., Canon Residentiary of Chichester Cathedral, and
 Principal of the Theological College.
 Ashworth, Arthur Howard, M.A., Vicar of Nether Wallop, Hampshire.
 Ashworth, F. G. E., B.A., Grammar School, Wimborne.
 Assheton, Richard Orme, M.A., Rector of Bilton, Warwickshire.
 Astley, B. B. G., M.A., Incumbent of Merevale, Atherstone.
 Astley, Richard, B.A., Rector of Perran-Uthnoe, Cornwall.
 Aston, Edward Albert Henry, B.A., Curate of Kingsclere Woodlands, Hants.
 Athawes, John Thomas, M.A., Kemington, Surrey.
 Atkinson, Arthur, M.A., Vicar of Audlem, Cheshire.
 Atkinson, Charles Slingsby, B.A., Rector of Harswell, Yorkshire.
 Atkinson, George Wilkinson, M.A., Incumbent of Calgaith, Cumberland.
 Atkinson, James Augustus, M.A., Rector of Longsight, Manchester.
 Atkinson, Miles, B.A., Curate of St. John the Baptist, Hulme, Manchester.
 Atkinson, Miles, M.A., Vicar of Harewood, near Leeds, Yorkshire.
 Atkinson, Nathaniel, M.A., Curate of Great and Little Hampton, Worcester.
 Atkinson, Richard, M.A., Vicar of Cockerham, Lancashire.
 Atkinson, Thomas, B.A., Curate of Colesborne, Gloucestershire.
 Atkinson, Thomas, M.A., Curate of Hillingdon, Middlesex.
 Aubrey, Henry George Windsor, B.A., Rector of Hale, Hants.
 Auchmuty, Arthur C., M.A., Curate of Broad Blunsden, Wilts.
 Auchmuty, Samuel Forbes, M.A., Rector of Broad Blunsden, Wilts.
 Auchmuty, Samuel Forbes Frederick, M.A., Curate of Oddington, Gloucestershire.
 Austen, Joseph Mason, M.A., Vicar of Worsthorne, Lancashire.
 Austen, Samuel Cooper, M.A., All Saints, Boyne Hill.
 Austin, Edward, M.A., Vicar of Broad Hempston, Devon.
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 Baber, John George, M.A., Curate of Thorverton, Devon.
 Babington, Arthur, M.A., Rector of Wanlip, Leicestershire.
 Babington, Basil Blogg, B.A., Minor Canon of Bristol Cathedral.
 Backhouse, William Remington, B.A., Curate of Tostock, Suffolk.
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 Bacon, John Mackenzie, B.A., Curate of Harston, near Cambridge.
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 Badeley, Charles, Curate of Mautby, Norfolk.
 Badeley, John Joseph, B.A., Curate of St. Mary's, Hulme, near Manchester.
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 Bagot, Frederic, D.C.L., Prebendary of Wells, Rector of Harpsden, Oxon.
 Bagot, Hon. Hervey Charles, M.A., Rector of Blithfield, Staffordshire.
 Bagshawe, Francis Lloyd, M.A., Curate of St. Mary-the-Less, Lambeth, Surrey.
 Bailey, Granville Rowe, B.A., Curate of Madeley, Staffordshire.
 Bailey, Hy., D.D., Warden of St. Augustine's College, Hon. Canon of Canterbury.
 Bailey, James Sandford, M.A., Clifton Terrace, Brighton.
 Bailey, James, Curate of St. Mary's, Wolverhampton.
 Bailey, John Hopkins, M.A., Vicar of White Notley, Essex.

- Bailey, Thomas John, B.A., Runnymede House, Brighton.
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- Bainbridge, Thomas, B.A., Curate of Battlefield and Uffington, Salop.
- Baines, John, M.A., Vicar of Little Marlow, Bucks.
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- Baker, Fred. Augustus, M.A., Rector of Christ Church w. St. Ewen's, Bristol.
- Baker, Frederick Walter, M.A., Brighton.
- Baker, Geo. Rodney Trimwell, M.A., Vicar of Newington, nr. Sittingbourne, Kent.
- Baker, Hugh Lefroy, M.A., Curate of Langton, near Malton, Yorkshire.
- Baker, Hugh Ryves, M.A., Curate of St. Michael's, Woolwich, Kent.
- Baker, Robert Lowbridge, M.A., Rector of Wilcote, and Vicar of Ramsden, Oxon.
- Baker, Sir Henry Williams, Bart., M.A., Vicar of Monkland, Herefordshire.
- Baker, Robert, M.A., Vicar of King's Walden, Herts.
- Baker, Robert James, M.A., Rector of Hinton-on-the-Green, Gloucestershire.
- Baker, Robert Sibley, B.A., Rector of Hargrave, Northants.
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- Baldwin, G. W. H. de C., Shrewsbury.
- Ball, Charles Richard, M.A., Vicar of St. Paul's, Peterborough.
- Ball, Frederick Joseph, B.A., Curate of St. John's, Kennington, Surrey.
- Balleine, John James, B.D., Incumbent of St. Simon's, Jersey.
- Balls, Robert Harry, M.A., Rector of Beaworthy, Devon.
- Balmer, Edward Liddell, M.A., Curate of St. Giles', Oxford.
- Baly, Joseph, M.A., Rector of Falmouth, Cornwall.
- Bamforth, John, Curate of Marston, Oxon.
- Bampfield, J. R. McWilliams, B.A., Curate of Menheniot, Cornwall.
- Bampfield, Robt. Lewis, M.A., Vicar of West Anstey, nr. Dulverton, North Devon.
- Bampton, John B., B.A., 42. Marine Parade, Dover.
- Banks, Gerard, B.A., Vicar of Cobham, Surrey.
- Band, Chas. E., M.A., Rector of Combe Raleigh, Vicar of Sheldon, Honiton, Devon.
- Band, Chas. Edward, B.A., Rector of Langton-on-Swale, Northallerton, Yorkshire.
- Banister, James Dawson, Vicar of Pilling, Lancashire.
- Banister, E. D., Curate of Pilling, Lancashire.
- Banks, Frederick, D.D., St. Helen's College, Southsea.
- Banks, Robert John, M.A., Vicar of Womersley, near Pontefract, Yorkshire.
- Barber, Alfred, Curate of Thornhill, near Dewsbury.
- Barber, Edwd., M.A., Cur. of Radley, Berks, Assistant Master in Radley College.
- Barber, Robert Chantry, B.A., Curate of Butcombe, near Wrington, Somerset.
- Barelay, John, M.A., Hon. Canon of Chester, Rural Dean, Vicar of Runcorn.
- Barf, Albert, M.A., Vicar of North Moreton, Berks.
- Baring-Gould, Sabine, M.A., Rector of East Mersey, Colechester.
- Barker, C. A., Domestic Chaplain to the Marquis of Queensberry, and Curate of Chesterton, Staffordshire.
- Barker, C. R., 22, Meridian Place, Clifton, Bristol.
- Barker, Frederick, M.A., Minor Canon, Curate of St. Michael & St. Olive, Chester.
- Barker, John Ross, B.A., St. James', Enfield Highway.
- Barker, Robert, M.A., Curate of Beaconsfield, Bucks.
- Barker, Thomas F., M.A., Rector of Thornton-in-the-Moors, Cheshire.
- Barker, William, Curate of Long Bennington with Foston, Lincolnshire.
- Barlow, Charles Henry, M.A., Vicar of Willaston, Cheshire.

- Barlow, George Hilars Philip, M.A., Vicar of St. Philip's, Sydenham, Kent.
 Barlow, Robert H., M.A., Curate of Newbold, Chesterfield.
 Barmby, James, B.D., Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham.
 Barnard, Henry John, M.A., Preb. of Wells, Rural Dean, Vicar of Yatton, Somerset.
 Barnard, William Henry, M.A., Knole, Sevenoaks.
 Barnardiston, Arthur, Vicar of Metherringham, Lincolnshire.
 Barnes, Brooke Cremer, M.A., Curate of Hawkhurst, Kent.
 Barnes, George, M.A., Incumbent of St. Barnabas, Bethnal Green, London.
 Barnes, J., 18, Delamere Crescent, W.
 Barnes, William, B.D., Rector of Winterbourne Came, Incumbent of Whitecombe.
 Barnett-Clarke, Charles W., M.A., Vicar of Cadmore End, Oxford.
 Barnett, James Lewis, M.A., York.
 Baron, John, M.A., Rector of Upton Scudamore, Wilts.
 Barrott, James M., B.A., Vicar of St. Peter's in Eastgate, and Chaplain to the Union, Lincoln.
 Barrett, Alfred, D.D., Carshalton House, Surrey.
 Barrett, Tuffnell S., M.A., Vicar of St. George's, Barrow-in-Furness, Lancashire.
 Barry, Robert, M.A., Rector of North Tuddenham, Norfolk.
 Barrow, John Simeon, M.A., Vicar of Rogate, Sussex.
 Barter, Henry, M.A., Vicar of Shipton-under-Wychwood, Oxon.
 Barter, John H. C., Curate of All Saints, Cheltenham.
 Bartholomew, Christopher Churchill, M.A., R. Dean, Vicar of Cornwood, Devon.
 Bartholomew, Charles Wiliams Marsh, B.A., Rector of Glympton, Oxon.
 Bartholomew, Wm. H., B.A., Cornwood Vicarage, Ivybridge.
 Bartleet, Lionel B., St. John's, Leonard-on-Sea.
 Bartlett, Frederick Augustus, Perp. Curate of St. Olave with St. Giles, York.
 Bartlett, J. E. P., Curate of Belmont, Durham.
 Bartlett, John Spencer, M.A., St. John's College, Hurstpierpoint.
 Bartlett, Philip, M.A., Curate of Weybridge, Surrey.
 Bartlett, T. Bradford, B.A., Rec. of Roosdown, Devon, Cur. of Stocklinch, Somerset.
 Barton, Henry James, M.A., Hon. Canon of Peterborough, Rural Dean, Rector of Wicken, near Stoney-Stratford.
 Barton, Henry Nowell, M.A., Rector of St. Ervan, St. Issy, Cornwall.
 Barton, James, M.A., Vicar of Hadley, Wellington, Salop.
 Barton, J. Warner, B.A., Vicar of Stramshall, near Uttoxeter, Staffordshire.
 Barton, Miles C., B.A., Curate of Holy Trinity, Maidstone, Kent.
 Barton, Mordaunt, B.A., Curate of Wicken, Northamptonshire.
 Barwell, Arthur Henry Sanxay, M.A., Vicar of Southwater, Horsham, Sussex.
 Barwis, William Cuthbert, M.A., Vicar of Hoylandswaine, near Barnsley.
 Batchelor, Fred. Thomas, Rector of Jacobstow, near Stratton, Cornwall.
 Batchelor, John, Manningford Bruce, Marlborough.
 Bateman, Hugh Wilson, B.A., Vicar of Whitstable, Canterbury, Kent.
 Bateman, Stafford, B.A., Vicar of South Searle w. Girton and Besthorpe, Notts.
 Bateman, Wm. Fairbairn, B.A., Curate of Castle Rising, Norfolk.
 Bathc, Stephen Brown, M.A., St. Michael's, Coventry.
 Bathurst, F., M.A., Hon. Canon of Ely, Rural Dean, Vicar of Diddington, Hunts.
 Batt, Narcissus George, M.A., Vicar of Norton w. Lenchwick, Worcestershire.
 Battersby, William, M.A., Bournemouth.
 Batty, Robert Eaton, M.A., Birkenhead.
 Baugh, Thomas, M.A., Vicar of Catherington, Horndean, Hants.
 Baxendale, Richard, LL.B., Vicar of St. John the Evangelist, Maidstone, and Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Romney.
 Baylee, Joseph Tyrrell, M.A., Incumbent of Holy Trinity, Birkenhead, Cheshire.
 Bayley, Charles James, B.A., Curate of Swinton, Lancashire.
 Bayley, J. Arden, B.A., Chaplain to the Forces, Pembroke.
 Bayliff, Thomas L., M.A., Vicar of Albury, Bishop Stortford, Hertfordshire.

- Bayliss, W. Wyke, M.A., Vicar of Milton, Portsea, Hants.
 Bayly, Chas. Henville, M.A., Rector of Stratton St. Michael, Norfolk.
 Bayly, Thomas, M.A., Sub-Chanter of the Cathedral, Vicar of St. Sampson's, York.
 Bayne, Thomas, Vere, M.A., Senior Censor of Christ Church, Oxford.
 Baynes, Charles Alexander, B.A., Curate of Lyndhurst, Hants.
 Baynes, Donald, B.C.L., Thrupton Rectory, Andover, Hants.
 Baynham, Arthur, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Charlton, near Marlborough, Wilts.
 Baynham, John Francis, M.A., Rector of Charlton by Dover, Kent.
 Beadell, Frank, B.A., Curate of Leven, near Beverley, Yorkshire.
 Beadon, Hyde Wyndham, M.A., Hon. Canon of Bristol, Rural Dean, Vicar of Latton, near Cricklade, Wilts.
 Beadon, Richard a'Court, M.A., Prebendary of Wells, and Vicar of Cheddar and Wiveliscombe, Somerset.
 Beale, Edward Hill, M.A., Curate of Warminster, Wilts.
 Beale, Seaman Curteis Tress, M.A., Vicar of St. Michael's, Tenterden, Kent.
 Beales, J. Day, B.A., Rector of West Woodhay, Berks.
 Beanlands, Charles, M.A., Incumbent of St. Michael's, Brighton, and Chaplain to the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.
 Beard, Thomas, B.A., Rector of Stokesby with Herringby, Norfolk.
 Beattie, John, B.A., Chap. and Master of Cooper's Almshouses, Egham, Surrey.
 Beaufort, Daniel Augustus, M.A., Rector of Warburton, Cheshire.
 Beaumont, Francis Morton, M.A., Rector of East Farndon, Northants.
 Beaumont, Thomas George, M.A., Rector of Chelmondiston, Suffolk.
 Beck, Edward Josselyn, M.A., Rector of Rotherhithe, Surrey.
 Beckett, J., Curate of Wirksworth, Derbyshire.
 Beckett, William Thomas, M.A., Rector of Ingoldesthorpe, Norfolk.
 Bedford, Henry, L.D.D., Frome Selwood, Somerset.
 Bedford, Joseph, Manningford, Marlborough.
 Bee, John, Rector of Christ Church, Jarrow, Durham.
 Beeby, James, Curate of Ringley, near Manchester.
 Begbie, Alexander George, B.A., St. Matthias, Stoke Newington.
 Belby, G., M.A., Curate of Holy Trinity, Bordesley, Warwickshire.
 Belcher, Brymer, M.A., Vicar of S. Gabriel's, Pimlico, London.
 Belcher, Thomas Waugh, M.A., M.D., Curate of St. Faith's, Stoke Newington.
 Belgrave, Charles William, M.A., Rector of North Kilworth, Leicester.
 Bell, Arthur L'Argent, M.A., Curate of Manea, Cambridgeshire.
 Bell, George Edward, B.A., Curate of Long Preston, Leeds.
 Bell, John, M.A., Rector of Brington with Bythorn, Hants.
 Bell, John, Vicar of Matterdale, Penrith, Cumberland.
 Bellairs, Stevenson Gilbert, M.A., Rector of Goadby Marwood, Leicestershire.
 Bellamy, A. P., M.A., Wyndham Place, Plymouth.
 Bellett, George, M.A., Rector of Whitbourne, near Worcester.
 Bellhouse, Albert Turner, M.A., Vicar of Alne, Yorkshire.
 Bellman, Edmund, B.A., Stoke, Ipswich.
 Bellon, W., B.A., Curate of Wyberton, Boston.
 Belson, W. E., M.A., Prepetual Curate of Rhodes Middleton, Manchester.
 Benbough, J., Curate of Matherne, near Chepstow, Monmouthshire.
 Bence, John Britton, S.C.L., Henbury near Bristol.
 Bendyshe, Richard, M.A., Ham, Wilts.
 Bengough, Edward Stewart, M.A., Curate of St. Thomas-the-Martyr, Oxford.
 Benham, William, Vicar of Addington, near Croydon, Surrey.
 Benison, William B., M.A., Vicar of Balsall Heath, near Birmingham.
 Bennett, Edward Kedington, D.C.L., Rector of Cheveley, Cambridgeshire.
 Bennett, Alexander Sykes, M.A., Curate of St. Peter's, Bournemouth, Hants.
 Bennett, Alfred Morden, M.A., Perp. Cur. of St. Peter's, Bournemouth, Hampshire.
 Bennett, Frederick Hamilton, M.A., Perp. Cur. of Freeland, Eynsham, Oxon.
 Bennett, George Spencer Leigh, B.A., Curate of Weedon, Northants.
 Bennett, Henry Leigh, M.A., Vicar of Thorpe, Surrey.

- Bennett, Hugh, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Elmley Castle, Worcestershire.
 Bennett, John William, B.A., Markshall Rectory, Kelvedon, Essex.
 Bennett, Simeon H., Vicar of Tockwith, Yorkshire.
 Bennitt, William, M.A., Rector of Bletchley, Bucks.
 Benson, Henry, M.A., Vicar of Weald, Sevenoaks, Kent.
 Benson, Martin E., M.A., Rural Dean, and Rector of Ringwoud, Kent.
 Benson, Percy George, B.A., Vicar of New Bolingbroke, Lincolnshire.
 Benson, R. G., Rector of Hope Bowdler, Salop.
 Benson Rd. Meux, M.A., Student of Christ Church, Oxon.
 Bent, Fred. Chas. Howard, M.A., Rector of St. Peter's, Thetford, Norfolk.
 Bentley, Chas. Edward, B.A., Curate of St. Mary-le-Crypt, Gloucester.
 Bentley, Robert, B.A., Curate of Bromyard, near Worcester.
 Benwell, Henry, M.A., Master of the Grammar School, Horncastle.
 Beresford, John G., M.A., Rector of Bedale, Yorkshire.
 Beresford, William, Curate of St. Alkmund's, Derby.
 Berkeley, George Campion, M.A., Vicar of Southminster, Essex.
 Berners, H. A., M.A., Rector of Harkstead, Suffolk.
 Berry, Charles Alfred, Curate of Christ Church, Lee, Kent.
 Best, William Edward, B.A., Curate of Aston, near Birmingham.
 Betham, Charles Jepson, M.A., Rector of Brettenham, Suffolk.
 Bettison, William James, B.A., Vicar of Harwich.
 Bewsher, Francis William, M.A., Vicar of Birtley, Chester-le-Street, Durham.
 Beynon, Frederic W., Curate of Lindridge, Tenbury.
 Beynon, John, Vicar of Witston, Monmouthshire.
 Beynon, John Middleton, M.A., Curate of St. David's, Exeter.
 Bickerdike, John, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary's, Leeds.
 Bickmore, Charles, D.D., late Incumbent of Christ Church, Leamington.
 Bicknell, Clarence, B.A., Curate of St. Paul's, Walworth, Surrey.
 Bicknell, John, M.A., Vicar of St. Saviour's, Highbury, Middlesex.
 Bigg, T. F., Curate of St. Giles, Reading, Berkshire.
 Bigg, Lionel Oliver, B.A., Curate of Albury, Surrey.
 Bigge, Henry John, M.A., Rector of Rockingham, Northamptonshire, & Rural Dean.
 Bigge John Frederic, M.A., Vicar of Stamfordham, Northumberland.
 Biggs, J. Hesketh, M.A., Vicar of Easington, Warwick.
 Biggs, Louis Coutier, M.A., Rector of West Chickerell, Dorset.
 Billing, Robert Phelps, Ph.D., Hd. Mas. of the Gram. School, South Petherton,
 and Curate of Knowle St. Giles, Somerset.
 Bingham, Fanshawe, M.A., Curate of Ringwood, Hants.
 Bingham, S. H., B.A., Curate of King-Stanley, Gloucestershire.
 Bingham, William Philip Strong, M.A., Chaplain of the County Gaol, Devizes.
 Binney, John Erskine, M.A., Curate of Hungerford, Berkshire.
 Binyon, Fred., M.A., Vicar of Burton in Lonsdale, Yorkshire.
 Birch, Chas. Geo. Robert, LL.M., Rector of Brancaster, Norfolk.
 Birch, Wickham Montgomery, M.A., Vicar of Lamceston, Cornwall.
 Bird, Christopher, B.A., Vicar of Chollerton, near Hexham.
 Bird, George Garnons, M.A., Vicar of Christow, near Exeter.
 Bird, Godfrey, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Great Wigborough, Essex.
 Bird, Godfrey J., Rector of Illington, Norfolk.
 Bird, Samuel William Eldersfield, M.A., Curate of St. James, Plymouth.
 Bird, W. Warren, B.A., Bloxham.
 Birley, Henry Hornby, M.A., Rector of Cranfield, Beds.
 Biscoe, Henry Treweeke, B.A., Curate of Brighstone, Isle of Wight.
 Biscoe, William, M.A., Rector of Exhall, with Wixford, Warwickshire.
 Bishop, Francis, M.A., Curate of Walkern, Buntingford, Herts.
 Black, Charles Ingham, B.A., Vicar of Burley, Otley, Yorkshire.
 Black, W., Curate of Mouldsham, Essex.
 Black, William Faussett, B.A., Rector of Newchurch, Warrington, Lanc.

- Blackburn, Robert, M.A., Rector of Selham, Sussex.
 Blackburn, Thomas, B.A., Curate of Greenhithe, Kent.
 Blackburne, Foster Grey, M.A., Deacon of the Cathedral, and Curate of St. Oswald's, Chester.
 Blacker, Maxwell Julius, M.A. 121, St. George's Road, London.
 Blackmore, Richard White, M.A., Rector of Donhead St. Mary, Wilts.
 Blagden, Alfred John, M.A., Vicar of Newbottle with Herrington, Durham.
 Blagden, Henry Charles, M.A., Vicar of Milcomb, Banbury, Oxon.
 Blagden, Henry, M.A., Vicar of Hughenden, Buckinghamshire.
 Blagg, M. W., Pokesdown, Hants.
 Blair, Alex., Curate of Sherburn, Yorkshire.
 Blair, Geo. Alex., B.A., Curate of St. John's, Middlesborough, Yorkshire.
 Blake, Henry Bunbury, B.A., Rector of Hessett, Suffolk.
 Blake, William, M.A., Rector of Wetheral and Warwick, Cumberland.
 Blakelock, R., Junior, M.A., Red Hall, Leeds.
 Blakeway, Bennett, Curate of St. Mary, South Shields, Durham.
 Blakiston, Douglas Yeoman, B.A., Curate of Toft, with Caldecote, near Cambridge.
 Blakiston, Ralph Milburn, B.A., Curate of St. Peter's, Plymouth.
 Blakiston, Robert, M.A., Curate of St. John's, Nottingham.
 Blanchard, Henry Daere, M.A., Rector of Middleton-on-the-Wolds, Beverley.
 Bland, Edward Davison, M.A., Vicar of Kippax, Yorkshire.
 Blencowe, Edwd. Everard, B.A., Vicar of Stow Bardolph with Wimbotsham.
 Blenkinsopp, Edwin Clennell Leaton, M.A., Rector of Springthorpe, Lincoln.
 Blew, William John, M.A., 16, Warwick Street, Pall Mall.
 Bligh, Hon. Henry, Incumbent of Nettlebed, Oxford, and Rural Dean.
 Blink, Henry Simpson, Curate of Pembroke.
 Bliss, James, M.A., Vicar of St. James', Plymouth.
 Bliss, John Worthington, B.A., Rector of Betschanger, Kent.
 Bliss, William Blowers, M.A., Rector of Wicken Bonant, Bishops Stortford, Essex.
 Blomfield, Alfred, M.A., Vicar of St. Matthew's, City-road, London.
 Blomfield, George James, M.A., Rector of Norton-sub Hamdon, Somerset.
 Blood, Howell, M.A., Wethersfield, Braintree.
 Bloxam, John Rouse, D.D., Vicar of Upper Beeding, Sussex.
 Bloxham, Richard Rowland, M.A., Rector of Harlston, Staffordshire.
 Blundell, Thomas B. H., M.A., Rector of Halsall, Ormskirk, Lanc.
 Blunt, Alex. Colvin, M.A., Rector of Millbrook, near Southampton.
 Blunt, Henry Wilfrid, B.A., Curate of Gainsborough, Lincolnshire.
 Blunt, James St. John, M.A., Vicar of Old Windsor, Berks, Chaplain to Her Majesty.
 Blunt, Walter, M.A., Rector of Bicknor, near Maidstone, Kent.
 Blyth, Edward Hamilton, M.A., Incumbent of St. Saviour's, Croydon, Surrey.
 Blyth, Frederic Cavan, M.A., Curate of Kew with Petersham, Surrey.
 Blythe, Alfred T., M.A., Vicar of Scarecliffe, and Rector of Upper Langwith, Derby.
 Blythman, Arthur, M.A., Rector of Sherington, near Banbury.
 Boddington, Thomas Fras., M.A., Vicar of Wroxham, near Norwich.
 Bode, George Cowling, M.A., Curate of Great Barrington, Gloucestershire.
 Bodily, Henry James, Colchester.
 Bodington, Alfred, B.A., Vicar of Marchington and Marchington Woodlands.
 Bodington, Charles, Incumbent of St. Andrew's, Wolverhampton.
 Body, Bernard Rd., M.A., Ch. to the Union, and Cur. of Wokingham, Berks.
 Body, George, B.A., Rector of Kirkby-Misperton, Yorkshire.
 Boissier, Peter Henry, S.C.L., Curate of Barcheston, Warwickshire.
 Boggis, Thomas, M.A., Rector of Sampford Spiney, Horrabridge, Devon.
 Boggis, Wm. R. T., B.A., St. Alban Lodge, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 Bogle, Michael James, B.A., Mall, Clifton, near Bristol.
 Bokenham, Clifton, B.A., Second Master of Grammar School, Huntingdon.
 Boldero, Henry Kearney, B.A., Rector of Grittleton, Wilts.
 Boldero, John Simon, M.A., Vicar of Amblecote, Staffordshire.

- Bolling, Edward James, M.A., Rector of Little Cressingham, Norfolk.
- Bolney, Edward Wm., M.A., Vicar of Sketty, near Swansea, Glamorganshire.
- Bolton, J. D., Vicar of St. Denys, Portswood, Southampton.
- Bolton Richard Knott, B.A., Rector of Newbold, Chesterfield.
- Bond, Charles Watson, M.A., Incumbent of Hanley, Staffordshire.
- Bond, Fred. Hookey, M.A., Head Master of the Gram. School, Marlborough.
- Bond, John, B.A., Curate of Milbourne St. Andrew with Dewlish, Dorset.
- Boniface, T., B.A., Curate of Waddesdon, Bucks.
- Bonnett, Stephen, B.A., Vicar of Woodmancott with Popham, Hants.
- Bonnor, Richard Bonnor Maurice, M.A., Dean of St. Asaph.
- Bonsey, William, B.A., Curate of New Sleaford, Lincolnshire.
- Bonus, Edward, M.A., LL.M., Rec. of Hulecott, and Curate of Buckland, Bucks.
- Boodle, Adolphus, M.A., Vicar of Little Addington, Northants.
- Boodle, John Adolphus, M.A., Curate of West Malling, Maidstone.
- Boodle, Rich. Geo., M.A., Curate of Mells, Somerset, Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Limerick.
- Booker, Charles Frederick, M.A., Rector of Stanningley, Leeds.
- Booker, J. K., M.A., Curate of St. Giles, Reading, Berkshire.
- Booker, Samuel Briddon, M.A., Priest Chaplain of St. Mary's, Warwick.
- Booth, John, B.A., Curate of Haydor with Kelby, Lincolnshire.
- Booty, Charles S., B.A., Curate of Haekness, near Scarborough.
- Boraston, Gregory Birch, M.A., 17, Lansdowne Place, Cheltenham.
- Borissow, Louis, M.A., Curate of Buckingham.
- Borland, Robert Spencer, M.A., Curate of Rownhams, Hants.
- Borradaile, Abraham, M.A., Incumbent of St. Mary's, Tothill Fields, Westm.
- Borradaile, V. G., Curate of St. Mary, Soho, London.
- Borrow, Henry John, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Lanivet, Cornwall.
- Borrow, William, M.A., Vicar of Heigham Green, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.
- Boseawen, William Henry, B.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Marchwiell, Denbigh.
- Bosworthick, W. Charles, Curate of St. Thomas, Launceston.
- Botham, George William, M.A., Curate of Shelton, Staffordshire.
- Boucher, John Sidney, M.A., Carnarvon.
- Boulton, R. Moore, B.D., Bath.
- Bourke, Cecil Fredk. Joseph, M.A., Rector of Middleton Stoney, near Bicester.
- Bourne, Geo. Hugh, B.C.L., Head Mast. of St. Andrew's Coll., Chardstock, Dorset.
- Bouverie, Edward, M.A., Chap. in Ordinary to Her Majesty, Preb. of Sarum, and Vicar of Coleshill, near Faringdon, Berks.
- Bowden, Charles E., M.A., Curate of Coatham, near Redcar.
- Bowen, Charles, M.A., Rector of St. Mary's, Chester.
- Bowen, Crawford Townshend, Rector of Bolam, near Darlington.
- Bowen, Jeremiah, B.A., Rector of Walton Lewes, Norfolk.
- Bowen, John, Rector of Henry's Moat, Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire.
- Bowers, Geo. Henry, B.A., Curate of Boxley, near Maidstone, Kent.
- Bowles, Henry Matthew John, M.A., Rector of St. Aldate's, Gloucester.
- Bowles, Samuel James, M.A., Rector of Beaconsfield, Bucks.
- Bowles, Thomas, M.A., Curate of All Saints, Clifton, Bristol.
- Bowman, Charles Henry, B.A., Curate of Welshpool, Montgomeryshire.
- Bowmar, H., M.A., Curate of Kirby Muxloe, Leicestershire.
- Box, William George, M.A., Curate of St. James, West Bromwich.
- Boycott, William, jun., Curate of Wheatacre Burgh, near Beccles.
- Boyd, C., M.A., Curate of Newbury, Berkshire.
- Boyd, John Wm., M.A., Curate of St. Peter's, Canterbury.
- Boyd, Wm. Fred., M.A., Head Master and Chaplain of the Grammar School and Hospital, Clipstone, Northants, and Curate of Weston.
- Boyle, J. T., Incumbent of St. Saviour, Bridge of Allan.
- Boyle, William Skinner, M.A., Curate of St. Luke's, Tor Mohun, Torquay, Devon.
- Boys, Charles, M.A., Rector of Wing, Rutlandshire.

- Boys, H. J., B.A., Curate of Hunstanton, Norfolk.
- Boys, Herbert Arnold, M.A., Chaplain at Patras, Greece.
- Boys, Wm. Jas., M.A., Fellow of King's Coll., Cambridge, Vicar of East Molesey.
- Brackenbury, E. B., M.A., Minor Canon of Bristol Cathedral.
- Bradford, Charles William, M.A., Vicar of Cliffe Pypard, Wilts.
- Bradley, James Chesterton, B.A., Rec. of Sutton under Brails, Gloucestershire.
- Bradley, Robert H. Augustus, M.A., Chaplain to H.M. Printing Office, London.
- Bradshaw, John Boyle, B.A., Curate of Oswaldtwistle, Lancashire.
- Bradshaw, William, M.A., Curate of Ellesmere.
- Bragge, Charles Albert, B.A., Vicar of Hatton, Warwick.
- Braithwaite, Fred., Sexton and Clerk in Orders of St. Marylebone, London.
- Braithwaite, William, M.A., Proctor for Archdeaconry of Cleveland.
- Bramah, Henry Salkeld, Incumbent of St. James-the-Less, Liverpool.
- Brame, John, M.A., Travelling Sec. of the Additional Curates' Society, Warrington.
- Brameld, George William, M.A., Vicar of East Markham, w. West Drayton, Notts.
- Bramley, Henry, M.A., Rector of St. Paul's, Exeter, and Rural Dean.
- Bramley, H. R., M.A., Fell. & Tutor of Magdalen Coll., Oxford, Vicar of Horspeth.
- Bramley, Richard, M.A., Curate of Carrington, Cheshire.
- Bramston, John Trant, M.A., Assistant-Master of Winchester College.
- Brancker, Henry, M.A., Vicar of Thursley, near Godalming, Surrey.
- Brancker, Peter Whitfield, M.A., Rector of Scruton, near Bedale, Yorkshire.
- Brandt, Herbert. Curate of St. Andrew's, Deal.
- Brathwaite, Francis G. C., 23, Osnaburgh Street, London.
- Brathwaite, Francis R., 23, Osnaburgh Street, London.
- Bray, Edward, B.A., Curate of Kingston, near Lewes, Sussex.
- Bray, Thomas William, Curate of Brigg.
- Bree, Herbert, M.A., Vicar of Brampton, near Huntingdon.
- Bréhaut, Thomas Collings, B.A., Chaplain of the Gaol, Guernsey.
- Brent, Percy, B.A., Curate of Braintree, Essex.
- Brereton, Charles, B.C.L., Assist. Master of the Grammar School, and Rector of St. Mary's, Bedford.
- Brereton, John Lloyd, B.A., Curate of St. Mary's, Barnsley, Yorkshire.
- Brereton, Randle B., M.A., Rector of Stiffkey, Norfolk.
- Breton, Edward Rose, M.A., Rector of Charnmouth, Dorset.
- Brett, Francis Henry, M.A., Rector of Carsington, Derbyshire.
- Brett, George Russell, B.A., Rector of Thwaite St. Mary, near Bungay.
- Brewin, George, B.A., Perp. Curate of Wortley, near Sheffield, Yorkshire.
- Brewster, Waldegrave, M.A., Rector of Middleton, Lancashire.
- Brewster, Waldegrave, B.A., Curate of Berriew, Montgomeryshire.
- Brice, H., B.A., Curate of Bishop's Lydeard, near Taunton.
- Brickwood, William, B.A., Vicar of Totternhoe, Beds.
- Bridgeman, Hon. Geo. Thos. O., M.A., Rector of Wigan, & Hon. Chap. to the Queen.
- Bridges, Alex. Henry, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Beddington, Surrey.
- Brierley, George Henry, Curate of Trinity Church, Southport, Lancashire.
- Brierley, Joseph Henry, M.A., Curate of Presteign, Radnorshire.
- Briggs, James, M.A., The Homestead, Richmond, Surrey.
- Bright, Fred. Augustus, Curate of Windermere, Westmoreland.
- Bright, William, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford.
- Brigstoeke, Martin Wish, M.A., Curate of Albrighton, near Shrewsbury.
- Brinekman, Arthur, Curate of All Saints, Margaret-street, London.
- Bristow, Richard Rhodes, M.A., Vicar of St. Stephen's, Lewisham, Kent.
- Bristow, Whiston Timothy, B.A., Vicar of St. James, Isle of Graine, Kent.
- Brockwell, John Cornthwaite, M.A., Vicar of Owston, near Doncaster.
- Bromage, James Gosling, B.A., Curate of Eastham, Tenbury, Worcestershire.
- Bromehead, A. C., Newbold House, Chesterfield.
- Bromehead, John Nowill, Curate of Whissonscott-cum-Horningtoft, Norfolk.

- Bromhead, William Crawford, M.A., Chaplain at Calcutta.
- Bromley, Francis, M.A., Vicar of St. Ann's, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- Brooke, C. Edward, St. John's, Kemington.
- Brooke, Joshua Ingham, M.A., Rector of Thornhill, near Dewsbury, Yorkshire.
- Brooke, Thomas, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Brooklands, Cheshire.
- Brooke, William, M.A., Curate of Ropsley, Lincolnshire.
- Brookes, James Bourne, B.A., Curate of Gazeley, Suffolk.
- Broome, Edmund, M.A., Curate of Taynton, Oxford.
- Brougham, Matthew Nixon, M.A., Vicar of Cury and Gunwalloe, Cornwall.
- Brown, Frederic, M.A., Vicar of Barnard Castle, Durham.
- Brown, H., M.A., Isle of Cumbrae.
- Brown, James Edward, B.A., Curate of Eddlesborough, Bucks.
- Brown, John James, B.A., Vicar of St. Matthew's, Silksworth, near Sunderland.
- Brown, John, B.A., Rector of Kirk Andrews upon Eden with Beaumont, Cumb.
- Brown, John, B.A., Curate of St. Saviour's, Everton, Liverpool.
- Brown, J. M., Pentrich, Derby.
- Brown, Meredith, Bournemouth.
- Brown, Michael, B.A., Curate of Tormohun with Cockington, Devon.
- Brown, R. C. Lundin, M.A., Vicar of Lineal with Colemere, near Ellesmere, Salop.
- Brown, W. R. H., Curate of South Cove, Southwold, Suffolk.
- Browne, Alfred, M.A., Herne Vicarage, Kent.
- Browne, A. T., M.A., Boughton Aluph, Ashford.
- Browne, Edward Slater, M.A., Vicar of Savernake Forest, Wilts.
- Browne, Geo. Forrest, B.D., Rector of Ashley, near Newmarket, and late Fellow of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge.
- Browne, Geo. Osborne, M.A., Vic. of Shire Oaks, Notts, Chap. to the Earl of Lincan.
- Browne, John Geo. Colton, M.A., Vicar of St. James', Dudley, Worcestershire.
- Browne, R. H. Nisbett, 36, Inverness Road, Bayswater, Middlesex.
- Browne, Sidney Stanswick, Frindsbury, Rochester.
- Browne, Valentine John Augustus, Curate of St. Mary-le-Tower, Ipswich.
- Browne, Wm. Sainsbury, M.A., Rector of Stanton Prior, near Bristol.
- Brownrigg, John Studholme, B.A., Rector of Moulsoe, Berkshire, and Domestic Chaplain to the Duke of St. Albans.
- Bruce, David, M.A., Hon. Can. of Durham, and Vicar of Merrington, Durham.
- Bruce, T. R., Chaplain of the Wharfedale Union, Carlton, Guiseley, Yorks.
- Bruce, Wm. Henry, B.A., Curate of Braintree, Essex.
- Brunell, Edward, B.D., Rural Dean, Rector of Holt, Norfolk.
- Brunskill, Joseph, Incumbent of Swindale, Penrith.
- Bryan, Wm. Bryan, M.A., Vicar of Haigh, near Wigan, and Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Crawford.
- Bryans, E. de Villars, B.A., Curate of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury.
- Bryant, W. F. Minister of the Iron Church, Tyndall's Park, Westbury-on-Trym.
- Bryett, James Theodore Sheldon, M.A., Curate of Tor Mohun, Torquay, Devon.
- Buchanan, James Robert, Vicar of Herne, Kent.
- Buchanan, Thos. Boughton, M.A., Rector of Great Wishford, Wilts. and Chaplain to the Bishop of Salisbury.
- Buck, Richard Hugh Keats, M.A., Rur. Dean, Rec. of St. Dominick, Cornwall.
- Buckell, William, Curate of Market Harborough.
- Buckerfield, F. Henchman, M.A., Rur. Dean, Rec. of Collingbourne Ducis, Wilts.
- Buckeridge, A. N., M.A., Bath.
- Buckland, Samuel, M.A. Vicar of Great Torrington, Devon, and Domestic Chaplain to Lord Harris.
- Buckland, William John, M.A., Vicar of Hankerton, Wilts.
- Buckle, Edward Valentine, M.A., Vicar of Banstead, near Epsom, Surrey.
- Buckle, John, M.A., Vicar of Stretton Grandison, Herefordshire.
- Buckle, William, M.A., Vicar of Canon Frome, Herefordshire.
- Buckley, Felix John, M.A., Cur. of Fugglestone with Bemerton, near Salisbury.

- Buckley, John Wall, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary's, Paddington, Middlesex.
 Buckley, Jos. M.A., Rec. of Sopworth, Wilts, Vic. of Badminton, Glouc.
 Buckley, Wm. Edwd., M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Middleton Cheney, Northants.
 Buckley, Wm. Lewis, B.A., Rec. of Ashbury, Devon.
 Buckmaster, E., B.A., Curate of Henley-on-Thames, Oxon.
 Buckmaster, John North, B.A., Ramsgate.
 Bucknill, George, M.A., Vicar of High Ercall, Salop.
 Buckston, Rowland German, M.A., Vicar of Sutton-on-the-Hill, Derbyshire.
 Buckwell, Wm. Blackwall, M.A., Curate of Littleover, Derby.
 Budd, Joseph, Vicar of West Somerton, Norfolk.
 Budge, Henry Simcoe, B.A., Curate of St. Neot's, Hunts.
 Bulkley, Edward, M.A., Vicar of Kingsclere-Woodlands, near Reading.
 Bull, Henry Charles, B.A., Vicar of St. James', Wigan, Lancashire.
 Bull, H. Dawson Ellis, M.A., Rector of Borley, Essex.
 Bull, Thomas Williamson, M.A., Houghton, Hampshire.
 Bullen, John Allan, M.A., Vicar of Keyham, Devonport.
 Buller, Anthony, M.A., Rector of St. Mary Tavy, Devonshire.
 Buller-William Edmund, M.A., Rural Dean, Preb. of Wells, Vicar of Over Stowey,
 Somerset, and Commissary in England to the Right Rev. Bishop Tozer.
 Bulley, Frederick, D.D., President of Magdalen College, Oxford.
 Bullivant, Henry Everard, M.A., Vicar of Lubenham, Leicestershire.
 Bullivant, Henry, B.A., Incumbent of Lower Whitley, Dewsbury, Yorkshire.
 Bullivant, John Hamilton, M.A., Vicar of Pytchley, Northamptonshire.
 Bullock, Frederick, B.A., Vicar of Colyton Raleigh, Devon.
 Bullock, Frederick, B.A., St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 Bullock, George Martin, B.D., Vicar of Chalfont St. Peter's, Bucks.
 Bullock, John Frederic Watkinson, M.A., Rector of Radwinter, Essex.
 Bullock, Richard, M.A., Vicar of Barrow-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire.
 Bullock, Thomas Harrison, M.A., Warburton Rectory.
 Bullocke, Henry Bawden, M.A., Rector of St. Mary's, Truro, Cornwall.
 Bullocke, Henry, B.A., Curate of Moreton-in-the-Marsh, Gloucestershire.
 Bulman, George Robert, M.A., Chaplain of the County Prisons, Durham.
 Bulman, Job George, M.A., Curate of Coatham, near Redcar.
 Bulwer, Henry Earle, M.A., Curate of Kidlington, Oxon.
 Bunstead, James, M.A., Vicar of Glodwick, Oldham, Lancashire.
 Bunting, Anthony, B.A., Chap. of the Union and Curate of St. Martin's, Leicester.
 Burbidge, Edward, B.A., Curate of Warminster, Wilts.
 Burd, Alfred, M.A., Curate of Little Missenden, Bucks.
 Burd, Charles, M.A., Vicar of Shirley, near Birmingham.
 Burd, Frederick, M.A., Vicar of Cressage, Shrewsbury.
 Burd, Percy, M.A., Vicar of Tidenham, near Chepstow.
 Burge, Milward Roden, M.A., Wanlip, Leicester.
 Burges, Ward Travers, M.A., Curate of St. Michael's, Shrewsbury.
 Burgess, John Hugh, Vicar of Burford-with-Fulbrook, Oxon.
 Burgess, Robert, M.A., Vicar of Radcliffe-on-Trent, Notts.
 Burgess, Samuel, B.A., Head Master of the Gram. Sch. Guilsborough, Northants.
 Burgess, W., Assistant Curate of St. Michael's, Manchester.
 Burkitt, Wm., M.A., Vicar of Leeds, near Maidstone, Kent.
 Burkitt, Wm. Esdaile, B.A., Rector of Buttermere, Downton, Wiltshire.
 Burland, Morris B. Harris, M.A., Curate of Newent, Gloucestershire.
 Burn, Robert, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge.
 Burn-Murdoch, Jas. MacGibbon, M.A., Per. Cur. of Riverhead, Sevenoaks, Kent.
 Burnard, Arthur Chichester, B.A., Curate of Combe Keynes and Wool, Dorset.
 Burne, Thomas, Rector of Norbury, Salop.
 Burnett, Wm., M.A., Preb. of Chichester, Rural Dean, Vicar of Boxgrove, Sussex.
 Burney, Alex. D'Arblay, M.A., Curate of St. John the Baptist, Bathwick, nr. Bath.
 Burney, Chas., M.A., Hon. Can. of Rochester, Vicar of St. Mark's, Surbiton.

- Burney, Henry, M.A., Rur. Dean, Rec. of Wavendon, Newport Pagnell, Bucks.
 Burney, Hy. Bannerman, M.A., Preb. of Wells Cath., Vic. of Norton St. Philip, Somerset.
 Burns, William Henry, M.A., Rector of St. James', Manchester.
 Burnside, John Charles, Curate of Rivenhall, Witham, Essex.
 Burrell, Richard, M.A. Vicar of Stanley, Wakefield, Yorkshire.
 Burrige, Thos. Waters, M.A., Ret. Chap. to the Forces, Cur. of Folkestone, Kent.
 Burrigh, John, M.A., Head Master of the Grammar School, Kirkham, Lanc.
 Burrow, James Joseph, B.A., Curate of Miles Platting, near Manchester.
 Burrow, John, B.D., Curate of Ilfracombe, Devon.
 Burrows, Charles Hubert, B.A., Chaplain of New College, Oxford.
 Burrows, Henry Malden, Curate of Little Hereford, near Tenbury.
 Burton, Chas. Jas., M.A., Chancellor of the Diocese of Carlisle, Vic. of Lydd, Kent.
 Burton, Hy., M.A., Rur. Dean, Vicar of Ateham, and Rec. of Upton Cressett, Salop.
 Burton, Henry Viveash, B.A., Vicar of Tunstall, Lancashire.
 Bush, James, M.A., Rector of Ousby, Cumberland.
 Bush, Paul, M.A., Rector of Dulæ, Cornwall.
 Bushby, W. B., Dalkeith.
 Bushell, William Done, M.A., Assistant Master in Harrow School.
 Bussell, John Garrett, M.A., Preb. of Lincoln, Rural Dean, Vicar of Newark, Notts.
 Butcher, John Henry, B.A., Curate of Buckland-in-the-Moor, Devon.
 Butler, Charles Ewart, M.A., Curate of Aspløy Guise, Woburn, Bedfordshire.
 Butler, Daniel, M.A., Rector of Great Chart, near Ashford, Kent.
 Butler, Samuel Johnson, M.A., Vicar of Penrith, Cumberland.
 Butler, Thomas, B.D., Rector of Theale, Berks.
 Butler, William Jas., B.D., Rural Dean, Rector of Tubney and Appleton, Berks.
 Butler, William John, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Wantage, Berks.
 Butt, Jas. Aeton, M.A., Chap. of the Three Counties Asylum, near Arlesey, Beds.
 Buttemer, Robert Durant, M.A., Regent's Park, Millbrook, Southampton.
 Butterworth, Albert Nelson, B.A., Vic. of Saltersford-cum-Kettlethulme, Cheshire.
 Buttress, Allan, M.A., 10, Lorimer Square, Walworth.
 Buxton, Harry John Wilmot, M.A., Milton next Gravesend.
 Byrne, John Rice, M.A., One of H.M. Inspectors of Schools.
 Byron, Hon. William, M.A., Rector of Stoke Talmage, Oxford.
 Byrth, Stewart, M.A., Incumbent of Seaeombe, near Birkenhead.
 Cadman, C., Curate of Birkenshaw, Leeds.
 Cadogan, Edward, M.A., Vicar of Walton d'Eivile, Warwickshire.
 Caffin, Chas. Smart, M.A., Vicar of Broadway, Worcestershire.
 Caffin, George Benjamin, B.A., Vicar of Brimpton, Berks.
 Caffin, George Crawford, M.A., Rector of Ripple, near Deal.
 Caldicott, John Wm., M.A., Head Master of the Grammar School, Bristol.
 Calvert, Charles G., B.A., Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin, Wiggenhall, Norfolk.
 Cameron, Archibald Allen, M.A., Vicar of Hurst, near Reading.
 Cameron, Donald, M.A., Eardisley, Hereford.
 Cameron, Jonathan Henry Lovett, M.A., Vicar of Shoreham, Kent.
 Camm, Jno. Brooke Maher, M.A., Inc. of Monkton Wyld, near Bridport, Dorset.
 Cammaek, John Caparn, Curate of Shincliffe, Durham.
 Campbell, Duncan, M.A., Rector of Pentridge, Dorset.
 Campbell, John Archibald Legh, M.A., Vicar of Helpston, Northamptonshire.
 Campbell, William Fraser, M.A., Curate of Barley, Herts.
 Campbell, William Piteairn Alexander, M.A., Vicar of Almeley, Herefordshire.
 Campbell, William, M.A., Assistant Master in Uppingham School.
 Campion Chas. Heatheote, B.A., Rector of Westmeston, Sussex.
 Campion, W. M., D.D., Fellow of Queen's College, Rural Dean, and Rector of St. Botolph, Cambridge.
 Cancellor, John Henry, M.A., Curate of Ash, Surrey.
 Candy, Herbert, M.A., Second Master of the Grammar School, Ottery St. Mary.
 Curate of Whimble, Devon.

- Cane, Alfred Granger, B.A., Curate of St. Swithin's, Lincoln.
- Canney, Edward, Curate of St. Luke's, Marylebone, London.
- Caparn, Wm. Barton, M.A., Vicar of Draycot, near Weston-super-Mare, Somerset.
- Capel, Arthur Douglas, B.A., Curate of St. Mary the Less, Cambridge.
- Capel, George Marie, B.A., Rector of Passenham, Northamptonshire.
- Capel, Wm. Forbes, Hon. Secretary to the Central African Mission.
- Capell, Horatio Bladen, Curate of Bedminster.
- Cardale, Edward Thomas, Rector of Uckfield, Sussex.
- Carew, John Warrington, M.A., Rector of Clatworthy, Somerset.
- Carey, Charles, M.A., Rector of Kingweston, Somerset.
- Carey, Tupper, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Fifield Havant, and Vicar of Ebbesborne Wake, Salisbury.
- Cargill, E., B.A., Curate of Bentham, Lancashire.
- Cargill, James Dudley, B.D., Head Master of the College Grammar School, Southwell, Notts.
- Cargill, Robert John, M.A., West Felton, Salop.
- Cariss, Walter Henry, B.A., Curate of Scalby, Scarborough.
- Carlisle, John Herdman, M.A., Ashfield, Settle, Yorkshire.
- Carlos, E. S., B.A., Curate of St. Lawrence Jewry, and Mathematical Master at Christ's Hospital, London.
- Carlyon, Edward, B.A., Rector of Dibden, Hants.
- Carlyon, Fredk., M.A., Rector of Leverington, Cambs., Chaplain to Bishop of Ely.
- Carpenter, George, M.A., Chadlington, Enstone, Oxon.
- Carpenter, John, Boscombe, Bournemouth.
- Carr, Charles, B.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Whitworth, Durham.
- Carr, Henry Byne, M.A., Rector of Whickham, Durham.
- Carr, James Haslewood, M.A., Rector of Broadstairs, Kent.
- Carroll, Thomas, M.A., Curate of Stone, Kent.
- Carte, T. S., M.A., Assistant Master of King's College School.
- Carter, Eccles J., M.A., Vicar of Kingston, Somerset.
- Carter, Edward Nicholl, Vicar of Heckmondwike, near Leeds, Yorkshire.
- Carter, George, M.A., Rector of Compton Beauchamp, near Faringdon, Berkshire.
- Carter, John, B.A., Vicar of Sutton St. James, near Hull, Yorkshire.
- Carter, John Edward, B.A., Rector of Castle Eaton, near Fairford, Gloucester.
- Carter, Thomas, M.A., Vicar of Littleborough, Rochdale, Lancashire.
- Carter, Thomas Thellusson, M.A., Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and Rector of Clewer, Berks.
- Carter, William David, M.A., Stand, Lancashire.
- Cartman, John, Curate of Burkenshaw, near Leeds.
- Cartwright, Charles, Rector of Bradfield with Rushbrook, Suffolk.
- Cartwright, Frederick William, Rector of Aynhoe, Northants.
- Cartwright, T. E., M.A., Vicar of Braintree, Essex.
- Cartwright, William Henry, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Butcombe, Somerset.
- Carus, William, B.A., Curate of Holy Trinity, Gainsborough, Lincolnshire.
- Cary, Ofley Henry, M.A., Head Master of the Grammar School, Warrington.
- Cary, James Walter, D.D., Vicar of St. Paul's, Southampton.
- Casey, George Edwards Comerford, B.A., Curate of St. Mary-le-Wigford, Lincoln.
- Casey, Henry Ernest, B.A., Rollesby, Norwich.
- Cass, William Anthony, Vicar of St. Michael's, Wakefield.
- Cassan, Algernon W., M.A., Kinloch Moidart, Strontian, N.B.
- Casson, Eden Voase, B.A., Curate of Hurst, Lancashire.
- Caswall, Robert Clarke, M.A.
- Cattley, Richard, M.A., Minor Canon of Worcester Cathedral.
- Causton, Charles Purefoy, M.A., Rector of Stretton-on-the-Fosse, Warwickshire.
- Causton, Edward Atherton, B.A., Curate of St. Giles', Camberwell, Surrey.
- Causton, Francis Jarvis, B.A., Curate of Abingdon, Berkshire.
- Cave-Browne-Cave, Ambrose Sneyd, B.A., Rector of Stretton-en-le-Field, Leicester.

- Cave, Robert Haynes, M.A., Rector of Lydgate, Newmarket, Suffolk.
 Cave, Verney C. B., M.A., All Saints Hospital, Eastbourne.
 Cavell, Robert Corry, Vicar of Binham, near Holt, Norfolk.
 Cayley, Reginald Arthur, M.A., Rector of Scampton, Lincolnshire.
 Cazenove, John Gibson, M.A., Provost of the College, Cumbrae, N. B.
 Chadwick, Edward, M.A., Vicar of Thornhill Lees, near Dewsbury, Yorkshire.
 Chadwick, Joseph Wm., M.A., Curate of St. Margaret's, Toxteth Park, Liverpool.
 Chafy-Chafy, W. K. W., M.A., Curate of Stratford-on-Avon, Warwickshire.
 Chalmers, James Albert, M.A., Head Master of Grammar School, Spalding.
 Chamberlain, Frederick Townshend, M.A., Curate of Hawarden, Flintshire.
 Chamberlain, James Slade Ffoster, B.A., Curate of Westhoughton, Lancashire.
 Chamberlain, Thos., M.A., Vicar of St. Thomas's, Student of Christ Church, Oxford.
 Chamberlain, T. Ffoster, M.A., Hon. Can. of Manchester, Vicar of Limber Magna, Line.
 Chamberlin, Thomas Chamberlin Bigsby, M.A., Vicar of North Wheatley, and Rector of Sandby, Notts.
 Chambers, John Charles, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary's, Soho, London.
 Chambers, Oswald Lyttelton, B.A., Incumbent of Hook, near Howden, Yorkshire.
 Chambers, William Frederic, M.A., Vicar of North Kelsey, Lincolnshire.
 Champernowne, Richard, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Dartington, Totnes, Devon.
 Chandler John, M.A., Vicar of Witley, Surrey, and Rural Dean.
 Chanter, John Mill, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Ilfracombe, Devon.
 Chaplin, Ayrton, M.A., Vicar of East and West Looe, near Liskeard.
 Chaplin, Edward Morland, M.A., Rector of Chilton, Berks.
 Chaplin, William, B.D., Incumbent of Staveley, Kendal, Westmoreland.
 Chapman, Arthur Thomas, M.A., Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
 Chapman, Edward Martin, B.A., Rector of Low Toynton.
 Chapman, George, B.A., Curate of St. James the Less, Liverpool.
 Chapman, Richard, M.A., Rector of Normanton, near Grantham, Lincolnshire.
 Chapman, William, Curate of Henley-on-Thames.
 Chappel, Eldon Vaughan, M.A., Vicar of East Orchard, Dorset.
 Chappel, William Pester, M.A., Rector of Camborne, Cornwall.
 Charters, Robert Hy., M.A., Head Master of the Grammar School, Gainsborough.
 Chater, Daniel Sutcliffe, B.A., Vicar of Blackawton, Devon.
 Chave, Edward Wm. Tanner, D.D., Vicar of St. Anne's, Wandsworth, Surrey.
 Cheales, Henry John, M.A., Vicar of Friskney, Lincolnshire.
 Cheere, Edward, Vicar of Little Drayton, Salop.
 Chell, George Russell, B.A., Vicar of Kneesall, near Newark-on-Trent, Notts.
 Chell, James, Vicar of St. Paul's, Bury, Lancashire.
 Chell, William, B.A., Curate of St. James', Rochdale, Lancashire.
 Cherrington, Arthur Orlando, Curate of St. Peter's, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 Chesshire, Humphrey Pountney, M.A., Vicar of Stratton St. Margaret, Swindon.
 Chesshire, John Stanley, M.A., Curate of Hampton Lucy, near Warwick.
 Chester, Thos. Henry, M.A. Vicar of St. Hilda's, South Shields, Durham.
 Cheyne, P., Edinburgh.
 Chichester, Arthur Manners, B.A., Vicar of St. Clement, and of St. Mary, Sandwich.
 Chichester, Richard, M.A., Rector of Drewsteigton, Devon.
 Chidlow, Charles, B.A., Curate of Sealand, Flintshire.
 Child, Alfred, M.A., Rector of Rotherfield, near Tunbridge Wells.
 Child, Alfred, B.A., Curate of Barnesley, near Cirencester.
 Child, W. Humphrey, M.A., Curate of Tenbury.
 Chippendall, William, B.A., Curate of Burton Latimer.
 Chirol, A., M.A., Curate of Sedgely.
 Cholmeley, Chas. Humphrey, M.A., Vic. of Dinton with Teffont Magna, nr. Salisbury.
 Cholmeley, Robert, D.D., Vicar of Findon, Sussex.
 Cholmeley, Waldo, M.A., Rector of South Walsham, St. Mary's, Norfolk.
 Christie, Charles H., B.A., Curate of All Saints, Margaret Street, St. Marylebone.
 Christie, James, M.A., Incumbent of St. Congan's, Turriff.

- Church, Charles Marcus, M.A., Sub-dean, and Prebendary of Wells, Principal of the Wells Theological College, and Vicar of Dulverton, Somerset.
- Church, Richard Wm., M.A., Rector of Whatley, Somerset, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Salisbury.
- Church, S. C., Tetbury.
- Church, William Montagu Higginson, Rector of Alvescott, Oxfordshire.
- Churchill, Smith, M.A., Rector of Boughton, Norfolk.
- Churchyard, O., B.A., Vice-Principal of Training College, York.
- Churton, Edward, M.A., Prebendary of York, Archdeacon of Cleveland, and Rector of Crayke, Yorkshire.
- Churton, Edward Townson, Vicar of Ganton, Yorkshire.
- Churton, Henry Norris, M.A., Curate of East Retford, Notts.
- Churton, Wm. Ralph, M.A., Hon. Canon of Rochester, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, Curate of St. Mary-the-Great, Cambridge, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Rochester.
- Circuit, Richard William Perry, Curate of Ringwood, Hants.
- Clark, G. Nesse, B.A., Rector of Saxelby, Leicestershire.
- Clark, Thos. Humphris, M.A., Warden of St. Lucy's Home of Charity, Gloucester.
- Clark, Wm. Robinson, M.A., Rural Dean, Prebendary of Wells, and Vicar of St. Mary Magdalene, Taunton.
- Clarke, Adam, B.A., Rector of St. James, Longton, Staffordshire.
- Clarke, Charles, B.A., Curate of Langley Fitzurse, Chippenham.
- Clarke, Charles John, M.A., Curate of Newland, Gloucestershire.
- Clarke, Charles Leopold Stanley, B.C.L., Preb. of Chichester, Dom. Chap. to the Earl of Egmont, Rural Dean, and Vicar of Lodsworth, Sussex.
- Clarke, C. Pickering, M.A., Curate of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London.
- Clarke, Henry, M.A., Rector of Rokeby, Barnard Castle, Durham.
- Clarke, James Sanderson, M.A., Vicar of Gondhurst, Kent.
- Clarke, John Erskine, M.A., Prebendary of Lichfield, and Incumbent of St. Andrew's, Litchurch, Derby.
- Clarke, John William, M.A., Rector of Compton Bassett, Wilts.
- Clarke, Robert Douglas Léonce, B.A., Curate of Willesborough, Kent.
- Clarke, Samuel, M.A., Incumbent of Sambrook, near Newport, Salop.
- Clarke, Samuel Childs, M.A., Head Master of the Grammar School, and Vicar of St. Thomas by Launceston, Cornwall.
- Clarke, Samuel Thomas, M.A., Kents Bank, Newton in Cartmel.
- Clarke, William, M.A., Vicar of Wingham, Kent, Chaplain to the Dowager Countess of Ripon.
- Clarke, William Wilcox, M.A., Vicar of North Wootton, Norfolk.
- Clarkson, Townley Lebeg, M.A., Rector of South Elmham, St. James', Suffolk.
- Clayton, Edward Ffarington, M.A., Rector of Ludlow, Salop.
- Clayton, Louis, M.A., Curate of St. James' End, Northampton.
- Cleather, George Ellis, M.A., Vicar of Churton, Wilts.
- Cleather, George Parker, M.A., Preb. of Sarum, and Vicar of Aldbourne, Wilts.
- Cleaver, Euseby Digby, M.A., Curate of All Saints, Margaret Street, London.
- Cleaver, Wm. Hy., M.A., Curate of St. Mary Magdalen, Paddington, Middlesex.
- Clegg, John, M.A., Rector of Toddington, Beds.
- Clements, William Frederick, Curate of Northfleet, Gravesend, Kent.
- Clifford, John, M.A., Shrubhill House, Box, Chippenham.
- Clifton, Alfred, M.A., Vicar of Yardley Wood, Worcestershire.
- Close, Robert Shaw, B.A., Vicar of Kirkby Ravensworth, near Kichmond, Yorks.
- Close, Robert Welles, B.A., Curate of Aldbourne, Wilts.
- Clowes, Albert, M.A., Curate of Cofton Hackett, Northfield, Worcestershire.
- Clutterbuck, Francis Capper, B.A., Assistant Chaplain of the Gaol, Lecturer of St. George's, and Curate of Great Yarmouth, Norfolk.
- Clutterbuck, Henry, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Buckland Denham, Somerset.
- Clutterbuck, James Charles, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Long Wittenham, Berks.

- Clutterbuck, Lorenzo, M.A., Curate of Bredon, Worcestershire.
- Clutterbuck, Robert Hawley, Vicar of St. Philip's, Clerkenwell.
- Clutton-Brock, Thomas Henry, Vicar of Ocle Pitchard, Herefordshire.
- Coar, Charles John, M.A., Chaplain to the Forces, Canterbury.
- Coates, Arthur Tomline, B.A., Vicar of Percy, Tynemouth, Northumberland.
- Coates, Robert Patch, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Darenth, Kent.
- Cobb, William, M.A., Vicar of Shoulden, Kent.
- Cobbe, Henry, M.A., Rector of Milton Bryant, Bedfordshire.
- Cobbett, R. S., M.A., Curate of St. Mary's, Twickenham, Middlesex.
- Cobham, Claude Delaval, M.A., B.C.L., Deer Park, Honiton.
- Cochrane, Jas. Henry Dickson, M.A., Vicar of Cheadle-Hulme, near Stockport.
- Cockayne, Thomas Oswald, M.A., Lee.
- Cockin, Charles Edward, B.A., Curate of St. Mary's, Kingston-on-Hull, Yorkshire.
- Codd, Alfred, M.A., Vicar of Beaminster, Dorset.
- Codd, Edward Thornton, M.A., Vicar of Bishop's Tachbrook, Warwickshire.
- Coddington, Charles William, M.A., Curate of St. Olave, Bury St. Edmunds.
- Coen, John Creagh, B.A., Curate of Witney, Oxon.
- Coker, Cadwallader, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Shalstone, Bucks.
- Colborne, Hon. Graham, M.A., Rector of Dittisham, Devon.
- Coldwell, Clement Leigh, M.A., Vicar of Clee St. Margaret's, and of Hopton Congeford, Ludlow, Salop.
- Coldwell, Charles Simeon, B.A., Curate of St. Matthew's, City Road, London.
- Coldwell, George Henry Herbert, Curate of St. Jude's, Bristol.
- Cole, Francis E. Baston, B.A., Vicar of Pelynt, Cornwall.
- Cole, George Lamont, M.A., Vicar of Thorn St. Margaret, Somersetshire.
- Cole, George William, B.A., Curate of Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmoreland.
- Cole, John Frederick, Aberdeen Terrace, Lower Clapton.
- Cole, Thomas Henry, M.A., Chaplain of St. Luke's Hospital, London.
- Coleman, William Hobday, B.A., Curate of Hungerford, and Head Master of Westfield House School, Hungerford, Berkshire.
- Coleridge, Edward, M.A., Fellow of Eton College, Vicar of Mapledurham, Oxon.
- Coles, Edward Norman, Rector of Battlesden with Potsgrove, Beds.
- Coles, James Stratton, M.A., Preb. of Wells, Rural Dean, Rector of Shepton Beauchamp, and Vicar of Barrington, Somersetshire.
- Coles, Jeffries Wm., B.A., Chap. of the Bedminster Union Workhouse, Long Ashton.
- Coles, Vincent Stuekey Stratton, B.A., Curate of Wantage, Berkshire.
- Coley, James, M.A., Vicar of Cowley, Oxon.
- Coling, Richard James, B.A., Rector of Chillenden, Kent.
- Collard, Edwin Curwen, Vicar of Alton Pancras, Dorset.
- Collett, Henry Pyemont, B.A., Vicar of Islington, Norfolk.
- Collier, Thomas Grey, B.A., Curate of St. George's, Camberwell, Surrey.
- Collin, Joseph, Rector of Streethall, Essex.
- Collings, P. B. M.A., Vicar of Sturry, near Canterbury.
- Collingwood, Robert Gordon, M.A., Vicar of Irton and Drigg, Cumberland.
- Collins, G. W., Penistone, Yorkshire.
- Collins, John Ferdinando, M.A.
- Collins, Joseph William, B.A., Vicar of St. John the Baptist, Eastover, and Chaplain to the Union, Bridgwater, Somerset.
- Collins, Richard, M.A., Vicar of St. Saviour's, Leeds.
- Collins, William, Vicar of Great Linstead, Suffolk.
- Collis, John Day, D.D., Hon. Canon of Worcester, Vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon.
- Collis, T. Sandys, Curate of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, Middlesex.
- Collison, Frederick Wm. Portlock, B.D., Rector of Marwood, Devon.
- Collison, George Vaux, B.A., Curate of Dulas, Herefordshire.
- Colson, Charles, M.A., Vicar of Great Hormead, Herts.
- Colvill, John Burleigh, B.A., Chaplain of the Royal Berkshire Hospital, and County Gaol, Reading.
- Colvin, John Wm., M.A., Minister of St. Andrew's, Great Yarmouth, Norfolk.

- Colyer, John Edmeades, B.A., Rector of Fenny Drayton, Leicester.
 Comber, Charles Thomas, B.A., Curate of St. Mary's, Truro, Cornwall.
 Comber, J., St. Margaret's, Aberdeen.
 Compson, Edward Bate, B.A., Vicar of Hillesley, Gloucestershire.
 Compson, John, Vicar of Great Wyrley, Walsall, Staffordshire.
 Compton, Berdmore, M.A., Rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, London.
 Compton, Daniel Goddard, M.A., Vicar of Wroxton, near Banbury, Oxon.
 Compton, John, Rural Dean, Rector of Minstead, Hants.
 Compton, Lord Alwyne, M.A., Hon. Canon of Peterborough, and Rector of Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire.
 Compton, Paulet Mildmay, B.A., Rec. of Mapperton, and of Witherstone, Dorset.
 Comyns, George Thomas, B.A., Vicar of Sidbury, Devonshire.
 Comyns, George Yonge, B.A., Curate of Teington Regis, near Newton Abbot.
 Conder, John, Curate of St. Anne's, Wandsworth, Surrey.
 Coney, Edward Cecil, B.A., Incumbent of Burtle, Somerset.
 Coney, Thomas, M.A., Chaplain to the Forces, Chatham.
 Congreve, George, Vicar of Frankby, Cheshire.
 Connor, W. H., M.A., Priest Chaplain, Stratford-upon-Avon.
 Conybeare, J. W. E., B.A., East Molesey.
 Cooke, Alfred William, D.L.B., Bighton.
 Cooke, Geo. J. Fred. M.A., Curate of Orchard Portman, Somerset.
 Cooke, George Robert Davies, B.A., Funtington Vicarage, Chichester.
 Cooke, Geo. Theophilus, B.D., Fellow of Magdalen College, Vicar of Beckley, Oxon.
 Cooke, Henry Pennant, M.A., Vicar of Nuneham Courtney, Oxon.
 Cooke, Henry Salkeld, B.A., London.
 Cooke, John Russell, B.A., Curate of Preston, near Faversham, Kent.
 Cooke, Robt. Herbert, B.D., Cheltenham, late Fellow of Sidney College, Cambridge.
 Cooke, Samuel Hay, M.A., Rector of Northbourne, near Deal, Kent.
 Cooke, William, M.A., Hon. Canon of Chester.
 Cooke, Wm. Harris, B.A., Vicar of St. Saviour's, Norwich.
 Cookson, Christopher, B.D., Vicar of Dallington, Northampton.
 Cookson, Edward, M.A., Rector of Kirkby Thore, Westmoreland.
 Cooley, Wm. Lake Johnson, M.A., Incumbent of Rennington, Alnwick.
 Coombes, Edwin, M.A., Curate of Kinson, Dorset.
 Coombs, Charles, B.A., Vicar of Sutton-on-Plym, Plymouth.
 Cooper, Alfred, B.A., Curate of Horbury, Wakefield, Yorks.
 Cooper, E., B.A., Brighton.
 Cooper, Henry, M.A., Rector of Nunnington, Yorks.
 Cooper, Jas. Hughes, M.A., Rector of Tarporely, Cheshire.
 Cooper, Joseph, Curate of East Wretham, Norfolk.
 Cooper, Robert Jermyn, B.A., Vicar of Fylingdales, Yorks.
 Cooper, Samuel Lovick Astley, M.A., Rector of Croxton, Cambridgeshire.
 Cooper, Thomas, M.A., Curate of Clayton-le-Moors, Accrington, Lancashire.
 Cooper, Thos. John, M.A., Perp. Curate of Staveley, near Ulverston, Lancashire.
 Cooper, Thomas Lovick, M.A., Rector of Mablethorpe St. Mary, Lincolnshire.
 Cooper, Walter, B.A., Curate of Garstang, Lancashire.
 Cooper, William, B.A., Rector of Rippingale, Bourne, Lincolnshire.
 Cooper, Wm. Rickford Astley, M.A., Vicar of Froyle, Alton, Hants.
 Copleston, Reginald Edward, M.A., Vicar of Edmonton, Middlesex.
 Copleston, Wm. James, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Cromhall, Gloucestershire.
 Corbet, Athelstan, M.A., Rector of Adderley, Salop.
 Corbet, Rowland Wm., M.A., Rector of Stoke-upon-Terne, Salop.
 Corbett, John Reginald, Curate of Barking, Essex.
 Corbett, Richard Alfred, B.A., Curate of Charlton, Kent.
 Corfe, Arthur Anstruther, M.A., Curate of Sherrington, Wilts.
 Corfe, Arthur Thomas, M.A., Rector of Stockton, Wilts.
 Corfe, Charles John, B.A., Chaplain H.M.S. "Inconstant."

- Corfield, Walter Brown, Curate of Caverswall, Staffordshire.
- Corker, George Wm. M.A., Chaplain to the Earl of Romney, and Vicar of Fenny Stratford, Buckinghamshire.
- Corlett, John, Her Majesty's Chaplain, St. John's, Isle of Man.
- Cornish, Robert Kestell, M.A., Vicar of Landkey, Devon.
- Cornish, Sidney William, D.D., Vicar of Ottery St. Mary, Devon.
- Cornwell, Thomas Charles Brand, M.A., Vicar of Geddington, and Incumbent of Newton, near Kettering, Northants.
- Corrance, Charles Thomas, M.A., Vicar of Parham w. Hacheston, Suffolk.
- Corrance, Henry Francis, M.A., Curate of Barkby, Leicestershire.
- Corser, Richard Kidston, M.A., Curate of Stand, near Manchester.
- Corvan, J. H., Curate of Barton-on-Humber.
- Cory, Edward Wm., M.A., Vicar of Meldreth, Cambridgeshire.
- Cosens, Wm. Reyner, M.A., Vicar of Dudley, Worcestershire.
- Cosser, Walter Maude, M.A., Vicar of Titchfield, Hants.
- Cotes, Digby H., Curate of St. Thomas, Stockport, Cheshire.
- Cotterill, Charles, Master of the Grammar School, Brigg, Lincolnshire.
- Cotton, Benjamin, B.A., Rector of Rochford, Essex.
- Cotton, Wm. Charles, M.A., Vicar of Frodsham, Cheshire.
- Coulson, John Edmond, M.A., Vicar of Long Preston, Yorkshire.
- Coulton, Richard, Curate of Syerston with Elston, Notts.
- Courtier, Fredk. Wm. Hall, M.A., Curate of Follkingham, Lincolnshire.
- Courtney, H. C., Rector of Wolverton, Warwickshire.
- Courtney, Stanley T., Temple Balsall, Knowle, Warwickshire.
- Cowan, James Galloway, M.A., Vicar of St. John's, Hammersmith.
- Cowie, B. Morgan, B.D., Minor Canon of St. Paul's, Vicar of St. Lawrence Jewry.
- Cowpland, Robert, M.A., Rector of Weeford with Hints, Staffordshire.
- Cowpland, Wm. Epworth, B.A., Acton Beauchamp, Bromyard.
- Cox, C. W., B.A., Curate of Coggeshall, Essex.
- Cox, Frederick, M.A., Vicar of Upper Winchendon, Bucks.
- Cox, Fred., Curate of St. James's, Curtain Road, Shoreditch, London.
- Cox, James Bell, M.A., Curate of St. Margaret's, Toxteth Park, Liverpool.
- Cox, Joseph Mercer, M.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Curate of St. Andrew's, Wells Street, London.
- Cox, Thomas, M.A., Rector of Norton juxta Twyeross, near Atherston.
- Cox, Thomas Charles, Curate of Alvechurch, Worcestershire.
- Coxeter, W. A., B.A., All Saints School, Bloxham.
- Coxon, Mark, Rector of Heswall, Chester.
- Craig, John, M.A., Vicar of Leamington Priors, Warwickshire.
- Crake, A. D., B.A., Second Master of All Saints School, Bloxham.
- Crallan, Thomas Edward, M.A., Cuckfield, Sussex.
- Cranbrook, James, B.A., Curate of Amington, Tamworth.
- Cranmer, J. S. G., D.D., Finchley Park, Whetstone, Middlesex.
- Crate, Eustace Henry, M.A., Curate of Abberton, Essex.
- Craufurd, Alexander Henry, M.A., Oriel, Oxford.
- Crawley, Henry, M.A., Rector of Stow-Nine-Churches, Northamptonshire.
- Crawley, Thomas William, M.A., Rector of Heyford, Northampton.
- Cree, Edward David, M.A., Vicar of Holy Trinity, Upper Tooting, Surrey.
- Cree, John Adams, B.D., Vicar of Great Marlow, Bucks.
- Cree, Thomas George, B.A., Curate of Great Marlow, Bucks.
- Creed, Henry Keyworth, Rector of Chedburgh, Suffolk.
- Cresswell, Oswald Joseph, M.A., Rector of Hanworth, Middlesex.
- Cresswell, Richard Henry, M.A., Curate of Christ Church, Clapham, Surrey.
- Cresswell, Robt. James, M.A., Curate of Eastover, Bridgewater, Somerset.
- Cresswell, Samuel Francis, B.D., Principal of the High School, Dublin.
- Cripps, John Marten, M.A., Rector of Great Yeldham, Essex.
- Crisford, Alexr. Thomas, M.A., Vicar of Great Shelford, Cambridge.
- Croft, James Halls, M.A., Vicar of Timberscombe, Somerset.

- Crofts, Christopher, M.A., Head Master of Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Sevenoaks, Kent, and Chaplain to Lord Buckhurst.
- Crofts, John David Macbride, M.A., Head Master's Assistant of Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Sevenoaks, and Curate of River Head, Kent.
- Croisdale, John, Incumbent of East Rainton, Durham.
- Cross, Edgar Herman, M.A., Curate of St. Margaret's, Canterbury.
- Cross, George Fenwick Brown, B.A., Curate of Bartley Green, near Birmingham.
- Cross, John, Rector of Mursley, Bucks.
- Cross, Joseph, B.A., Curate of Bishop's Hatfield, Herts.
- Cross, Silas, B.A., Westley-Waterless, Newmarket.
- Crosse, Charles Henry, M.A., Jesus Lane, Cambridge.
- Cruikshank, Edw. Robt., B.A., Curate of Donhead St. Andrew, near Salisbury.
- Cruikshank, H. C. B., Horspath Vicarage, Oxford.
- Crump, C. C., Ilfracombe.
- Crump, James Benjamin, M.A., Curate of St. Clement, Spotland, Rochdale.
- Cubitt, Charles, M.A., Curate of Great Bourton, near Witney, Oxon.
- Cudlip, Pender Hodge, M.A., Curate of St. Marychurch, Devon.
- Cumby, William, M.A., Vicar of Beadnell, Bambrough, Northumberland.
- Cuning, Joseph, Curate of Weston in Gordano, Somerset.
- Cumming, Arthur Henry, Curate of Great Bodwyn, Wilts.
- Cummings, Charles James, M.A., Rector of Cheadle, Cheshire.
- Cundy, Henry George, M.A., Rector of Miserden, Gloucestershire.
- Cunningham, Albert Henry, B.A., Curate of Henfield, Sussex.
- Cunningham, Francis Macaulay, M.A., Rector of Witney, Oxon.
- Cunningham, William L., Curate of Byker, Northumberland.
- Cunynghame, Hugh Robert M.A., Ripon.
- Cuppige, Robert Jackson, B.A., Curate of Burnley, Lancashire.
- Curey, Robert Arthur, M.A., St. Andrews, Holborn.
- Currie, James, M.A., Vicar of West Lavington, Midhurst, Sussex.
- Curtis, Thomas Arthur, M.A., Curate of Newbold Pacey, Warwickshire.
- Curtis, Edward, Curate of Newington, Surrey.
- Curtler, Thomas Gale, M.A., Vicar of Barbourne, Worcester.
- Curwen, E. H., Curate of Grasmere, Westmoreland.
- Custance, Arthur C., B.A., Curate of Aldridge.
- Custance, G. M., B.A., Rector of Colwall, Hereford.
- Cuthbert, George Seignelay, B.A., Clifton.
- Cutts, Edw. Lewes, B.A., Sec. of the Add. Curates' Society, 7, Whitehall, London.
- Dalby, James Bartlett, B.A., Curate of Newport Pagnell, Bucks.
- Dale, Lawford William Torriano, M.A., Vicar of Chiswick, Middlesex.
- Dale, R. F., M.A., Assistant Master in Westminster School, London.
- Dalison, John Beauvoir, M.A., Rector of Upwell, near Wisbeach.
- Dalton, Richard, M.A., Rector of Kelmarsh, Northampton.
- Daltry, Thos. Wm., M.A., Curate of Madeley, Newcastle, Staffordshire.
- Daman, Charles, M.A., Church House, Windsor.
- Dampier, W. J., M.A., Coggeshall Vicarage, Essex.
- Dampier, Wm. Norris, B.A., 9, St. George's Terrace, Brighton.
- Danby, Samuel, B.D. Vicar of Weston-by-Welland, with Sutton Bassett, Northants.
- Dand, James John, B.A., Vicar of Chevingham, Warkworth, Northumberland.
- Daniel, Henry Townley, M.A., Rector of Treswell, near Retford.
- Daniell, George Fredk., M.A., Vicar of Aldingbourne, Sussex.
- Daniell, John Jeremiah, late Vicar of Langley Fitzurse, nr. Chippenham, Wilts.
- Danks, William, B.A., Curate of All Saints, Cheltenham.
- Darby, Henry, Oxford.
- Darby, Wareyn William, B.A., Rector of Shottisham, Suffolk.
- Darling, Frederick, M.A., Hartfield, Sussex.
- Darnell, Wm., M.A., Vic. of Bambrough, Northumb., Chap. to Duke of Buccleuch.
- Dart, John, St. Peter's College, Peterborough.
- Darwall, Leicester, B.A., Vicar of Criggion, Alberbury, near Shrewsbury.

- Dashwood, George Fredk. Long, B.A., Curate of Cotgrave, Notts.
 Daubeny, John, M.A., Chan. of the Cathedral, Prin. of Theological Coll., Salisbury.
 Daunt, Edw. Syngé Townsend, M.A., Vic. of St. Stephen's by Launceston, Cornwall.
 Daunt, Robert, M.A., Incumbent of St. Matthew's, Newcastle on Tyne.
 Daveney, Thomas Beevor, M.A., Curate of East Ham, Essex.
 Davenport, James, M.A., Vic. of Weston-upon-Avon, and Rec. of Welford, Glouc.
 Davidson, Archibald Thos., B.A., Curate of St. Bartholomew's, Sydenham, Kent.
 Davidson, Jonas Pascal Fitzwilliam, M.A., Vicar of Chipping Sodbury, Gloucester.
 Davidson, Madgwick George, B.A., Curate of St. Barnabas, Oxford.
 Davies, Alfred, Vicar of St. Michael at Thorn, Norwich.
 Davies, Alfred William Wickham, S.C.L., Curate of Haigh, Lancashire.
 Davies, D. Geo., M.A., Dixon, Monmouth.
 Davies, George Irving, M.A., Rector of Kelsale-with-Carlton, Suffolk.
 Davies, Huson Sylvester, M.A., Curate of Highway and Foxham, near Chippenham.
 Davies, John David, M.A., Rec. of Llanmadock and Cheriton, Glamorganshire.
 Davies, John Evan, M.A., Rector of Llangelynni, near Dolgelly, Merionethshire.
 Davies, John Lewis, Rector of Llangynog, Montgomeryshire.
 Davies, John Silvester, M.A., Vicar of St. Mark's, Woolston, Southampton.
 Davies, Richard William Payne, M.A., Archd. of Brecon, Preb. of St. David's, Rector of Llangasty Tallylyn, Brecknockshire.
 Davies, Robert Powell, B.A., Curate of Old Cleeve, Somerset.
 Davies, Thomas Owen Silvester, late Curate of the Parish Church, Brighton.
 Davies, Thos. Lewis Owen, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary Extra, Southampton.
 Davies, Wm. George, Chaplain of the County Lunatic Asylum, Abergavenny.
 Davis, Edmund, M.A., Perpetual Cur. of Longtown and Llanfaino, Herefordshire.
 Davis, Frederick, Master of the Collegiate School, Northfleet, Kent.
 Davis, James Wallworth, Curate of St. Peter's, Runcorn.
 Davis, John William, M.A., Vicar of Loppington, Salop.
 Davis, Samuel H., Kingston Seymour, Somerset.
 Davis, Thomas John, B.C.L., Hazelwood, Torquay.
 Davis, Frederick, Walgrave, Northamptonshire.
 Davison, John Robert, M.A., Vicar of Moseley, near Birmingham.
 Davy, Archibald, B.A., Penketh, Warrington.
 Davys, Owen William, M.A., Rector of Wheathampstead, Herts.
 Dawson, Ambrose Pudsey, B.A., Vicar of Clayton, Yorkshire.
 Dawson, Richard, M.A., Vicar of Sntton Benger, Wilts.
 Dawson, William, M.A., Rector of St. John's Clerkenwell, London.
 Dawson, William, M.A., Curate of Owston, Lincolnshire.
 Day, George, M.A., Curate of Wensley, Yorkshire.
 Day, Henry Josiah, M.A., Rector of Barnsley, Yorkshire.
 Day, Hermitage Charles, M.A., Vicar of Brechurst, near Chatham, Kent.
 Day, T. T., D.D., Master of Grammar School, Abbots' Bromley, Staffordshire.
 Daymond, Chas., M.A., Minor Canon of the Cathedral, and Principal of St. Peter's Training College, Peterborough.
 Deacle, Edward Leathes Young, M.A., Precentor of Chester Cathedral.
 Deacon, George Edward, M.A., Vicar of Leek, Staffordshire.
 Dean, Edmund N., Vicar of Bussage, Gloucestershire.
 Deane, Arthur Mackreth, M.A., East Marden, Sussex.
 Deane, George, M.A., Rector of Bighton, Hampshire.
 Deane, Henry, B.D., Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Oxford.
 Deane, William, M.A., Rector of Hintlesham, Suffolk.
 Deane, Wm. Edward, M.A., Curate of St. Matthew's, Upper Clapton, Middlesex.
 Deane, William John, M.A., Rector of Ashen, near Sudbury.
 Deans, Joseph, B.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Melbourne and Chellaston, near Derby.
 Debary, Thomas, M.A., Vicar of Hatfield Peverell, Essex.
 De Brisay, Henry Delacour, M.A., Vicar of Tettenhall, Staffordshire.
 De Burgh, Robert Sill, M.A., Vicar of West Drayton, Middlesex.
 De Castro, Fras. Wm. M.A., Rector of Arley, near Coventry.

- Deek, Alfred, M.A., St. Andrew's, Minley Manor, Hants.
- Deed, John George, Curate of Hemel Hempstead, Herts.
- Deedes, Cecil, M.A., Chap. of Ch. Church, Cur. of St. Philip and St. James, Oxford.
- Deedes, Gordon Fred., M.A., Vicar of Haydor, Lincolnshire.
- Deedes, Lewis, M.A., Rector of Bramfield, Hertford.
- Deeley, Albert Hy., B.A., Curate of St. George's, Barrow-in-Furness, Lancashire.
- Deey, Alfred William, M.A., F.R.A.S., Rector of Hartley Maudit, and Vicar of West Worldham, near Alton, Hants.
- De Gex., George Frederick, M.A., Vicar of Christ Church, Frome, Somerset.
- De Mowbray, J. H. T. M., Curate of Caistor, Lincolnshire.
- Denison, George Anthony, M.A., Prebendary of Wells, Archdeacon of Taunton, and Vicar of East Brent, Somerset.
- Dennett, Richard, Barningham Rectory, Suffolk.
- Dent, Chas., B.A., late Curate of Burford, Oxford.
- Denton, William, M.A., Vicar of St. Bartholomew, Little Moorfields, Cripplegate.
- Dermer, Edward Conduitt, M.A., Second Master of St. Andrew's College, Bradfield, Berkshire, and Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.
- De Salis, Henry Jerome Augustine Fane, M.A., Rector of Fringford, Oxon.
- De St. Croix, Henry Charles, B.A., Curate of Longbridge, Deverill, Wilts.
- Devenish, James Aldridge, Curate of Morvah, Cornwall.
- Devon, Edward Beachcroft, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and Vicar of Northmoor, Witney, Oxon.
- Dew, Edward Parker, M.A., Rector of Breamore, Salisbury.
- Dickins, Thos. Bourne, L.L.B., Vicar of All Saints, and Chaplain of the County Lunatic Asylum, Warwick.
- Dickinson, A. B., Curate of Throckmorton, Fladbury.
- Dickinson, Charles John, Vicar of Bodmin, Cornwall.
- Dickson, Robert Bruce, B.A., Curate of Coleshill, near Amersham, Bucks.
- Dickson, Wm. Richard, M.A., Vicar of Lamborne Woodlands, Hungerford, Berks.
- Dimock, James Fras., M.A., Prebendary of Lincoln, Rector of Barnborough, Notts.
- Dix, Edward, B.A., Truro, Cornwall.
- Dix, Henry Wood, B.A., Vicar of Shilton, near Faringdon, Berkshire.
- Dixon, Arthur, M.A., Vicar of St. Stephen's, Devonport.
- Dixon, John Holmes, M.A., Rector of Lincolnholt, Hants.
- Dixon, Robert Watson, M.A., Minor Canon, Carlisle.
- Dobson, John, B.A., S.C.L., Curate of Elton, Hereford.
- Dodd, Frederick Sutton, M.A., Curate of Worfield, Staffordshire.
- Dodd, Henry Philip, M.A., Ramsgate.
- Dodd, Henry Russell, B.A., Vicar of Stretton, near Warrington.
- Dodds, Henry Luke, M.A., Vicar of Glenn Magna, Leicestershire.
- Doke, Richard, Rector of Great Addington, Northants.
- Dolben, Charles, B.A., Rector of Spennall and Ipsley, Warwickshire.
- Dolling, James Ratcliffe, M.A., Rector of Hinton St. George, Somerset.
- Dolphin, John Maximilian, B.A., Vicar of Coddington, Notts.
- Domvile, Charles Compton, M.A., 2, St. Leonard's Place, Exeter.
- Donaldson, Alexander Melbourne, Curate of Farmborough, near Bath.
- Donaldson, Augustus Blair, M.A., Craig-Ellaehie, Banffshire, N.B.
- Doran, John Wilberforce, M.A., St. Alban's, Manchester.
- Douglas, Alexander, M.A., Incumbent of St. John the Baptist, Bathwick, Bath.
- Douglas, Archibald James, Vicar of Mathon, Worcestershire.
- Douglas, Herman, M.A., Vicar of Great Sandall, Yorkshire.
- Douglas, Hon. Arthur Gascoigne, B.A., Rector of Scaldwell, Northants.
- Douglas, Hon. Henry, M.A., Rector of Hanbury, Worcestershire.
- Douglas, James Wescomb, B.A., Curate of Yate, Gloucestershire.
- Douglas, James, B.A., Curate of Kirkby Misperton, Yorks.
- Douglas, James John, B.D., Chaplain to the Earl of Airlie, Kerriemuir, N.B.
- Douglas, Philip, Incumbent of Thrumpton, Notts.

- Douglas, Stair, M.A., Rural Dean, Canon of Chichester, Vicar of Funtington, Sussex.
 Douglas, Wm. Frederick, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Scrayingham, Yorks.
 Douglas, Wm. Willoughby, M.A., Hon. Can. of Worcester, Rural Dean, Rector of Salwarpe, Worcester.
 Dounton, Charles George, M.A., Vicar of Biggleswade, Beds.
 Dover, James William, M.A., Vicar of Wilmcote, near Stratford-on-Avon.
 Dover, Thomas Birkett, B.A., Curate of St. John's, Kennington, Surrey.
 Dowdeswell, Edmund Richard, B.A., Curate of Bushley, near Towkesbury.
 Dowding, Townley Ward, M.A., Rector of St. Peter's, Marlborough.
 Dowle, Thomas, B.A., Curate of Frome.
 Dowling, Barrè Beresford, M.A. Rector of Brown Candover Chilton-Candover, Hants.
 Downes, John, M.A., Rector of Hamington, Northants.
 Downing, Henry, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary's, Kingswinford, Staffordshire.
 Downing, Henry Edward, S.C.L., Rector of Wells, Norfolk.
 Dowson, Henry, M.A., Tintern Grove, Southampton.
 Dowty, George, Curate of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, London.
 Doyle, James B., LL.B., Ridgway, Plympton.
 Drage, Charles, M.A., Rector of Westerfield, near Ipswich.
 Drake, Edward Tyrwhitt, M.A., Rector of Amersham, Buckinghamshire.
 Drake, James Thomas, Vicar of the Dicker, Hurst Green, Sussex.
 Drake, John, B.A., Rector of Great and Little Wratting, Suffolk.
 Drake, Thomas, M.A., Vicar of Mountsorrel, and Head Master of the Grammar School, Barrow-upon-Soar, Leicester.
 Drake, Thomas Rumf, M.A., Vicar of St. John's, Clapham, Surrey.
 Drake, William Thomas Tyrwhitt, M.A., Rector of Bedford, Suffolk, and Curate of Great Gaddesden, Herts.
 Draper, William Henry, B.A., Edgett Rectory, Aylesbury.
 Drew, Andrew Augs. Wild, M.A., Incum. of St. Michael's, Nunhead, Peckham.
 Drew, Charles Edward, B.A., Curate of St. Ives, Hunts.
 Drew, Geo. Smith, M.A., Rector of Avington, Curate of Itchin Abbas, Winchester.
 Drew, Josias Henry, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary's, Strood, near Rochester.
 Drewe, James, M.A., Curate of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath.
 Drewe, Wm. Ball, M.A., Vicar of Longstock, Stockbridge, Hants.
 Drought, Alfred Charles Albert, B.A., Curate of Edmonton, Middlesex.
 Drummond, Arthur Hislop, B.A., Curate of Long Compton, Shipston-on-Stour.
 Drummond, Morton, M.A., Vicar of Wookey, Somersetshire.
 Drummond-Hay, Frederick, B.A., Vicar of Rolleston, Notts.
 Drury, Benjamin Joseph, Vicar of Rudgwick, near Horsham, Sussex.
 Drury, George, M.A., Curate of Thorpe, near Chertsey, Surrey.
 Dry, William, M.A., Rector of Whitechurch, near Monmouth.
 Du Boulay, Francis, M.A., Rector of Lawhitton, near Lannceston.
 Du Boulay, Francis Houssemayne, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Heddington, Wilts.
 Du Boulay, Henry Houssemayne, M.A., Vicar of Sithney, Cornwall.
 Du Boulay, J., B.A., Curate of Stourbridge, Staffordshire.
 Du Boulay, Wm. Thomas, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary's, West Brompton, Middlesex.
 Du Buisson, Edmund, M.A., Vicar of Breinton, Hereford.
 Du Cane, Alfred Richard, M.A., Vicar of Rostherne, Cheshire.
 Duckett, William, D.D., Cheveley, Newmarket.
 Dudley, F., B.A., S.C.L., Curate of South Banbury, Oxfordshire.
 Dudley, Henry Thornton, B.A., Curate of Sedgley, Staffordshire.
 Dudley, Samuel George, M.A., Curate of Barton Stacey, Hants.
 Duffield, Henry George, B.A., Curate of St. Gabriel's, Pimlico, London.
 Duggan, William Bottomley, B.A., Curate of St. Paul's, Oxford.
 Dugmore, Ernest Edward, B.A., Curate of St. Peter's, Vauxhall, Surrey.
 Dumbleton, Edgar Norris, M.A., Vicar of St. Paul's, Truro, Cornwall.
 Dun, James, B.A., St. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth.
 Dunbar, Charles Gordon Cumming, Curate of All Saints, Lambeth, Surrey.

- Duncan, Francis, M.A., Rector of West Chelborough, Dorsetshire.
- Duncan, James, M.A., Curate of Christ Church, St. Pancras, London.
- Duncan, John, M.A., Vicar of Calne, Wilts.
- Duncombe, Hon. Augustus, D.D., Dean of York.
- Duncombe, William, M.A., Rokelee, Thetford, Norfolk.
- Duncombe, Wm. Duncombe Vander Horst, M.A., Assist. Vic. Choral of Heref. Cath.
- Dundas, Charles Leslie, B.A., Curate of Cookham Dean, Berkshire.
- Dunlop, Henry Robert, Curate of Winlayton, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- Dunn, James, B.A., Curate of All Saints, Clifton, near Bristol.
- Dunn, John Woodham, M.A., Vicar of Warkworth, Northumberland.
- Dunn, Robert, Grammar School, Honiton.
- Dunn, Robert, M.A., Rector of Huntsham, Devon.
- Dunn, Thomas, M.A., Curate of Mirfield, Yorkshire.
- Dunn, William, M.A., Incumbent of North Gosforth, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- Dunster, Henry Peter, M.A., Vicar of Woodbastwick, Norfolk.
- Dunwell, Fras. Henry, B.A., Vicar of Hensall with Heck, near Selby, Yorkshire.
- Du Port, James Mourant, M.A., Vicar of Mattishall, Norfolk.
- Du Pré, Henry Ramus, B.A., Rector of Shellingford, Berks.
- Dupuis, Edward John Gore, B.A., Conduct of Eton College, Berkshire.
- Dupuis, Geo. Jb., M.A., Rector of Worplesdon, Surrey, Vice Provost of Eton College.
- Durell, J. V., M.A., Rector of Fulbourne, Cambridgeshire.
- Du Rieu, William Marsden, B.A., Curate of St. Barnabas, Pimlico, London.
- Durant, Reginald Norman, M.A., Vicar of Arretton, Isle of Wight.
- Durst, John, M.A., Vicar of St. Peter's Mountergate, Norwich.
- Durst, William, M.A., Curate of Crodall, Hants.
- Du Santoy, Francis Peter, B.D., Rector of Oekley, near Dorking, Surrey.
- Du Santoy, William, M.A., Vicar of Trinity Church, Taunton, Somerset.
- Dyer, James Hardwick, B.D., Vicar of Gt. Waltham, near Chelmsford.
- Dyke, Edwin Francis, B.A., West Wickham, Kent.
- Dykes, John Backhouse, M.A., Mus. D., Vicar of St. Oswald's, Durham.
- Dymock, Francis Douglas, M.A., Curate of Lynton, Devon.
- Eagles, John King, B.A., Vicar of Hill Farrance, Somersetshire.
- Eagleton, Charles James, M.A., Vicar of Flimwell, Sussex.
- Earee, Robert B., Curate of Moseley.
- Earle, Richard Bethell, Vicar of Edingley, Notts.
- Earle, Robert Henry, M.A., Rector of Kencott, Oxon.
- Earle, Walter, M.A., Assistant Master in the Grammar School, Uppingham.
- Earle, Wm. James, M.A., Second Master of the Grammar School, Uppingham.
- Earnshaw, John Wm., M.A., Incumbent of Birkenshaw, near Leeds, Yorks.
- Eaton, Alfred Edwin, B.A., Curate of Ashbourne, Derbyshire.
- Eaton, Thomas, M.A., R. D., Can. of Chester, and Rec. of West Kirby, Cheshire.
- Eaton, Walter Frederick, M.A., Curate of Ringwood, Hants.
- Ebsworth, Algernon Frederick, B.A., Curate of Snenton, Notts.
- Ebsworth, George Searl, M.A., Vicar of Croxton Kerrial, Leicestershire.
- Eckersley, James, B.A., Victoria Road, Darlington.
- Eddie, Richard, M.A., Rector of Broughton-Sulney, Notts.
- Eddowes, John, M.A., Vicar of St. Jude's, Bradford, Yorks.
- Eddrupp, Edward Paroissien, M.A., Prebendary of Salisbury, and Vicar of Bremhill, near Calne, Wilts, late Principal of Salisbury Theological College.
- Eden, Arthur, M.A., Vicar of Ticehurst, Sussex.
- Eden, Charles Page, M.A., Prebendary of York, and Vicar of Aberford, York.
- Edge, William John, M.A., Vicar of Benenden, Kent, and Chaplain to the Earl of Westmoreland.
- Edgell, J., Curate of Uggheshall, Suffolk.
- Edgell, William Charles, M.A., Rector of Uggheshall, Suffolk.
- Edison, Edward John, M.A., Rector of Stock with Ramsden-Belhouse, Essex.
- Edman, Edward Hudson, M.A., Incumbent of Muker, near Richmond, Yorks.

- Edmondson, James, B.A., Curate of Christ Church, Leeds.
- Edwardes, David, M.A., Assistant Master of St. John's College, Hurstpierpoint.
- Edwards, A., Curate of Dalton.
- Edwards, Anthony Ambrose, Vicar of All Saints, Leeds.
- Edwards, Edward Justin J. G., M.A., Preb. of Lichfield, Vicar of Trentham.
- Edwards, Frederick Stephen, Curate of St. James', Wednesbury, Staffordshire.
- Edwards, Henry, M.A., Grammar School, Wrexham.
- Edwards, Henry Thomas, B.A., Vicar of Llanbeblig with Carnarvon.
- Edwards, John, late Vicar of Prestbury, Gloucestershire.
- Edwards, Lambert Campbell, M.A., Harrow Park, Middlesex.
- Edwards, William Walter, M.A., Rector of Cardeston, Salop.
- Eedle, Edwd., M.A., Preb. of Chichester, Rural Dean, Vicar of South Bersted, Sussex.
- Egerton, Philip R., B.C.L., Master of All Saints' School, Bloxham, and Curate of Hempton, Deddington, Oxon.
- Egerton-Warburton, Geoffrey, B.A., Curate of Leigh-on-Mendip with Vobster.
- Eichbaum, P. A. G., Cuddesdon.
- Eland, Henry George, M.A., Vicar of Bedminster, Somerset.
- Eld, Jas. Hen., B.D., Fell. of St. John's Coll., Oxford, Vicar of Fyfield, Berks.
- Elder, William Alexander, B.D., Curate of Banham, Norfolk.
- Eldrid, Edwin Norton, Cuckfield.
- Elbridge, John Adams, M.A., Vic. of Bishop Wilton, near Pocklington, Yorkshire.
- Elgie, Walter Francis, M.A., Curate of Otterbourne, near Winchester.
- Eliot, Charles John, M.A., Curate of St. Chad's, Haggerston, London.
- Eliot, W. N. G., B.A., Curate of St. Mary's, Hull.
- Elkin, W. H., Curate of Towednaek, Penzance.
- Elkington, J. J., Curate of St. Mary's, Soho.
- Ellacombe, Henry Thomas, M.A., Rector of Clyst St. George, Devon, and Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Harrington.
- Ellacombe, Henry Nicholson, M.A., Vicar of Bitton, near Bristol, Gloucester.
- Ellershaw, Henry, B.A., Vicar of Mexborough, Yorks.
- Ellerton, John, M.A., Vicar of Crewe Green, Barthomley, Cheshire.
- Elliot, Fred. Roberts, M.A., Incumbent of the Lodge, Salop.
- Elliot, George, M.A., Curate of Stainby-with-Gunby, Lincolnshire.
- Elliot, Wm. H., M.A., Vicar of Sockburn, and Incumbent of High Worsall, Yorks.
- Elliot, William, M.A., Vicar of Cardington, Salop.
- Ellis, Conyngnam, M.A., Vicar of Cranbourne, near Windsor, Berks.
- Ellis, Hon. William Charles, M.A., Rector of Bothal, Northumberland.
- Ellis, James Francis, Vicar of Pocklington, Yorkshire.
- Ellis, John Henry, M.A., Vicar of Brill, Buckinghamshire.
- Ellis, John Smith, B.A., Vicar of Witton-le-Wear, Durham.
- Ellis, Joseph, B.A., Vicar of Wilsden, near Bingley, Yorkshire.
- Ellis, J. S., Curate of Beddington.
- Ellis, P. Constable, M.A., Rector of Llanfairfechan, Bangor.
- Elrington, Charles Richard, M.A., Rector of West Quantoxhead, Somerset.
- Elrington, Robert Bisset Fenwick, M.A., Vicar of Lower Brixham, Devon.
- Elsdale, Daniel T. W., M.A., Mis. Cur. of St. John's Mission, Kennington, Surrey.
- Elton, Edmund, M.A., Vicar of Wheatley, Oxon.
- Elwin, Hastings Philip, B.A., Curate of Helmsley, Yorks.
- Elwin, Whitwell, B.A., Rector of Booton, Norfolk.
- Empson, Arthur John, B.A., Rector of Eydon, Northamptonshire.
- Empson, William Henry, M.A., Vicar of Wellow, Hants.
- Emra, William Henry Atkinson, B.A., Curate of Mapledurham, near Reading.
- England, Thomas, M.A., Rector of North Lew, Devon.
- English, John Francis Hawker, D.D., Vicar of Brentwood, Essex.
- English, Wm. Watson, M.A., Vicar of Great Wollaston, near Shrewsbury.
- Enraght, Richard William, B.A., Curate of St. Paul's, Brighton, Sussex.
- Ensor, Frederic, Rector of Lustleigh, Devon.

- Errington, John Richard, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Ashburne, Derbyshire.
- Escott, George Sweet, M.A., Vicar of Barnwood, near Gloucester.
- Estcourt, Edmund Hiley Bucknall, M.A., Rector of Eckington, Chesterfield, Derby
- Etheridge, Sanders, M.A., Rector of Haslemere, Surrey.
- Evans, Alfred Bowen, D.D., Rector of St. Mary-le-Strand, London.
- Evans, Arthur Robertson, M.A., Curate of Leeds, Yorkshire.
- Evans, Charles John, M.A., Rector of Ovington, Thetford, Norfolk.
- Evans, Daniel, Vicar of Corris, Merioneth.
- Evans, D. P., Curate of Borth, Cardiganshire.
- Evans, David, Rector of Bala, Merionethshire.
- Evans, Fitzwilliam, Eriswell Rectory, Brandon.
- Evans, Evan Joel, Mitchel Troy Rectory, Monmouth.
- Evans, Evan Henry George, Rector of Stradishall, Suffolk.
- Evans, Henry James, M.A., Assistant Master of Charterhouse School, London.
- Evans, John, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary's, Grassendale, near Liverpool.
- Evans, John J., Rector of Cantreff, Brecon.
- Evans, John Amphlett, B.A., Godolphin School, Hammersmith.
- Evans, John David, M.A., Curate of Shelton, Staffordshire.
- Evans, John Myddleton, M.A., Curate of Pitsford, Northants.
- Evans, John Owen, B.A., Curate of Maentwrog, Merionethshire.
- Evans, Joseph Glover, M.A., Rector of Rudford, Gloucestershire.
- Evans, Leonard Henry, B.A., Curate of Wolstanton, Stoke-on-Trent.
- Evans, Richard, Culford House, Bury St. Edmunds.
- Evans, Thomas, St. Peter's, Bayswater.
- Evans, Thomas Simpson, M.A., Vicar of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, London.
- Evans, Thomas Saunders, M.A., Canon of Durham, and Professor of Greek in Durham University.
- Evans, Turberville, B.A., Vicar of St. James, Curtain Road, Shoreditch, London.
- Evans, William Howell, M.A., Curate of Broughton, Hawarden, Flintshire.
- Evans, William Studdert, B.A., Vicar of Ulley, Yorkshire.
- Evanson, Charles, M.A., Vicar of St. Andrew's, Montpelier, Bristol.
- Everard, Edward John, M.A., Rector of Tormarton, Gloucestershire.
- Everard, Salisbury, M.A., Hon. Canon of Norwich, Rural Dean, Vicar of Swaffham, w. Thrextou, Norfolk.
- Evered, Elwin Everard John, B.A., Vicar of St. Mary Magd., Harlow, Essex.
- Evered, Everard Robert Fountain, B.A., Vicar of South Darley, Derbyshire.
- Everest, William Fred., B.A., Chap. of the Cornwall County Gaol, Bodmin.
- Everett, Thomas Marsh, B.A., S.C.L., Assistant Vicar Choral of Hereford Cathedral.
- Eversfield, S., M.A., Vicar of Sneyd, Burslem, Staffordshire.
- Every, John James G., B.A., Retired Chaplain Royal Navy.
- Every, Nicholas Thos., M.A., Vicar of St. Kew, near Wadebridge, Cornwall.
- Ewen, Edward, M.A., Curate of Walter Belchamp, near Sudbury.
- Exton, Francis, M.A., Vicar of Aukborough, Lincolnshire.
- Eyre, Henry Taylor Williamson, B.A., Curate of Woolborough, Devon.
- Eyton, Robert William, M.A., Little Chart, near Ashford, Kent.
- Faber, Francis Atkinson, B.D., Rector of Sanderton, Bucks.
- Fagan, C. C. T., B.A., Shrewsbury.
- Fagan, George Hickson Urquhart, M.A., Prebendary of Wells, Rural Dean, Rector of Rodney Stoke, Somerset.
- Fagan, Henry Stuart, M.A., Vicar of St. Just in Penwith, near Penzance.
- Fairbairn, Adam H., M.A., Vicar of Knowl Hill, near Twyford.
- Fairbank, R. W., Curate of Rugely, Staffordshire.
- Fairclough, Wm. Henry Hutchinson, B.A., Curate of St. Mary's, Lichfield.
- Fairles, Septimus, Rector of Lurgashall, Sussex.
- Faithfull, George, M.A., Rector of Llanwenarth, near Abergavenny, Monmouth.
- Falcon, J., Curate of Lenham, Kent.
- Falkner, Thomas, M.A., Vicar Choral and Librarian of York Minster.
- Falwasser, John Frederick, M.A., Curate of Puddletrenthide, Dorset.

- Fancourt, William, B.A., Curate of Newbottle, Durham.
 Farbrother, Alfred, B.A., Curate of St. Mark's, Kennington, Surrey.
 Farbrother, F. R., B.A., Curate of Huhne, Manchester.
 Farebrother, Thomas, M.A., New Walk, Leicester.
 Farman, Samuel, M.A., Curate of St. Martin's, near Colchester.
 Farmbrough, James Cooper, s.c.l., Curate of Sperrall, Warwickshire.
 Farmer, James, s.c.l., Curate of Croft, near Hineckley, Leicestershire.
 Farquhar, Edward Mainwaring, B.A., Curate of Devizes, Wilts.
 Farrow, John Rotherford, B.A., Vicar of Riccall, Yorks.
 Farthing, George Lax, M.A., Curate of Tottenham, Middlesex.
 Faulkner, Henry Bayntun, M.A., Vicar of Budbrooke, Warwickshire.
 Faussett, Godfrey, B.D., Glentall Lawn, Cheltenham.
 Fawssett, J. B., B.A., Curate of Stafford.
 Fawssett, Richard, M.A., Rec. of Smeeton Westoby, Kibworth Beauchamp.
 Fayrer, Robert, B.A., Curate of Blickling with Erpingham, Norfolk.
 Fearn, Herbert Matthew, B.A., Vicar of Arkesden, Essex.
 Fearnshides, William, Vicar of Harley Wood, Todmorden, Lancashire.
 Fearon, Arthur, Curate of Kenn, Devon.
 Fearon, Daniel Rose, M.A., Vicar of St. Marychurch, Devon.
 Fearon, Thomas Henry Browne, B.A., Curate of Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire.
 Feather, George, Curate of Newchurch Kenyon with Bury Lane, nr. Warrington.
 Featherstonhaugh, Walker, M.A., Rector of Edmondbyers, Blackhill, Durham.
 Feetham, William, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Penrhôs, Monmouthshire.
 Feilden, Henry Arbuthnot, M.A., Llandulas, Abergel.
 Feilden, Oswald Mosley, M.A., Incumbent of Welsh Frankton, near Oswestry.
 Feilding, Hon. C. W. A., M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Stapleton, Salop.
 Fellowes, Henry John, M.A., Rector of Over Wallop, Hants.
 Fellows, Spencer, Rector of Pulham, Norfolk.
 Fenton, Francis James Crosland, B.A., Curate of Nuthurst, near Birmingham.
 Fenton, John Kirkby, B.A., Rector of Caldecote, Warwick.
 Fenton, Thomas, M.A., Vicar of Ings, Kendal, Westmoreland.
 Ferrers, Norman M., M.A., Senior Fellow and Tutor of Caius College, Cambridge.
 Ferris, Arthur Harry, B.A., Vicar of Charlestown, near St. Austell, Cornwall.
 Fessey, George Fred. B.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Redditch, Worcestershire.
 Festing, George Arthur, M.A., Vicar of Clifton, Ashburne, Derby.
 Festing, John Wogan, M.A., Curate of Christ Church, Westminster, and Hon. Sec. of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.
 Few, Charles Edward, M.A., St. Marks, Lewisham.
 Finch, Matthew Mortimer, B.A., Northfleet, Kent.
 Ffoulkes, Henry Powell, M.A., Canon of St. Asaph, Archdeacon of Montgomery, and Rector of Llandyssil, Montgomery.
 Field, Augustus, M.A., Vicar of Pool Quay, Welshpool, Montgomery.
 Field, Edmund, M.A., Fellow and Sen. Chap. of St. Nicolas' Coll., Lancing, Sussex.
 Field, John Edward, B.A., Curate of St. Ann's, Bridlington Quay.
 Field, Thomas, B.D., Rector of Bigby, near Brigg, Lincolnshire.
 Field, Walter, M.A., Vicar of Godmersham, Kent.
 Fielding, Cecil Henry, B.A., Curate of Littleborough, Rochdale.
 Fielding, George Hanbury, M.A., Curate of Ragland and Llandenny, Monm.
 Fiennes-Clinton, Henry, M.A., Chaplain to the Duke of Newcastle, and Vicar of Hawthorn, Fence Houses, Durham.
 Finch, George, M.A., Curate of Chicheley, Bucks.
 Finch, Thomas, B.A., Chap. of the Northumberland County Gaol, Morpeth.
 Finch, Thomas Ross, M.A., Rector of St. Mary's, Stafford.
 Fincher, Joseph Guillemard, Incumbent of St. Peter's, Sea View, Ryde, I. of W.
 Fincher, J. M., Curate of St. Paul's, Brighton, Sussex.
 Fish, J. L., M.A., Rector of St. Gabriel Fenchurch w. St. Margaret Pattens, Lond.
 Fish, John, M.A., Ashworth, Lancashire.

- Fisher, C. E., M.A., Rector of North and South Stoke, Lincolnshire.
 Fisher, Edward Robert, M.A., Curate of Waldron, Sussex.
 Fisher, George Ruggles, M.A., Chaplain to the Forces, Aldershot.
 Fisher, George William, M.A., Assistant Master of the School, Shrewsbury.
 Fisher, Harry Charrington, M.A., Rector of Bessingham, and Inc. of Sustead, Nfk.
 Fisher, John Turner, B.A., Incumbent of Hessenford, St. Germans, Cornwall.
 Fisher, Thomas Ruggles, Rector of Liston, Essex.
 Fiske, Robert White, M.A., Vicar of North Leigh, Witney, Oxon.
 Fitton, Fred. Chambers, M.A., Curate of Holy Trinity, Winchester.
 Fitz-Gerald, Frederick A. H., M.A., Vicar of Weybread, Suffolk.
 Fitz-Gerald, John, M.A., Vicar of Camden Town, St. Pancras, Middx.
 Fitz-Gerald, William George, Vicar of Bridgwater, Somerset.
 Fitz Herbert, Richard, B.A., Curate of Eynesbury, Hunts.
 Fitz Herbert, James, M.A., Curate of Eaton Socon, Bedfordshire.
 Fitz Wygram, Fitzroy John, B.A., Incum. of St. James', New Hampton, Middx.
 Fixsen, John Frederick, M.A., Vicar of Ughborough, Devon.
 Fleming, Arthur Willis, Domestic Chaplain to Lord Heytesbury, Alfred Terrace, Upper Holloway.
 Fleming, Sydney Hall, Curate of Sharnbrook, Beds. and Domestic Chaplain to the Marquis Townshend.
 Flemyng, Francis P., LL.D., Lawrencekirk, Kincardineshire, N.B.
 Fletcher, Henry Mordaunt, M.A., Vicar of Christ Church, Derry Hill, Calne, Wilts.
 Fletcher, James, M.A., late Vicar of Cublington.
 Flint, William Charles Raffles, M.A., Vicar of Sunningdale, Berks.
 Flood, Fred., M.A., Master of the Grammar School, Ashburton, Devon.
 Flower, Walker, Curate of Swingfield, Kent.
 Floyd, Charles Greenwood, M.A., Rector of South Runceton, near Downham, Norfolk.
 Flynn, Edward Hamilton, M.A., Curate of St. Chad's, Haggerstone, London.
 Foot, Jeffery Robert, B.A., Vicar of Hanbury, Staffordshire.
 Foote, John Andrews, M.A., Curate of St. Mary Magdalene, Paddington.
 Forbes, Arthur Fraser, B.A., 29, North Audley Street, London.
 Forbes, John Fraser, B.A., Curate of Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks.
 Ford, Alfred W., Curate of Sutton-on-Plym, Plymouth.
 Ford, Charles Henry, M.A., Vicar of Bishopton, Durham.
 Forster, Francis, M.A., Curate of Monmouth.
 Forster, Henry Brookes, M.A., Hon. Canon of Gloucester, Rector of Coln Rogers.
 Fort, Richard, M.A., Vicar of Coopersale, Epping, Essex.
 Fortescue, E. B. Knottesford, M.A., Provost of Perth.
 Fortescue, H. J., M.A., Curate of Kidderminster, Worcestershire.
 Forward, Edward, B.A., Curate of Longparish, Hants.
 Foster, Albert John, M.A., Curate of St. Mary Magdalene, Taunton, Somerset.
 Foster, Charles George, M.A., Curate of All Saints, Warwick.
 Foster, H., B.A., Assistant Master in Malvern College, Worcestershire.
 Foster, John, M.A., Rector of Foxearth, and Dom. Chaplain to the Earl of Sefton.
 Foster, John Smith, Vicar of Wivelsfield, Sussex.
 Foster, Kingsman Baskett, Rector of Dowsby, Lincolnshire.
 Foster, Robert, M.A., Vicar of Burpham, Sussex.
 Fountaine, Henry Thomas, B.A., Curate of Huyton, Lancashire.
 Fountaine, James, M.A., Assistant Master of the Grammar School, Guildford.
 Fowle, Thomas Welbank, M.A., Vicar of St. Luke's, St. Marylebone, London.
 Fowle, Wm. Henry, B.A., Vicar of Melverton, Somerset.
 Fowler, Charles Augustus, M.A., Rector of St. Margaret's, Canterbury.
 Fowler, Edward Thos. Straton, B.A., Vicar of Cotmanhay, Ilkeston, Derbyshire.
 Fowler, Henry, M.A., Chaplain to the Union Workhouse, St. Albans.
 Fowler, Hugh, M.A., Head Master of the Cathedral Grammar School, Gloucester.
 Fowler, Joseph Thomas, M.A., Vice Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham.
 Fowler, Robert, M.A., Grosvenor House, Tunbridge Wells.
 Fox, Joseph Hamilton, Vicar of Padliham, near Burnley, Lancashire.

- Fox, Octavus, M.A., Rector of Knightwick with Doddenham, Worcester.
 Fox, William, B.A., Curate of Stanton by Dale, Derby.
 Foy, Wm. Henry, M.A., Thixendale, York.
 Foy, Wm. Henry, Belsize Park, Hampstead, Middlesex.
 Frampton, James, St. Ann's, Willenhall, Wolverhampton.
 Frampton, William Charlton, M.A., Rector of Moreton, Dorset.
 France, George, M.A., Rector of Brockdish, Norfolk, Dom. Chap. to Earl of Errol.
 Francis, C. D., Vicar of Tysoe, Warwickshire.
 Francis, Herbert O., B.A., Curate of St. Mary's, Chatham, Kent.
 Francis, John, M.A., Curate of Newcastle, Bridgend, Glamorganshire.
 Francis, John Loveband, B.A., Curate of Poltimore with Huxham, Devon.
 Francis, Wm. Francis, Curate of Great Saxham, near Bury St. Edmund's.
 Fraser, James, B.A., Curate of Orpington, Kent.
 Fraser, Wm. Fredk. Chambers Sugden, Chaplain of the County Gaol, Maidstone.
 Freeling, George N., M.A., Fellow and Chaplain of Merton College, Oxford.
 Freeman, F. E., M.A., Vicar of Puddletown, Dorset.
 Freeman, Frederick, M.A., Vicar of Musbury, Helmsore, Manchester.
 Freeman, J., B.A., Curate of Loughborough, Leicestershire.
 Freeman, Philip, M.A., Archdeacon and Canon of Exeter, Vicar of Thorverton.
 Freeman, Robert Marriott, B.A., Incumbent of High Leigh, Knutsford, Cheshire.
 Freeman, Wm. Henry, M.A., Burlingham, Norwich.
 Fremantle, S. J., Senior Student and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford.
 Freer, Wm. Thomas, M.A., Rector of Houghton-on-the-Hill, Leicester.
 Freer, Wm. Haughton, M.A., Rector of Seckington, Warwickshire.
 French, Frederic, M.A., Rector of Worlingworth with Southolt, Suffolk.
 French, Henry Day, M.A., Curate of East Lockinge, Berkshire.
 French, Fred. A. W., Curate of Tutton-on-Plym, Plymouth.
 French, Robert Jackson, Perpetual Curate of Flockton, near Wakefield, Yorks.
 French, Samuel, B.A., Curate of Thurmaston, Leicestershire.
 Frere, Edward Hanbury, B.A., Rector of Horham, Suffolk.
 Frere, Edward Tudor, B.A., Curate of Harpenden, Essex.
 Frere, Herbert, M.A., Ditchingham.
 Frere, William John, B.A., Curate of Rugeley, Staffs.
 Freshfield, John Minet, B.A., Rector of Stanton-by-Dale-Abbey, Derbyshire.
 Freshney, Frederick, M.A., Vicar of Skidbrook, Lincolnshire.
 Frewer, Henry, M.A., Sen. Assist. Classical Master of the Grammar School, Bristol.
 Friend, Martin T., B.A., Curate of St. Lawrence, Reading, Berkshire.
 Frith, Edward Blackstone Cockayne, B.A., Curate of Welshpool.
 Frith, James, M.A., Curate of Bisley, Gloucestershire.
 Frost, John Dixon, B.D., Vicar of St. Paul's, Winchmore Hill, Edmonton.
 Frost, William Mumford, B.A., Rector of Dry Drayton, near Cambridge.
 Fry, James Henry, B.A., Curate of Castle Hedingham, Essex.
 Fryer, F. W., M.A., Assistant Master of St. John's College, Hurstpierpoint, Sussex.
 Fulford, John Loveband Langdon, M.A., Curate of Woodbury, Devon.
 Fulford, John Loveband, M.A., Vicar of Woodbury, Devonshire.
 Fuller, Alfred, M.A., Rector of West Itchenor, Sussex.
 Fuller, Chas. Jas., M.A., Minister of St. Mary the Virgin, Primrose Hill, London.
 Fuller, Charles J., Vicar of Ovingham, Northumberland.
 Fuller, Harry Albert, M.A., Walton Vicarage, near Stafford.
 Fuller, Morris J., M.A., Rector of Lydford, Incumbent of Prince Town, Dartmoor.
 Furley, Edward Mainwaring, M.A., Curate of St. Mark's, Colney Heath, Herts.
 Furneaux, Wm. Duckworth, M.A., Rector of Berkley, near Frome, Somerset.
 Furnal, James, M.A., Rector of Toekenhaw Wick, Wilts.
 Furse, Charles Wellington, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Staines, Middlesex, and
 Chaplain to the Bishop of Oxford.
 Fyffe, Henry, M.A., Hove, Brighton.
 Gainsford, George, M.A., Incumbent of Holy Saviour's, Hitchin, Herts.

- Gaisford, Thomas Amyas, M.A., 18, Beaumont Street, Oxford.
- Gale, James, B.A., Vicar of Urswick, near Ulverstone.
- Galland, Basil Arthur, M.A., Curate of South Ormsby with Ketsby, Lincoln.
- Galton, John Lincoln, M.A., Chaplain to Lord Roden, Rector of St. Sidwell's, Exeter.
- Gamlen, Charles, M.A., Curate of All Saints, East Clevedon, Somerset.
- Gammell, James Stewart, M.A., Vicar of Outwood, Wakefield.
- Garde, John Fry, M.A., Vicar of St. Patrick's, Isle of Man.
- Garde, Thomas Hugh, B.A., Curate of Chippenham, Wilts.
- Garde, T. J., B.A., Torquay.
- Gardiner, Edward J., M.A., Curate of Stowe, Bucks, and Chaplain to the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.
- Gardiner, George Edward, M.A., Curate of Cole Orton, Leicestershire.
- Gardner, Charles E., Oxford.
- Gardner, Herbert, M.A., Hanbury Place, Handsworth, Birmingham.
- Gardner, James Cardwell, B.A., Curate of Wardley-cum-Bilton.
- Gardner, Jas. G., B.A., Curate of Burgh Marsh with Winthorpe, near Boston.
- Gardner, John Ludford, St. Andrew's Home Mission, Edinburgh.
- Gardner, John, LL.D., Rector of Skelton, Marske-by-the-Sea, York.
- Gardner, William, B.A., Vicar of Orpington, Kent.
- Garnet, Henry Eli, M.A., Vicar of Lydgate, Rochdale, Lancashire.
- Garnett, E. P., B.A., Cuddesden.
- Garratt, Charles Foster, M.A., Vicar of Little Tew, Enstone, Oxfordshire.
- Garratt, Sudlow, M.A., Curate of Antony, Cornwall.
- Garrett, Frank, M.A., Curate of Lanlivery, Cornwall.
- Garrett, W. T., Crake Hall, Bedale, Yorkshire.
- Garrow, Edward William, M.A., Rector of Bilsthorpe, near Ollerton, Notts.
- Garry, Nicholas Thomas, M.A., Vicar of St. Mark's, Lakenham, Norwich.
- Garvey, Charles, M.A., Vic. of Manthorpe w. Londonthorpe, Grantham, Lincoln.
- Gathercole, Michael Augustus, Vicar of Chatteris, Cambridgeshire.
- Gatrill, James Matcham, Horbury Parsonage, Wakefield.
- Gawn, John Douglas, B.A., Curate of Sutton Maddock, Salop.
- Gaye, Charles Hicks, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of St. Matthew, Ipswich.
- Gaze, John Pellew, M.A., Rec. of Brooke, and Cur. of Mottistone, Isle of Wight.
- Gazeley, R. Court, M.A., Rector of Wayford, Somerset.
- Gem, Chas. Henry, B.A., Curate of Penrith, Cumberland.
- Gent, Robert Abraham, M.A., Curate of Overton, near Marlborough.
- George, Philip Edward, M.A., Curate of St. John the Baptist, Bathwick, Bath.
- Gepp, Henry John, B.A., Fellow of New Coll. Oxford, Curate of Dorking, Surrey.
- Gepp, Nicholas Parker, B.A., Curate of Great Henny, Essex.
- Germon, Nicholas, M.A., Vicar of Broomfield, Taunton, Somerset.
- Gibbons, George Buckmaster, B.A., Vicar of Werrington, near Launceston.
- Gibbs, John Lomax, M.A., Vicar of Clifton Hampden, near Abingdon.
- Gibbs, Joseph Games, M.A., Vicar of Seafield, near Witney.
- Gibbs, William Cobham, B.A., Curate of Abingdon, Berkshire.
- Gibson, Edward M., Curate of Freshwater, Isle of Wight.
- Gibson, H. Atkinson, M.A., Vic. of Lonsdale, nr Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire.
- Gibson, John, M.A., Rector of King's Stanley, Gloucester.
- Gibson, John Henry Ashley, M.A., Curate of St. Paul's, Brighton.
- Gilbanks, Geo. Fred., M.A., Incumbent of Beeston, near Leeds.
- Gilbert, John Bellamy, M.A., Rector of Cantley, Norfolk.
- Gilbert, Richard, M.A., Vicar of Guestwick, Norfolk.
- Gilbert, William, M.A., Vicar of Cheersley, near Aylesbury.
- Gilbert, Wm. Henry Long, M.A., Chaplain of the House of Correction, Wandsworth.
- Gilbertson, Lewis, B.D., Fell. of Jesus Coll., Oxford, Rec. of Braunston, Northants.
- Gilderdale, John Smith, M.A., Minister of All Saints, Dresden.
- Giles, Edwin, M.A., Vicar of Hewelsfield, Gloucestershire.
- Giles, John Harold, B.A., Curate of St. Paul's, Bedminster, Bristol.

- Giles, Robert, B.A., Vicar of Horncastle, Lincolnshire.
 Gill, Francis Turner, M.A., Vicar of Warfield, Berkshire.
 Gill, William, Vicar of Ugthorpe, near Whitby, Yorkshire.
 Gillett, Edward Alfred, M.A., Curate of Caversham, Oxon.
 Gillett, Gabriel Edwards, M.A., Hon. Canon of Peterborough, Rural Dean, and Rector of Waltham-on-the Wolds, Leicester.
 Gillham, Thomas Wheeler, Vicar of Liddington, Rutland.
 Gilliat, Edward, M.A., Assistant Master in Harrow School, Middlesex.
 Gilling, John Charles, M.A., Vicar of St. Mark's, Rosherville, Gravesend, Kent.
 Gillington, J. Maurice, M.A., Chaplain of the Brookwood Lunatic Asylum, Surrey.
 Gillman, J., B.C.L., Wandsworth.
 Gipps, Fred., M.A., Vicar of Corbridge, near Hexham, Northumberland.
 Giraud, Henry A., M.A., Chaplain of King's College Hospital, and Assistant Chaplain of the Chapel Royal, Savoy, London.
 Gladstone, David Thomas, M.A., Rector of Loddington, Northants.
 Gladstone, Stephen Edward, M.A., Curate of St. Mary the Less, Lambeth, Surrey.
 Glaister, William, M.A., B.C.L., Curate of Southwell, Notts.
 Glanville, Henry Carew, M.A., Rector of Sheviocke, Cornwall.
 Glanville, John Usher, B.A., Curate of St. Martin's, Worcester.
 Glascodine, Richard William, M.A., Curate of Reynoldston, Swansea.
 Glascott, W. E.
 Glasspoole, Richard Davies, M.A., 164, Marylebone Road, N.W.
 Gleadow, Thomas Littlewood, M.A., Rector of Frodesley, Shropshire.
 Gliceross, Ernest Henry, Curate of Lanreath, Cornwall.
 Gliceross, James Hiekes, B.A., Rector of Helland, Cornwall.
 Glennie, John David, M.A., Vicar of Croxton, near Eceleshall, Stafford.
 Glossop, G. Goodwin Pownall, M.A., Rur. Dean, Vic. of Twickenham, Middlesex.
 Glover, George, M.A., Enmore Green, Dorset.
 Glover, O., B.D., Fel. of Emman Col. Cam., Rec. of Emmanuel Ch., Loughborough.
 Glover, William Henry, B.A., Rector of Thorndon, Suffolk.
 Glyn, Henry Thomas, B.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Melbury Abbas, Dorset.
 Glyme, H., M.A., Hon. Can. of St. Asaph, Rur. Dean, Rec. of Hawarden, Flintsh.
 Godber, J. H., Nottingham.
 Goddard, William Ward, M.A., Curate of Bognor.
 Godley, Edward Richard, Curate of Helston, Cornwall.
 Godsell, George, M.A., Incumbent of St. Andrew's, Plaistow, Essex.
 Going, John, M.A., Vicar of St. Paul's, Walworth, Surrey.
 Goldie, Charles Dashwood, M.A., Vicar of St. Ives, Hunts.
 Goldney, Adam, M.A., Vicar of East Pennard, Somerset.
 Goldney, H. Nelson, M.A., Southborough, Tunbridge Wells.
 Golightly, T. Gildart, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Shipton Moyn, Gloucester.
 Gooch, John, M.A., Head Master of the Grammar School, Reigate, Surrey.
 Good, Charles Patten, M.A., Vicar of Eceleshall, Staffordshire.
 Good, John Henry, B.A., Curate of Walford, Herefordshire.
 Goodacre, Alfred Randolph, B.A., Curate of St. Mark's, North Audley-street.
 Goodacre, Francis Burgess, M.D., Rector of Wilby with Hargham, Norfolk.
 Goodacre, Frederick William, M.A., Curate of St. Sepulchre, Northampton.
 Goodacre, Robert Henry, Vicar of Ipstones, Staffordshire.
 Goodacre, William W., B.A., Curate of Alphington, Exeter.
 Goodlake, Thomas William, M.A., Rector of Swindon, near Cheltenham, Glouce.
 Goodman, John Parsons, M.A., Rector of Keystone, Hunts.
 Goodrich, Bartlet George, B.A., Rector of Hardmead, Bucks.
 Goodridge, Henry Painter, B.A., Chaplain of H.M.S. "Invincible."
 Goodwin, George Septimus, M.A., Vicar of Hardley, near Lodden, Norfolk.
 Gordon, Charles Osborne, M.A., Vicar of Mayland, Essex.
 Gordon, Cosmo Spencer, B.A., Vicar of Messing, Essex.
 Gordon, Edward, M.A., Vicar of Atwick, near Hull.

- Gordon, E. W., M.A., 11, Norfolk Crescent, Bath.
- Gordon, Henry Doddridge, M.A., Vicar and Sineure Rector of Harting, Sussex.
- Gordon, Osborne, B.D., Rector of Easthampstead, Berks.
- Gordon, Richard Wake, M.A., Curate of Holy Trinity, Gosport, Hants.
- Gordon, Robert Augustus, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Barley, near Royston, Herts.
- Gore, Charles Frederick, M.A., Vicar of Edenbridge, Kent.
- Gorham, Henry Stephen, Curate of Bearsted, near Maidstone.
- Gorman, Thomas Murray, M.A., Oxford.
- Gornall, James, Vicar of St. John's, Chadderton, Oldham, Lancashire.
- Goslett, Edward Maynard, B.A., LL.D., Rector of Colby, Norfolk.
- Goss, J., M.A., Minor Can. of Hereford Cathedral, Vicar of St. John's, Hereford.
- Gothard, George, B.A., Curate of St. Peter's, Derby.
- Gough, R. H. L., M.A., Curate of Houghton-le-Spring, Durham.
- Gough, Walter Henzell, B.A., Curate of Holy Trinity, Halstead, Essex.
- Gould, William, M.A., Ayot Bury, Welwyn.
- Goulden, Alfred B., Curate of St. Peter's, Vauxhall, Lambeth, Surrey.
- Govett, J. L., Burnham.
- Govett, John Clement, Rector of Shepperton, Middlesex.
- Grafton, Charles C., Oxford.
- Grafton, Augustus William, M.A., Prebendary of Wells Cathedral, Vice Principal of the Theological College, Wells, and Vicar of Henton, Somerset.
- Graham, Henry John, M.A., Vicar of Ashampstead, Berks.
- Graham, H. L., Bishop's Frome, Herefordshire.
- Grain, Charles, M.A., Rector of Wacton, Norfolk.
- Grant, Alexander, M.A., Rector of Manningford Bruce, Wilts.
- Grant, Jos. Brett, B.A., Vicar of Oxenhope, Bradford, Yorkshire.
- Grantham, George Peirce, B.A., St. Saviour's Vicarage, Leeds.
- Granville, Roger, Curate of Hewish and Merton, Devon.
- Graves, John, F.R.G.S., Incumbent of Underbarrow, Milnthorpe, Westmoreland.
- Graves, John, Rector of Bradenham, Bucks.
- Gray, Alfred, B.A., Curate of St. Albans, Herts.
- Gray, Chas., M.A., Hon. Canon of the Cathedral and Chaplain to the Bishop of Ely, Rural Dean, and Vicar of East Retford, Notts.
- Gray, Charles Edward, M.A., Vicar of Skipwith, Yorks.
- Gray, Frederick Henry, M.A., Rector of Hoekliffe, Beds.
- Gray, George Robert, M.A., Vicar of Inkberrow, Worcestershire.
- Gray, James Black, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, and Vicar of St. Philip and St. James', Oxford.
- Gray, John Durbin, M.A., Vicar of Abbotsley, Hunts.
- Gray, Walter Augustus, M.A., Vicar of Arksey, Yorkshire.
- Gray, Wm. Arthur Gordon, B.A., Cur. of Walpole St. Peter & St. Edmund's, Norfolk.
- Gray, Wm. Francis, M.A., Rector of Faringdon, Devon.
- Grayling, James, Curate of Little Chart, Kent.
- Graystone, Arthur Conrad, M.A., Vicar of Sutton-upon-Trent, near Newark, Notts.
- Grear, Wm. Theophilus, M.A., Vicar of Godolphin, near Hayle, Cornwall.
- Greatheed, John, B.A., St. John the Evangelist, Cowley, Oxford.
- Greatorex, Edward, M.A., Precentor of Durham Cathedral.
- Greaves, Henry Ley, B.A., Curate of Stanton by Bridge, Derby.
- Greaves, John Albert, M.A., Curate of Swinford, Leicestershire.
- Green, Charles, M.A., Chaplain to the Forces, Dover.
- Green, Charles, Vicar of St. Mark's, Millfield, Sunderland, Durham.
- Green, Eldred, B.A., Curate of Trinity Church, Bridgwater, Somerset.
- Green, George Clark, M.A., Vicar of Modbury, Devon.
- Green, Henry, M.A., Rector of Upton St. Leonard's, near Gloucester, and Domestic Chaplain to the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.
- Green, James, B.A., Vicar of St. John's, Stanhope, Durham.
- Green, James Spurgeon, M.A., Rector of Witton with Brundall, Norfolk.

- Green, John Fowler, M.A., Vicar of Tredington, near Tewkesbury.
- Green, John Henry Bakewell, M.A., Rector of Normanton-le-Heath, Leic.
- Green, Josephus Henry, M.A., Chap. to the House of Cor., Southwell, Notts.
- Green, Richard Eling, B.A., Second Master of the Brewers' School, London.
- Green, Robert Gambier, B.A., Curate of Foxearth, Essex.
- Green, Sidney Faithorne, B.A., Rector of Miles Platting, near Manchester.
- Green, Thomas Lingard, M.A., Curate of St. Gregory with St. Peter's, Sudbury.
- Green, V. T., Curate of Bloxham, near Banbury, Oxon.
- Green, William Frederick, M.A., Curate of Colkirk, Norfolk.
- Greene, Carleton, B.A., Curate of High Wycombe, Bucks.
- Greene, Edward, Curate of Christ Church, Luton, Beds.
- Greene, Henry Burnaby, M.A., Vicar of Longparish, near Whitchurch, Hants.
- Greene, Joseph James, B.A., Curate of Burwell, Cambridgeshire.
- Greenhill, Wm. Ridge, M.A., Curate of Hawkhurst, Kent.
- Greenhow, Edward, jun., Vicar of Newton-upon-Ouse, Yorkshire.
- Greenly, J. Prosser W., M.A., Curate of Laverstock, Wiltshire.
- Greenslade, Wm., M.A., Vicar of Stoke-under-Hamdon, Somerset.
- Greenstreet, Fk. Waters, M.A., Incumbent of All Saints, Winterbourne, nr. Bristol.
- Greenstreet, Octavius Pechell, M.A., Curate of Leigh, near Malvern.
- Greenwell, Nicholas, B.A., Vicar of St. Barnabas', Holbeck, Leeds.
- Greenwell, William, M.A., Vicar of Horton, Northumberland.
- Greenwood, George, M.A., Chaplain of St. Thomas' Hospital, Southwark.
- Greeves, Henry, Curate of Selby, Yorkshire.
- Gregory, Arthur Thomas, B.A., Rector of Trusham, Devonshire.
- Gregory, Edmund Ironside, M.A., Precentor of Bristol Cathedral.
- Gregory, Francis Maundy, M.A., Vicar of St. Michael's, Southampton.
- Gregory, Henry, M.A., Vicar of Asthall, and Head Master of the Grammar School, Witney, Oxfordshire.
- Gregory, J. H.,
- Gregory, Maze William, M.A., Vicar of Great Doddington, Northants.
- Gregory, Robert, M.A., Rural Dean, Canon of St. Paul's, and Vicar of St. Mary the Less, Prince's-road, Lambeth, Surrey.
- Greig, David, M.A., Rector of Addington, near Winslow, Buckinghamshire.
- Greive, William Thomas, M.A., Vicar of Colnbrook, Bucks.
- Grenside, Frederick Ralph, B.A., Curate of Skipton, Yorkshire.
- Grenside, Ralph, M.A., Rector of Over Whitaere, Coleshill, Warwickshire.
- Grenside, William Bent, M.A., Vicar of Melling, near Lancaster.
- Gresley, Wm., M.A., Preb. of Lichfield, Vic. of Boyne Hill, nr Maidenhead, Berks.
- Greswell, Richard, B.D., Worcester College, Oxford.
- Grey, C. F., Curate of Sheen, Staffordshire.
- Grey, Hon. Francis Richard, M.A., Hon. Canon of Durham, and Rector of Morpeth, Northumberland.
- Grey, Frederic Thomas, Curate of Birstwith, Ripley, Yorkshire.
- Grey, Hon. Jno., M.A., Hon. Can. of Durham, Rec. of Houghton-le-Spring, Durham.
- Grey, William, M.A., 9, Haldon Terrace, Momt Radford, Exeter.
- Grier, Richard Macgregor, M.A., Vicar of Rugeley, Staffordshire, and Rural Dean.
- Griffith, Charles Arthur, M.A., Rector of Berwick St. John, Wilts.
- Griffith, Charles B., M.A., Curate of Pattiswick, Essex.
- Griffith, Henry Thomas, M.A., Vicar of Felmingham, Norfolk.
- Griffith, James, M.A., Curate of Llangattock, Brecon.
- Griffith, Joseph W., B.A., Jesus College, Oxford.
- Griffith, Robert Chas. Fras., B.A., Curate of Richmond, Surrey.
- Griffith, Thomas Henry, B.C.L., Vicar of Hornchurch, Essex.
- Griffith, Thomas Llewellyn, M.A., Rector of Deal, Kent.
- Griffith, Thomas Thompson, M.A., Min. Can. and Prec. of Rochester Cathedral.
- Griffiths, Edward, Rector of Llanmartin w. Wilerick, Newport, Monmouthshire.
- Griffiths, Frederick Pelham, Curate of St. Stephen's, Lewisham, Kent.

- Griffiths, William, M.A., Vicar of St. Nicholas, Birmingham.
- Grigson, Edward, B.A., Curate of West Bromwich, Staffordshire.
- Grigson, Wm. Shuckforth, M.A., Curate of St. Andrew's, Wolverhampton, Staffs.
- Grimley, Horatio Nelson, M.A., Head Master of the Gram. School, Skipton-in-Craven.
- Grindle, Edmund Samuel, M.A., Curate of St. Paul's, Brighton.
- Grindle, Henry Augustus Louis, M.A., Vicar of St. Peter's, Devizes, Wilts.
- Grindle, Walter Smith, Curate of St. Gabriel's, Pimlico, London.
- Grindrod, William, M.A., Minor Canon, and Curate of St. Oswald's, Chester.
- Grinstead, Charles, B.A., Curate of Newbury, Berkshire.
- Grisewood, Harman, M.A., Cuddesden.
- Grogan, George William, M.A., Vicar of Somerton, Somersetshire.
- Grove, George, Vicar of Llanwenarth, Monmouthshire.
- Groves, John, Curate of Heywood, Manchester.
- Grueber, Charles Stephen, B.A., Vicar of St. James', Hambridge, Curry Rivell.
- Grundy, Geo. Fredk., M.A., Head Master of the Gram. School, Risley, near Derby.
- Grundy, Thomas Richard, M.A., Curate of Marldon, South Devon.
- Guard, John, M.A., Rector of Langtree, Devon.
- Gueritz, Mamerto, B.A., Vicar of Colyton, Devon.
- Guest, Geo. Wm. M.A., Min. Can. of York Minster, and Rec. of All Saints, York.
- Guille, George De Carteret, M.A., Rector of Little Torrington, Devon.
- Guillemard, Wm. Henry, D.D., Vicar of St. Mary-the-Less, Cambridge.
- Gulliver, Edward Hale, B.A., Curate of Stratford-on-Avon, Warwickshire.
- Guinness, Robt., M.A., Vic. of South Banbury, Chap. of the Banbury Union, Oxon.
- Gunning, Peter, M.A., Rector of Inwardleigh, Devon.
- Gurley, George Marsh, Vicar of Blanchland, Northumberland.
- Gurnhill, James, B.A., Curate of Hornsea, near Hull.
- Gutch, Chas., B.D., Fell. of Sidney Sussex Coll., Camb., Inc. of St. Cyprian, Marylebone.
- Gutteres, Frederic Emanuel, B.A., Curate of Uphill, Somersetshire.
- Gwatkin, Thos., M.A., Second Master of St. Mary and St. Nicolas School, Lancing.
- Gwyn, James Bevan, M.A., Curate of Llanvrechva, Monmouthshire.
- Gwyn, P. Preston, Rector of Little Brandon, Norfolk.
- Gwyn, Richard Hammond, B.A., Rector of South Repps, Norwich.
- Gwynn, Thomas, M.A., Marlow Place, Great Marlow, Bucks.
- Gwynne, G. E., Stanningfield Rectory, Bury St. Edmunds.
- Hackman, Alfred, M.A., Preecentor and Chaplain of Christ Church, and Vicar of St. Paul's, Oxford.
- Haddan, Arthur West, B.D., Hon. Canon of Worcester, and Rector of Barton-on-the-Heath, Warwickshire.
- Hadow, George R., B.A., Curate of Harpenden, Herts.
- Hagreen, Charles Sedley, B.A., Second Master of the Cathedral School, and Curate of Pipe, Hereford.
- Haigh, Henry, M.A., Rector of St. Maurice, Winchester.
- Haines, Samuel Charles, M.A., Minister of St. Matthias', Earl's Court, Kensington.
- Haldane-Chinnery, J. R. A. II., All Saints, Edinburgh.
- Hale, Philip, M.A., Head Master of the Grammar School, Daventry.
- Hales, George, LL.B., Vicar of Birstwith, Ripley, Yorkshire.
- Hales, William Atherstone, M.A., Vicar of Bosley, Congleton.
- Hall, Alleyne Hall, B.A., Curate of Bexley, Kent.
- Hall, Ambrose William, M.A., Walton on the Hill, Surrey.
- Hall, Arthur C. A., Oxford.
- Hall, Bracebridge Heming, M.A., Vicar of Stapleford, near Salisbury.
- Hall, Edmund, M.A., Rector of Myland, Colchester, Essex.
- Hall, Edward Duncan, M.A., Rector of Coln St. Denis, Gloucester.
- Hall, F. D., B.A., Eardisley, near Hereford.
- Hall, Frederick, M.A., Chaplain of St. Peter's Sisterhood, Kilburn.
- Hall, George, M.A., Minor Canon of Ely, Vicar of Chettisham, Ely.
- Hall, Humphrey Farran, B.A., Chaplain of High Legh, Knutsford, Cheshire.

- Hall, James Melville, B.A., Curate of Kemerton, near Tewkesbury.
Hall, J. E., M.A., Cleveland Terrace, Hyde Park, London.
Hall, John, Incumbent of St. Philip, Battersea, Surrey.
Hall, Thomas Hepworth, M.A., Purstone Hall, Pontefract, Yorkshire.
Hall, Wm. David, M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford, Vicar of Lea, Gloucester.
Hall, Wm. J., M.A., Min. Can. of St. Paul's, Rector of St. Clement's, Eastcheap.
Hallam, John W., Rec. of Manton, and Chap. of the Gaol, Kirton-in-Lindsey, Linc.
Hallen, William, B.A., Vicar of Holywell, Northampton.
Halliwell, John Elton, B.A., Curate of Freeland, Oxon.
Hallward, John Leslie, M.A., Rector of Gilston, Herts.
Hallward, John William, M.A., Weymouth.
Hallward, Thos. Wm. Onslow, M.A., Rector of Frittenden, nr Staplehurst, Kent.
Hambrough, W. E., Vicar of Hayes, Middlesex.
Hamilton, Arthur Hayne, B.A., Rector of St. Mary Arches, Exeter.
Hamilton, Gavin C., Longbridge Deverill.
Hammond, Baldwin, M.A., Curate of Gaer Hill, Bath.
Hammond, Charles Edward, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford
Hammond, Frederick Anthony, B.A., Lauriston House, Dover.
Hammond, Joseph, LL.B., Vicar of St. Mary at Elms, Ipswich.
Hammond, Robert, M.A., Curate of St. Paul's, Brighton.
Hamond, Henry, B.A., Rector of Widford, near Ware, Hertfordshire.
Hamond, Peter Francis, M.A., Vicar of South Mimms, nr Barnet, Middlesex.
Hampshire, William Knowlton, M.A., Curate of St. John's, Torquay,
Hampton, John, M.A., Sub-Warden of St. Michael's, Tenbury, Worcester.
Hanbury, Hubert Henry, Curate of Titchhurst, Sussex.
Hanbury-Tracy, Hon. Alfred F. Algernon, B.A., Curate of Cowleigh, West Malvern.
Hancock, John, B.A., Vicar of Haslebury Plucknett, Somerset.
Hancock, Thomas, Curate of St. Stephen's, Lewisham, Kent.
Handley, Edward, M.A., Curate of Baltonsborough, Somerset.
Hannah, J. J., Curate of Paddington.
Hansard, Septimus, M.A., Rector of Bethnal Green, London.
Hanson, Hesketh, M.A., Curate of St. Botolph, Cambridge.
Harding, A. G. H., Curate of Lower Brixham.
Harding, George Shipton, M.A., Vicar of Cheswardine, Salop.
Harding, John T., M.A., Pentwyn, Monmouth.
Harding, John Wingfield, Rector of Chilton, Suffolk.
Hardy, Henry Haistwell, M.A., Rector of Horfield, Bristol.
Harington, Edward Templer, M.A., Vicar of Axmouth, Devon.
Harman, John, M.A., Vicar of St. James', Enfield Highway, Middlesex.
Harper, Edward James, B.A., Curate of Chieveley with Oare, near Newbury.
Harper, Robert, M.A., Head Master of the Grammar School, Dudley, Wore.
Harries, Gilbert Chas. Fdk., M.A., Rector of Gellygaer, near Newport, Monmouth.
Harris, Geo. Collyer, M.A., Preb. of Exeter, Vicar of St. Luke's, Torquay, Devon.
Harris, Henry, Assistant Master of St. Saviour's School, Shoreham, Sussex.
Harris, Henry Thomas, Llangunder Rectory, Crickhowell.
Harris, Philip S., M.A., Master of Lord Leycester's Hospital, Warwick.
Harris, Thomas, M.A., (late Dean of Honolulu.) Duplin, Perth.
Harris, William, M.A., 10, Walton Place, London, S.W.
Harris, William Henry, M.A., Curate of Elford, near Lichfield.
Harrison, Alban Henry, B.A., Curate of Bredhurst, Kent.
Harrison, Alfred, Curate of St. Julian's, Norwich.
Harrison, Christopher Robert, B.C.L., Vicar of North Curry, near Taunton.
Harrison, E. D., B.A., Curate of Clewer, Berkshire.
Harrison, Henry, M.A., Vicar of Kildown, Goudhurst, Kent.
Harrison, James, Curate of Bamburgh.
Harrison, Jasper Nicolls, M.A., Vicar of Langharne, Carmarthenshire.
Harrison, John Newman, M.A., Vicar of Reigate, Surrey.
Harrison, Joseph, B.A., Vicar of St. John's, Bethnal Green.

- Harrison, Joseph, Curate of Alverthorpe, near Wakefield.
 Harrison, William Anthony, M.A., Vicar of St. Anne's, South Lambeth, Surrey.
 Harrison, Wm. Esteourt, M.A., Vicar of Sturton, Nottinghamshire.
 Harrison, Wm. Henry, B.A., Curate of Newland, Great Malvern.
 Harston, Edward, M.A., Alta Vista, Paignton, Devon.
 Hart, Richard, B.A., Vicar of Catton, Norfolk.
 Hartley, Charles, M.A., Rector of Stocking Pelham, Herts.
 Harvey, Charles Gilbert, M.A., Vicar of Calverhall, Salop.
 Harvey, Charles Wigan, M.A., Curate of Standon, Herts.
 Harvey, E. George, B.A., Vicar of Mullion, near Helston, Cornwall.
 Harvey, Fred. Burn, M.A., Rector of Cheddington, Bucks.
 Harvey, George Tyson, M.A., Priest-Vicar of Lincoln Cathedral.
 Harvey, Herbert, M.A., Vicar of Betley, Staffordshire.
 Harvey, Richard, Vicar of Sarisbury, Hampshire.
 Harvey, William Hugh Peyton, Curate of Bathcaston, Bath.
 Harwood, Thomas Eustace, M.A., Curate of Old Windsor, Berks.
 Haslam, Charles Edward, B.A., Rector of Blore Ray, near Ashbourne.
 Haslewood, Ashby Blair, M.A., Rector of Mavesyn Ridware, near Rugeley.
 Haslewood, Dickens, M.A., Vicar of Kettlewell, near Skipton, Yorks.
 Hasluck, James George Edward, M.A., Rector of Little Sodbury, Gloucestershire.
 Hassells, Charles Stephen, M.A., Trinity College, Oxford.
 Hastie, Henry Hepburn, B.A., Vicar of Great Chishall, Essex.
 Hastings, Warren Burrows, M.A., Rector of Ludford, Market Rasen, Lincoln.
 Hathway, Wm. Joseph, B.A., Vicar of St. Botolph, Lincoln.
 Haughton, G. D., B.A., Bath.
 Hautenville, Rawdon William, M.A., Rector of Walton, Somersetshire.
 Haverfield, W. R., M.A., Bath.
 Havergal, Francis Tebbs, M.A., Minor Canon of Hereford Cathedral.
 Haviland, Arthur Coles, M.A., Rector of Lilley, Herts.
 Haviland, George Edward, M.A., Rector of Warbleton, Sussex.
 Haviland, John, M.A., Rector of Fladbury, Worcester.
 Hawes, James, M.A., late Theological Lecturer at St. Bees.
 Hawes, Langdon, M.A., Curate of Luddesdown, Kent.
 Hawkes, Richard Henry, M.A., Curate of St. James, Tonbridge Wells.
 Hawkins, Bradford Robt. John, B.A., Vicar of Eyton, Leominster, Herefordshire.
 Hawkins, C. H., M.A., Assistant-Master and Chaplain of Winchester College.
 Hawkins, Charles Frederick, M.A., Curate of East Brent, Somerset.
 Hawkins, Edward Wm., M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, and Rector of Ringshall, Suffolk.
 Hawkins, Henry, M.A., Chaplain of the County Lunatic Asylum, Colney Hatch.
 Hawkins, Henry Beauchamp, M.A., Vicar of Lytham, Lancashire.
 Hawkins, Herbert Samuel, M.A., Rector of Beyton, Suffolk.
 Hawkins, James Benjamin Head, M.A., Curate of Ilminster, Somerset.
 Hawkins, Joseph Beauchamp, D.D., British Chaplain at Baden-Baden.
 Hawksley, J. W. L. W. Downes, M.A., Vicar of Par, near St. Austell, Cornwall.
 Hawley, Edward, M.A., Vicar of Worksop, Notts.
 Haworth, William, M.A., Vicar Choral of York Minster.
 Hawtayne, W. G., Vicar of Whitton, Middlesex.
 Hawthorn, Roseoe, B.A., Curate of Clapton, Thrapstone, Northants.
 Haydon, William, M.A., Vicar of Midhurst, Sussex.
 Hayes, Edward, M.A., Perpetual Curate of St. Martin's, Marple, Cheshire.
 Hayes, H., Curate of Little Heath, Essex.
 Hayes, Thomas, M.A., Vicar of Braecwell, Yorkshire.
 Hayes, Thomas, jun., M.A., Curate of Scrayingham, York.
 Hayes, William, Vicar of Stockton Heath, near Warrington.
 Haynes, Edward Cragg, B.A., Empson Villa, Goole, Yorkshire.
 Haynes, Robert, M.A., Vicar of Stowey, Somerset.

- Hayter, Charles Fred., M.A., Vicar of Claybrooke, Lutterworth.
- Hayter, George Goodenough, M.A., Rector of Burnham Sutton w. Overy, Norfolk.
- Hayton, George, M.A., Rector of Niton, Isle of Wight.
- Hayward, Frederick Lawson, B.C.L., Rector of Tunstall, Suffolk.
- Hayward, Henry Rudge, M.A., Rector of Lydiard Millicent, Swindon, Wilts.
- Hazeldine, Frederick, M.A., Clifton, Bristol.
- Headeach, Albert Workman, M.A., Curate of Todmorden, Lancashire.
- Headlam, Arthur Wm., M.A., Incumbent of Whorlton, near Darlington, Durham.
- Heale, Edmund Markham, B.A., Rector of Yelling, Huntingdon.
- Heale, James Newton, M.A., Rector of Addington, near Maidstone.
- Heaps, George Walter, B.A., Leeds.
- Hearle, G. W., Curate of St. Matthew, Ardwick, Manchester.
- Hearn, Henry Thomas, B.A., Curate of Havant, Hants.
- Hearn, Michael Elijah, B.A., Rector of Martin, Lincolnshire.
- Hearn, Thos. John, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Roxwell, near Chelmsford, Essex.
- Heath, Charles, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Ward End, Birmingham.
- Heath, Edward, B.A., Curate of St. James, Wednesbury, Staffordshire.
- Heath, John Moore, M.A., late Vicar of Enfield.
- Heath, Joseph, M.A., Vicar of Wigtoft, Lincolnshire.
- Heathcote, Gilbert Vyvyan, Rector of West Deeping, Lincolnshire.
- Heather, William, LL.D., Vicar of Dilwyn, near Leominster.
- Heaton, Chas. Wilson, B.D., Fell. of Jesus Coll., Oxford, Rector of Aston Clinton.
- Heaton, Henry Howard, M.A., Curate of East Horndon, Essex.
- Hedgeland, Philip, M.A., Prebendary of Exeter and Vicar of Penzance.
- Heigham, Arthur Linzee Chatterton, B.A., Vicar of Newport Pagnell, Bucks.
- Helder, Fras. William, Curate of St. James', Enfield Highway, Middlesex.
- Hele, George Selby, M.A., Bishopsteignton, Devon.
- Helme, Robert, M.A., Vicar of Leverstock Green, Hemel Hempstead, Herts.
- Helps, William S., B.D., Curate of Christ Church, Clapham, Surrey.
- Hemming, Wm. Spence, M.A., Rector of Rayne, Essex.
- Hemsworth, Aug. Barker, B.A., Rector of Bacton, Suffolk.
- Henderson, Henry Glass, Incumbent of Holy Trinity, Shoreditch, London.
- Henderson, James Henry, M.A., Rector of St. Mary Stoke, Ipswich.
- Henderson, Thomas Julius, M.A., Vicar of South Bentlect, Essex.
- Henham, James Larkin, M.A., Exeter.
- Hemiker, Rowland, Vicar of Caudon and Waterfall, near Leek.
- Hensley, Lewis, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Hitchin, Herts.
- Henslow, Leonard Ramsey, M.A., Rector of Zeals Green, Bath.
- Hepher, John, Vicar of St. John the Baptist, New Town, Leeds.
- Hepple, Matthew, M.A., Curate of Warkworth, Alwick, Northumberland.
- Hepple, Richard Joseph, Curate of Hanbury, Worcestershire.
- Herbert, A., Chilton Rectory, Steventon.
- Herbert, E. Otway, St. John's, Crowborough, Sussex.
- Heron, George, M.A., Rural Dean, Moore, Warrington.
- Herbert, George William, M.A., Vicar of St. Peter's, Lambeth, Surrey.
- Hernaman, J. W. D., M.A., Inspector of Schools, Malvern Link.
- Herringham, Wm. Walton, M.A., Rector of Hawksworth, Notts.
- Hervey, George, M.A., Vicar of St. Augustine's, Haggerstone, London.
- Hervey, Thomas, M.A., Rector of Colmer, near Alton, Hants.
- Heslop, Edwd. Wm., M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Thornton Dale, near Pickering.
- Heslop, Gordon, M.A., Curate of Cossall, Notts.
- Heslop, John Wallis, Vicar of Weaverthorpe, Yorkshire.
- Hetling, Frederick Thomas, M.A., Rector of Testerton, Norfolk.
- Hetling, George Hillhouse, Assistant Curate of Holy Trinity, Winchester.
- Hewett, John, M.A., Vicar of Babbacombe, Torquay, Devon.
- Hewett, John Prowse, M.A., Rector of Norton Fitzwarren, Somerset.
- Hewitt, James John, B.A., Consular Chaplain, Madeira.
- Hewitt, Thomas Swinton, M.A., Vicar of Laysters, Herefordshire.

- Hext, John Hawkins, M.A. Vicar of Teignton Regis, Devon.
 Hey, Robert, B.A., Curate of Farnsfield, Notts.
 Heysham, John, M.A., Rector of Lazonby, Cumberland.
 Heygate, Thomas Edmund, M.A., Vicar of Sheen, Staffordshire.
 Heygate, William Edward, M.A., Rector of Brightstone, Isle of Wight.
 Heywood, Henry Robinson, M.A., Vicar of Swinton, near Manchester.
 Hichens, Baron, Ottershaw, Chertsey.
 Hichens, T. S., M.A., Vicar of Guilsborough, Northants.
 Hick, James Watson, B.D., Rector of Byer's Green, Bp. Auckland, Durham.
 Hickes, Heathfield Weston, M.A., Rector of Cranford, near Hounslow.
 Hickey, John George, B.D., Rector of Street, Somerset.
 Hicks, James, B.A., Vicar of Piddletrenthide, Dorset.
 Hignett, Harry Alfred, M.A., Incumbent of Ringway, Cheshire.
 Hill, Edward, M.A., Rector of Little Langford, Wilts.
 Hill, Edward, M.A., Rector of Sheering, Essex, and Rural Dean.
 Hill, Edward James, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Panfield, Essex.
 Hill, Edward, M.A., Rector of Great and Little Woolston, Bucks.
 Hill, F. C. E., Curate of St. John's, Walworth.
 Hill, George, M.A., Vicar of St. Winnow, Lostwithiel.
 Hill, George Frederick, Vicar of Repps, Norfolk.
 Hill, Henry Thomas, M.A., Rural Dean, Prebendary of Hereford, Rector of Felton, and Vicar of Preston Wynne, Herefordshire.
 Hill, Herbert, M.A., Head Master of the Free Grammar School, Warwick.
 Hill, John Edward, M.A., Vicar of Welshpool, Montgomery.
 Hill, John Richard, M.A., Oxford.
 Hill, John Stanley, M.A., Curate of Whittington, Chesterfield.
 Hill, Reginald Pyndar, M.A., Rector of Bromsberrow, near Ledbury, Hereford.
 Hill, Richard, M.A., Rector of Timsbury, Somersetshire.
 Hill, Richard Humphrey, D.C.L., Precentor and Hon. Canon of Bangor, and Head Master of Magdalen College School, Oxford.
 Hill, Walter Blackford, Curate of West Harnham, Wilts.
 Hilliard, John Ashby Stafford, B.A., Rector of Little Wittenham, Berks.
 Hilliard, Joseph Stephen, M.A., Vicar of Christ Church, Ealing, Middlesex.
 Hills, Wm. Jefferys, M.A., Vicar of Cookham Dean, Maidenhead, Berkshire.
 Hilton, Alfred G., M.A., Vicar of Westbury, Buckingham.
 Hilton, Francis Kercheval, M.A., Fellow of St. Nicolas College, Lancing, Sussex.
 Hilton, Louis Kercheval, B.A., Curate of St. John's, Newbury, Berkshire.
 Hinchcliffe, William, Leeds.
 Hind, Joseph Smithard, D.C.L., Incumbent of Cramlington, Northumberland.
 Hinde, C. L. M., B.A., Curate of St. Barnabas, Bristol.
 Hinde, Wm. Henry Fitz-Simon, M.A., Vicar of Flamstead, near Dunstable.
 Hinder, Wm. Henry, Curate of St. Gregory the Great, Canterbury.
 Hindson, John Hutchinson, B.A., Curate of Thornhill, near Dewsbury, Yorkshire.
 Hingeston-Randolph, F. Chas., M.A., Rector of Ringmore, Devon.
 Hinxman, Charles, Rector of Barford St. Martin, Wilts.
 Hirst, T., M.A., Minor Canon and Rector of St. Martin with St. Paul, Canterbury.
 Hitchcock, Harry W., St. Stephen's, Tunbridge Wells.
 Hitchcock, Wm. Henry, M.A., Curate of Dartington, Totnes, Devon.
 Hoare, Ernest V., M.A., Vicar of Falfield, Berkeley, Gloucestershire.
 Hoare, John Wm. Deane, B.A., Curate of St. Alban's, Roehdale, Lancashire.
 Hoare, Richard Whitehead, 15, Milford Place, Vassal Road, North Brixton, S.W.
 Hobson, W. F., M.A., Chaplain of Alms Houses, Faversham.
 Hobson, Wm. Leonard, Stainton Vicarage, Stockton.
 Hockin, Frederick, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Phillack and Gwithian, Cornwall.
 Hockin, H., Curate of St. Paul's, Bedford.
 Hodges, G. B., 91, Great Russell Street, W.C.
 Hodges, George Samuel, B.A., Vicar of Wingates, Bolton, Lancashire.

- Hodges, James, M.A., Vicar of Shippon, Abingdon, Berks.
 Hodges, John Julius, M.A., Rector of Onibury, near Ludlow.
 Hodges, Wm., Vicar of Elsecar, near Barnsley, Yorkshire.
 Hodgkin, Joseph, Incumbent of Treales, Kirkham, Lancashire.
 Hodgkinson, G. Langton, M.A., Vicar of Holy Trinity, Gainsboro', Lincolnshire.
 Hodgkinson, Robert John, M.A., Assistant Master of Uppingham School.
 Hodgson, Beilby Porteus, B.A., Vicar of Hartburn, Northumberland.
 Hodgson, Henry William, M.A., Rector of Ashwell, Herts.
 Hodgson, James, M.A., Vicar of Bloxham, Oxon.
 Hodgson, James Fras., Vicar of Hutton Longvilliers, Staindrop.
 Hodgson, John Dryden, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Great Bedwyn, Wilts.
 Hodgson, J. E., M.A., Scawby Vicarage, Brigg, Lincolnshire.
 Hodgson, Robert, B.A., Curate of Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire.
 Hodgson, W. C., M.A., Rector of Swepston with Snareson, nr Ashby-de-la-Zouch.
 Hodgson, Wm., M.A., Vicar of Swindon, near Wolverhampton.
 Hodson, Charles Edward, B.A., Curate of St. James, Devonport.
 Hodson, George Hewitt, M.A., Vicar of Enfield, Middlesex.
 Hodson, G. Heber Frodsham Elton, B.A., Per. Cur. of Michael Church, Somerset.
 Hodson, Henry Edward, B.A., Curate of Denstone, Staffordshire.
 Hodson, J. S., D.D., Head Master of St. Andrew's Coll., Bradfield, Reading, Berks.
 Hogarth, George, M.A., Vicar of Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire.
 Hogg, George Robert, B.A., Curate of Hungerford, Berks.
 Holbrooke, Fred. George, M.A., Vicar of Portslade, Rector of Hangleton, Sussex.
 Holbrow, Thomas, B.A., Incumbent of Coleford, Gloucestershire.
 Holden, Harrington, Wm., Curate of Grasby, near Brigg.
 Holden, Henry, D.D., Hon. Can. of Durham, Head Master of the Cathedral School.
 Holden, Jas. Shuttleworth, M.A., Rector of Ashton-upon-Trent, Derbyshire.
 Holden, Oswald M., M.A., Curate of St. Mary's, Kingswinford, near Dudley.
 Holden, Philip Melanthon, Rector of Upminster, Essex.
 Holdich, Chas. Walter, B.A., Curate of Cottesbach, Leicestershire.
 Holding, John, Curate of Trinity Church, Warrington, Lancashire.
 Hole, Chas. Henry, M.A., Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford.
 Hole, Henry Tubal, M.A., Curate of St. John's, Weston, Bath.
 Hole, Samuel Reynolds, M.A., Vicar of Caunton, Notts.
 Hole, William Brasseay, M.A., Vicar of St. Luke's, Maidenhead, Berks, Rural Dean.
 Holland, C. D., Vicar of Mundham, Sussex.
 Holland, William, B.A., Rector of Huntingfield, Suffolk.
 Hollingworth, Henry, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.
 Holloway, Edward John, M.A., Curate of Clehonger, near Hereford.
 Holme, Thos. Redmayne, M.A., Vicar of St. James', Whitehaven, Cumberland.
 Holmes, Chas. Richard, M.A., Vicar of All Souls, Haley Hill, Halifax, Yorkshire.
 Holmes, Edward Molloy, LL.B., Rector of Marsh Gibbon, near Bicester.
 Holmes, George Gorham, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and
 Vicar of Holme-on-Spalding Moor, Yorkshire.
 Holmes, Henry Comber, B.A., Curate of East Retford, Notts.
 Holmes, John Garraway, M.A., Curate of Wandsworth, Surrey.
 Holmes, James Roberts, M.A., Little Statenboro', Sandwich, Kent.
 Holmes, William, Curate of Bishop's Sutton, Somerset.
 Holt, Edward Kaye, M.A., Rector of Sancton, Yorkshire.
 Holt, Robert, M.A., Vicar of Hillesden, near Buckingham.
 Holthouse, Chas. Scrafton, M.A., Vicar of Helidon and Catesby, near Daventry.
 Hombersley, William, M.A., Vicar of Normacot, near Longton, Staffordshire.
 Home, John, B.C.L., Rector of Bradley, Redditch, Worcestershire.
 Homfray, Watkin, M.A., Rector of West Retford, Notts.
 Honey, Chas. Robertson, M.A., Curate of St. Lawrence, Reading, Berkshire.
 Hook, Cecil, B.A., Curate of All Saints', Chichester.
 Hook, W. F., D.D., Dean of Chichester, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen.

- Hook, Walter, M.A., Rector of Woollavington with Graffham, near Petworth.
- Hooke, Samuel, Curate of Wimbotsham, Norfolk.
- Hookins, Philip, B.A., Vicar of Great Barford, Oxford.
- Hoole, Wm. Spooner, M.A., Vicar of Briercliffe, Burnley, Lancashire.
- Hooper, Jeffery, Rector of Llanwern, and Curate of Nash, Monmouthshire.
- Hooper, Richard, M.A., Vicar of Upton and Aston Upthorpe, Berks.
- Hope, C. Alexander, B.A., Curate of Drayton with Hellesden, near Norwich.
- Hope, John, M.A., Caldicot, Chepstow.
- Hope, Wm. M.A., Vicar of St. Peter's, Derby, Chaplain to Earl Ferrers.
- Hope, Sackett, M.A., Chaplain of Queen's College, Curate of St. Cross, Oxford.
- Hopgood, Joseph Bartholomew Davey, Curate of Lannarth, Redruth, Cornwall.
- Hopkins, Frederick, Holdenhurst, Hants.
- Horan, J., Curate of Hayward's Heath, Sussex.
- Hordern, Joseph Calverley, B.N., Vicar of Kirby Grindalyth and of Sledmere, York.
- Hore, Alexander Hugh, M.A., Chaplain to the Forces.
- Horman, Duhanel, B.A., Curate of St. Paul's, Southampton.
- Hornby, Edward James Geoffrey, M.A., Hon. Canon of Manchester, Rector of Bury, Lancashire, and Rural Dean.
- Hornby, Robert, M.A., Vicar of Bayston-Hill, Shrewsbury.
- Hornby, Robert Wm. Bilton, D.D., Clifton Garth, York.
- Horne, F. E., B.D., Rector of Drinkstone, Suffolk.
- Horner, Francis D'Alby, M.A., Curate of Masham with Kirkby Malzeard, Yorks.
- Horner, Godfrey John, M.A., Curate of Rilstone, Yorkshire.
- Horner, John Stuart Hippsley, M.A., Preb. of Wells, Rector of Mells, Somerset.
- Hornibrook, Samuel, B.A., Curate of Holy Trinity, Maidstone, Kent.
- Horsburg, William, B.A., Incumbent of St. Elwyn, Hayle, Cornwall.
- Horsfall Thomas Middlebrook, M.A., Curate of St. Martin's, Liverpool.
- Horsley, John William, Curate of Witney, Oxon.
- Hort, Fenton John A., M.A., Vicar of Great Wymondley with St. Ippolyts, Herts.
- Horton, George William, Vicar of Wellow, Somerset.
- Horwood, Edward Russell, M.A., Vicar of All Saints, Maldon, Essex.
- Hose, Henry Judge, M.A., Curate of St. Peter's, Derby.
- Hose, John Christian, B.A., Curate of St. Saviour's, South Hampstead, Middlesex.
- Hose, Thomas Charles, M.A., Rector of Roydon, near Diss, Norfolk.
- Hoskins, Edgar, M.A. Curate of All Saints, St. Marylebone, London.
- Hosmer, A. H., M.A., Pau.
- Hoste, James Richard Philip, B.A., Vicar of Dorking, Surrey.
- Hotchkiss, Robert Charles Herbert, M.A., Rector of Thimbleby, Horncastle.
- Hotham, Henry John, M.A., Senior Fellow and Senior Dean, Trin. Coll. Camb.
- Hotham, William Francis, M.A., Rector of Buckland, Surrey.
- Houblon, Thomas Archer, M.A., Rector of Peasemore, Berks.
- Houghton, Edward Thomas, B.A., Curate of Holy Trinity, Malvern, Worcester.
- Honseman, John, M.A., Curate of Holywell, Northants.
- Honsman, Joseph Brettell, M.A., Curate of Wethersfield, Essex.
- How, William Walsham, M.A., Hon. Canon of St. Asaph, Rural Dean, Rector of Whittington, Salop.
- Howard, Henry Howard Nimmo, M.A., Curate of Kettering, Northants.
- Howard, Francis George, M.A., Curate of Grantchester, Cambridge.
- Howard, John, Curate of Blofield, Norfolk.
- Howard, Richard Henry, M.A., Soughton, Flintshire.
- Howard, Robt., M.A., Provost of St. Peter's College, Incum. of Rawdon, near Leeds.
- Howard, Wm. Wathen, M.A., Curate of Basingstoke, Hants.
- Howe, John, M.A., Vicar of Knowle, near Birmingham.
- Howell, George, Rural Dean, Rector of Llangattock, Crickhowel.
- Howell, Hinds, M.A., Hon. Canon of Norwich, Rural Dean, Rector of Drayton with Hellesdon, Norfolk.
- Howell, William, Vicar of Lower Chapel, Brecon.

- Howes, George Plumtre, M.A., Curate of Chelmsford, Essex.
 Howlett, Robert, B.A., Vicar of Hopton by Lowestoft, Suffolk.
 Howman, George Ernest, M.A., Hon. Canon of Bristol, Rector of Barnesley, Gloucestershire, and Master of St. Nicholas' Hospital, Sarum.
 Hoyland, John, M.A., Vicar of Felkirk, Yorkshire.
 Hoysted, Charles Wm., M.A., Curate of Dursley, Gloucestershire.
 Hoysted, J. D., B.A., Rector of Bradenstoke, near Chippenham.
 Hubbard, Thomas, M.A., Vicar of St. John's, Newbury, Berks.
 Hudleston, J. H., M.A., The Mount, Shrewsbury.
 Hudson, Albert, M.A., Vicar of Holy Trinity, Bingley, near Leeds.
 Huff, Edmund, B.A., Rector of Little Cawthorpe, near Louth, Lincolnshire.
 Hughes, Ammesley Paul, M.A., Rector of Bucknall, Horncastle, Lincolnshire.
 Hughes, Augustus, M.A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford, Curate of Winterslow.
 Hughes, David, B.A., Curate of Llangelynin, Merionethshire.
 Hughes, David, B.A., Curate of Great Sandall, Yorkshire.
 Hughes, Henry Erskine Mackenzie, M.A., Curate of Worksop, Notts.
 Hughes, Henry Philip Wm., LL.D., Vicar of Llanstadwel, Pembrokeshire.
 Hughes, John, B.A., Curate of Dolgelly, Merionethshire.
 Hughes, John, Vicar of Pontlottyn, Glamorganshire.
 Hughes, John, Vicar of Tydweiliog, Carnarvonshire.
 Hughes, John Edward, B.A., Curate of Weston, near Runcorn, Cheshire.
 Hughes, Nathaniel Thomas, M.A., Vicar of St. Edmund's, Northampton.
 Hughes, Richard James, B.A., Grammar School, Newark-on-Trent.
 Hughes, Robert Vaughan, M.A., The Wyelands, near Chepstow.
 Hughes, Thomas Jones, M.A., Rector of Llanbedr Dyffryn, Clwyd, Denbigh.
 Hughes, Thomas Morris, Curate of Clifton Campville, Staffordshire.
 Hughes, T. H. Cecil, B.A., Vicar of Powick, Worcester.
 Hughes, William, M.A., Rector of Llanllynvi, Carnarvonshire.
 Hugo, Thomas, M.A., Rector of West Hackney, Middlesex.
 Hulbert, Wm. Alfred, Curate of Hackney, Middlesex.
 Hull, John Winstanley, B.A., Vicar of North Muskham, Notts.
 Hull, Richard, B.A., Rector of Upper Stondon, Bedfordshire.
 Hull, Robert Bevan, B.A., Curate of Middlestown, Wakefield.
 Hull, William Ballyman, M.A., Curate of St. Peter's Mountergate, Norwich.
 Hulme, William, M.A., Rector of Brampton Abbots, Herefordshire.
 Humble, Henry, M.A., Canon of St. Ninian's, Domestic Chaplain to Lord Forbes.
 Humble, Michael Maughan, B.A., Rector of Sutton, Derbyshire.
 Humphrey, Wm. Topley, Vicar of East Stockwith, Gainsborough, Linc.
 Hunt, Henry Warwick, M.A., Rector of Steppingley, Beds.
 Hunt, James, B.A., Vicar of Northmoor Green, Somerset.
 Hunt, John William, Incumbent of St. James's, Kingston-upon-Hull.
 Hunt, Richard Wm. Treen, B.A., Rector of Byton, near Presteign, Herefordshire.
 Hunt, Robert Shapland, M.A., Incumbent of Mark Beech, Edenbridge, Kent.
 Hunt, Thos. Henry, M.A., Vicar of Badsey and of Wickhamford, near Evesham.
 Hunt, Wm. Thorley Gignac, M.A., Vicar of Prestwood, Great Missenden, Bucks.
 Hunter, Alexander, M.A., Vicar of Tanworth, Warwickshire.
 Hunter, Andrew Johnston, B.A., Curate of Christ Church, Luton, Beds.
 Hunter, J. W., Dundee.
 Hunter, Joseph, M.A., Curate of St. Andrew's, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
 Huntingford, George William, M.A., Vicar of Littlemore, Oxon.
 Huntington, George, M.A., Rector of Tenby, South Wales.
 Huntley, Osmond Currey, M.A., Scarborough Terrace, Torquay.
 Hurdon, John Nott Dyer, B.A., Curate of Salcombe, Devon.
 Hurle, Robert Gladowe, B.A., Curate of Liddiard Tregoz, near Swindon, Wilts.
 Husband, Edward, Curate of Folkestone, Kent.
 Hussey, Arthur Law, M.A., Peterley House, Great Missenden, Bucks.
 Hussey, H. Walford, B.A., Curate of Salchurst, Sussex.

- Hussey, William Law, M.A., Hon. Canon of Manchester, and Rector of Ringstead, Norfolk.
- Hussey, Eyre W., M.A., Vicar of Lyneham, near Chippenham, Wiltshire.
- Hutchings, Robert Sparke, Rural Dean, Vicar of Alderbury, near Salisbury.
- Hutchings, Wm. Hy., M.A., Sub-Warden of House of Mercy, Clewer, Windsor.
- Hutchins, Wm. H., B.A., Rector of Saltfleetby All Saints', Louth, Lincolnshire.
- Hutchins, W., M.A., Abbey House, Essex.
- Hutchinson, Benjamin, Vicar of St. Michael's, St. Albans, Herts.
- Hutchinson, Charles Henry, M.A., Vicar of Westdean, Chichester.
- Hutchinson, Charles Pierrepont, M.A., Vicar of Forton, Gosport, Hants.
- Hutchinson, Francis Edmund, B.A., Vicar of Tisbury, Wilts.
- Hutchinson, Henry John, Vicar of Brompton with Snainton, near Scarborough.
- Hutchinson, Thomas, M.A., Vicar of Ditchling, Sussex.
- Hutchinson, Thomas, M.A., Vicar of Kimbolton w. Middleton, Herefordshire.
- Hutchinson, William, M.A., Vicar, and Master of the Grammar School, Howden.
- Hutchinson, William Hilton, Rector of Welney, Norfolk.
- Hutton, F. P. B. N., M.A., Vicar of St. James, West Bromwich.
- Hutton, Henry Wollaston, M.A., Priest Vicar of Lincoln Cathedral.
- Hutton, Robert Rossiter, M.A., Rector of Chipping Barnet, Hertfordshire.
- Hutton, Vernon Wollaston, B.A., Vicar of Snenton, near Nottingham.
- Hutton, William, M.A., Vicar of Beetham, near Milnthorpe.
- Hutton, Wyndham Madden, Vicar of Lezayre, Isle of Man.
- Hyde, Charles Frederick, M.A., Vicar of Dilton Marsh, Westbury, Wilts.
- Hyde, William Henry, Curate of West Haekney, Middlesex.
- Hyne, Charles Wright Noble, M.A., Vicar of Bierley, near Bradford.
- Ibbotson, Edmund, Curate of Dorchester, Oxon.
- Iles, J. H., M.A., Preb. of Lichfield, R. Dean, Rect. of St. Peter's, Wolverhampton.
- Illingworth, Edward A., Chaplain to the Middlesex House of Correction.
- Image, W. T., M.A., Vicar of Wickham Market, Suffolk.
- Inge, Francis George, M.A., Curate of Aberford, Yorkshire.
- Inge, John Edward Alexander, B.A., Rector of Athelington, Suffolk.
- Inge, John Robert, M.A., Vicar of Seamer, Yorkshire.
- Inge, William, M.A., Curate of Crayke, Durham.
- Ingle, John, M.A., Rector of St. Olave's, Exeter.
- Ingles, David, B.A., Frogmore End, Boxmoor.
- Ingram, Arthur John, B.A., Curate of St. Mary-le-Strand, Westminster.
- Ingram, Henry Manning, M.A., Under Master of Westminster School.
- Ingram, Hugh, M.A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford.
- Ingram, Rowland, M.A., Rector of Great and Little Ellingham, Norfolk.
- Ingram, William Clavell, M.A., Vicar of Kirk Michael, Isle of Man, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Sodor and Man.
- Inman, Edward, M.A., Curate of Wilton, Wilts.
- Irby, George Powell, M.A., Incumbent of St. James', Clapton, Middlesex.
- Ireland, William Stanley De Courcy, M.A., Vicar of Chalford, Gloucestershire.
- Iremonger, Frederick Assheton, M.A., Vicar of Bullington with Tufton, Hants.
- Iremonger, Thos. L., B.A., Vicar of Wherwell, and of Goodworth-Clatford, Hants.
- Irons, Wm. Josiah, D.D., Preb. of St. Paul's, Rural Dean, Rector of Wadingham.
- Irvine, James, M.A., Vicar of Leigh, Southport, Lancashire.
- Irvine, Matthew H., Westbourne, Emsworth, Hants.
- Irwin, John, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary's, Berwick-on-Tweed.
- Isaac, Edward Whitmore, M.A., Curate of Buckley, Hawarden, Flintshire.
- Isaacson, James, M.A., Vicar of Kirk Fenton, near Tadcaster, Yorkshire.
- Isham, Robert, Rector of Lamport, Northants.
- Ive, Simon, M.A., Curate of St. Saviour's, Aberdeen Park, London.
- Ivens, William Edmunds, B.A., Curate of Hursley, Hants.
- Ives, Robert J., Curate of Clewer, near Windsor.
- Izard, Percy Phillipson, B.A., Vicar of Emery Down, Hants.

- Izod, Thomas, Master of the Grammar School, Honiton, Devon.
 Jackson, Arthur Gregory, Curate of St. Peter's, Wolverhampton.
 Jackson, Charles Bird, M.A., Vicar of Northwood, Stoke-upon-Trent.
 Jackson, Edmund Frederick, Wells, Norfolk.
 Jackson, E. D., All Saints, Marple, Cheshire.
 Jackson, Francis George, M.A., Chaplain to the Dowager Countess of Ellesmere.
 Jackson, Frederick, M.A., Rector of West Lynn, Norfolk.
 Jackson, George, B.A., Curate of Middleton, Manchester.
 Jackson, George, M.A., Chaplain of Haslar Hospital, Hants.
 Jackson, George E., Longden, Staffordshire.
 Jackson, H., B.A., Ruan Rectory, Helston.
 Jackson, Henry Marshall, M.A., Chaplain of H.M.S. "Hector," Southampton.
 Jackson, John, M.A., Curate of King's Sutton, Northants.
 Jackson, John Charles, M.A., Head Master of the Church of England School, Hackney, Middlesex.
 Jackson, Joseph, B.A., Curate of Berwick St. John, Wiltshire.
 Jackson, Joseph Marshall, Rector of Bow Brickhill, Bucks.
 Jackson, William, M.A., Curate of Cauldon and Waterfall, Stafford.
 Jackson, William Henry, M.A., Vicar of Chesterton, Staffordshire.
 Jacob, Edgar, B.A., Curate of Witney, Oxon.
 Jacob, James John, M.A., Vicar of Horningsham, Wilts.
 Jacques, Kinton, M.A., Vicar of Westhoughton, near Bolton-le-Moors.
 Jaeson, William Shallcross, Warden of Trinity Hospital, Clun, Salop.
 Jamblin, Robert, Precinct, Rochester.
 James, Edward, M.A., Rector of Peakirk, Northants.
 James, Edward Rhys, B.D., Vicar of Llangollen, Denbighshire.
 James, James Caddy, M.A., Rector of Sedgeberrow, Worcester.
 James, Moorhouse, M.A., Vicar of Bedford, near Manchester.
 James, Octavius, M.A., Rector of Kirkhaugh, Northumberland.
 James, Richard Lee, LL.B., Vicar of Watford and Incumbent of Oxhey, Herts.
 Janvrin, Francis William, M.A., Vicar of Great Toller, Dorset.
 Jarvis, Charles Edwin, B.A., Rector of Hatton, Lincolnshire.
 Jayne, Francis John, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford.
 Jebb, John, D.D., Canon of Hereford, Rector of Peterstow, near Ross, Hereford.
 Jeffcoatt, T., M.A., Barston.
 Jeffcock, John Thomas, M.A., Vicar of Wolstanton, Staffs.
 Jefferies, Edward, B.A., Rector of Grasmere, Westmoreland.
 Jefferson, F. R., Curate of Brighthelmston, Leicestershire.
 Jefferson, Joseph, B.A., Vicar of North Stainley, Ripon, Yorkshire.
 Jeffreys, Henry Anthony, M.A., Vicar of Hawkhurst, Kent, and Student of Christ Church, Oxford.
 Jelf, George Edward, M.A., Vicar of Blackmoor, Alton, Hants.
 Jenkin, E. Alfred, M.A., Rector of Tregynon, Newton.
 Jenkin, John Fothergill, M.A., Curate of Rochdale, Lancashire.
 Jenkins, John David, B.D., Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, Vic. of Aberdare, Glam.
 Jenkins, John Rees, M.A., Vicar of Llanvrechva, Monmouthshire.
 Jenkins, William James, M.A., Rector of Fillingham, Lincolnshire.
 Jenkyns, Richard, B.A., Curate of Washington, Durham.
 Jenner, Edmund, Rector of Catton, York.
 Jennings, Henry, M.A., Vicar of Walton and Incumbent of Beswick, Yorksire.
 Jerdein, Charles, M.A., Rector of Gayhurst with Stoke Goldington, Bucks.
 Jermyn, E., B.A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford.
 Jermyn, Hugh Willoughby, M.A., (late Archdeacon), Vicar of Barking Essex.
 Jerrard, Fred. Wm. Hill, M.A., Rector of Long Stratton, Norfolk.
 Jervis, W. H. E. R., Vicar of Compton Abdale, Gloucestershire.
 Jesson, Henry, Curate of Great Wyrley, near Walsall.
 Jewdine, William, Vicar of Chicheley, Newport Pagnel, Bucks.

- Joberns, Charles Henry, M.A., Curate of St. Luke's, Leek, Staffordshire.
- Johns, Bennet Geo., M.A., Chap. of School for the Indigent Blind, Southwark, Surr.
- Johnson, Ambrose James, B.A., Curate of East Raynham, Brandon.
- Johnson, Fred. Pigot, M.A., Vicar of Floore, near Weedon, Northants.
- Johnson, Henry Frank, LL.B., Vicar of St. James's, High Wych, Sawbridgeworth.
- Johnson, John Edward, M.A., Vicar of St. Jude, Sheffield.
- Johnson, John L., Long Stratton.
- Johnson, Peveril, B.A., Curate of Leasingham, Lincolnshire.
- Johnson, Robert, M.A., Vicar of Chislet, near Canterbury.
- Johnson, Robert William, M.A., Vicar of Packwood, Henley in Arden.
- Johnson, Steming, B.A., Rural Dean, Minor Canon of Chichester, and Vicar of Rumbold's Wyke, near Chichester.
- Johnson, Samuel Jenkins, B.A., Rector of Upton Helions, Devon.
- Johnston, William Boys, M.A., Vicar of Hoo, Kent.
- Johnstone, Charles Henry, B.A., Vicar of Coalpit Heath, Bristol.
- Johnstone, Jas. Alexr. Maxwell, M.A., Curate of All Saints, Stand, nr. Manchester.
- Jollye, Albert Palmer, Curate of Brockdish, near Harleston.
- Jones, Alexander George, B.A., Vicar of Morton Jeffries, near Hereford.
- Jones, Ambrose, M.A., Vicar of Stannington, near Morpeth, Northumberland.
- Jones, Ansell, Curate of Northallerton.
- Jones, C. A., B.A., Curate of Stoke with Walsgrave, near Coventry.
- Jones, David, Curate of Gelli, Llandigai, Bangor.
- Jones, Denis Edward, M.A., Rector of St. John's, Stamford, Lincolnshire.
- Jones, Edward Enoch, B.A., Curate of Shipston-on-Stour, Worcestershire.
- Jones, Edward Thomas, Curate of Llannor, Carnarvon.
- Jones, George, Vicar of Chapel Hill, and Chaplain of the Union, Chepstow.
- Jones, George A., LL.D., Vicar of Mossley, Lancashire.
- Jones, G. Arthur, Llanegryn, Merioneth.
- Jones, George Woven, M.D., Vicar of Long Grove, Herefordshire.
- Jones, Henry, Curate of Great Ilford, Essex.
- Jones, Henry, M.A., Rector of Llanychan, near Ruthin, Denbighshire.
- Jones, Henry, M.A., Vicar of Osmotherley, Yorkshire.
- Jones, Henry, M.A., Chaplain of Tremadoc, Carnarvonshire.
- Jones, Henry David, M.A., Incumbent of St. Mary's, Aberdeen.
- Jones, H. W., St. Margaret's, Aberdeen.
- Jones, James Davenport, B.A., Curate of St. Philip's, Hulme, Manchester.
- Jones, John, M.A., Vicar of Reepham, Lincolnshire, and Rural Dean.
- Jones, John, Rector of Llangwm, Denbighshire.
- Jones, John Balmer, M.A., Vicar of St. Ives, Cornwall.
- Jones, John Richards, Rector of St. Bride's, Netherwent, Monmouthshire.
- Jones, J. S., Curate of Malden and Chessington, Surrey.
- Jones, John Cartwright, M.A., Rector of Shelton, Notts.
- Jones, Lewis Usk, Rector of Llangasty-Tallylyn, Brecon.
- Jones, Philip Sydney Pryce, Curate of Rampisham with Wraxall, nr. Dorchester.
- Jones, Richard, Rector of Llanypother, Merionethshire.
- Jones, Richard, M.A., Vicar of Llanvihangel Traethan, Merionethshire.
- Jones, Robert, Curate of Denbigh, St. Asaph.
- Jones, Theophilus, M.A., Vicar of Brixton, Devon.
- Jones, Thomas Henry, M.A., Wyggeston's Hospital, Leicester.
- Jones, Thomas, Curate of Tremeirchion, Flintshire.
- Jones, Thomas Henry, M.A., Wyggestons' Hospital, Leicester.
- Jones, Timothy, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of St. Margaret's, Leicester.
- Jones, Walter, Curate of Great Glemham, Suffolk.
- Jones, Wm. Hy., M.A., F.S.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts.
- Jones, Wm. West, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Vic. of Summertown, Oxford.
- Joplin, Fredk., M.A., Rector of Boulge with Dehach, Suffolk.
- Jordan, Joseph, B.A., Vicar of Gailey cum Hatherton, Staffordshire.

- Jourdain, Francis, M.A., Incumbent of Derwent, Derbyshire.
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 Joyce, Fras. Hayward, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Harrow-on-the-Hill, Middlesex.
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 Jukes, William Malou, Incumbent of Ennerdale, St. Bees, Cumberland.
 Jupp, Charles, Curate of St. Nicholas, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
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 Keble, Thomas, jun., M.A., Curate of Bussage, Gloucestershire.
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 Keeling, William Graham, M.A., Curate of Edmonton, Middlesex.
 Keene, Benjamin Ruck, B.A., Vicar of Newent, Gloucestershire.
 Kelly, Maitland, Tavistock, Devon.
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 Kemp, Henry, M.A., Rector of Kyre Wyard, Worcestershire.
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 Kempe, George Henry, M.A., Rector of Bicton, Exeter, and Domestic Chaplain to Lady Rolle.
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 Kempe, James Cory, B.A., Preb. of Exeter, Rector of Huish and Merton, Devonshire.
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 Kendall, Jno. Hutton Fisher, Perp. Cur. of St. Matthew's, Holbeck, Leeds, Yorks.
 Kendall, Walter William, M.A., Vicar of Birch, Middleton, Manchester.
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 Kent, Frederic, M.A., British Chaplain at Pau.
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 Kerry, William, M.A., Vicar of St. Jude's, Bristol.
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 Kershaw, Henry, Vicar of Greenhow, Yorkshire.
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- Kingsford, Frederick Wm., M.A., Vicar of St. Thomas', Stamford Hill, Middlesex.
- Kingsford, Hamilton, M.A., Vicar of Stoulton, near Worcester.
- Kingsmill, Henry, M.A., Rector of Buxted, Sussex.
- Kirby, Henry William, M.A., Vicar of Nunkeeling, near Bewholme, Hull.
- Kirby, Henry W., Curate of Lustleigh, Devon.
- Kirby, Richd. Heighway, M.A., Perp. Cur. of Haverthwaite, Ulverstone, Lanc.
- Kirby, Reginald Rivers, M.A., Vicar of Hadlow Down, near Uckfield, Sussex.
- Kirk, Charles, M.A., Aden, Bombay.
- Kirk, Thomas, M.A., Master of the Grammar School, Wrexham.
- Kirkpatrick, Richard Carr, M.A., Incumbent of St. Augustine's, Kilburn, Middlesex.
- Kirwood, Robert, Rector of Chester-le-Street, Durham.
- Kissack, Edward William, B.A., Incumbent of St. Jude's, Ramsey, Isle of Man.
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- Kitecat, John, M.A., Vicar of Swallowfield, Berkshire.
- Kitchin, Francis, B.A., 16, Victoria Street, Aberdeen.
- Kitchingman, John, Vicar of St. Mary's, Wolverhampton, Staffordshire.
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- Kitson, John Francis, M.A., Vicar of Antony, Cornwall.
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- Knight, Thomas Henry, M.A., Broadhays House, Honiton.
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- Knowles, John Lambert, M.A., Minister of St. Peter's, Bushey Heath, Herts.
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- Lacon, Frederick, B.A., Rector of Headless Cross, Warwickshire.
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- Laing, J. Fenwick, Curate of Walsall, Staffordshire.
- Laing, William, M.A., Rector of St. Martin's, Colchester, Essex.
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- Lamb, Edwd., M.A., Chap. to the Duke of Portland, and Curate of Worksop, Notts.
- Lamb, John, M.A., Senior Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge.

- Lamb, Matthias Mawson, M.A., Rec. of Widford, Glouc., with Swinbrook, Oxford.
 Lamb, Thomas Davis, S.C.L., late Rector of West Hackney.
 Lambert, Greville H., B.A., Clunfield, near Faringdon.
 Lambert, William Henry, M.A., Rector of Stoke Edith, Herefordshire.
 Lamotte, F. Lagier, M.A., 21, Denmark Terrace, Brighton.
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 Lampet, W. E. L., Vicar of Great Bardfield, Essex.
 Lance, William Henry, Curate of Thurlbear, with Stoke St. Mary, Somerset.
 Landon, E. H., M.A., Madeira.
 Lane, Albert Grant, LL.D., Lower Easton, Bristol.
 Lane, Charlton George, B.A., Rector of Little Gaddesden, Herts.
 Lane, Ernald, M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, and Rector of Leigh, Staffs.
 Lane, Francis, M.A., Rector of Whissonsett, Norfolk, Chap. to the Duke of Leeds.
 Lane, G. P., M.A., Curate of Great Gransden, Hunts.
 Lane, John Reynolds, M.A., Vicar of Roxby with Risby, Lincolnshire.
 Langdale, Geo. Aug. M.A., Vicar of Compton with Up Marden, near Petersfield.
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 Langford, Edwd. Hy., B.A., Rec. of Marksbury, and Vic. of Brislington, Somerset.
 Langford, Edward John, B.A., Curate of St. John's, Eastover, Bridgwater, Somerset.
 Langhorne, William Henry, M.A., Curate of St. Gabriel's, Pimlico, London.
 Langley, Thomas, B.A., Rector of Ganarew, near Ross, Herefordshire.
 Langley, William, M.A., Curate of Wymondham, near Oakham.
 Langshaw, Thomas, Curate of Hodnet, Salop.
 Langstaff, George William, M.A., Rector of Dalham, near Newmarket.
 Lanphier, W. H., Vicar of Long Compton, Warwickshire.
 Lascelles, Rowley, B.A., Vicar of St. Thomas, Elson, Alverstoke, Hants.
 Latham, John Larking, M.A., Vicar of Lydden, Kent.
 Laugharne, Thomas Robert John, M.A., Curate of Laugharne, Carmarthenshire.
 Laughlin, E. J., M.A., Curate of Willingham, Cambridgeshire.
 Laurence, George, M.A., Curate of Cromer.
 Laurie, Jas. Wm. Borthwick, B.A., Curate of St. Peter's, Swinton, near Manchester.
 Law, Arthur, B.A., Curate of Christian Malford, Chippenham.
 Law, Arthur James, B.A., Curate of Eltham, Kent.
 Law, Frederick Henry, M.A., Rector of Croft, near Darlington.
 Lawford, Chas., M.A., Vicar of Winterborne Stoke & Berwick St. James', Wilts.
 Lawrance, Walter John, M.A., Rector of St. Alban's, Herts.
 Lawrence, A. C., Rector of Whittington, near Cheltenham.
 Lawrence, John Algernon, LL.B., Curate of Crewkerne, Somersetshire.
 Lawrence, Philip Newman, M.A., Curate of St. Philip's, Hulme, Manchester.
 Lawrence, Richard Gwynne, B.A., Vicar of Tong, Shifnal, Salop.
 Lawson, Frederick Pike, M.A., Northampton.
 Lawson, John Aneram, B.A., S.C.L., Curate of Tenby, Pembrokeshire.
 Lawson, Robert, M.A., Rector of Upton-on-Severn, Worcester.
 Lawson, Robert, B.A., Curate of Walton-in-Gordano.
 Lawson, William De Lancey, M.A., Hon. Lecturer of Training College, Fishponds.
 Lawson, William Lipsett, M.A., Vicar of Lynton, Devonshire.
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 Leach, John, M.A., Curate of St. Mark's, Lakenham, Norwich.
 Lear, Francis, M.A., Precentor and Can. of Salisbury, Rector of Bishopston, Wilts,
 and Dom. Chaplain to the Bishop of Salisbury.
 Leaver, Henry Cozens, M.A., Rector of Pen Selwood, Somerset.
 Leaver, Tay, M.A., Curate of Epping, Essex.
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 Ledward, William Jellicorse, Curate of St. James', Barrow, Lancashire.
 Lee, Edward Henry, B.A., Rector of Boughton Bleau, Kent.
 Lee, Frederick George, D.C.L., Vicar of All Saints, Lambeth, Surrey.

- Lee, Philip Henry, M.A., Rector of Farnham, Dorsetshire.
 Lee, J. B., Senior Assistant Master, Bedford School.
 Lee, Stanlake, B.A., Rector of Broughton with Bossington, Hants.
 Lee, Thomas Jones, M.A., Vicar of Christ Church, Luton, Beds.
 Leefe, John Ewbank, M.A., Incumbent of Cresswell, near Morpeth, Northumb.
 Lees, Thomas, M.A., Incumbent of Wreay, Carlisle.
 Le Feuvre, Philip Alfred, M.A., Jersey.
 Lefroy, Anthony Cottrell, M.A., Vicar of Longdon, near Tewkesbury.
 Le Geyt, Charles James, M.A., Vicar of St. Matthias', Stoke Newington, Middx.
 Legg, William, M.A., Curate of Saltwood, Hythe, Kent.
 Legge, Alfred Arthur Kaye, M.A., Vicar of St. Andrew's, Wigan, Lancashire.
 Legge, Augustus George, B.A., Vicar of North Ehnham, Norfolk.
 Legge, Hon. Augustus, M.A., Vicar of St. Bartholomew's, Sydenham, Kent.
 Legh, John Robert, M.A., Vicar of Astley, Shrewsbury.
 Leighton, John, M.A., Assistant Master of the Military and Civil Department of Cheltenham College.
 Leighton, W. Allport, B.A., Shrewsbury.
 Lemon, Thomas William, B.A., Curate of Stoke Damerel, Devon.
 Le Mottée, William, M.A., Vicar of Helion Bumpstead, Essex.
 Lempriere, Daniel Matthew, M.A., Chap. of the Hospital and Prison, Jersey.
 Lempriere, W., Chaplain of Rozel Chapel, Jersey.
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 Lenny, Henry Stokes Noel, M.A., Curate of Crowthorne, near Wokingham, Berks.
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 Leonard, W. S., B.A., Curate of Marshwood, Bridport.
 Lepard, Samuel Campbell, B.A., Curate of St. Martin's, Canterbury.
 Lesh, Edward, M.A., Incumbent of Selside, near Kendal, Westmoreland.
 Leslie, R. Joshua, Curate of Tathwell, Lincolnshire.
 Lester, Lester, s.c.l., Presbyter of Wimborne Minster, Dorset.
 Lethbridge, A., Nettlebed, Henley-on-Thames.
 Lethbridge, Elford Copland, M.A., Vicar of West Thurroek, Romford, Essex.
 Leverett, John, M.A., Curate of Balsall Heath, near Birmingham.
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 Lewis, Daniel, Vicar of Llangorse, Breck.
 Lewis, David, M.A., Rector of Trefnant, Denbigh.
 Lewis, Evan, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Dolgelly, Merionethshire.
 Lewis, J. Clarke, M.A., Rector of Alverdiscott, Devonshire.
 Lewis, Lewis, M.A., Rector of Denbigh.
 Lewis, R., M.A.,
 Lewis, W. A. H., M.A., Vicar of Upper Gornal, Staffordshire.
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 Lewty, Thomas Cooper, M.A., Vicar of Roulston, Lincolnshire.
 Ley, Augustin, M.A., Sellaek, Herefordshire.
 Ley, Richard, M.A., Stewarton Lodge, Bournemouth.
 Lias, John James, M.A., Minor Canon of Llandaff Cathedral.
 Liberty, Nathaniel, Curate of Holy Trinity, Brompton.
 Liddell, Hon. Robert, M.A., Vicar of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, London.
 Liddon, Henry Parry, D.D., D.C.L., Canon of St. Paul's, London, Ireland Professor of Exegesis, Oxford.
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 Lightfoot, Nicholas Francis, M.A., Rector of Islip, Northants.
 Lilly, Peter, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary's, Collaton, Paignton, Devon.
 Lindsay, Henry, M.A., Rector of Kettering, Northants.
 Lindsay, James, M.A., General Preacher in the Diocese of Gloucester and Bristol.
 Lindsay, William John Coussmaker, B.A., Rector of Llanvaches, near Newport, Monmouth, and Chaplain to the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.

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 Linklater, Robert, M.A., Beckenham.
 Linskill, John Anthony Pearson, B.A., Rector of Beaudesert, Warwickshire.
 Lintott, Joseph Cooper, Curate of St. Mark's, Kennington, Surrey.
 Lipscomb, Edwin Francis, Curate of Holy Trinity, Coventry.
 Lipscomb, Frederick, M.A., Vicar of Frogmore, St. Alban's, Herts.
 Lipscombe, Charles H., Rector of Temple Ewell, Kent.
 Lister, John Moore, M.A., Curate of St. Martin's, Scarborough, Yorkshire.
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 Little, Charles Hardy, B.A., Curate of Clewer, near Windsor.
 Little, Geo. Savile Lumley, B.A. Rec., of Kenley, & Incum. of Buildwas, Shropshire.
 Little, Thomas, B.A., Rector of Princes Risborough, Bucks.
 Little, Thomas Palling, M.A., Vicar of Pamtley and of Oxenhall, Gloucester.
 Little, Wm. Jno. Knox, M.A., Curate of Turmeston, Bucks.
 Littledale, Chas. Edwd., M.A., Vicar of St. Giles in the Wood, Torrington, Devon.
 Littledale, Richard Frederick, LL.D., 111, Ladbroke Grove, London. W.
 Livingston, Thomas Gott, M.A., Minor Canon of Carlisle Cathedral.
 Livius, William Grinfield, M.A., Curate of Ilfracombe, Devon.
 Lloyd, A. T., B.A., Curate of Cholsey, near Wallingford.
 Lloyd, D. Lewis, B.A., Curate of Dolgelly, Merionethshire.
 Lloyd, Francis Ll., B.D., Vicar of Aldworth, Berks.
 Lloyd, G., Vicar of Gresley, Staffordshire.
 Lloyd, Henry Robert, M.A., Rector of Cliffe-at-Hoo, near Rochester, Kent.
 Lloyd, Iorwerth Grey, B.A., Curate of Cliffe-at-Hoo, Kent.
 Lloyd, Morris, Vicar of Llanelyd, Dolgelly, Merionethshire.
 Lloyd, Thos. Bucknall, M.A., Preb. of Lichfield, and Vic. of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury.
 Lock, Campbell, M.A., Curate of Whitwell, Isle of Wight.
 Locke, Edward, Curate of Methwold, Norfolk.
 Lodge, A., B.A., Rector of Holy Trinity, Wavertree, near Liverpool.
 Lodge, Samuel, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Serivelsby, Lincolnshire.
 Lomax, Charles Henry, Curate of St. Cross, Clayton, Manchester.
 Lomas, Holland, B.A., Incumbent of Walton Breck, near Liverpool.
 Long, Charles Edward, M.A., 8, Mall, Clifton.
 Long, Charles Hamilton Kellett, B.A., Curate of Eccleshall, Staffordshire.
 Longden, William George, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge.
 Longsdon, Henry John, M.A., Vicar of Seacroft, near Leeds.
 Longfield, Charles, Curate of Hanley Castle, Upton-on-Severn, Worcester.
 Lonsdale, Jolm Gylby, M.A., Canon of the Cathedral and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Lichfield, Vicar of St. Mary's, Lichfield.
 Lord, F. B., Rector of Farmborough, near Bath.
 Lorimer, J.H., M.A., Vice-Principal of Collegiate School, Crosland Moor, Huddersfield.
 Loring, Arthur, M.A., Curate of Honiton, Devon.
 Lory, H. C., Retired Chaplain Royal Navy, Curate of St. David's, Exeter.
 Lott, William Buckland, M.A., Rural Dean, and Rector of Barton Mills, Suffolk.
 Low, Jno. Low, M.A., Cur. of Forest with Harwood, Middleton-in-Teesdale, Durham.
 Lowder, Chas. Fuge, M.A., Vicar of St. Peter's, St. George's in the East, London.
 Lowder, William Henry, M.A., Vicar of Alvanley, Cheshire.
 Lowe, Edward Clarke, D.D., Head Master of St. John's College, Hurstpierpoint, and Fellow and Vice Provost of St. Nicolas College, Lancing, Sussex.
 Lowe, Charles Benjamin, M.A., Rector of Tydd St. Mary, Lincoln.
 Lowe, Edward Henry, B.A., Curate of Long Melford, Suffolk.
 Lowe, George, B.A., Vicar of Upper Ottery, Devonshire.
 Lowe, John M., Vicar of Abbot's Bromley, Staffordshire.
 Lowe, Julius Conran, M.A., Minor Canon and Sacrist of Durham Cathedral.
 Lowe, Richard Lomas, M.A., Vicar of Bradley, Staffordshire.
 Lowe, Thomas, B.A., Incumbent of All Saints, Bolton, Lancaster.

- Lowe, Thomas, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Willingdon, Sussex.
- Löwenberg, W. J., B.A., Curate of Holy Trinity, Bingley, Leeds.
- Lowndes, Edward Spencer, M.A., Curate of Ludlow, Salop.
- Loyd, Lewis Haigh, M.A., Rector of Abington, Northampton.
- Luard, Henry Richards, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Registrar of the University, and Vicar of St. Mary the Great, Cambridge.
- Lucas, Charles, B.A., Rector of Filby, Norfolk.
- Lucas, C. H., Rector of Edith Weston, Rutland.
- Lucas, W. O., B.A., Assistant Master in Uppingham School.
- Lucas, William Henry, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Sopley, Hants.
- Lucey, Ebenezer Curling, M.A., Vicar of St. Margaret's-at-Cliffe, Dover, Kent.
- Luckman, William J. Grant, M.A., Chaplain of St. John's Hospital, Bath.
- Luckock, Herbert Mortimer, M.A., late Fellow of Jesus College, and Vicar of All Saints', Cambridge, and Chaplain to Lord Carington.
- Luckock, Reginald Mortimer, M.A., Curate of St. John's, Hammersmith, Middx.
- Lucy, John, M.A., Rector of Hampton Lucy, and Vicar of Charlcoote, Warwickshire.
- Luffman, Thomas, B.A., Curate of Stoke Prior, near Bromsgrove, Worcester.
- Luke, William Henry Colbeck, M.A., Rector of Elmswell, Suffolk.
- Lukis, William Collings, M.A., Rector of Wath, near Ripon, Yorks.
- Lumb, Henry, M.A., Rector of Kirkbride, near Wigton, Cumberland.
- Lumley, William Faithful, Curate of St. Edmund, Northampton.
- Lunn, John Robert, B.D., Vicar of Marton with Grafton, Ouseburn, Yorks.
- Luscombe, Alex. Popham, B.A., Vicar of Harburtonford, near Totnes, Devon.
- Luscombe, F. P. Epworth, B.A., Vicar of Arminghall, Norfolk.
- Luscombe, Richard James, M.A., Vicar of Moorlinch, Somersetshire.
- Lutt, Edward Kefford, M.A., Vicar of Hamston, Lincoln.
- Luxmoore, Charles Coryndon, M.A., Vicar of Fawley, Berkshire.
- Lyall, F. J., M.A., Minister of St. Luke's, Derby.
- Lyall, William Hearle, M.A., Rector of St. Dionis Backchurch, London.
- Lynde, Timothy Gascoigne, Curate of Christ Church, Westminster, London.
- Lytelton, Hon. Albert Victor, M.A., Curate of Hillingdon, Middlesex.
- Maberly, Thomas Astley, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Cuckfield, Sussex.
- Macartney, Sidney Parkyns, M.A., Curate of Thorverton, Devon.
- Macauley, John Heyrick, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Highbridge, Somerset.
- Macauley, Sam. Heyrick, B.D., Rector of Hodnet, Shropshire.
- MacColl, Malcolm, M.A. F.R.S.L., Chap. to Lord Napier, Rector of St. George's, Botolph Lane.
- MacColl, Malcolm, M.A., Curate of St. Giles', Camberwell.
- Macdonald, A. J. N., Edinburgh.
- Macdougall, James, M.A., Vicar of Hanney, Wantage, Berks.
- Macfarlane, William Alexander Comyn, M.A., S.C.L., Curate of St. Giles', Oxford.
- Macfarlane, William Charles, M.A., Vicar of Dorchester, Oxon.
- Machen, J. E. Jones, Llanthwy Rectory, Caerleon, Monmouthshire.
- Mackarness, George Richard, M.A., Rural Dean, Chaplain to the Bishop of Oxford, Vicar of Ilam, Staffordshire, Fellow of St. Nicolas College, Lancing, Sussex.
- Mackenzie, Geo. Wm. Russell, Vicar of Coton in the Elms, nr. Burton-on Trent.
- Mackrell, Robert, B.A., Curate of Tormarton, Gloucestershire.
- MacLagan, Wm. Dalrymple, M.A., Rural Dean, and Rector of Newington, Surrey.
- McCallan, John Ferguson, M.A., Incumbent of New Basford, Notts.
- McCarogher, John Ommaney, M.A., Prebendary of Chichester, Rector of Nuthurst, Sussex, and Chaplain to the Duke of Richmond.
- McCheane, James Henry, M.A., Incumbent of Holy Trinity, Leeds.
- McCririck, T. W. M.A., Curate of Haigh, Lancashire.
- McDougall, Francis Thomas, D.C.L., (late Bishop of Labuan,) Archdeacon of Huntingdon, and Vicar of Godmanchester, Hunts.
- McDowall, Robert Scott, M.A., Curate of Powerstock, Bridport, Dorset.
- McDowell, John Ramsay, M.A., Head Master of the Grammar School, Bath.

- Macfarlane, James Duncan, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Staveley, Derbyshire.
 Macfarlane, E. M., Curate of Staveley.
 McGachen, Nicholas H., B.A., Rector of St. George the Martyr, Canterbury.
 McGill, John, Vicar of Stoke Ferry, Norfolk.
 McKean, Wm. S., Curate of Bentham St. Margaret's,⁷ near Lancaster.
 McKenzie, Douglas, M.A., Curate of St. Mary's, Wolverton, Bucks.
 Maclean, Hippisley, M.A., Prebendary of Lincoln, Rural Dean, Vicar of Caistor.
 Macnamara, Henry, B.A., 10, Tay-square, Dundee.
 Macnamara, Thomas Binstead, M.A., Cowes, Isle of Wight.
 McNair, Henry Bingham, B.A., Curate of Hampton Lucy.
 Maconechy, James, M.A., Vicar of All Saints, Paddington.
 Macphail, Edmd. Whittingstal St. Maur, M.A., Rector of Plumpton, nr. Towcester.
 Macy, V. H., Rector of Oxhill, Warwickshire.
 Madan, James Russel, M.A., Warminster.
 Madan, Nigel, M.A., Vicar of Polesworth, Warwickshire.
 Maddison, Arthur Roland, M.A., Curate of Friskney, Lincolnshire.
 Mahon, Geo. A., M.A., Vic. of Vobster and of Leigh-upon-Mendip, Somerset.
 Main, Thos. John, M.A., Professor in the Royal Naval College, Portsmouth.
 Maine, Lewin George, M.A., Vicar of St. Lawrence, Reading, Berks.
 Maitland, Herbert Thomas, B.A., Curate of Rotherhithe, Surrey.
 Majendie, Arthur, Rector of Elvetham, Hants.
 Majendie, Severne A. A., M.A., Domestic Chaplain to the Duke of Buccleuch.
 Major, Seymour Edward, Incumbent of Etall, Northumberland.
 Malcolm, H., B.A., St. Mary's, Dumblane.
 Malden, A. W. Peasemore, Newbury, Berks.
 Malden, Bingham Sibthorpe, B.A., Vicar of Sheldwick, Kent.
 Male, Arthur Somery, M.A., Rector of More, Salop.
 Male, Christopher Parr, M.A., Vicar of Cotes Heath, Stone, Stafford.
 Male, Edward, M.A., Oxford.
 Malet, Wm. Wyndham, Vicar of Ardeley, near Buntingford, Hertfordshire,
 Malim, Alfred, M.A., Curate of Dummer, Basingstoke, Hants.
 Malim, Arthur Wareup, Peasemore, Newbury, Berks.
 Malleson, Edward, M.A., Vicar of Baldersby, Yorkshire.
 Maltby, Brough, M.A., Vicar of Farndon, Notts., and Rural Dean.
 Manclark, Richd. Palgrave, M.A., Incumb. of St. James', Barrow in Furness, Lanc.
 Mandale, Blain, M.A., Vicar of Bishop's Itchington, near Leamington.
 Mangin, Samuel Wareing, B.A., Vicar of St. Columba's, Haggerston, London.
 Manley, John Jackson, M.A., Datchet, near Windsor.
 Mann, Charles Noel, B.A., Vicar of St. Issey, near Wadebridge, Cornwall.
 Mann, W. M., B.A., Curate of Bobbington, Staffordshire.
 Manners, Otho Augustus, B.A., Rector of Hawby, and Incumbent of Old Byland.
 Manning, Douglas G., Priest-Vicar of Wells Cathedral.
 Manning, F. J., D.D., Head Master of Trinity Church School, Springfield.
 Manning, George William, Rector of Little Petherick, Cornwall.
 Mansell, Henry, Curate of Porthleven, Cornwall.
 Mansell, Wm. Surman, Curate of Nether and Over Seale, nr. Ashby-de-la-Zouch.
 Mansfield, Edward, B.A., Incumbent of Highnam, Gloucester.
 Marah, Wm. Hennessey, Vic. of Little Compton, Moreton-in-the-Marsh.
 Marcus, Lewis, M.A., Vicar of St. Paul's, Bunhill-row, London.
 Mare, Wm. Salmon, M.A., Vicar of Bramham, near Tadcaster, Yorkshire.
 Margetts, B. H., Curate of Pickhill, Yorkshire.
 Marrett, Edward Lawrence, M.A., Vic. of Lesbury with Almonth, Northumb.
 Marriner, George, Bloxham Grove, Oxon.
 Marriner, Francis, Curate of Clapham, Lancaster.
 Marriott, Charles, B.A., Curate of St. Jude, Moorfields, Sheffield.
 Marriott, Fitzherbert Adams, M.A., Vicar of Chaddesley Corbet, Worcestershire.

- Marriott, Harvey, M.A., Assistant Master of the Grammar School, Leeds.
 Marriott, Henry Spelman, M.A., Rector of Wilby, Suffolk.
 Marriott, John, M.A., Vicar of Hythe, near Southampton.
 Marriott, Walter Henry, B.A., Curate of Fishponds, near Bristol.
 Marsden, Jonathan Wm., Curate of Clutton, Somerset.
 Marsden, Wm. Green, B.A., Curate of St. John's, Hammersmith, Middlesex.
 Marsh, Richd. Wm. Bishop, M.A., Vicar of Plaistow, Essex.
 Marsh, Theodore Henry, M.A., Rector of Cawston, Norwich.
 Marshall, George, M.A., Rural Dean, and Vicar of Pirton, Oxon.
 Marshall, Henry James, M.A., Vicar of Bettws, Montgomery.
 Marshall, James, B.A., Curate of St. Paul's, Alwiek, Northumberland.
 Marshall, J. H., M.A., Curate of Rotherfield, Sussex.
 Marshall, Peter, B.A., Rector of St. John Baptist, Hulme, Manchester.
 Marshall, Robert Manning, M.A., Rector of Hedenham, Norfolk.
 Marshall, Thomas Outram, B.A., Curate of Frome Selwood, Somerset.
 Marsham, Hon. John, M.A., Rector of Barton Seagrave, Northants.
 Marsland, George, M.A., Rector of Beckingham, Lincolnshire.
 Marston, Edward, M.A., Rector of Holy Trinity, Chester.
 Martin, Charles, M.A., Warden of St. Peter's College, Radley, near Abingdon.
 Martin, George, D.D., Vicar of St. Breward, Cornwall.
 Martin, Glanville, B.A., Vicar of Halwell, Devon.
 Martin, Hezekiah, B.A., Vicar of Thatcham, Berkshire.
 Martin, John, M.A., Vicar of St. Andrew the Great, Cambridge.
 Martin, Richard, Rector of Challacombe, Devon.
 Martin, Walter Willasey, M.A., Cheltenham.
 Martin, Wm., B.A., Incumbent of St. Mark's and Curate of St. John's, Coventry.
 Martin, William Eyecott, M.A., Vicar of West Farleigh, near Maidstone.
 Martyn, John, B.A., Curate of Wetwang with Finber, Yorkshire.
 Martyn, Wm. Waddon, B.A., Rector of Lifton, Devon.
 Marvin, Wm. Harry, M.A., Rector of Higham Gobion, and Vic. of Hexton, Beds.
 Marwood, Geo. Willis, M.A., Curate of Lamarsh, Essex.
 Maskew, Edward James, B.A., Curate of Morpeth, Northumberland.
 Maskew, H. E., M.A., Chaplain to the Forces, Newbridge.
 Mason, Erasmus Valentine, M.A., Vicar of Dorney, nr. Windsor, Berkshire.
 Mason, Ibbott Alfred, B.A., Curate of St. Mary's, Plaistow, Kent.
 Mason, Jackson, Vicar of Piekhill, Yorkshire.
 Mason, James, Leicester.
 Mason, John, B.A., Vicar of Fir Tree, Darlington, Durham.
 Mason, Joseph, M.A., Incumbent of East Tytherley, Hants.
 Mason, Peter Hamnett, M.A., Fellow of St. John's, College, Cambridge.
 Mason, Ulric Collins, B.A., Curate of Staveley, near Wakefield.
 Mason, William, late Vicar of Normanton.
 Mason, William, M.A., Curate of Bigbury, Ivybridge, Devon.
 Massey, John Cooke, M.A., Curate of South Normanton, nr. Alfreton, Derbyshire.
 Massey, Thomas Hackett, Rector of Faringdon, Hants.
 Massingberd, Francis Charles, M.A., Chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral, Rector of South Ormsby, Lincolnshire.
 Master, George Streynsham, M.A., Rector of West Dean, Wilts.
 Masters, Allan Smith, Camer, near Gravesend.
 Masters, William Caldwell, B.A., Curate of Long Marston, Herts.
 Mathews, William Arnold, M.A., Vicar of Laughton, Lincolnshire.
 Matson, R., Curate of Falmouth.
 Matthews, John, Vicar of Knowstone w. Molland, Devon.
 Matthews, Richard Brown, M.A., Vicar of Shalford, Surrey.
 Maturin, Charles Gabriel Trewman, B.A., Curate of Richmond, Surrey.
 Maude, Francis Henry, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Ipswich.
 Maughan, James Slade, Curate of Allington, Wilts.

- Maughan, John Archibald Collingwood, M.A., Vicar of Mickley, Northumberland.
 Maughan, William Morland, Curate of Holt and Little Witley, Worcestershire.
 Maule, William, M.A., Rector of Eynesbury, Hunts.
 Maunsell, George Edmund, M.A., Rector of Thorpe Malsor, Northamptonshire.
 Maurice, Frederick Denison, M.A., Professor of Moral Philosophy, and Incumbent of St. Edward's, Cambridge.
 Maxwell, Henry G., Wyddiall, Buntingford, Herts.
 May, Edward John, D.D., St. Andrew's, Hastings.
 May, James, M.A., Worthing Sussex, late Vicar of Timsbury.
 May, John, Woodside, Earley, Reading; late Vicar of Ugborough.
 Mayer, J. H., Vicar of Wold Newton, Yorkshire.
 Mayhew, C., Winchfield.
 Mayne, F. O., Vicar of Strood, near Rochester.
 Mayne, Jonathan, B.A., Vicar of St. Catherine's, Gloucester.
 Mayo, Charles Herbert, B.A., Curate of Folke and North Wootton, Dorset.
 Mayo, Edward, Curate of Tresco, Scilly Isles.
 Mayo, Herbert Harman, B.A., Curate of Tresco and Bryher, Scilly Isles.
 Mayo, Theodore, M.A., Riverdale, Dorking.
 Mayo, William, M.A., Rector of Folke, and Vicar of North Wootton, Dorset.
 Mayor, Charles, M.A., Curate of Wavendon, Bucks.
 Meade, Charles John, B.A., Curate of St. George's, Camberwell, Surrey.
 Meade, Hon. Sidney, Rector of Wylve, Wiltshire.
 Meara, Henry George Jephson, B.A., Curate of Buckingham.
 Medd, Arthur Octavius, B.A., Vicar of Amble with Hauxley, Aekington, Nthmbd.
 Medd, George Tate, Curate of Harrietsham, near Maidstone.
 Medd, Peter Goldsmith, M.A., Fellow of University Coll. Oxford, Rector of Barnes.
 Medland, William, M.A., Curate of St. John's, Newbury, Berks.
 Medley, George Rowland, B.A., Rector of St. Nicholas, Colchester.
 Medwin, Thos. Rea, M.A., Head Master of Grammar School, Stratford-on-Avon.
 Meeres, Horace, M.A., Vicar of Bradwell with Kelmescott, Oxon.
 Mellish, William John, M.A., Vicar of Orston with Thoroton, Notts.
 Mellor, Thomas Vernon, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Idridgehay, Wirksworth.
 Mellor, W. J., B.A., Rector of Colwick, Nottingham.
 Melville, William James, B.A., Rector of Ashton in Makerfield, Lancashire.
 Melville, William Rylance, M.A., Rector of Matlock, Derbyshire.
 Menteach, Fras. Hastings Stuart, B.A., Vicar of Thorp Arch, near Tadcaster, Yorks.
 Mercer, John Fras., B.A., Curate of Rockingham, Northampton.
 Mercer, Thomas Warren, M.A., Vicar of North Allerton, Yorkshire.
 Mercier, Jerome John, Curate of Hanwell, Middlesex.
 Meredith, John, Curate of Llanfairfechan.
 Meredith, John, Curate of Marston St. Lawrence, with Warkworth, Northants.
 Mereweather, John Davies, B.A., British Chaplain at Venice.
 Merriman, Henry Gordon, D.D., Head Master of the Grammar School, Guildford.
 Merriman, Joseph, M.A., Head Master of the Surrey County School, Cranleigh.
 Merriman, William Henry Robert, M.A., Curate of Shapwick, Bath.
 Mertens, Fred. Mountenay Dirs, M.A., Fellow of St. Nicolas College, Lancing, and Head Master of Ardingley College, Sussex.
 Messenger, John Farnham, M.A., Curate of Pitton and Farley, Wilts.
 Metcalfe, John, M.A., Vicar of Holy Trinity in Micklegate, York.
 Metcalfe, Wallace, M.A., Vicar of St. Andrew's, Ilkeshall, Bungay, Suffolk.
 Meugens, Allan George Munro, B.A., Curate of Dudley, Worcestershire.
 Meynell, Henry, M.A., Vicar of Denstone, Staffordshire.
 Michell, William, M.A., Vicar of Chantry, Frome, Somerset.
 Michell, William Philip, B.A., Cur. of Carhampton cum Rode Huish, Somerset.
 Micklethwaite, A. J., St. Michael's, Shoreditch, London.
 Middlemist, Robert, M.A., Mathematical Master at Harrow School.
 Milburn, William, Vicar of Redcar, Yorkshire.

- Mildmay, C. Arundell St. John, M.A., Rector of Long Marston, York. Rural Dean.
- Mildmay, Carew A. St. John, M.A., Archdeacon of Essex, Rector of Chelmsford.
- Miles, Henry Hugh, M.A., Rector of Clifton, Beds.
- Miles, Lomas, M.A., Rector of Coreley, Salop.
- Miles, Robert, B.A., Preb. of Lincoln, Rector of Bingham, Notts.
- Millard, Fredk. Maule, M.A., Rector of Otham, Kent.
- Millard, James Elwin, D.D., Vicar of Basingstoke, Hants.
- Miller, C., M.A., Curate of Harlow, Essex.
- Miller, Edw., M.A., Vicar of Butlers Marston, Warwickshire.
- Miller, Francis Wykeham, M.A., Clifton.
- Miller, George, M.A., Vicar of Radway, Warwickshire.
- Miller, Henry W., B.A., Curate of Chilton Foliat, Wilts.
- Miller, William Coase, Curate of St. Luke's, Kentish Town, London.
- Miller, William Sanderson, M.A., Radway Grange, Warwickshire.
- Millner, Thos. Damton, LL.D., Vicar of Armin, Howden, Yorkshire.
- Mills, Alfred Wilson, M.A., Vicar of St. Erth, Cornwall.
- Mills, Cecil, M.A., Rector of Barford, near Warwick.
- Mills, Robert Twyford, M.A., Rector of Halse, Bishop's Lydeard, Taunton.
- Milman, William Henry, M.A., Minor Canon of St. Paul's, Rector of St. Augustine and St. Faith, and Librarian of Sion College, London.
- Milne, Henry, M.A., Rector of Letchworth, Herts.
- Milner, Walter Hebdon, New Whittington, Chesterfield.
- Milner, William, M.A., Rector of St. Gabriel's, Hulme, Manchester.
- Milward, Henry, B.A., Preb. of Wells, Rural Dean, and Vicar of Paulton.
- Minchin, Harry Holdsworth, M.A., Vicar of Woodford-Halse, near Daventry.
- Mitchell, Henry, M.A., Vicar of Bosham, Sussex.
- Mitchell, J. W., Vicar of Leadgate, Durham.
- Mitchell, John Francis, B.A., St. Marychurch, Devon.
- Mitchinson, John, D.C.L., Head Master of the King's School, Canterbury, and Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford.
- Moberly, Henry Edward, M.A., Assistant Master of Winchester College.
- Moberly, Robert Campbell, B.A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford.
- Moilliet, J. L., M.A., Rector of Abberley, Worcestershire.
- Molesworth, William Nassau, M.A., Vicar of St. Clement's, Rochdale.
- Molinux, A. E., Hagley, Stourbridge.
- Molony, Chas. Walker, Curate of Seaton with Beer, Devon.
- Molyneux, George Christian, Curate of Harlaston, Staffordshire.
- Molyneux, John Charles, LL.B., Curate of Litcham, Norfolk.
- Molyneux, John William Henry, M.A., Vicar of St. Gregory with St. Peter, Sudbury.
- Moncrief, A., B.A., Curate of Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks.
- Moncreiff, Rt. Chichester, B.A., Curate of Cubley, and Marston Montgomery, Derbysh.
- Monk, Herbert, Curate of St. Peter's, Newton-in-Makerfield, Lancashire.
- Monkhouse, A. W., M.A., Curate of Lamport, near Northampton.
- Monro, Hugh, B.A., 11, Chester Place, Regent's Park, London.
- Monro, Robert, B.A., Winterbourne, Bristol.
- Monsell, John Samuel Bewley, LL.D., Rural Dean, Rector of St. Nicholas, Guildford.
- Monson, Thomas John, M.A., Rector of Kirby-under-dale, Yorks.
- Montefiore, Thomas Law, M.A., Rector of Catherston Lewiston, Dorset.
- Montgomery, William Hugh, B.A., Curate of Hodnet, Salop.
- Montrion, Edwin Carvick, M.A., Reading.
- Moon, Edward Graham, M.A., Rector of Fetcham, Leatherhead, Surrey.
- Moor, Frederick, B.A., Curate of Chipping Sodbury, Gloucestershire.
- Moor, John Frewen, M.A., Sion Place, Bath.
- Moor, John Frewen, jun. M.A., Vicar of Ampfield, near Romsey, Hants.
- Moore, Albert, M.A., Curate of Westbury, Wilts.
- Moore, Alfred Edgar, B.A., Vicar of Horkstow, Barton-on-Humber, Lincoln.
- Moore, Corbet Metcalfe, B.A., Vicar of All Saints, Cheltenham.

- Moore, Edward, B.D., Principal of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, and Rector of Gatecombe, Isle of Wight.
- Moore, Edward, M.A., Rural Dean, Hon. Canon of Canterbury Cathedral.
- Moore, Edward, M.A., Prebendary of Lincoln, Vicar of Spalding, Lincolnshire.
- Moore, Edward Marsham, M.A., Curate of Ashburne, Derbyshire.
- Moore, George, M.A., Curate of Ripley, Derbyshire.
- Moore, Henry Dodwell, M.A., Vicar of Honington, near Grantham.
- Moore, James Henry, M.A., Vicar of Cloford, near Frome, Somerset.
- Moore, John Leach Mitchell, B.A., Curate of Garboldisham, Norfolk.
- Moore, John, M.A., Rector of Kilverstone, near Thetford, Norfolk.
- Moore, John Walter, M.A., Rector of Hordley, near Ellesmere, Shropshire.
- Moore, Peter Halhead, M.A., Incumbent of Chadkirk, Cheshire.
- Moore, Philip H., Tyne, Chaplain to Seamen.
- Moore, William Thomas, M.A., Vicar of St. John de Sepulchre, Norwich.
- Morcom, Wm. Genn, M.A., Vicar of Little Grimsby, and Curate of Louth, Lincoln.
- Mordaunt, O. M.A., Vicar of St. Michael's, Handsworth.
- Morgan, Arthur Middlemore, M.A., Truro.
- Morgan, David, Curate of St. John and St. Mary's, Brecon.
- Morgan, Edmund Henry, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge.
- Morgan, H. T., M.A., Chaplain of Cuddesdon Theological College, Oxon.
- Morgan, Henry David, B.A., Curate of St. Paul's Warwick.
- Morgan, James, B.A., Curate of Thornhill Lees, Yorkshire.
- Morgan, James Morrison, Dom. Chap. to the Earl of Cork and Orrery, and Vicar of Dalton in Furness, Lanc.
- Morgan, John, B.A., Vicar of Llandudno, Carnarvonshire.
- Morgan, John, M.A., Curate of Rochdale, Lancashire.
- Morgan, M., M.A., St. Peter's Parsonage, Peterhead, N.B.
- Morgan, Richard Turnill, B.A., Curate of West Hide, Herefordshire.
- Morgan, William Lewis, M.A., Incumbent of Ovenden, Yorkshire.
- Morice, Charles, B.D., Vicar of River with Guston, near Dover, Kent.
- Morland, Anthony Thomas, B.A., Curate of Christ Church, Frome, Somerset.
- Morley, A., M.A., Great Marlow, Bucks.
- Morley, David Benjamin, Vicar of Hales with Heckingham, Norfolk.
- Morley, Geo. Bentley, M.A., Fellow of St. Catherine's Coll., and Rector of Coton, Cambridge.
- Morrall, Cyrus, M.A., Plas Yolyn, Ruabon.
- Morrice, William David, M.A., Preb. of Sarum, Rural Dean, Vicar of Longbridge Deverill, Wilts.
- Morris, Alfred George, B.A., Curate of Fishponds, near Bristol.
- Morris, Charles, B.A., Curate of St. Giles', Durham.
- Morris, George, M.A., Vicar of St. Stephen's, Haggerston.
- Morris, Henry, M.A., Rector of Withcall, near Louth.
- Morris, Theodore Joseph, M.A., Vicar of Hampton in Arden, Warwick.
- Morris, Thomas Edward, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Carleton, near Skipton.
- Morrison, William, M.A., Vicar of Midsomer Norton, Somerset.
- Morse, Herbert George, M.A., Curate of St. Paul's, Walworth, Surrey.
- Morson, James Collin Francis, M.A., Head Master of the Grammar School, Cowbridge, Glamorganshire.
- Mortimer, Thomas Gwynne, M.A., Rector of Castle Bigh, Pembrokeshire.
- Mortimer, William Basset, M.A., Curate, Hounslow.
- Morton, Edward Howard, M.A., Rector of Tatterford with Tatterset, Norfolk.
- Morton, William, M.A., Kents Green, Worcester.
- Mossman, Thos. Wimberley, B.A., Rector of East and Vicar of West Torrington.
- Moultrie, Gerard, M.A., Vicar of South Leigh, Witney, Oxford.
- Mountain, Armine Wale, M.A., Curate of Weasenham, near Brandon, Norfolk.
- Moxon, Charles St. Denys, B.C.L., Vicar of Hempton, Fakenham, and Rector of Pudding Norton, Norfolk.

- Muckleston, Edward, M.A., Rector of Haseley, Warwickshire.
 Mulcaster, John Scott, M.A., Rector of Great Salkeld, Cumberland.
 Mules, Charles Marwood Speke, Vicar of Curry Rivel, Somerset.
 Mullens, George Oakman, M.A., Rector of Chedzoy, Somerset.
 Mullens, Richard Herbert, M.A., Vicar of Acton Turville, Gloucestershire.
 Mulgrave, Earl of, B.A., Curate of Lythe, Whitby, Yorkshire.
 Mullins, George Henry, M.A., Assistant Master in Uppingham School.
 Mullins, Thomas Patterson, B.A., Curate of Ash, Sandwich, Kent.
 Munn, George Shaw, M.A., Rector of Madresfield, near Malvern, Worcester.
 Munro, Alexander George, B.A., 5, London Place, Folkestone.
 Murdoch, A. D., Edinburgh.
 Muriel, William C., B.A., Rector of Debden, Essex.
 Murray, Francis Henry, M.A., Rector of Clislehurst, Kent.
 Murray, Fredk. Richardson, Cur. of Barrington and Shepton Beauchamp, Somerset.
 Murray, Frederick William, M.A., Rector of Stone, near Dartford, Kent.
 Murray, George William, M.A., Vicar of Bromsgrove.
 Murray, Jeffreys William, M.A., Vicar of St. Mylor, near Falmouth, Cornwall.
 Murray, John, B.A., Vicar of Lamborne, Berkshire.
 Murray, William, B.A., Curate of South Marston, Wilts.
 Musselwhite, T. R., B.A., Vicar of West Mersea, Essex.
 Musson, Francis, Curate of Haley Hill, Halifax, Yorkshire.
 Myers, Thomas, B.A., Vicar of Westgate, near Darlington.
 Mynors, Edmund Baskerville, M.A., Rector of Ashley, near Tetbury.
 Nairne, Spencer, M.A., Rector of Hunsdon, Herts.
 Nash, George, M.A., Vicar of St. Michael's, Louth, Lincoln.
 Nash, Nigel Fowler, M.A., Curate of Kempford, Gloucester.
 Nash, Robert Seymour, M.A., Vicar of Old Sodbury, Gloucestershire.
 Naters, Charles John, Curate of Wrenthorpe, Wakefield.
 Naylor, Christopher, M.A., Head Master of St. Mary de Crypt Grammar School, Gloucester.
 Neave, Henry Lyttelton, M.A., Vicar of Epping, Essex.
 Neblett, Augustus, Chaplain of Canons' Ashby, Daventry.
 Nelson, Hector, M.A., Prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral.
 Nelson, Hon. John Horatio, M.A., Rector of Belaugh, Vicar of Seottow, Norfolk.
 Nelson, James P., M.A., Vicar of Swilland, near Ipswich.
 Netherclift, Thomas Martin, B.A., Chaplain of the Gaol, Northallerton, Yorkshire.
 Nevile, Charles, M.A., Preb. of Lincoln, Rural Dean, Rector of Fledborough, Notts.
 Nevile, Henry, B.A., Rector of Wickenby, Lincolnshire.
 Neville, Wm. Fred. M.A., Preb. of Wells, Rural Dean, Vicar of Butleigh, Somerset.
 Nevins, H. W., Curate of Titchfield, Hants.
 Nevins, William, Rector of Miningsby, Lincolnshire.
 Newbold, Charles Hutchinson, Vicar of All Saints, Hindley, Wigan.
 Newbolt, Geo. Digby, B.A., Rector of Knotting and Souldrop, Bedford.
 Newbolt, William Charles Edmund, M.A., Vicar of Dymock, Gloucestershire.
 Newdigate, Alfred, M.A., Vicar of Kirk Hallam, Derbyshire.
 Newdigate, Charles John, M.A., Rector of West Hallam, Derbyshire.
 Newlove, Richard, M.A., Hon. Canon of Ripon, Rural Dean, Vicar of Thorner, near Leeds, and Chaplain to the Earl of Harewood.
 Newman, Francis Browne, M.A., Curate of Burton Latimer, near Kettering.
 Newman, Frederick William, M.A., Vicar of New Mills, near Stockport.
 Newman, Henry, M.A., Curate of Whittington, Gloucestershire.
 Newman, John, M.A., Vicar of Worsbrough, Yorkshire.
 Newman, Thomas Henry, B.A., Curate of Cheriton Bishop, near Exeter.
 Newman, William, B.A., Rector of Barlavington, near Petworth.
 Newton, Alfred, M.A., Rector of Preston, near Ledbury.
 Newton, Henry, M.A., Incumbent of Naburn, Yorkshire.
 Newton, Newton, M.A., Assist. Master of St. Mary and St. Nicolas School, Lancing.

- Newton, Wm. Anthony, M.A., Curate of St. John's, Notting Hill, Kensington.
 Nicholas, George Davenport, M.A., Curate of Clewer, Berkshire.
 Nicholl, Edward P., M.A., Curate of Falmouth, Cornwall.
 Nicholl, J. R., M.A., Vicar of Streatham, Rural Dean.
 Nicholl, Stephen Henry Fox, M.A., Rector of Llandough, Glamorgan.
 Nicholson, James N., M.A., 11, Oxford Road, Kilburn.
 Nicholson, Richard, M.A., Rector of Beechingstoke, Wilts.
 Nicoll, C. A. S., M.A., Curate of West Tytherly, Hants.
 Nicoll, Charles, B.A., Vicar of King's Sombourne, Stockbridge, Hants.
 Nihill, Henry Daniel, B.A., Vicar of St. Michael's, Shoreditch, London.
 Noad, George Frederick, D.C.L., Rector of Cold Norton, Maldon, Essex.
 Noble, H. B., LL.D., St. Peter's in the Valley, Cheltenham.
 Noel, Augustus William, M.A., Rector of Stanhoe with Barwick, Norfolk.
 Noel, Montague Henry, M.A., Vicar of St. Barnabas', Oxford.
 Norgate, Edward, B.A., Curate of Mileham, Norfolk.
 Norman, James Charles, M.A., Vicar of Highworth, Wilts.
 Norris, Charles, B.A., Rector of Melton Constable, Vicar of Briston, Norfolk.
 Norris, George Montgomery, M.A., Frostenden, Suffolk.
 Norris, William Foxley, M.A., Vicar of Buckingham.
 North, Henry, Skipton.
 Northey, Edward William, M.A., Vicar of Long Lane, Derbyshire.
 Norwood, Curteis H., M.A., Curate of Faversham.
 Nowers, J. E. L. B.A., Boston Grammar School.
 Noyes, Frederick Robert Halsey Herbert, B.A., Curate of Tarporley, Cheshire.
 Noyes, John Henry, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Ketton with Tixover, Rutland.
 Nugée, George, M.A., Rector of Widley, and Vicar of Wymering, Hants.
 Numm, Thomas Partridge, M.A., Vicar of West Pennard, Somerset.
 Nunns, Robert Augustin Luke, B.A., Rector of St. Olave's, Chichester, and Vicar of Appledram, Sussex.
 Nunns, Thomas Jackson, M.A., Eliot Place, Blackheath, Kent.
 Nutt, Charles, M.A., Torquay.
 Nutt, Chas. Henry, M.A., Vicar of East Harptree, Somerset.
 Nutt, John William, M.A., Fellow of All Souls College, and Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 Oak, Edward William, B.A., Curate of Dalton in Furness, Lancashire.
 Oakley, John, M.A., Vicar of St. Saviour's, Hoxton.
 Oakeley, William, M.A., Curate of Penalth, Monmouth.
 Oakes, William Frederick, Rector of Tibberton, Salop.
 Oates, John William, M.A., Christ Church, Oxford.
 Obbard, Augustus Newton, B.A., Curate of All Saints, Cambridge.
 O'Donoghue, Francis Talbot, M.A., Vicar of Walsden, near Todmorden, Lancashire, and Domestic Chaplain to the Marquess of Westmeath.
 Ogilvy, Charles William Norman, M.A., Rector of Barton-le-Street, Yorkshire.
 Ogle, Harman C., M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.
 Ogle, James Ambrose, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Sedgford, Norfolk.
 Oldacres, George, B.A., Curate of Brighouse, Yorkshire.
 Oldham, D'Oyly William, B.A., Curate of Modbury, Devon.
 Oldham, John Basil, M.A., Clerk in Orders of St. James', Westminster.
 Oldham, J. Lane, M.A., Audley End, Essex, Chaplain to Lord Braybrooke.
 Oldham, John Roberts, M.A., Incumbent of Ottershaw, near Chertsey, Surrey.
 Oldham, Richard Samuel, M.A., Dom. Chaplain to the Earl of Elgin.
 Oldknow, Jos., D.D., Vicar of Holy Trinity, Bordesley, Aston, Birmingham.
 Oliver, Charles Norwood, M.A., Curate of Dunham, Notts.
 Oliver, Geo. Wm., M.A., Winterbrook, Wallingford.
 Oliver, Robert Bennett, M.A., Vicar of Whitwell, Isle of Wight.
 Olivier, Dacres, M.A., Rector of Wilton, near Salisbury.
 Olivier, Henry Arnold, M.A., Rector of Havant, Hants.

- Olver, Henry Haine, B.A., Port View, Saltash, Cornwall.
- Ommanney, Edward Aislabie, M.A., Prebendary of Wells, Rural Dean, and Vicar of Chew Magna, Somerset.
- Ommanney, George Druce Wynne, M.A., Curate of Whitchurch, Somerset.
- O'Neill, S. W., M.A., Mission House of St. John the Evangelist, Oxford.
- Onslow, Charles, M.A., Preb. of Sarum, Vicar of Holt, Dorset.
- Openshaw, Thos. Williams, M.A., Second Master of the Grammar School, Bristol.
- Orde, W. Jocelyn Shafto, Vicar of Weston, near Stevenage, Herts.
- Orgill, V. T., B.A., Second Master of the Grammar School, Ludlow, Salop.
- Orme, James Bond, M.A., Rector of Angmering, Sussex.
- Ormsby, George, Vicar of Fishlake, Yorkshire.
- Orpen, Edwd. Chatterton, M.A., Vicar of Dean Prior, near Ashburton, Devonshire.
- Orr, Alexander, M.A., Vicar of Salehurst, Sussex.
- Orton, Owen, M.A., Rector of Normanton on Soar, Nottinghamshire.
- Orton, William Previt , M.A., Brassington Vicarage, Derbyshire.
- Osborn, George Montagu, M.A., Rector of Campton, Bedfordshire.
- Osborn, Montagu Francis Finch, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Kibworth Beauchamp.
- Osborne, Edward W., Curate of Highworth, Wilts.
- Osborne, George, B.A., Curate of St. Marks, Victoria Docks, London.
- Osborne, Riversdale Brinsley Godolphin, Curate of Brington, Northants.
- Osler, Wm. Alban, B.A., Curate of Wroot, Lincolnshire.
- Oswald, Henry Murray, M.A., Vicar of St. Paul's, Alnwick, Northumberland.
- Oswell, Henry Lloyd, M.A., Vicar of St. George's, Shrewsbury.
- Oswell, Wm. Henry, B.A., Shirburn, Tetsworth.
- Otter, John, M.A., 7, Montpelier Street, Brighton.
- Ottley, Francis John, M.A.
- Ottley, George Lethbridge, Rector of Luckington, Chippenham, Wilts.
- Ouseley, Sir Frederick Arthur Gore, Bart., M.A., MUS. DOC., Precentor of Hereford, Professor of Music in Oxford, Warden of St. Michael's, Tenbury.
- Owen, Edward, B.A., Vicar of St. Peter's, Oldham, Lancashire.
- Owen, Hugh Davies, M.A., Vicar of Pennynydd, Anglesey.
- Owen, Humphrey Edward, MUS.B., Vicar of Leck, Lancashire.
- Owen, James Hughes, B.A., Curate of Great Marlow, Bucks.
- Owen, John, B.D., Chaplain of the City Prison, Holloway, London.
- Owen, Philip, Curate of Rhuddlan, Flintshire.
- Owen, Theodore Montague Nugent, B.A., Curate of Kettering, Northants.
- Owen, Thos. Mainwaring B.B., B.A., All Saints Clergy Ho., Castle Fields, Shrewsbury.
- Owston, Francis, M.A., Vicar of Pirbright, Guildford, Surrey.
- Oxenham, Francis N., M.A., Curate of Richmond, Surrey.
- Oxlee, John, Rector of Cowsby and Vicar of Over Silton, Yorkshire.
- Oxley, John Swaby, M.A., Vicar of Long Bennington, Lincolnshire.
- Packe, Henry Vere, B.A., Rector of Shangton, Leicestershire.
- Packer, Isaac George, B.A., Vicar of Thurmaston, Leicestershire.
- Page, Henry Homer, M.A., Woolpit, Suffolk.
- Page, Robert Lay, M.A., Curate of Cowley St. John, Oxford.
- Paget, Edward Heneage, M.A., Vicar of Hoxne, Suffolk.
- Paget, Francis Edwd., M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Elford, Staffordshire.
- Paglar, Edward Brandon, B.A., Wheathampstead, St. Albans.
- Pain, A. R., Rector of Bury, Huntingdon.
- Pain, Montagu, B.A., Oxford.
- Paine, A. H., M.A., Stoke Rectory, Market Drayton.
- Palairret, Richard, M.A., Prebendary of Wells.
- Palmer, Charles Samuel, M.A., Vicar of Eardisley, near Hereford.
- Palmer, Feilding, M.A., Eastcliff, Chepstow.
- Palmer, Geo. Herbert, B.A., Curate of St. Margaret's, Toxteth Park, Liverpool.
- Palmer, George Horsley, M.A., Rector of Mixbury, Oxon.
- Palmer, Henry Carew, M.A., Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, Vicar of Bowden Hill, Laycock, Wilts.

- Palmer, H. J., M.A., St. Columba's, Edinburgh.
 Palmer, Henry Vaughan, Rector of St. Margaret's, York.
 Palmer, P. H., M.A., Rector of Woolsthorpe, Grantham.
 Palmer, Rodney Drake, M.A., Vicar of Broadway, Somerset.
 Palmer, William Henry, B.A., Curate of Moreton, Bagot.
 Palmes, James, M.A., Rector of Escrick, near York.
 Palmes, Wm. Lindsay, M.A., R.D., Vicar of Hornsea w. Long Riston, Yorkshire.
 Pahnour, Walter Thomas, B.A., Vicar of Fulwood, near Preston, Lancashire.
 Panckridge, J. Wm., M.A., Curate of St. Thomas Charterhouse, London.
 Panter, Frederick Downs, B.A., Rector of Brettenham, Incom. of Rushford.
 Pantin, John Wicliff, M.A., Rector of Westcote, Gloucestershire.
 Paramore, James Dunlap, M.A., Curate of St. Barnabas, Hoinerton, Middlesex.
 Park, Robert, B.A., Curate of Holy Trinity, Warton, Carnforth, Lancashire.
 Parker, Arthur Townley, M.A., Hon. Canon of Manchester, Rural Dean, and Rector of Burnley, Lancashire.
 Parker, Charles, M.A., Vicar of Bodiam, Sussex.
 Parker, Charles William, M.A., Curate of Sedgeberrow, Worcestershire.
 Parker, Edwd. M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Great Oxendon, Northamptonshire.
 Parker, Edward, Vicar of Waddington, Ripon.
 Parker, F. P., Curate of Staverton, Northants.
 Parker, James Benjamin, M.A., Curate of St. Saviour's, Hitchin, Herts.
 Parker, John Webster, M.A., Vicar of St. Alban's, Rochdale, Lancashire.
 Parker, Richard, M.A., Rector of Wickham, near Fareham, Hants.
 Parkin, Charles, M.A., Vicar of Lenham, Kent.
 Parkin, Charles Inglewood, B.A., Brampton, Wangford, Suffolk.
 Parminter, Henry, B.A., Vicar of Humshaugh, near Hexham.
 Parmiter, John, B.A., Curate of Witham, Essex.
 Parnell, Charles, M.A., Incumbent of St. Margaret's, Toxteth Park, Liverpool.
 Parr, John, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Parkstone, Poole, Dorset.
 Parr, Robert Henning, M.A., Vicar of St. Martin's, Scarborough, Yorkshire.
 Parrington, Matthew, M.A., Canon and Preb. of Chichester, Rector of Fishbourne, Sussex, and Principal of the Training College, Chichester.
 Parrish, Henry Griffin, B.A., Curate of Uppingham, Rutland.
 Parry, Howard Lewis, M.A., Vicar of Clearwell, Glouc., and Dom. Chaplain to the Dowager Countess of Dunraven.
 Parry, Wm. Henry, M.A., Curate of St. John's and St. Mary's, Brecknock.
 Parson, W. H. Onslow, M.A., Curate of West Lavington, Sussex.
 Parsons, Charles J., M.A., Priory Leas, Folkestone.
 Parsons, Frederick, B.D., Vicar of Selborne, Alton, Hants.
 Parsons, Henry, M.A., Rector of Sandhurst, Berks.
 Parsons, Henry, M.A., Minor Canon of Llandaff Cathedral.
 Parsons, John Tournay, M.A., Vicar of Much Dewchurch, Herefordshire.
 Parsons, Lawrence John, M.A., Chaplain to the Forces, London.
 Paske, T. J., B.A., Curate of Creeting St. Peter, and Battisford, Suffolk.
 Partington, Thomas, M.A., Vicar of St. John's, Netherfield, Sussex.
 Partridge, William Edwards, B.A., Rector of Horsendon, Vicar of Ilmer, Bucks.
 Patch, Hubert Mornington, M.A., Curate of St. Luke's, Torquay, Devon.
 Patchett, William, M.A., Head Master of Haworth Grammar School, Yorkshire.
 Patchett, William Henry, B.A., Rector of Sawley, Ripon, Yorkshire.
 Paton, George, Curate of St. Paul's, Ramsay, Isle of Man.
 Patterson, James William, Torquay, Devon.
 Patterson, R., Curate of Great Easton, Leicester.
 Pattinson, William, M.A., Rector of Kirkbampton, Cumberland.
 Pattison, James Balfour, Curate of Little Marsden, Burnley.
 Pattison, J. E., St. Stephen's Chapel, Sully, Isle of Man.
 Paul, Frederick Bateman, South Lea, Truro.
 Pauli, John, Vicar of Hednesford, Staffordshire.
 Payne, Alfred, St. Bartholomew's, Brighton.

- Payne, David Bruce, Vicar of St. George's, Deal.
 Payne, John Lorenzo, Curate of St. John's, Bethnal Green, London.
 Payne, Randolph, B.A., Curate of St. Paul's Church, Brighton.
 Payne, William John, M.A., Marine Parade, Brighton.
 Peach, Charles, M.A., Rector of Willingdon, Sussex.
 Peach, Henry John, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Tutbury, Staffordshire.
 Peake, George, M.A., Vicar of Aston, near Birmingham.
 Peake, John R., M.A. Vicar of Ellesmere, Salop.
 Pearse, Beauchamp, K. W., M.A., Rector of Ascot Heath, near Staines.
 Pearse, George Wingate, M.A., Rector of Walton, Bucks.
 Pearse, John Gilbert, B.A., Rector of Alhallows-on-the-Walls, Exeter.
 Pearson, Alleyne Ward, M.A., Vicar of Waterperry, Oxon.
 Pearson, Arthur Charles, B.A., Curate of Northleach, Gloucestershire.
 Pearson, Charles Buchanan, M.A., Preb. of Sarum, Rector of Knebworth, Herts.
 Pearson, Christopher Ridley, M.A., Vicar of St. James's, Tonbridge Wells, Kent.
 Pearson, Edward, M.A., Curate of All Saints, York.
 Pearson, George Chas., M.A., one of the Six Preachers of Canterbury Cathedral.
 Pearson, George Frederick, M.A., Minor Canon of Chichester Cathedral.
 Pearson, Henry Richard Storr, M.A., Vicar of Lythe, Whitby, Yorkshire.
 Pearson, James Hugh, M.A., Curate of Upton Scudamore, Wilts.
 Pearson, John Garencieres, Vicar of St. Cuthbert's, Darlington, Durham.
 Pedder, Wilson, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Garstang, Lancashire.
 Peel, Edmund, M.A., Vicar of Baldon, Oxon.
 Peel, Francis William, M.A., Rector of Burghwallis, Yorkshire.
 Peel, Frederick, Cowleigh, West Malvern, Worcester.
 Peirce, David Davies, B.A. Curate of Merthyr Tydvil, Glamorganshire.
 Pellew, George Israel, B.A., Curate of Putney, Surrey.
 Pendered, Wm. Leeman, M.A., Head Master of Haydon Bridge Grammar School.
 Penfold, Edwd. Bainbridge, M.A., Curate of Christ Ch., St. Pancras, London.
 Pennethorne, Gregory Walton, M.A., Vicar of Ferring, Sussex.
 Penny, A., B.A., Curate of Hemel Hemstead, Herts.
 Penny, Edward Gorton, M.A., Perp. Curate of Rangeworthy, Gloucester.
 Penny, John, M.A., Rector of Cuxwold, Lincolnshire.
 Penrice, Charles Berners, M.A., Rector of Little Plumstead, Norfolk.
 Penraddocke, John Hungerford, M.A., Vicar of South Newton.
 Pentreath, Fredk. Richard, M.A., Head Master of the Grammar School, East Retford.
 Pepys, Herbert George, M.A., Vicar of Grimley, Worcestershire.
 Percival, Jas. Stanley, M.A., Curate of Brafield on-the-Green, Northampton.
 Pereira, Henry W., Oxford.
 Perfect, Henry Theodore, Vicar of Stanton Drew with Pensford, Somerset.
 Perkins, Thos., M.A., Durham School.
 Perkins, Thomas Norwood, B.A., Curate of St. Peter's, Rochester.
 Perring, Alfred Reginald, Incumbent of Embleton and Lorton, Cumberland.
 Perring, Charles Augustus, Vicar of the 1st Part of Pattishall, Northants.
 Perry, Samuel Gideon Frederick, M.A., Vicar of Tottington, Bury, Lancashire.
 Perry, Thomas Walter, Brighton.
 Pertwee, Arthur, M.A., Curate of St. Margaret's, Leicester.
 Peter, Robert Godolphin, M.A., Rector of Cavendish, Suffolk.
 Peters, Thomas, B.A., Curate of Mitchel-Troy w. Cwmcarvan, Monmouth.
 Phelps, Charles Martin, Curate of St. Paul's, Huddersfield.
 Phelps, Edward Robert, B.A., Curate of Old Windsor, Berkshire.
 Phelps, Thomas Prankard, M.A., Hon. Canon of Rochester, Rural Dean, Rector of Ridley, near Wrotham, Kent.
 Philipps, George, M.A., Curate of Winfrith-Newburg, near Dorchester.
 Philipps, Henry, M.A., Pittville Lawn, Cheltenham.
 Philipps, James E., M.A., Prebendary of Salisbury, and Vicar of Warminster.
 Philips, R., Chaplain of the Diocesan Training College, Salisbury.
 Phillimore, Greville, M.A., Rector of Henley-on-Thames, Oxon.

- Phillips, A., Curate of Wiveliscombe, Sussex.
 Phillips, Arthur, B.A., Curate of Bickenhall, Somerset.
 Phillips, Henry Frederick, M.A., Vicar of St. Peter's, Rochester.
 Phillips, J. Rodney B.
 Phillips, S., Curate of St. Saviour's, South Hampstead, Middlesex.
 Phillips, Sidney, M.A., Vicar of Castle Hedingham, Essex.
 Phillott, Henry Wright, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Staunton-on-Wye, Prælector of Hereford Cathedral.
 Phillipotts, Arthur Archbold, M.A., Vicar of Harton, South Shields, Durham.
 Phillipotts, Septimus Buller, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.
 Philp, William Pellowe, Rector of Offham, near Maidstone, Kent.
 Philpott, Richard S., M.A., Chaplain to the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, Curate of Chewton Mendip, Somerset.
 Philpott, Thomas Henry, B.A., Curate of Tisbury, Wilts.
 Philpott, T., M.A., Belbroughton, Stourbridge.
 Phipps, George William, M.A., Rector of Husband's Bosworth, Leicestershire.
 Pickance, John Wilson, Colley Manor, Reigate.
 Pickard, Wm. Jesse, Appleford, Abingdon, Bucks.
 Pickering, Henry Valentine, B.A., Vicar of Brandeston, Suffolk.
 Pidecock, Benjamin, B.A., Vicar of St. Luke's, Leek, Staffordshire.
 Pidecock, William Hugh, B.A., Curate of Shipbourne, Kent.
 Piercy, Frederick Wakefield, B.A., Curate of Leek, Staffordshire.
 Pieritz, George Wildon, M.A., Oxford.
 Pierson, Wm. Fred., B.A., Incumbent of Settle, Yorkshire.
 Pigot, Edward, M.A., Rector of Whittington, Lancashire.
 Pigot, John Tayleur, M.A., Rural Dean and Vicar of Fremington, Devon.
 Pigott, Arthur James, B.A., Vicar of Uffington, and of Battlefield, Salop.
 Pigott, Charles Francis C., M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Edgmond, Salop.
 Pigott, G. O. Smyth, Rector of Kingston Seymour, Somerset.
 Pigott, George William, B.A., Rector of Upton Magna, Salop.
 Pigott, Wellesley Pole, M.A., Rector of Bemerton, Wiltshire.
 Pilditch, John, B.A., Curate of Walton, Clevedon.
 Pinckney, Robert, Rector of Hittisleigh, Devon.
 Pinckney, William John, B.A., Curate of Ludlow, Salop.
 Pincott, Edward L., M.A., Incum. of Brinkburne, Morpeth, Northumberland.
 Pincott, William Henry, Vicar of Bexley Heath, Kent.
 Pinder, George, Hertford House, Bournemouth.
 Pinhorn, Charles Avery, M.A., Curate of Gillingham, Dorset.
 Pinwill, Edmund, B.A., Curate of Horsmonden, Kent.
 Pitman, Edward Augustus, B., B.A., Curate of Eynesbury, Hunts.
 Pix, George Banestre, M.A., Rector of Caenby and Vicar of Saxby, Lincolnshire.
 Pixell, Charles Henry Vincent, M.A., Incumbent of Skirwith, Cumberland.
 Pixell, Henry, M.A., Milverton, Warwickshire.
 Plater, Herbert, M.A., Head Master of the Grammar School, Newark.
 Platt, Herbert Edwyn, B.A., St. Leonard's-on-Sea.
 Plenderleath, William Charles, M.A., Rector of Cherhill, Calne, Wilts.
 Plow, Henry Anthony, B.D., Rector of Bradley, Hants.
 Plows, William, M.A., Curate of Barnham, near Thetford, Suffolk.
 Plumer, Charles John, M.A., Vicar of Iford with Kingston, near Lewes, Sussex.
 Plummer, Matthew, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Heworth, Durham.
 Pooock, John Carne, British Chaplain at Coblenz.
 Poock, Nicholas, M.A., 5, Worcester Terrace, Clifton, Bristol.
 Poingdestre, George, M.A., Incumbent of St. Matthew's, Jersey.
 Poland, Fredk. Wm., M.A., Vicar of Paignton, Devon.
 Polehampton, Edward Thomas Wm., M.A., Chaplain to Earl Powlett and Earl De la Warr, and Rector and Vicar of Hartfield, near Tonbridge Wells.
 Polehampton, John, M.A., Rector of Ightham, Kent.
 Polley, A., Manningford, Marlborough.

- Pollock, James S., M.A., Curate of Holy Trinity, Bordesley, near Birmingham.
- Pollock, Thos. Benson, M.A., St. Alban's, Bordesley, Birmingham.
- Ponsonby, Frederick James, M.A., Rector of Brington, Northants.
- Pontifex, Alfred, M.A., Rector of Yate, Gloucestershire.
- Poole, Alexander, M.A., Vicar of Ryde, Isle of Wight.
- Poole, Alfred, M.A., Vicar of Purbrook, Hants.
- Poole, George Ayliffe, M.A., Vicar of Welford, Northamptonshire.
- Poole, Henry J., Curate of Kingston, Somerset.
- Poole, John Copeland, M.A., Rector of Clay Coton, near Rugby.
- Poole, Robert Blake, M.A., Curate of Durston, Somersetshire.
- Poole, Robert Henry, M.A., Rector of West Rainton, Durham.
- Poole, T. G. Barlow, M.A., Curate of Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts.
- Pooley, James, M.A., Curate of Quainton, Bucks.
- Pooley, Richard, Curate of St. James, Benwell, Northumberland.
- Popham, John Leyborne, M.A., Prebendary of Salisbury, Rector of Chilton Folliatt.
- Popplewell, J. Hearn, M.A., Curate of Tenby, South Wales.
- Portal, Geo. R., M.A., Rector of Albury, Surrey. Dom. Chap. to Earl of Carnarvon.
- Porter, Charles, M.A., Vicar of Raunds, Northants.
- Porter, C. F., M.A., Incumbent of St. Anne's, Dropmore, nr Maidenhead, Berkshire.
- Porter George, M.A., Bishop's Stortford.
- Porter, John Robinson, Vicar of Kniveton, Derbyshire.
- Porter, Reginald, M.A., Rector of Kenn, Devon.
- Porter, Richard Ibbetson, M.A., Rector of Chipping Ongar, Essex.
- Porter, William Carmichael, M.A., Curate of Raunds, Northants.
- Porteus, Beilby, B.A., Vicar of Edenhall, near Penrith.
- Portman, Fitzhardinge B., M.A., Rur. Dean, Rector of Staple Fitzpaine, Somerset.
- Postlethwaite, John, M.A., Wreaksend, Broughton in Furness.
- Pott, Alfred, B.D., Archdeacon of Berkshire, Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Vicar of Abingdon, Berks, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester.
- Pott, Francis, B.A., Vicar of Northill, Bedfordshire.
- Potter, Alfred, B.D., Rector of Keyworth, Notts.
- Potter, Chas. Augustus, M.A., Curate of Ramsden Bellhouse, Essex.
- Potter, James, B.A., Vicar of Ellington, Hants.
- Potter, Peter, Curate of St. John's, Chatham, Kent.
- Potter, Wm., M.A., Hon. Can. of Norwich, Rur. Dn., Rector of Witnesham, Suffolk.
- Potts, Joseph, B.A., Mathematical Master of the Grammar School, Worcester.
- Poulden, James Bedford, M.A., Curate of Downe St. Mary, Devon.
- Poulton, W. H., M.A., Chap. of the Hospital, Tut. in Queen's College, Birmingham.
- Powell, Edward Amett, M.A., Rector of Toft with Caldecott, Cambridgeshire.
- Powell, Henry C., Provost of Inverness Cathedral.
- Powell, James Baden, M.A., Powderham Castle, Exeter.
- Powell, John, B.A., Vicar of Hill, Deverill, Warminster, Wilts.
- Powell, Richmond, M.A., Rector of South Stoke, near Arundel, Sussex.
- Powell, William Frederick, M.A., Hon. Canon of Gloucester.
- Powlett, Hon. Thomas Orde, M.A., Rector of Wensley, Yorkshire.
- Pownall, Alfred, M.A., Vicar of Trowse with Lakenham, Norwich.
- Pownall, Assheton, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of South Kilworth, Leicestershire.
- Pownall, Chas. Colyear Beaty, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Milton Ernest, Beds.
- Powys, Francis Arthur, B.D., Rector of Winterslow, near Salisbury.
- Powys, Thomas Arthur, M.A., Rector of Sawtry St. Andrew, Huntingdonshire.
- Poynton, Fras. John, M.A., Rector of Kelston, Somerset.
- Poyntz, Nathaniel Castleton S., B.A., Curate of St. Paul's, Bedminster, Bristol.
- Poyntz, N., M.A., Curate of St. Mary the Virgin, Soho, Westminster, Middlesex.
- Pratt, Charles Tiplady, B.A., Curate of Cawthorne, near Barnsley.
- Pratt, Philip Edgar, M.A., Corfton Rectory, Bromfield.
- Pratt, Samuel, M.A., Curate of Chellaston, Derby.
- Prentice, Henry, M.A., Rector of Holdford, Somerset.
- Prentis, Richard, Curate of Beaminster, Dorset.

- Prescot, Kenrick, M.A., Vicar of Ponteland, Northumberland.
 Prescott, George Frederick, M.A., Vicar of St. Michael's, Paddington, Middlesex.
 Prevost, Sir George, Bart. M.A., Archdeacon and Hon. Canon of Gloucester, Vicar of Stinchcomb, near Dursley.
 Price, Edmund, M.A., Rector of Farnborough, Berkshire.
 Price, James Mansel, M.A., Vicar of Cuddington, near Aylesbury, Bucks.
 Price, John, M.A., Rector of Stratton-on-the-Fosse, Somerset.
 Price, Robert Morgan, Vicar of Filkins, Oxon.
 Price, Thomas, M.A., Incumbent of Selly Oak, Birmingham.
 Price, Thomas, M.A., Vicar of Prestatyn, Flintshire.
 Price, Wm, M.A., Master of the Cathedral Schools, Chap. of Christ Church, Oxford.
 Price, William James, M.A., Curate of Shelton, Staffordshire.
 Prichard, A. H., B.A., Curate of Stockerston, near Uppingham, Rutland.
 Prichard, Richard, B.D., Rural Dean, Rector of Newbold-on-Stour, Worcester.
 Prichard, William Henderson, Curate of St. Saviour's, Leeds.
 Prickard, W. E., Vicar of Rhayader, Radnor.
 Pridden, William, M.A., Rector of West Stow with Wordwell, Suffolk.
 Prideaux, Walter Cross, B.A., Curate of Doulting, Somerset.
 Pridmore, Edward Morris, M.A., Vicar of Breage and Germoe, Cornwall.
 Prior, John Lawrence, M.A., Rector of Linby, Vicar of Papplewick, Notts., and Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Rosse.
 Probert, Edward, M.A., Hatfield, Herts, Chaplain to the Duke of Northumberland.
 Proby, Wm. Henry Baptist, M.A., Colyton, Devon.
 Procter, Charles Tickell, M.A., Vicar of Richmond, Surrey.
 Protheroe, Edward Marsh, B.A., Curate of St. Sidwell, Exeter.
 Prowde, John, B.A., Curate of St. John's, Cleckheaton, near Leeds.
 Prynne, George Rundle, M.A., Vicar of St. Peter's, Plymouth.
 Puckle, E., B.A., Rector of Alby, Norfolk.
 Puckle, John, M.A., Hon. Canon of Canterbury, Rural Dean, and Vicar of St. Mary's, Dover.
 Pugh, David, B.A., St. David's, Lampeter.
 Pugh, David, B.A., Curate of Llangynwyd, Glamorgan.
 Pugh, Matthew, M.A., Head Master of Rishworth Gram. School, nr. Halifax, Yorks.
 Pugh, Thomas, B.D., Curate of St. Sepulchre's, London.
 Pullen, Henry William, M.A., Minor Canon of Salisbury Cathedral.
 Puller, Bernard John, B.A., Curate of Leeds, Yorkshire.
 Puller, Fred. Wm. B.A., Curate of St. Paul's, Walworth, Surrey.
 Pullblank, Joseph, M.A., Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Queen's College, and Curate of Holy Trinity, Walton Breck, Liverpool.
 Pulling, Frederick William, B.A., Vicar of Pinhoe, Devon.
 Pulling, James, D.D., Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Vicar of Belehamp St. Paul's, near Clare, Suffolk.
 Pulling, William, M.A., Rector of Eastnor.
 Purcell, William Henry D'Olier, B.A., Rector of South Sydenham, Devon.
 Purdue, George, S.C.L., Vicar of East and West Challow, Wantage, Berks.
 Purton, William, M.A., Incumbent of St. Anne's, Willenhall, Wolverhampton.
 Pusey, Edward Bouverie, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford.
 Pusey, Wm. Bouverie, M.A., Rector of Langley, Kent.
 Puttock, Edward, Curate of St. James', Clapton, Middlesex.
 Pyddoke, Edward, M.A., Curate of Bisley, Gloucestershire.
 Pyemont, Samuel, D.D., Vicar of Whitwick, near Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicester.
 Pyemont, Francis Samuel Pyemont, B.A., Curate of Whitwick.
 Pym, William Mills Paffy, M.A., Vicar of Corsham, near Chippenham, Wilts.
 Quennell, Wm., M.A., Head Master of the Grammar School, Brentwood, Essex.
 Quick, Adrian Gustavus Devereux, B.A., Curate of Skirbeck, Boston, Lincolnshire.
 Quicke, Charles Penrose, B.A., Rector of Ashbrittle, Somerset.

- Quilter, Henry K., M.A., Vicar of Bilton, Yorkshire.
 Radcliffe, John William, M.A., 3, Lower Southernhay, Exeter.
 Radford, Daniel, Curate of Emmanuel, Camberwell.
 Radford, Wm. Tucker Arundel, M.A., Rural Dean, Rec. of Down, nr. Bow, N. Devon.
 Raikes, Francis, M.A., Rector of Carleton Forehoe, and of Crownthorpe, Norfolk.
 Raine, James, M.A., Prebendary of York, Fellow of Durham University, and Rector of All Saints, Pavement, and St. Michael, Spurriergate, York.
 Raines, Charles Alfred, M.A., Vicar of St. Peter's, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 Ram, Edward, Curate of St. Peter, Mancroft, Norwich.
 Ramsay, Andrew Chrysostom, B.A., Curate of St. Columba, Haggerston, London.
 Ramsbotham, Thomas, M.A., Rector of Heywood, near Manchester.
 Randall, James Leslie, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Newbury, Berkshire.
 Randall, Richard William, M.A., Incumbent of All Saints, Clifton, near Bristol.
 Randolph, Cyril, M.A., Rector of Staple, near Wingham, Kent.
 Randolph, Edward John, M.A., Prebendary of York, Rural Dean, and Rector of Dunnington, Yorkshire.
 Randolph, Francis, M.A., Curate of Little Hadham, Herts.
 Randolph, Herbert, M.A., Curate of Ringmore, Ivybridge.
 Randolph, John, M.A., Rector of Sanderstead, Surrey.
 Randolph, Leveson Cyril, M.A., Vicar of St. Luke's, Lower Norwood, Surrey.
 Randolph, Wm. Cater, M.A.
 Ransome, John Henry, M.A., Incumbent of Lindale in Cartmel, Lancashire.
 Ransome, Vincent Fredk., M.A., Curate of Holy Trinity, Weymouth, Dorset.
 Ratcliffe, Thomas, M.A., Vicar of Godshell, Isle of Wight.
 Raven, John, M.A., 4, Upper St. Paul's Terrace, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 Raven, Thomas Milville, M.A., F.R.S.E., Vicar of Crakehall, near Bedale, Yorks.
 Ravenshaw, Thomas Fitzarthur Torrin, M.A., Rector of Pewsey, Wiltshire.
 Rawdon, James Hamer, M.A., Curate of Great Yarmouth.
 Rawle, Richard, M.A., Vicar of Tamworth, Warwickshire.
 Rawlins, Charles, B.A., Vicar of Chaddesden, Derbyshire.
 Rawlins, John Arthur, M.A., Curate of Charlcote, Warwickshire.
 Rawlins, Thos. Saml. Fraser, M.A., Rector of Clifton Campville, near Tamworth.
 Rawlinson, George, M.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford.
 Rawlinson, Henry John, M.A., Curate of Northchurch, Herts.
 Raymond, Charles Andrew, M.A., Curate of St. Mary-le-Tower, Ipswich.
 Raymond, John Mayne St. Clere, M.A., Belchamp Hall, Sudbury.
 Raymond, Oliver Edward, M.A., Curate of Bulmer, Essex.
 Raynbird, Robert, M.A., Rector of Wentworth, near Ely, Cambridgeshire.
 Rayson, William, M.A., Minor Canon of Worcester Cathedral.
 Read, A. P., M.A., St. James' College, Clapton.
 Read, George Preston, Curate of Christ Church, Clapton, Middlesex.
 Read, Stephen Gooch, M.A., Rector of St. Mary with All Saints, and Curate of St. Andrew's, Barton Bendish, Norfolk.
 Reade, Compton, M.A., Chaplain of Magdalen College, Oxford.
 Reade, Chichester Arthur Wellesley, M.A., Curate of Skeyton, Norfolk.
 Reade, William, M.A., Curate of Otterton, Notts.
 Reaveley, Francis Fenwick, S.C.L., Rector of Kinnersley, Herefordshire.
 Redhead, George Edward, B.A., Curate of St. Jude's, Bradford, Yorkshire.
 Redhead, Theodore John, M.A., Vicar of Redlynch, Salisbury.
 Redhead, Thomas Fisher, D.D., Vicar of Higher Bebington, Cheshire.
 Reece, Richard Marsden, B.A., Curate of Kirkby-la-Thorpe with Asgarby, Linc.
 Reed, William, B.A., Curate of St. Mary Magdalen, Taunton.
 Rees, Samuel George, M.A., Rector of Wasing, Berks.
 Reeves, Jonathan, Curate of Upper Beeding, Sussex.
 Reibey, James H., Rector of Denbury, Devon.
 Reid, Charles Burton, M.A., Curate of Hanworth, Middlesex.

- Remington, Reginald, M.A., Melling, Lancaster.
 Renaud, William, M.A., Preb. of Sarum, Vicar of St. Thomas, Salisbury.
 Reveley, Robert, B.A., Curate of Cromhall, near Chipping Sodbury, Gloucester.
 Reynolds, Edward, B.A., Curate of Eckington, Derbyshire.
 Reynolds, John W., B.A., Curate of St. Mary's, Chatham, Kent.
 Reynolds, W. F., M.A., Chaplain of King's College, Cambridge.
 Rice, Charles Hobbes, B.D., Rector of Cheam, Surrey.
 Rice, Richard, M.A., Vicar of Little Barrington, Gloucester.
 Rich, John, M.A., Vicar of Chippenham, Wilts.
 Richards, Edward Tew, Rector of Farlington, Hampshire.
 Richards, Fredk. Jonathan, M.A., Vicar of Boxley, near Maidstone.
 Richards, Henry, B.D., Clifton, Gloucestershire.
 Richards, Henry, D.D., Vicar of Cleygate, Surrey.
 Richards, John William, M.A., Chaplain of St. Michael's, Bognor, Sussex.
 Richards, Thomas, M.A., Rector of Hardwick, Northants.
 Richards, William Henry, B.A., Vicar of Grays Thurrock, Essex.
 Richards, William Upton, M.A., Vicar of All Saints, Marylebone, London.
 Richardson, Arthur J., B.A., Curate of Whitnash, Warwickshire.
 Richardson, Charles W. H., Littleworth, Faringdon.
 Richardson, Frederick Henry, M.A., Curate of St. Peter's, Northampton.
 Richardson, Herbert Henley, M.A., Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Glasgow.
 Richardson, John, B.A., Chaplain of the County Prison, Warwick.
 Richardson, Percy John, Curate of St. Philip's, Clerkenwell, London.
 Richardson, Thomas, Curate of St. Simon's, Bristol.
 Richardson, W., Assistant Curate, Dio. Winchester.
 Richardson, Wm. James, B.A., Incumbent of St. Thomas, Regent Street, London.
 Richardson, William M., B.A., Curate of Christ Church, Wolverhampton, Stafford.
 Richings, Frederic Hartshill, M.A., Vicar of Atherstone, Warwickshire.
 Richings, Frederic Henry, B.A., Vicar of Upton Snodsbury, Worcester.
 Rickards, John Witherstone, M.A., St. Cyprian's, Marylebone, London.
 Ricketts, Martin Henry, M.A., Vicar of Hatfield and Grendon Bishop, Hereford.
 Ricketts, St. Vincent Fitzhardinge Lennox, B.A., Fairholme, Bournemouth.
 Riddell, John Chas. B., M.A., Hon. Can. of Canterbury, Rector of Harrietsham.
 Rideout, Gilbert Adolphus, B.A., Curate of Hullavington, Wiltshire.
 Ridgeway, Charles John, B.A., Vicar of Trinity Church, North Malvern, Worcester.
 Ridgway, James, B.D., Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Principal of the Training College, Culham, Oxon.
 Ridley, Henry Thomas, Vicar of Bruton, Somerset.
 Ridley, William Henry, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Hambleden, Bucks.
 Ridout, George, M.A., Rector of Sandhurst, Kent.
 Ridsdale, Charles Joseph, B.A., Incumbent of St. Peter's, Folkestone, Kent.
 Ridsdel, Thomas, Curate of Sedgley, Staffordshire.
 Rigby, George Henry, M.A., Curate of Pembury, Kent.
 Riggs, Thomas, B.A., Incumbent of Flookburgh, near Milnthorp, Lancashire.
 Rigge, William Postlethwaite, M.A., Rector of Lee, near Hexham, Northumb.
 Riky, John Benjamin, M.A., Rector of Bagborough, Somerset.
 Riley, John, Curate of Colwall, Herefordshire.
 Ring, Bartholomew, LL.D., Chaplain of H.M.S. "Indus."
 Ripley, Horace Charles, M.A., Burton Abbots Vicarage, Oxon.
 Risley, Wm. Cotton, M.A., Curate of St. Michael and All Angels, Paddington.
 Ritson, William, B.A., Curate of St. Peter's, Oldham, Lancashire.
 Rivington, Luke, M.A., Stoke-upon-Terne, near Market Drayton.
 Robarts, Charles Nathaniel, M.A., Oxford.
 Robbins, John, D.D., Vicar of St. Peter's, Bayswater, Kensington, Middlesex.
 Roberts, C. E. T., Newbury, Berks.
 Roberts, Francis Alexander Randal Cramer, M.A., Rector of Llandinabo, nr. Ross.
 Roberts, George, Rector of St. John and St. Mary, Beechamwell, near Swaffham.

- Roberts, Henry, Rector of Ashton, Devon.
 Roberts, John Lindfield, M.A., Chaplain of the Cookham Union, Berkshire.
 Roberts, John Llewellyn, M.A., Vicar of Spratton, Northampton.
 Roberts, K., Manningford, Marlborough.
 Roberts, Reginald Jolliffe, M.A., Head Master of the Grammar School, Holt, Norfolk.
 Roberts, Richard, Vicar of Milton Abbas, Dorset.
 Roberts, Thomas N., B.A., Curate of Westoe, South Shields.
 Roberts, W., Northall Parsonage, Dunstable.
 Roberts, William Masfen, B.A., Curate of Upton-on-Severn, Worcestershire.
 Robertson, Gordon, M.A., Curate of Sherfield-on-Lodon, Hants.
 Robertson, William Henry, M.A., Minor Canon of Durham.
 Robeson, Hemming, M.A., Vicar of Forthampton, Gloucestershire.
 Robins, Arthur, M.A., Rector of Beaulieu, Southampton.
 Robins, G. A., Rector of Bishopstone, Hereford.
 Robinson, Alfred, B.A., Assistant Vicar Choral of Hereford Cathedral.
 Robinson, Arthur Edward, M.A., (Fellow of New Coll., Oxford,) Chievely, Newbury.
 Robinson, Charles Edward Ricketts, M.A., Hon. Canon of Rochester, Rural Dean,
 Vicar of St. John's, Torquay, Devon.
 Robinson, Charles J., M.A., Hatfield, Herts.
 Robinson, Francis Edward, M.A., Appleton Rectory, Abingdon.
 Robinson, Francis Watson, B.A., Curate of Alton, Hants.
 Robinson, Frederick, B.A., Curate of All Saints, Wokingham, Berkshire.
 Robinson, Frederic Sidney, M.A., Archdeacon of D'Urban, Maritzburg, Natal.
 Robinson, George, Curate of Allerton, Bradford, Yorkshire.
 Robinson, George, B.A., Curate of Stow-cum-Quy, near Cambridge.
 Robinson, George Croke, M.A., Vicar of Benson, Oxfordshire.
 Robinson, George Walter, Vicar of Barnby-on-the-Marsh, Yorkshire.
 Robinson, Henry, M.A., Curate of Kelloe, Durham.
 Robinson, Hugh George, M.A., Preb. of York, and Rector of Bolton Abbey, Yorks.
 Robinson, John, B.A., Rector of Bowness, Cumberland.
 Robinson, John William, M.A., Vicar of North Petherton, Somerset.
 Robinson, Robert, M.A., Cossall, Notts.
 Robinson, Thomas B.A., Curate of Crookham, Hants.
 Robinson, Walter Croke, M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford, and Curate of West
 Bromwich, Staffordshire.
 Robinson, Wm. Kay, M.A., Head Master of the Gram. School, Wymondham, Lester.
 Robson, Fred., B.A., Curate of Babbacombe, Torquay.
 Robson, James Stuart, M.A., Chaplain of Dockyard, Chatham.
 Rodd, Charles, M.A., Rector of Northill, Cornwall.
 Rodwell, John Medows, M.A., Rector of St. Ethelburga, Bishopsgate, London.
 Rodwell, Robert Mandeville, M.A., Rector of High Laver, Ongar, Essex.
 Rodwell, William Medows, Curate of Hanbury, Worcestershire.
 Roe, Robt. Bradley, M.A., Rector of Melbury Osmond with Sampford, Dorset.
 Roffe, Alfred Augustus, Curate of St. Ives, Hants.
 Rogers, Herbert Goodenough, M.A., Curate of St. Mary Magdalene, Taunton.
 Rogers, J. C. Warrington, B.A., Curate of Stour Provost, Dorset.
 Rogers, John Thomas, M.A., Curate of Bury, Lancashire.
 Rogers, Reginald Welford, M.A., Vicar of Cookham, Berks.
 Rogers, Thomas Percival, M.A., Vicar of Batheaston, Somerset.
 Rogers, W. Moyle, Woolland Parsonage, Blandford.
 Rokeby, Henry R., Rector of Arthingworth.
 Rooke, Fredk. John, M.A., Preb. of Salisbury, Rural Dean, Rector of Rampisham.
 Roper, Thomas, M.A., Vicar of Newborough, Staffordshire.
 Rose, Edward Joseph, M.A., Rector of Weybridge, Surrey.
 Rose, Hyla Holden, M.A., Vicar of Erdington, Birmingham.
 Ross, Charles Sydenham, M.A., Vicar of St. John's, Glastonbury, Somerset.
 Ross, Charles Wellard, M.A., Rector of Greetham, Lincolnshire.

- Ross, David, B.A., Curate of Langton-on-Swale, Yorkshire.
 Ross, George Gould, M.A., B.C.L., British Chaplain at Dieppe.
 Ross, James Coulthard, Curate of All Saints', Marylebone, London.
 Rouse, Rolla Charles Meadows, M.A., Rector of Woodbridge, Suffolk.
 Routh, John William, M.A., Rector of Tilehurst, Berks.
 Routledge, Charles Francis, M.A., One of H.M. Inspectors of Schools.
 Rowan, Robt. Strettel, M.A., Vicar of St. James', Wardleworth, Rochdale, Lancas.
 Rowden, F., M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford, and Curate of Chippenham.
 Rowland, Charles B., M.A., Curate of Lighthorne and Chesterton, Warwick.
 Rowland, Edward, B.A., Curate of Great Sandal.
 Rowland, William John, M.A., Curate of Flushing, Cornwall.
 Rowley, Henry, Dep. Sec. S. P. G., St. Thomas', Oxford.
 Roy, Richard Clarke, M.A., Vicar of Upton, near Gainsborough.
 Royce, David, M.A., Vicar of Lower Swell, Gloucestershire.
 Roysd, Nathaniel, M.A., Rector of Little Barford.
 Rudd, Thomas, B.A., Curate of St. Hilda's, South Shields, Durham.
 Ruddock, Mark Ernest, B.A., Curate of Richmond, Surrey.
 Rudge, William John, M.A., Vicar of Stoven, near Wangford, Suffolk.
 Rumball, Charles, B.A., Vicar of Littlehampton, Sussex.
 Rumsey, Henry Langston, M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford, and Curate of St. Barnabas, Pimlico, London.
 Rumsey, John Williams, Vicar of Rolvenden, Kent.
 Rumsey, Laey Henry, M.A., Cur. of Brent Pelham with Furneaux Pelham, Herts.
 Rumsey, Robert Fredk., M.A., Asst. Master and Chaplain in St. Peter's College, Radley, Berkshire.
 Rush, Henry John, M.A., Vicar of Rustington, Sussex.
 Russell, Alexander Benn, B.C.L., Rector of Laverton, Somersct.
 Russell, Alfred Oliver, Curate of Westleigh, Leigh, Lancashire.
 Russell, Edward James, B.A., Curate of Heywood, Manchester.
 Russell, Harry Vane, M.A., Vicar of Burneston, Yorkshire.
 Russell Henry, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.
 Russell, Henry Lloyd, Curate of the Church of the Annunciation, Chislehurst.
 Russell John Fuller, B.C.L., F.S.A., Rector of St. Mary-the-Virgin, Greenhithe, Kent.
 Russell, R., M.A., Curate of Barking, Essex.
 Russell, Richard Norris, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Beachampton, Bucks.
 Russell, Sydenham Francis, M.A., Vicar of Willesborough, Ashford, Kent.
 Russell Thomas, M.A., Master of the Collegiate School, Westward Ho.
 Russwurm, Alexander, B.D., Head Master of the Grammar School, Portsmouth.
 Rust, Cyprian Thomas, LL.B., Rector of Holy Trinity, Heigham next Norwich.
 Ruddy, Arthur Forster, B.A., Curate of Wolborough, Devon.
 Sabin, John Edward, M.A., Chaplain to the Forces, Dover.
 Sadler, Michael Ferreebe, M.A., Preb. of Wells, Rector of Honiton, Devon.
 Sainsbury, Robert, Westcote, Dorking.
 Sainsbury, Sainsbury Langford, M.A., Rector of Beckington with Standerwick.
 Sainsbury, Thomas Ernest Langford, M.A., Curate of Beddington, Surrey.
 St. John, Henry Fleming, M.A., Curate of Leeds, Yorkshire.
 St. John, Maurice Wm. Ferdinand, M.A., Vicar of Frampton-upon-Severn.
 St. Leger, Edward Frederick, M.A., Rector of Scotton, Lincolnshire.
 Salnan, James Simpson, B.A., Curate of Lastingham, Yorkshire.
 Salmon, Gordon, M.A., Vicar of Nun Monkton, York.
 Salnan, William Senior, M.A., Rector of Brougham, Westmoreland.
 Salmon, Edwin Arthur, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Martock with Load, Somerset.
 Salmon, Robert Ingham, M.A., Curate of St. Michael's, Paddington, Middlesex.
 Salt, George, M.A., Vicar of St. George's, near Bristol.
 Salt, Samuel, Incumbent of Dresden, Longton, Staffordshire.
 Salnsbury, Augustus Pemberton, Vicar of Netley, Southampton.
 Samson, Edward, Rugeley.

- Sanders, William Skipsey, M.A., Vicar of Holy Trinity, Gosport, Hants.
- Sanderson, Edward Swinden, M.A., Vicar of Burgh cum Winthorpe, near Boston.
- Sanderson, Robert Edward, M.A., Head Master of St. Mary and St. Nicolas School, and Fellow of St. Nicolas College, Lancing, Sussex.
- Sandford, John, B.D., Archdeacon of Coventry, Hon. Canon of Worcester, and Rector of Alvechurch, Redditch, Worcester.
- Sandford, William, Rector of Crook, near Darlington, Durham.
- Sandham, Henry Mullins, M.A., Incumbent of St. John's, St. Marylebone.
- Sandham, J. M., Rector of Hardham, and Vicar of Cold Waltham, Sussex.
- Sandilands, Percival Richard Renorden, M.A., Vicar of Denford-cum-Ringstead, Northamptonshire.
- Sandon, William Henry, Curate of East Dereham with Hoo, Norfolk.
- Sangar, Benjamin Cox, M.A., Vicar of Hythe, Kent.
- Sankey, Edward Henry, B.A., Curate of Calne, Wilts.
- Sankey, Fred. Wm., Curate of Beighton, Derbyshire.
- Sankey, Richard Boyer, M.A., Curate of St. Andrew's, Leicester.
- Sapte, J. H., M.A., Rector of Cranleigh, Surrey.
- Saunders, Arthur Cardinal, M.A., Vicar of Magor with Redwick, Monmouthshire.
- Saunders, Copley Diggle, A.B., Rector of Tarrant-Hinton, Dorset.
- Saunders, George Eveleigh, M.A., Rector of Maperton, Somerset.
- Savage, William, M.A., Vicar of South Burcombe, near Salisbury.
- Savory, Edmund, M.A., Rector of Binfield, Berks.
- Sawbridge, John Sikes, M.A., Curate of Rickinghall Superior, Suffolk.
- Sawyer, William George, M.A., Vicar of Little Milton, Tetsworth, Oxon.
- Saxby, Gavin F., M.A., Fellow and Tutor of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury.
- Saxby, Stephen Henry, M.A., Vicar of East Clevedon, Somerset.
- Sayer, William Carlisle, M.A., Curate of Binfield, Berkshire.
- Scarlin, Walter James, M.A., Curate of Long Sutton, Lincolnshire.
- Scarth, Henry Mengden, M.A., Hon. Canon of Wells, Rector of Bathwick, Somerset.
- Scarth, John, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Milton-next-Gravesend.
- Scholefield, Arthur Fredk. Heber, B.A., Chaplain of the Cemetery, Highgate.
- Scholefield, Stuart Clement, St. Wilfrid's, Haylands, Ryde.
- Scobell, George R., Vicar of Shaugh, near Tavistock.
- Scot, Robert F., M.A., Rector of Farnborough, Hants.
- Scott, Charles Perry, B.A., Curate of St. Peter's, Pimlico, London.
- Scott, Charles Thomas, Rector of Shadingfield, Suffolk.
- Scott, Douglas Lee, B.A., Curate of St. Clement's, Cambridge.
- Scott, Frederick Thomas, M.A., Vicar of Sibertswold, Kent.
- Scott, George, M.A., Vicar of Coxwold and Husthwaite, Yorkshire.
- Scott, John, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary's, Kingston-upon-Hull.
- Scott, John Aubrey, B.A., Rector of West Tytherley, Hants.
- Scott, John Haigh, M.A., Vicar of Frosterley, near Darlington.
- Scott, Walter, Curate of St. Mark's, New Brompton, Kent.
- Scott, William, M.A., Vicar of St. Olave Jewry, London.
- Scott, William, Vicar of Exhall, near Coventry.
- Scott, Wm. Richard, M.A., (late Archdeacon) Curate of St. Martin's, Liverpool.
- Scriven, Charles, M.A., Rector of Martinhoe and of Trentishoe, Devon.
- Scriven, Henry Valentine, B.A., Vicar of Preston-on-Stour, Gloucestershire.
- Scrivener, Frederick George, Curate of Newent, Gloucestershire.
- Scrivenor, Arthur, M.A., Vicar of Alvingham with Cockerington, Lincoln.
- Seroggs, Sydney M., M.A., Curate of Teignton Regis, near Newton Abbot, Devon.
- Seudamore, William Edward, M.A., Rector of Ditchingham, near Bungay.
- Sculthorpe, Clement Fisher, M.A., Vicar of Beoley, Worcestershire.
- Sculthorpe, Henry C., B.A., Vicar of Beeley, Derbyshire.
- Seurfield, Robert Grey, B.A., Curate of St. John's, Bedminster, near Bristol.
- Seale, Frederick S., M.A., Vicar of North Otterington, Yorkshire.
- Searle, William George, M.A., Vicar of Oakington, Cambridgeshire.

- Seaman, John Benwell, M.A., Curate of St. Giles', Camberwell, Surrey.
- Seaton, Abdiel, M.A., Rector of Colton, Staffordshire.
- Seaton, John, Vicar of St. John's, Cleckheaton, near Leeds.
- Seaton, John Abdiel, M.A., Curate of Cleckheaton, Normanton.
- Sedgwick, John Edmond, M.A., St. Alban's, Manchester.
- Seller, Henry Charles, B.A., Vicar of Trull, Somerset.
- Sellon, Edmond, M.A., Caerwood, Chpystow.
- Sellon, Wm. Edward, B.A., Rector of Llangua, Monmouthshire, and Kentchurch.
- Sells, Alfred, M.A., 15, Cumberland Place, Southampton.
- Selwood, John Binford, M.A., Vicar of Shute, near Axminster, Devon.
- Selwyn, Congreve, Vicar of Welsh Hampton, Salop.
- Selwyn, Edward John, M.A., Vicar of Bickley, near Bromley, Kent.
- Selwyn, William, M.A., Vicar of Bromfield, Salop.
- Senior, James, B.A., Rector of Blackford and Compton Pauncefoot, Cast Cary.
- Senior, John, Curate of Abbenhall, near Ross, Herefordshire.
- Sergeant, E. W., M.A., Assistant Master of Winchester College.
- Sewell, Henry, Curate of Leigh, Essex.
- Sewell, Wm., B.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford, Curate of Freshwater, I. W.
- Seymour, Albert Eden, M.A., Curate of Kidderminster, Worcester.
- Seymour, Charles Fredk., Rector of Winchfield, Hants.
- Seymour, Edward, M.A., Rector of Bratton Clovelly, Devon.
- Seymour, George Augustus, M.A., Rector of Holy Trinity, Winchester.
- Seymour, Richard, M.A., Hon. Canon of Worcester, Rural Dean, and Rector of Kinwarton, Alcester.
- Shackleton, Thomas, B.A., Chaplain of St. Martin's Home, Hereford.
- Shadwell, Arthur Thomas Whitmore, M.A., Rector of Langton, Yorkshire.
- Shadwell, Julius, B.A., Rector of Washington, Durham.
- Shakespear, Wyndham Arthur, M.A., Curate of St. Mary Magdalen, Paddington.
- Shand, George, M.A., Rector of Heydon, Norwich.
- Shand, Thomas Henry Rodie, M.A., Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford, Vicar of Old, near Northampton.
- Shannon, Fred. Wm., B.A., Rector of Quarrington, Lincoln.
- Sharland, George Edward, Curate of South Shields, Durham.
- Sharland, George Thomas, Vicar of Spaldwick, Kimbolton, Hants.
- Sharp, Henry Isaac, M.A., Vicar of Swavesey, Cambridge.
- Sharp, John, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Horbury, near Wakefield.
- Sharpe, Lancelot Albert, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, and Curate of St. Barnabas, Pimlico, London.
- Sharpe, Robert Napier, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary, Hundersfield, Rochdale, Lancas.
- Sharpe, Thos. Wetherhed, M.A., One of H. M. Inspectors of Schools, Beddington.
- Sharpe, William Robert, M.A., Vicar of St. Chad's, Haggerston, London.
- Sharples, Arthur, B.A., Incumbent of Inskip, Preston, Lancashire.
- Shaw, Charles J. Kenward, M.A., Vicar of Newington next Hythe, Kent.
- Shaw, Morton, M.A., Rural Dean, and Rector of Rougham, Suffolk.
- Shaw, Thomas Maynard, B.A., Curate of Nutley, Sussex.
- Shaw, William Francis, M.A., Chaplain of the Union and Vicar of Eastry, Kent.
- Shaw, William Frederick, B.A., Curate of Chedleton, near Leek.
- Shean, Harry Shum, Curate of Westmeston with Chilmington, Sussex.
- Shebbeare, Charles Hooper, M.A., Vicar of Wykeham, Yorkshire.
- Sheepshanks, John, M.A., Vicar of Bilton, Yorkshire.
- Sheepshanks, Thomas, M.A., Rector of St. John's, Coventry.
- Shephard, John, M.A., Conduct of Eton College, and Curate of Eton, Bucks.
- Shepherd, Francis Burton, M.A., Rector of Margaret Roding.
- Shepherd, William Robert, Curate of Morton-upon-Lugg, near Hereford.
- Sheppard, Bernard Henry, B.A., Curate of Shelton, Staffordshire.
- Sheppard, Geo. Edmd., M.A., All Saints Clergy House, Castle Fields, Shrewsbury.
- Sheppard, Henry Fleetwood, M.A., Rector of Thurnscoe, near Doncaster.

- Sheppard, Thomas Henry, B.D., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.
 Sherlock, Henry, B.A., Vicar of St. James, Haydock, Lancashire.
 Shickle, Charles William, B.A., 18, Raby Place, Bath.
 Shield, William, Incumbent of Dishforth and Marston-le-Moor, Yorkshire.
 Shields, William Thomas, Rector of Thockrington, Northumberland.
 Shilleto, Jno. Hawtrey Rd., B.A., Cur. of St. Matthew's, Ardwick, nr. Manchester.
 Shilleto, William, B.A., Incumbent of Goosnargh, near Preston, Lancaster.
 Shimield, W. H., Curate of St. Mary's, Barnsley, Yorkshire.
 Shipton, George, Vicar of Barlow, Derbyshire.
 Shipton, Perceval Maurice, s.c.l., Rector of Halsham, Yorkshire.
 Short, John Holbeche, M.A., Vicar of Temple Balsall, Warwickshire.
 Shortland, Henry Vincent, M.A., Rector of Twinstead, near Halstead, Essex.
 Shrimpton, Henry, Curate of West Hackney, Middlesex.
 Shufflebotham, Edwin Charles, Inc. of Woodland, near Broughton-in-Furness.
 Shum, Franck, Bath.
 Shute, Hardwick, M.A., Whitton, Hounslow.
 Shuttleworth, Edward, M.A., Vicar of Eglshayle, Cornwall.
 Shuttleworth, W. S., Chaplain to Infirmary, Salisbury.
 Siddall, Henry, B.A., Vicar of St. Ann's, Warrington, Lancashire.
 Sidebotham, Wm. Thos., Curate of St. George's, Campden Hill, Kensington, Middx.
 Sidebottom, Frederick Radclyffe, Rector of Yatton Keynall, Wilts.
 Sidebottom, Henry Francis, M.A., Vicar of Sevenoaks, Kent.
 Sidebottom, Kingsford B., B.A., Curate of Sevenoaks, Kent.
 Sidgwick, John Benson, M.A., Vicar of Copley, near Halifax, Yorkshire.
 Sidney, Charles William Henry Humphrey, B.A., Vicar of Gooderstone,
 Sillifant, Charles William, M.A., Rector of Wear Gifford, Devon.
 Simcockes, George Staunton, M.A., Chaplain to the Bishop of Moray, N.B.
 Sincox, H. K., M.A., Curate of Bampton, Oxon.
 Simeon, Algernon Barrington, M.A., Curate of St. Thomas the Martyr, Oxford.
 Simeon, Philip B., North Moreton, Wallingford.
 Simey, George, M.A., Incumbent of Stuntney, Ely.
 Simmons, Melmoth Arthur Lintorn, B.A., Curate of Chew Magna, Somerset.
 Simms, George H., The Newlands, Whitmore Lane, Birmingham.
 Simons, William Charles, B.A., Curate of Bedminster, Bristol.
 Simpkin, Thos. Henry, B.A., Curate of Holy Trinity, Micklegate, Yorkshire.
 Simpson, Arthur Barwick, M.A., Curate of Bexhill, Sussex.
 Simpson, Frederick Robinson, B.A., Vicar of North Sudderland, Durham. Sussex.
 Simpson, Henry Winckworth, M.A., Preb. of Chichester, Rector of Bexhill,
 Simpson, J. C., B.A., Torquay.
 Simpson, James, Rural Dean, Vicar of Kirkby Stephen, Westmoreland.
 Simpson, James Harvey, M.A., Rector of St. Mark's, Bexhill, Sussex.
 Simpson, John Curwen, B.A., Barton Road, Torquay.
 Simpson, Joseph, M.A., Vicar of Tilsworth, Leighton Buzzard, Beds.
 Simpson, R. Barlow, High Wycombe, Bucks.
 Simpson, Thomas Bourne, M.A., Vicar of St. Cuthbert's, Thetford, Norfolk.
 Singleton, John Corbett, M.A., York.
 Sketchley, Horatio Powys, M.A., White Walton.
 Skey, Frederic C., M.A., Vicar of Weare, Somerset.
 Skilton, William James, M.A., Rector of St. Andrew's, Romford, Essex.
 Skinner, Robert, Vicar of Lea Marston, near Birmingham.
 Skipwith, Humberston, Rector of Hamstall Ridware, Staffordshire.
 Skipworth, Grey, M.A., Second Master and Sub-Warden of Oakham School.
 Skrine, Harcourt, B.A., Curate of Sunbury, Middlesex.
 Skrine, Wadham Huntley, M.A., Vicar of Stubbings, near Maidenhead, Berks.
 Slade, George Fitz-Clarence, M.A., Vicar of Lewknor, Oxon.
 Slade, James, B.A., Vicar of Little Lever, Bolton-le-Moors.

- Slade, James John, M.A., Vicar of Netherton, Dudley, Worcester.
- Sladen, Edward Henry Mainwaring, M.A., Curate of Alton Barnes, Wilts.
- Sladen, Edward, M.A., Curate of St. Andrew's, Deal, Kent.
- Slater, Francis, M.A., Head Master, Grammar School, Sudbury.
- Slater, Francis, B.A., Curate of All Saints, Wigai, Lancashire.
- Slater, Joseph, M.A., Curate of St. Lawrence, Southampton.
- Slatter, James, A.B., Vicar of Worminghall.
- Slatter, John, M.A., Vicar of Streatley, Berks.
- Slatter, William, M.A., Vicar of Imber, Heytesbury, Wilts.
- Slessor, John Henry, M.A., Rector of Headborne Worthy, Hants.
- Slight, Frederick Goode, B.A., Curate of Bury, Lancashire.
- Slocock, Frederick H., Curate of Hambleden, Bucks.
- Slocock, Frederick, Curate of Warlingham, Surrey.
- Slodden, Henry Thomas, M.A., Curate of Teddington, Middlesex.
- Smallpiece, Albert, B.A., Vicar of Nutley, Sussex.
- Smallpeice, Jno., M.A., Cur. of St. Bees, & Lecturer in St. Bees' Coll., Cumberland.
- Smallwood, George Arthur, Curate of Caverswall, Staffordshire.
- Smallwood, William John, M.A., Vicar of Claines, Worcester.
- Smeaton, James Burn, M.A., Vicar of Hannington, Wiltshire.
- Smith, Adam Clarke, M.A., Vicar of St. John's, Middlesborough, Yorks.
- Smith, Alfred Charles, M.A., Rector of Yatesbury, Wilts.
- Smith, Alfred Fowler, M.A., Head Master of the Grammar School, and Rector of St. Mary's, Thetford, Norfolk.
- Smith, Algernon Emerick Clementi, M.A., Vicar of Coatham, nr. Redcar, Yorks.
- Smith, Benjamin John, M.A., Rector of Alkerton, Oxon.
- Smith, Chas. Felton, M.A., Preb. of Exeter, Rural Dean, Vicar of Crediton, Devon.
- Smith, Charles James Elises, M.A., Assistant Master of Rugby School.
- Smith, Charles John, M.A., Late Archdeacon of Jamaica, Vicar of Erith, Kent.
- Smith, Charles P., Curate of Redditch.
- Smith, Charles Wyatt, M.A., Incumbent of Walmersley, Bury, Lancaster.
- Smith, Clement, B.A., Chaplain of the Grammar School, Guildford, Surrey.
- Smith, Clement Ogle, M.A., Rector of Shelfanger, Norfolk.
- Smith, David, M.A., Shenstone.
- Smith, Ebenezer, Chaplain of the Workhouse, Liverpool.
- Smith, Edgar, B.A., Cur. of Highgate, Middx. and Chap. to the Earl of Verulam.
- Smith, Edward Herbert, B.A., Rector of Killamarsh, Derbyshire.
- Smith, Edwin Trevelyan, M.A., Vicar of Cannock, Staffordshire.
- Smith, Francis, M.A., M.D., Chaplain at Buenos Ayres.
- Smith, Francis Edward, M.A., Rector of Hadstock, Essex.
- Smith, Frederick, M.A., Binfield, Berks.
- Smith, F. G. Hume, M.A., Incumbent of Armley, & Lecturer of St. Peter's, Leeds.
- Smith, Geo., B.D., Master of King's Sch., & Chap. Priest of Ottery St. Mary, Devon.
- Smith, George Edward, M.A., Vicar of Owston, near Bawtry.
- Smith, Henry, M.A., one of H. M. Inspectors of Schools, Tattenhall, Chester.
- Smith, Horatio Bolton, Newcastle, West Limerick.
- Smith, Hy. Robt., M.A., Rural Dean, Perpetual Curate of Grange Cartmel, Lanc.
- Smith, H. W., Summertown, Oxford.
- Smith, James Ind, M.A., Lee, Kent.
- Smith, Jeremiah Finch, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Aldridge, Walsall, Staffordsh.
- Smith, J. Newton, Bishopton, Stratford-on-Avon.
- Smith, John Finch, M.A., Leavesden Asylum, Herts.
- Smith, Jno. Bainbridge, M.A., Rec. of Sotby, and Vicar of Market Stainton, Linc.
- Smith, John Greenwood, B.A., Vicar of Christ Church, Leeds.
- Smith, John T., St. Jude's, Bradford.
- Smith, Matthew, Curate of the Mariners' Church, Hull, Yorkshire.
- Smith, Merton, M.A., Curate of Newport Pagnell, Bucks.
- Smith, Offley, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Long Leadenham, Lincolnshire.

- Smith, Reginald, M.A., Curate of Newton, near Sudbury, Suffolk.
 Smith, Robt. Fdk., M.A., Minor Canon of Southwell, and Vicar of Halam, Notts.
 Smith, Roger, M.A., Rector of Plympton St. Maurice, Devon.
 Smith, Rowland, M.A., Vicar of Nazing, near Waltham Abbey.
 Smith, Samuel Edward, B.A., Vicar of Farnham, Yorkshire.
 Smith Thomas, Vicar of Mapperley, near Derby.
 Smith, Thomas Ayseough, M.A., Vicar of Tenbury, Worcester.
 Smith, Thomas Jackson, Curate of Atherton, Lancashire.
 Smith, Thomas John, B.A., Curate of Preston, Uppingham.
 Smith, Thomas Woollen, M.A., Curate of Middleton, near Manchester.
 Smith, Vincent, Curate of St. Saviour's, Hoxton, Middlesex.
 Smith, William, M.A., Principal of the Gloucester and Bristol Training, College, Fishponds, Bristol.
 Smith, William, M.A., Vicar of Shadwell, near Leeds, Yorks.
 Smith, William, B.A., Vicar of Bickington, Devon.
 Smith, William Hart, M.A., Rector of St. Peter's, Bedford.
 Smith, William Joseph, M.A., Assoc. Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, Curate of Hundley and Spilsby, Lincolnshire.
 Smith-Marriott, Hugh Forbes, M.A., Rector of Horsemonden, Staplehurst, Kent.
 Smithe, Frederick, M.A., Vicar of Churchdown, Gloucestershire.
 Smithe, William Henry, B.A., St. Stephen's, Devonport.
 Smithwick, R. Fitzgerald, St. Luke's, Maidenhead.
 Smyth, Arthur, M.A., LL.B., Ilminster, near Taunton.
 Smyth, Christopher, M.A., Rector of Woodford, Northamptonshire.
 Smyth, Chrstr., M.A., Rur. Dean, Vic. of Little Houghton cum Brafield, Northants.
 Smyth, George Watson, M.A., St. Leonard's, Hastings.
 Smyth, H. M., Westwood Road, Beverley.
 Smyth, Saml. Buxton, B.A., Mathematical Master of the Gram. School, Guildford, and Curate of Shalford, Surrey.
 Smyth, Vere Broughton, M.A., Curate of Twickenham, Middlesex.
 Smythe, Patriek Murray, M.A., Hon. Canon of Worcester, Rural Dean, Rector of Solihull, Warwick.
 Smythies, Charles Alan, B.A., Curate of Great Marlow, Bucks.
 Snell, Henry Welsford, B.A., Vicar of Ryarsh, near Maidstone.
 Snepp, H. S., Vicar of St. Mary's, Bilston, Stafford.
 Snow, Benjamin, B.A., Vicar of Burton Pedwardine, Lincolnshire.
 Snow, Henry, M.A., Vicar of Bibury, Gloucestershire.
 Snowden, Charles Crowe, M.A., Vicar of Mitford, Northumberland.
 Snowden, Edmund, B.A., Incumbent of St. Thomas', Huddersfield, Yorks.
 Snowden, Richard Kemplay, M.A., Fellow of St. Nicolas College, and Assistant Master in St. Mary and St. Nicolas School, Lancing, Sussex.
 Soanes, Clarence, St. John's College, Oxford.
 Sockett, Henry, B.A., Rector of Sutton and of Bignor, Sussex.
 Soden, Charles Wm., M.A., Vicar of Kirk Whelpington, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 Solbé, Charles Augustus, B.A., Chaplain to the Forces, London.
 Soley, Thos. Lewis, M.A., Rector of Lois Weedon, near Towcester, Northants.
 Somerset, Hon. Plantagenet, B.A., Cur. of St. Mary & Holy Trin., Guildford, Surrey.
 Sorrell, Joseph, Market Drayton, Salop.
 Southey, Thomas Castle, M.A., Vicar of Newbold Pacey, Warwickshire.
 Southgate, Frederick, B.A., Vicar of Northfleet, Gravesend, Kent.
 Southwell, George, B.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Yetminster, nr. Sherborne.
 Southwell, George Bull, B.A., Curate of Stockwood & of Yetminster with Chetnols.
 Sowden, George, M.A., Incumbent of Hebden Bridge, Halifax, Yorkshire.
 Sowell, Charles Richard, B.A., Vicar of St. Goran, Cornwall.
 Sowerby, C. B., M.A., Beech Grove, Harrogate.
 Sowerby, Walter James, M.A., Vicar of Eltham, Kent.
 Spalding, Alfred Charles Clifford, Curate of Heathfield, Sussex.

- Sparling, Albert Sydney, Curate of St. John's, Oldham., Lancashire.
 Spawforth, James, Curate of Burgh-le-Marsh, Boston.
 Spedding, David S., Incumbent of Hutton Roof, Westmoreland.
 Spencer, Chas. Christopher, M.A., Rector of Benefield, Northants.
 Spencer, Charles Vere, M.A., Rector of Wheatfield, and Curate of Adwell, Oxon.
 Spencer, Hon. Chas. Fredk. Octavius, M.A., Vicar of Sutton, Isle of Ely, Cambridge.
 Spencer, John William, B.A., Curate of Dendron, near Ulverston, Lancaster.
 Spencer, Leigh, M.A., Vicar of Renhold, Bedford.
 Sperling, John Hanson, M.A., Rector and Vicar of Westbourne, Sussex.
 Spittal, John, M.A., Rector of St. Andrew's, Leicester.
 Spyers, Henry Almack, M.A., Vigo House, Weybridge.
 Squibb, G. M., B.A., Curate of Totteridge, near Hatfield, Herts.
 Squire, Graham Harvey, M.A., Rector of Sunningwell, Berks.
 Stable, Samuel Montagu, B.A., Curate of Calstone and Blackland, Dorset.
 Stackhouse, Jonathan Lett, Berkeley.
 Stafford, Chas. Egerton Fiennes, M.A., Stoke Rectory, Market Drayton.
 Staite, G. Herbert, Chap. of the Royal Lunatic Hospital and Barnes Convalescent Home, Cheadle, Cheshire.
 Stallard, A. G. B., M.A., Curate of Pewsey, Wilts.
 Stallard, George, B.A., Vicar of East Grafton, Wilts.
 Stallard, William Henry, M.A., Vicar of Bolney, Sussex.
 Stanley, Hon. Algernon Chas., M.A., Curate of St. Mary's, Soho, London.
 Stanning, J. H., M.A., Curate of Leigh, Lancashire.
 Stansfield, Edmund, Curate of Donnington, Chichester.
 Stantial, Thomas, D.C.L., Chatham House, Ramsgate.
 Stanwell, Charles, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Vicar of Horningsey, Cambridge.
 Stapylton, William Chetwynd, M.A., Vicar of Malden, Surrey.
 Starey, William, B.A., Curate of Wantage, Berks.
 Starkey, Alfred, Curate of St. Martin's, Worcester.
 Starkie, Henry Arthur, B.A., Rector of Radcliffe, Manchester.
 Starky, Andrew Beauchamp, M.A., Vicar of Rowde, Devizes, Wilts.
 Stathan, Francis Kington, B.A., Cur. of St Peter's, St. George's in the East, London.
 Statham, Wm., B.A., Vicar of Ellesmere Port, Chester.
 Steel, Macdonald, M.A., Vicar of Caerwent, Monmouthshire.
 Steele, G., M.A., One of H.M. Inspec. of Schools, Dom. Chap. to Duke of Marlborough.
 Steere, Edward, LL.D., Rector of Little Steeping, near Spilsby, Lincolnshire.
 Stenning, George Covey, M.A., Curate of Holy Trinity, Ryde, Isle of Wight.
 Stephens, William Henry George, B.A., Vicar of St. John's, Darlington, Durham.
 Stephenson, John George Rablah, LL.D., Principal of the Collegiate School, Cambridge House, Stratford-on-Avon.
 Stephenson, William, M.A., Curate of Alverthorpe, Wakefield, Yorkshire.
 Sterry, Francis, M.A., Rector of Poltimore, near Exeter.
 Stevens, Henry Bingham, M.A., Rector of St. Mary's, Chatham, Kent.
 Stevens, Richard Carolus, Curate of St. Saviour's, Croydon, Surrey.
 Steward, Chas. Holden, M.A., Rector of Standon, Staffordshire.
 Still, Robert Trevor, B.A., Melford, Haven.
 Still, John, Curate of St. Michael's, Lichfield.
 Stillingfleet, Hy. Jas. Wm., M.A., Rector of Hampton Bishop, near Hereford.
 Stobart, Henry, M.A., Rector of Warkton, Northants.
 Stock, Edward Peché, M.A., Rector of Windermere, Westmoreland.
 Stockdale, Fk. Septimus, B.A., Vic. of St. Peter's, Haven Street, Ryde, Isle of Wight.
 Stockdale, Henry, B.A., Vicar of Bole, Notts.
 Stockdale, Wm. Walter, Rector of Witchling, Kent.
 Stocks, Jno. Edwd., M.A., Chap. of C. Church, Cur. of St. Philip and St. James, Oxon.
 Stone, S. J., B.A., Curate of St. Paul's, Haggerstone, Middx.

- Stonhouse, Arthur, B.A., Vicar of Walford, Herefordshire.
- Stopford, Fredk. Manners, M.A., Rector of Tichmarch, nr. Thrapstone, Northants.
- Storey, Edward Hyde, Holdfast, Upton-upon-Severn.
- Stork, John Henry, M.A., Curate of Colwick, near Nottingham.
- Story, Geo. Jonathan, 9, London Street, Paddington, (Cur. of Newington, Surrey.)
- Stott, Jonas, B.A., The Parsonage, Farndale, Kirby Moorside.
- Stracey, Wm, Jas., M.A., Rector of Buxton with Oxnead and Skeyton, Norfolk.
- Street, Arthur Joseph, B.A., Curate of Kempley, near Ledbury.
- Stretton, Henry, M.A., Somerby, Lincoln.
- Strong, William Arthur, M.A., Vicar of Ravensthorpe, Northants.
- Strother, James Baxter, M.A., Rector of St. Mary Steps, Exeter.
- Stuart, Edw., M.A., Vic. of St. Mary Magdalene, Munster Street, St. Pancras, London.
- Stuart, John Fras., Vicar of Kirton in Lindsay, and of Northorpe, Lincolnshire.
- Stubbs, William, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.
- Sturges, Edward, M.A., Vicar of Great Milton, Oxon.
- Style, Fredk. Newton, B.A., Curate of Addington, near Croydon, Surrey.
- Suckling, H., Barnston, Notts.
- Suckling, Maurice Shelton, M.A., Rector of Shipmeadow, Suffolk.
- Suckling, Robert Alfred John, Rector of Barsham, Suffolk.
- Sugden, Arthur Maitland, M.A., Vicar of Mollington, near Banbury, Oxon.
- Sulley, Joseph, Nottingham.
- Sumner, Nathaniel Halliwell, Curate of Nettleton, near Caistor, Lincolnshire.
- Sutton, Augustus, M.A., Preb. of Lincoln, Rector of West Tofts, Norfolk.
- Sutton, Fred. Heathcote, M.A., Vicar of Theddingworth, near Rugby.
- Sutton, Robert, M.A., Rector of Slingfold, and Prebendary of Chichester.
- Sutton, Robert Shuttleworth, M.A., Rural Dean, and Rector of Rype, Sussex.
- Sutton, Walter Henry, M.A., Bucknell, Salop.
- Swainson, Charles, M.A., Curate of Crick, near Rugby.
- Swainson, Charles Litchfield, B.D., Rector of Crick, Northamptonshire.
- Swainson, Edward Christopher, M.A., Rector of Wistanstow, Shrewsbury.
- Swainson, John Grain D'Orge, M.A., 54, Albany Street, London.
- Swan, John Thomas Atkin, M.A., Curate of Corsley, Wilts.
- Swann, Henry, M.A., Curate of St. Matthew's, City Road, London.
- Swann, Johnson Fowell, B.A., Curate of Hempstead, nr. Saffron Walden, Essex.
- Swayne, John, M.A., Vicar of Christ Church, St. Giles-in-the-Fields.
- Swayne, Robt. Geo., M.A., Prebendary of Salisbury, Rector of St. Edmund's, Salisbury.
- Swayne, Wm. John, M.A., Curate of Whiteparish, Wilts.
- Sweet, James Bradby, M.A., Vicar of Scalby, near Scarborough.
- Swete, Henry Barelay, M.A., Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, Curate of Tor Mohun, Torquay, Devon.
- Swete, William, M.A., Meadowcroft, Reigate.
- Sweeting, W. D., M.A., Second Master of the Cathedral School, Peterborough.
- Swinburn, Fred. Thos., M.A., Head Master of the Free School, and Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin, Acock's Green, Yardley, Worcestershire.
- Swinny, George Hervey, B.A., Curate of Abingdon, Berkshire.
- Sydenham, George, Vicar of Fanwell, Staffordshire.
- Syers, Henry S., M.A., B.C.L., Vicar of Syston, near Leicester.
- Sykes, John Heath, B.A., Rector of Billesley, and Vicar of Haselor, Warwick.
- Sykes, William, M.A., Chaplain to the Forces, Plymouth.
- Sylvester, Edward T., Domestic Chaplain to the Countess of Cardigan, and Curate of Deene, Northants.
- Symms, John Edward, M.A., Vice-Principal of the Proprietary College, Bath.
- Symonds, Fred. Murray, M.A., Curate of Chetnole, Dorset.
- Symonds, George Edward, M.A., Vicar of Thaxted, Essex, and Rural Dean.
- Tabraham, Robert, B.A., Assistant Master in Malvern College, Worcestershire.

- Tahourdin, Richard, B.A., Curate of Wylve, Wilts.
 Talbot, E. S., M.A., Warden of Keble College.
 Talfourd, William Wordsworth, M.A., Rector of Winceby, Lincolnshire.
 Tandy, Geo. Mercer, B.A., Incumbent of Lowswater, near Whitehaven, Cumb.
 Tanner, John William Newell, B.A., Vicar of Antrobus, Great Budworth, Cheshire.
 Tanner, Thos. Chas., LL.B., Vicar of Burlescombe, Devon.
 Tanner, Wm., Incumbent of Caterham Valley, near Croydon.
 Tapply, Fred., Forton, Gosport, Hants.
 Tapson, James John, Vicar of Hooe, Devon.
 Tarbutt, Arthur Charles, M.A., Incumbent of St. Peter's, Streatham, Surrey.
 Tarbutt, A. B., Curate of St. Peter's, Streatham, Surrey.
 Tasker, James, B.D., Vicar of Trinity Church, Carlisle.
 Tatham, Alfred, M.A., Minor Canon of Southwell.
 Tatham, Arthur, M.A., Preb. of Exeter, Rec. of Bocconoc with Broadoak, Cornwall.
 Tatham, Francis H., M.A., Assistant Master in Westminster School, Middlesex.
 Taunton, Charles Edward, M.A., Curate of Newland, Worcestershire.
 Taunton, Frederick, M.A., Merton Rectory, Thetford, Norfolk.
 Tayler, Henry Carr Archdale, M.A., Rector of Orwell, Cambridgeshire.
 Taylor, Alfred Charles, B.A., Curate of Andover, Hants.
 Taylor, C., B.A., Kirkheaton, Capheaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 Taylor, C. H., B.A., Curate of Pidley, near Huntingdon.
 Taylor, Charles Henry, B.D., Vicar of St. Giles-on-the-Heath, Devon.
 Taylor, Chas. James Fox, B.A., Morning Reader of St. Paul's Cathedral.
 Taylor, Charles Reeve, B.A., LL.B., Curate of St. Peter's, Berhampstead, Herts.
 Taylor, George, M.A., Curate of Guildford, Surrey.
 Taylor, George John, M.A., Vicar of White Colne, Essex.
 Taylor, Henry Berkeley, M.A., St. Michael's, Wakefield.
 Taylor, Isaac, M.A., Vicar of Holy Trinity, Twickenham, Middlesex.
 Taylor, Joseph, M.A., Perpetual Curate of St. Thomas, Stockport, Cheshire.
 Taylor, John Robert Gleig, M.A., Assistant Vicar Choral in Hereford Cathedral.
 Taylor, J. W., Vicar of Little Marsden, Whalley, Lancashire.
 Teale, William Henry, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Devizes, Wilts.
 Teale, William, M.A., Curate of St. Alban's, Manchester.
 Tearle, Frederick, M.A., Vicar of Gazeley with Kentford, Suffolk.
 Teesdale, Charles Baker, M.A., Rector of Lamarsh, Essex.
 Temple, George Wm., M.A., Vicar of Blean, near Canterbury.
 Temple, Henry, M.A., Vicar of St. John the Evangelist, Leeds.
 Temple, Joseph Abbott, M.A., Curate of St. Ann's, Hoxton.
 Templer, Henry Skinner, M.A., Vicar of Great Coxwell, Berks.
 Tennant, W., M.A., Vicar of St. Stephen's, Westminster.
 Tennear, B. T. P., Vice-Principal of the Training College, Winchester.
 Terrott, Charles P., M.A., Vicar of Wispington, Lincolnshire.
 Terry, Francis, M.A., Chaplain at Arley, near Northwich, Cheshire.
 Tetley, J. G., M.A., Curate of Badminster, Chippenham.
 Teulon, Josiah Sanders, M.A., Curate of Beddington, Surrey.
 Tew, E. L. H., B.A., Curate of Earl's Colne, Essex.
 Thackwell, W. H., Chaplain of Alcester Workhouse.
 Thicknesse, Francis Henry, M.A., Hon. Canon of Manchester, Rector of Brackley, Northants, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Peterborough.
 Thomas, D. G., M.A., Chaplain at Tabley, Knutsford, Cheshire.
 Thomas, David, Curate of Llanfair, Anglesey.
 Thomas, Edmund, M.A., Vicar of Colwinstone, Corbridge, Glamorganshire.
 Thomas, Edward Hughes, B.A., Curate of Helidon, Northants.
 Thomas, Henry, Hebden Bridge, Halifax.
 Thomas, John Harries, M.A., (late Archdeacon of Capetown,) Vicar of Hillingdon, Middlesex.

- Thomas, Robert, B.A., Grammar School, Caistor.
- Thomas, R. J. H., B.D., Rector of Hodgeston, Pembroke, and Chap. to Lord Leigh.
- Thomas, William, Curate of Cwm.
- Thomas, Wm. S., Curate of Thorn St. Margaret, near Wellington, Somerset.
- Thompson, Archibald Douglas C., M.A., Rector of Wormley, nr Hoddesden, Herts.
- Thompson, Barnard Tyrrell, Curate of Hollingwood, Manchester.
- Thompson, Christopher, Curate of St. Paul's, Brighton.
- Thompson, Foster John, B.A., Curate of Acles, Norfolk.
- Thompson, Francis, L.L.B., Vicar of St. Giles, Durham.
- Thompson, George, M.A., Vicar of Leigh, near Sherbourne, Dorset.
- Thompson, Henry, M.A., Vicar of Chard, Somersetshire.
- Thompson, Henry Bell, B.A., Vicar of Tatworth, Chard, Somerset.
- Thompson, John, M.A., Vicar of Patrick Brompton, Yorkshire.
- Thompson, John Elijah, M.A., Vicar of Oifton with Little Bricett, Suffolk.
- Thompson, Jos. Henry, M.A., Vicar of Datchet, Bucks.
- Thompson, Wm. Oswell, M.A., Vicar of Upton cum Chalvey, Slough, Bucks.
- Thompstone, Ezra, Curate of St. John's, Hanley.
- Thomson, George, Curate of Banstead, Epsom, Surrey.
- Thomson, George O. L., B.A., Second Master of St. John's College, Hurstpierpoint, and Fellow of St. Nicolas College, Lancing, Sussex.
- Thornton, Charles, M.A., Vicar of Bayford, near Hertford.
- Thornton, George, M.A., Vicar of Sharnbrook, Beds.
- Thorp, Charles, M.A., Vicar of Ellingham, Northumberland.
- Thorp, Edward, B.A., Curate of Bridgwater, Somerset.
- Thorp, Frederic, M.A., Rector of Burton, Lincolnshire.
- Thrupp, Edward, M.A., Vicar of Feltham, Middlesex.
- Thursby-Pelham, Augustus, M.A., Rector of Cound, Salop.
- Thwaytes, James, Rector of Calbeck, Cumberland.
- Thwaytes, Thomas, B.A., Rector of Hayton, near Aspatria, Cumberland.
- Tidnye, Arthur Barugh, M.A., Curate of Wilsford, Marlborough, Wilts.
- Tidcombe, George H., B.A., Vicar of St. Peter's, Hammersmith, Middlesex.
- Tidswell, Samuel Waile, B.A., Curate of St. Mark's, Surbiton, Surrey.
- Tillard, James, M.A., Curate of West Malling, Maidstone.
- Tilt, James Watton, Curate of Heywood, Manchester.
- Timins, John Henry, M.A., Vicar of West Malling, Kent.
- Tink, Charles Frederick, M.A., Vicar of Shepton Montague, Somerset.
- Tinkler, John, M.A., Vicar of Arkengarthdale, Yorkshire.
- Tinling, George Douglas, B.A., Curate of Bedminster, near Bristol.
- Tireman, Fred. Stainton, M.A., Vicar of Wilton, near Redcar, Yorkshire.
- Tireman, W. W., M.A., Rector of Bowers Gifford, Essex, and Rural Dean.
- Todd, Edward Hallett, M.A., Vicar of Aldsworth, Gloucestershire.
- Todd, Richard Utten, M.A., Curate of Longbridge Deverill, near Warminster.
- Tollemache, A. F., B.A., Harrington, Northants.
- Tollemache, Ernest Celestine, B.A., Weem, Aberfeldy, N.B.
- Toller, Hill, B.A., Curate of Holy Trinity, Twickenham, Middlesex.
- Tomkins, William, M.A., Curate of Barford, Warwick.
- Tomkins, William Smith, Vicar of Durston, Curate of Castle Cary, Somerset.
- Tomlins, Richard, M.A., Chaplain of the City Gaol, Manchester.
- Tomlins, Thomas Wm., B.A., Curate of Alnwick, Northumberland.
- Tomlinson, Chas. Henry, M.A., Vicar of Drenchworth, near Wantage.
- Tompkins, Richard Francis, B.A., Vicar of Tortington, Sussex.
- Tompson, Edward John, M.A., Vicar of Denham, Suffolk.
- Tompson, Reginald, M.A., Curate of Buckingham.
- Tonkin, John, St. Burian, Penzance.
- Tooke, Thomas Hammond, M.A., Rector of Monkton Farleigh, Wilts.
- Tooth, Arthur, M.A., Vicar of St. James', Hatcham, Deptford, Kent.

- Tooth, Charles, M.A., Vicar of Granborough, near Rugby.
 Tooth, George Chinnery, M.A., Vicar of Codsall, Wolverhampton.
 Toppin, George Pilgrim, M.A., Curate of Cattistock, Dorsetshire.
 Tordiffe, Thomas, St. Michael, Workington, Cumberland.
 Torr, Thomas Joseph, M.A., Curate of Dunmer, near Basingstoke, Hants.
 Torre, William Fox Whitbread, M.A., Curate of Chislehurst, Kent.
 Tothill, Charles William Edward, Rector of Tedburn, Devon.
 Tower, Charles, M.A., Succentor of Salisbury Cathedral, Rural Dean, Rector of Chilmark, Wiltshire.
 Tower, Ferdinand E., M.A., Rector of Elmsthorpe with Earl Shilton, Leicester.
 Fellow of St. Nicholas College, Lancing, Sussex.
 Towle, Charles Seymour, B.A., Curate of Morpeth.
 Towne, Ernest Josiah, B.A., Vicar of Forcett, Yorkshire.
 Towne, Lyndhurst, B., Rector of St. George's, Middleton, Darlington.
 Townsend, Thomas Jackson M., B.A., Vicar of Searby with Owmy, Lincolnshire.
 Townson, John, M.A., Rector of Strensham, Worcester.
 Townson, Robert, M.A., Vicar of Allithwaite, near Ulverston, Lancashire.
 Toye, Joseph Theophilus, M.A., Vicar of St. David's, Exeter.
 Travis, James, B.A., Grammar School, Sutton Valence, Staplehurst.
 Trebeck, James John, B.A., Vicar of Annesley, Nottinghamshire.
 Trendell, Wm. Henry, Organizing Sec. of the Curate's Augmentation Fund.
 Trenham, Thomas B., B.A., Vicar of North Petherwin, near Launceston.
 Trevelyan, Edward Otto, M.A., 7, West Mall, Clifton, Bristol.
 Trevelyan, George, M.A., Vicar of Stogumber, Somerset.
 Trevelyan, William Pitt, Rector of Calverton, and Vicar of Wolverton, Bucks.
 Trevenen, Thomas John, M.A., Curate of St. Barnabas', Pimlico, London.
 Trevor, George A., M.A., 48, Queen's Gardens, Hyde Park West, London.
 Trewman, Arthur Henry Peill, M.A., Vicar of Ilminster, Somerset.
 Triggs, George Charles, Curate of Shoreditch, Middlesex.
 Trinder, Daniel, M.A., Vicar of Teddington, Middlesex.
 Tripp, Francis, B.A.
 Trollope, John Joseph, M.A., Prebendary of Hereford, Vicar of Wigmore, and of Leinthall Starke, Hereford.
 Trotman, Arthur Lawrence, B.A., Curate of Warminster, Wilts.
 Trott, J. T., St. Mary Hall, Oxford.
 Trotter, Henry Eden, M.A., Curate of Bedminster, Bristol.
 Trousdale, Robert, B.A., Curate of Rosthorne, Cheshire.
 Trow, Isaac Wm., B.A., Cur. of St. Paul's, Boyne Hill, Maidenhead, Berkshire.
 Trower, Arthur, M.A., Bury St. Edmund's.
 Truell, W. H. A., B.A., Rector of Chettle, near Blandford, Dorset.
 Truss, William Nicholas, S.C.L., Chaplain of the House of Correction, Nether Knutsford, Cheshire.
 Trye, Reginald Edward, B.A., St. James, Calderbrook.
 Tucker, Fred. Henry, LL.B., Rural Dean, Incumbent of Horrabridge, Devon.
 Tucker, H. W., B.A., Oxford.
 Tucker, Marwood, M.A., Rector of Widworthy, Devon.
 Tudor, Harry, M.A., Rector of Woolborough, Newton Abbot, Devon.
 Tudor, Thomas Owen, M.A., Incumbent of St. Thomas, Monmouth.
 Tugwell, George, M.A., Incumbent of Lee, Ilfracombe, Devon.
 Tunnicliffe, Matthew Walter, B.A., Curate of Emley, Yorkshire.
 Turnbull, Wm. Stephenson, M.A., Vicar of Penistone, Incumbent of Midhope, Yorkshire, and Dem. Chap. to the Duke of St. Albans.
 Turner, Charles, B.A., Vicar of Grasby, Lincolnshire.
 Turner, Charles Beresford, B.A., Vicar of North Eling, Hants.
 Turner, Charles H., M.A., Curate of Godmanchester, Hunts.
 Turner, Charles Edgar, B.A., Vicar of Egg Buckland, Devon.
 Turner, Charles Stephen, M.A., Vicar of Beech Hill, near Reading, Berks.
 Turner, John Bowman, M.A., Rector of Barford, Wymondham, Norfolk.

- Turner, John James, M.A., Whittington, Oswestry.
 Turner, John Richard, M.A., Vicar of Coaley, near Dursley, Gloucestershire.
 Turner, Joseph Kirkby, B.A., Vicar of Stalmine, Lancashire.
 Turner, Thomas, M.A., Vicar of Norton, Gloucestershire.
 Turner, Vaughan Charles, Curate of Geddington, near Kettering, Northants.
 Turner, William Vlako, M.A., Vicar of Hundley and Spilsby, Lincoln.
 Turnock, James Robert, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary-at-the-Tower, Ipswich.
 Turquand, Alexander Peter, M.A., Vicar of St. Michael's, Ottery St. Mary, Devon.
 Turton, Henry Meysey, M.A., Curate of Berkeley, Gloucestershire, and Domestic Chaplain to Lord Fitzhardinge.
 Turton, William Parsons, M.A., Incum. of Maplebeck and of Winkbourn, Notts.
 Tute, John Stanley, B.A., Vicar of Markington, Ripon, Yorkshire.
 Tweed, Henry Earle, M.A., Vicar of Coleby, Lincolnshire, late Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford.
 Twigg, Richard, Rector of St. James, Wednesbury, Staffordshire.
 Twist, John James, M.A., Curate of St. James's, Birch, Manchester.
 Tyacke, Richard, B.A., Vicar of Padstow, Cornwall.
 Tyacke, Richard Fredk. M.A., Vicar of Lelant, Cornwall.
 Tylden, William, M.A., Vicar of Stanford, Kent.
 Tylee, Mortimer, B.A., Rector of Ergham, Incumbent of Sewerby with Marton, and of Grindall, Bridlington, Yorkshire.
 Tyler, Charles Henry, M.A., Rector of Chelwood, near Bristol.
 Tyler, Edward Octavius, M.A., Vicar of Portbury, Somerset.
 Tyrwhitt, Richard St. John, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary Magdalene, Oxford.
 Tyssen, Ridley Daniel, M.A., Curate of Staines, Middlesex.
 Uglow, Theodore Sebastian, B.A., Curate of Dalton-in-Furness, Lancashire.
 Underwood, William D., Vicar of West Wittering, Chichester, Sussex.
 Upperton, Charles Stuart, Vicar of Ince, Cheshire.
 Upton, Robert, M.A., Vicar of Moreton-Say, near Market-Drayton, Salop.
 Urquhart, Alexander Jolly, Curate of Gwythian, Cornwall.
 Utterson, Ferris, M.A., Curate of St. Alkmund's, Derby.
 Valpy, John Montagu, M.A., Vicar of St. John the Baptist, Nottingham.
 Vander-Meulen, George Allen, B.A., Curate of Wilton, Salisbury.
 Vassall, William, M.A., Rector of Hardington Mandeville, Somerset.
 Vaughan, Arthur C. Chabra, M.A., Incumbent of Featherstone, Curate of Greenhead Haltwhistle, Carlisle, and Incumbent of Lambley, Northumberland.
 Vaughan, Chas. Lyndhurst, M.A., Incum. of Christ Church, St. Leonard's-on-Sea.
 Vaughan, Edward Thomas, M.A., Hon. Canon of Peterborough, Rural Dean, and Rector of Harpenden, Herts.
 Vaughan, Edward Thomas, B.A., Curate of Langleybury, Herts.
 Vaux, James Edward, M.A., Teignmouth, Devon.
 Vavasour, John Francis Stukeley, M.A., Curate of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicester.
 Vawdrey, Alexander Allen, M.A., Vicar of Mabe, Cornwall.
 Venables, Edmund, M.A., Canon of Lincoln and Chaplain to the Bishop of London.
 Ventris, Edward, M.A., Vicar of Stow-cum-Quy, Cambridge, Chaplain of the Cambridge County Gaol, and Domestic Chaplain to Lord St. Leonards.
 Vernon, Evelyn Hardolph Harecourt, B.A., Preb. of Lincoln, Rector of Cotgrave and of Headon, Notts.
 Vernon, Hon. Courtenay John, B.A., Rector of Grafton Underwood, Northants.
 Vernon, Frederick, B.A., Curate of Maulden, Beds.
 Vernon, James Edmund, M.A., Vicar of Bicknoller, Somerset.
 Vernon, John Richard, M.A., Curate of Stogumber, near Taunton.
 Vesey, Fras. Gerald, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of All Saints, Huntingdon.
 Veysey, Arthur, Curate of St. Mary's, West Brompton, Middlesex.
 Vibert, John Pope, B.A., Vicar of St. Peter's, Newlyn, Cornwall.
 Vicary, Edward John, Vicar of Berwick Bassett, Wilts.
 Vickers, Randall W., Coatham, Redcar.

- Victor, H. H., Boseombe Chine, Ringwood.
- Vidal, Francis Furze, B.A., Curate of Eton, Conduct. of Eton College, Windsor.
- Vidal, Robert Wellington, M.A., Curate of Marston Bigot, near Frome, Somerset.
- Vigers, Duncan Firmin, M.A., Rector of Notgrove, Gloucestershire.
- Vigne, Henry, M.A., Vicar of Sumbury, Middlesex.
- Villiers, H. Montagu, M.A., Rector of Adisham, Kent.
- Villiers, William Richard, B.C.L., Curate of Hacombe, Devon.
- Vincent, Fredk. Augustus, B.D., Rector of Ladbroke and Radbourne, Warwick.
- Vincent, John, M.A., Rector of Jacobstowe, Devon.
- Vincent, Thomas, M.A., Rector of Pusey, Berkshire.
- Viner, Alfred William Ellis, B.A., Vicar of Badgworth, Gloucestershire.
- Viner, George Barber Peregrine, B.A., Vicar of St. John Baptist, Enfield, Middx.
- Vines, Thomas Hotchkiss, B.A., Curate of Little Comberton, Worcestershire.
- Vizard, Henry Brougham, M.A., Rector of Spetisbury with Charlton, Dorset.
- Vize, John Edward, M.A., Curate of Forden, near Welshpool.
- Voules, T. Arthur, M.A., Rector of Beer Crocombe, and of North and South Bradon, Somerset, and Domestic Chaplain to Viscount Dillon.
- Vyse, Granville Sykes Howard, M.A., Rector of Pitsford and Boughton, Northants.
- Vyvyan, Henry, M.A., Vicar of Seaton, near Axminster, Devon.
- Waddell, W. Dudley, M.A., Curate of St. Paul's, Bunhill Row, London.
- Waddellow, Samuel Robinson, M.A., Curate of Bournemouth, Hants.
- Wadley, Thomas Procter, M.A., Cleeve Prior, Worcestershire.
- Wadmore, Henry Robinson, M.A., Vicar of All Souls, Hampstead, Middlesex.
- Wagner, Arthur Douglas, M.A., Chancellor of Chichester Cathedral, Incumbent of St. Paul's and of St. Mary Magdalene, and of Ch. of Amuniation, Brighton.
- Wainwright, Arnold W., Rector of Iken, Saxmundham, Suffolk.
- Wainwright, L. S., Curate of St. Peter's, Devizes.
- Wailman, John Wilson, B.A., Curate of Skelton, Yorks.
- Walcot, John, M.A., Rector of Ribbesford, Worcestershire.
- Walcott, Mackenzie Edward Charles, B.D., Precentor and Prebendary of Chichester Cathedral, Domestic Chaplain to Lord Lyons.
- Walford, C., M.A., Chaplain H.M. Indian Service, Bombay.
- Walford, Henry, M.A., Assistant Master of Hayleybury College.
- Walker, Arthur, M.A., Vicar of Easton-in-Gordano, near Bristol.
- Walker, Austin H., Curate of Hebden Bridge, Halifax.
- Walker, Charles, M.A., Connaught House, Brighton.
- Walker, C. J. S., B.A., Stoney Croft, Liverpool.
- Walker, Frederick J., M.A., Rector of Eaton Hastings, Berkshire.
- Walker, George, M.A., Vicar of Belford, Northumberland.
- Walker, George Alfred, M.A., Vicar of Chidham, Sussex.
- Walker, John, M.A., Vicar of St. Saviour's, Pimlico.
- Walker, John, Curate of Stockport, Cheshire.
- Walker John Russell, M.A., Rural Dean of Manchester, Incumbent of Ringley, Lancashire, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Chichester.
- Walker, Joseph, M.A., Rector of Averham with Kelham, Notts.
- Walker, Robert Holdsworth, M.A., Curate of Bedhampton, Havant.
- Walker, Sam. Masterton, M.A., Rector of St. Enoder, Grampound Road, Cornwall.
- Walker, Thomas Andrew, M.A., Curate of Kilham, Hull, Yorkshire.
- Wallace, C. Stebbing, B.A., Curate of Monk's Eleigh, Suffolk.
- Wallace, John, M.A., Chaplain of Magdalen Hospital, Streatham, Surrey.
- Wallace, Robert James, M.A., Incumbent of Hurst Green, near Clitheroe.
- Wallace, William, M.A., Incumbent of St. Luke's, Stepney, Middlesex.
- Wallas, John, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Crosserake, Westmoreland.
- Waller, Adolphus, M.A., Vicar of Hunstanton, Norfolk.
- Waller, C. E., M.A., Vicar of Humberstone, Leicestershire.
- Waller, Robert Plume, M.A., Vicar of St. Michael and All Angels, Bromley, Mdx.
- Waller, William, M.A., Vicar of Whittlesey St. Mary, Cambridgeshire.

- Walmisley, Horatio, M.A., Rector of Odd Rode, Cheshire.
- Walrond, Francis Frederick, M.A., Vicar of Throwley, Kent.
- Walsh, Augustus, M.A., Curate of Shoreham.
- Walsh, William Horatio, M.A., Prebendary of the Cathedral, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Lichfield, and Vicar of Alrewas, near Lichfield.
- Walter, Walter W., M.A., Oldbury Lodge, Bishops Hull, Taunton.
- Walters, Alfred Vaughan, B.A., Westgate, Winchester.
- Walters, Charles, M.A., Vicar of Wardington, Oxfordshire.
- Walters, Chas., M.A., Chap. of Philanthropic Society's Farm School, Red Hill, Reigate.
- Walters, H. L., 2, Waterden Crescent, Guildford.
- Walters, John Vodin, M.A., Rector of St. Martin's, Salisbury.
- Walters, Thomas, M.A., Vicar of Boyton, near Launceston.
- Walton, Henry Baskerville, M.A., Vicar of St. Cross, Oxford.
- Walton, John, Curate of Leigh, Lancashire.
- Walton, Joseph, M.A., Vicar of Alverthorpe, Wakefield.
- Walton, Stanley, M.A., Vicar of Fen Stanton, Hunts.
- Walton, Thomas Isaac, M.A., Rector of Ickleford, Herts.
- Wanstall, Walter, B.A., Curate of Snenton, Notts.
- Warburton, Henry, B.A., Rector of Sible Hedingham, Essex.
- Warburton, Thomas Acton, D.C.L., Vicar of Ifley, near Oxford.
- Ward, Arthur Hawkins, B.A., Chaplain of St. Raphael's Almshouses, Bedminster, Somerset, and Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Limerick.
- Ward, Arthur Robert, M.A., Vicar of St. Clement's, Cambridge.
- Ward, Charles, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Maulden, Bedfordshire.
- Ward, Charles, M.A., Vicar of St. Nicholas, Ipswich.
- Ward, Charles Bruce, M.A., Curate of St. Leonard's, Bilston, Staffordshire.
- Ward, Chas. Cotterill, M.A., Head Master of Grammar School, Lynn, Cheshire.
- Ward, George, M.A., Rector of Mavis Enderby, near Spilsby, Lincolnshire.
- Ward, George Sturton, M.A., Tutor of Magdalen Hall, Mathematical Lecturer in Wadham College, Censor of the Unattached Students, Oxford.
- Ward, Henry, M.A., Rector of St. Peter's, Aldwinkle, Northamptonshire.
- Ward, Horatio Nelson, B.A., Rector of Radstock, Somerset.
- Ward, John Henry Kirwan, M.A., Curate of St. Mary's, Marlborough, Wilts.
- Ward, John William, Vicar of Ruishton, Somerset.
- Ward, John Woollaston, B.A., Curate of Monk's Risborough, Bucks.
- Ward, Joseph May, M.A., Curate of St. Andrew's, Canterbury.
- Ward, Wm. Harry Perceval, M.A., Rector of Compton-Vallence, Dorchester.
- Wardell, Henry, M.A., Rector of Winlaton, Durham.
- Wardell, Henry John, M.A., Curate of the Chapel of Ease, Ramsgate, Kent.
- Wardell, Wm. Henry, M.A., Curate of Rochford and South Fambridge, Essex.
- Wardroper, H. T., Curate of Hartpur, Gloucestershire.
- Ware, Charles Cumberlege, M.A., Vicar of Astwood, Bucks.
- Ware, Frederick Lloyd, M.A., Curate of St. Stephen's, Lewisham, Kent.
- Ware, Hy., M.A., Rural Dean, Hon. Canon of Carlisle Cathedral, Vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmoreland, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Carlisle.
- Ware, Henry Ryder, M.A., 54, Beaumont Street, Portland Place, W.
- Ware, John Middleton, B.C.L., Rector of Ullingswick with Little Cowarne, Herefd.
- Warnoll, Sayer Stone, B.A., Rector of Sotterley, Suffolk.
- Warlow, William Meyler, B.A., Mayhill, Monmouth.
- Warner, Charles, M.A., Vicar of Clun, Salop.
- Warner, Richard Edward, M.A., Rector of Snitterby, Lincolnshire.
- Warren, Benjamin John, M.A., Curate of St. Mary's, Watford, Herts.
- Warren, Charles, M.A., Vicar of Over, Cambridge.
- Warren, Charles Frere Stopford, B.A., Curate of Over, Cambridge.
- Warren, Edward Blackburn, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary's, Marlborough, Wilts.
- Warren, Frederick Edward, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.
- Warren, John, B.A., Rector of Bawdrip, Somerset and Rural Dean.

- Warren, John Maturin, M.A., Curate of Latton, Wilts.
 Warren, John Shrapne, M.A., Vicar of Langtoft, Lincolnshire.
 Warren, Richard Peter, M.A., Vicar of Hyde, near Fordingbridge, Hants.
 Warwick, John Croft Bridges W., M.A., Cur. of St. Peter's with Upton, Northants.
 Wasey, John Spearman, M.A., Vicar of Compton, Berkshire.
 Washbourn, John R. A., M.A., Fellow of St. Nicolas College, Lancing, Sussex.
 Waterfield, Henry Brooke, B.A., Curate of Germoe, Cornwall.
 Waters, Thos., M.A., Stud. of C. Church, Oxford, Vic. of Maiden Bradley, Somerset.
 Watherston, John, B.A., Curate of Compton Pauncefoot, Castle Carey.
 Watkins, Charles, Curate of St. Maurice, Winchester.
 Watkins, John, B.A., Curate of the Parish Church, Leeds.
 Watson, Augustus Wm., Second Master of the Surrey County School, Cranleigh.
 Watson, Charles, Vicar of Rufforth, Yorks. Chap. of the York County Hospital.
 Watson, George, B.A., Rector of Sutton, near Rochford, Essex.
 Watson, George, M.A., Curate of Lympstone, Devon.
 Watson, George Bowes, M.A., Vicar of St. Neots, Hunts.
 Watson, Henry George, M.A., Incumbent of St. Leonard's, and Cur. of Tring, Herts.
 Watson, Henry William, M.A., Rector of Berkeswell, Warwickshire.
 Watson, John Sikes, M.A., Vicar of St. Gregory the Great, Canterbury.
 Watson, John Theod, B.A., Curate of Woodford, Northants.
 Watson, William, M.A., Vicar of Cotterstock, near Oundle, Northants.
 Watson, William Richards, M.A., Rector of Saltfleetby St. Peter, Lincoln.
 Watts, G. E., M.A., Albion House, Cheltenham.
 Watts, Percival James, B.A., Vicar of Nether Witton, Northumberland.
 Waugh, James Charles, B.A., Curate of Wroughton, Wilts.
 Wawn, John Dale, Chaplain of Turner's Hospital, and Vicar of Kirk Leatham.
 Wearing, Timothy, Curate of Otterburn, near Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 Weaver, John Crowley, M.A., Curate of Wantage, Berkshire.
 Webb, Benjamin, M.A., Vicar of St. Andrew's, Wells Street, Marylebone, London.
 Webb, George Augustus, M.A., Vicar of St. Paul's, Warwick.
 Webb, John Marshall, M.A., Curate of Great Linford, Bucks.
 Webb, Perceval, M.A., Curate of Cobham, Surrey.
 Webb, Robert Chapman, M.A., Vicar of Billericay, Essex.
 Webb, William James, B.A., Curate of Bradwell, Sheffield.
 Webber, Wm. Thos. T., M.A., Incumb. of St. Johns the Evangelist, Holborn, London.
 Webster, Frederick Nowill, M.A., Curate of Willington, Durham.
 Webster, John, M.A., Vicar of King's Heath, Birmingham.
 Webster, Montagu, M.A., Vicar of St. James', Hill, Sutton Coldfield, Warwick.
 Webster, William, M.A., Clifton.
 Weddall, Wm. Charles, M.A., Curate of St. Margaret's, Leicester.
 Wedgwood, Arthur, B.A., Curate of St. Mary, Redcliff, Bristol.
 Welburn, Dale John, Curate of Aston Clinton, Bucks.
 Welburn, Fredk. Wm., Curate of Netherbury, Dorset.
 Welburn, John Edward Brown, B.A., Curate of Lutton, near Wisbech.
 Welby, Philip James Earle, B.A., Rector of Stroxtan, nr. Grantham, Lincolnshire.
 Welby, Walter Hugh Earle, M.A., Rector of Harston, Leicestershire.
 Welch, Andrew, Vicar of St. Mary Cray, Kent.
 Welch, Henry Foster, Vicar of Clive, Shrewsbury.
 Welch, William Fredk., M.A., Vicar of Stradsett and Stanford, Norfolk.
 Wellings, Edwd. Penwarne, B.A., Vicar of Stanford in the Vale, Faringdon, Berkshire.
 Wells, Ashton, West End, Winchester.
 Wells, Eudo G., M.A., Cur. of All Saints, Margaret Street, Marylebone, London.
 Wells, Freeman, Mission Curate of St. Agatha, Shoreditch.
 Wells, Harry Morland, B.A., Rector of Denton with Caldicot, Hunts.
 Wells, N. A., Tutbury.
 Wells, William Keys, M.A., Rector of Clifton.
 Went, J., High School, Nottingham.

- Wesley, L. H. W., Curate of Christ Church, St. Leonard's Hill.
 West, Blair Henry, B.A., Curate of St. Ives, Cornwall.
 West, C. Fk. Cumber, B.D., Fell. of St. John's Coll., Oxford, Vic. of St. Giles', Oxford.
 West, John, Rector of Aisholt, Somersetshire.
 West, John Rowland, M.A., Vicar of Wrawby-with-Brigg, Lincolnshire.
 West, Richard Temple, M.A., Student of Christ Church, and Vicar of St. Mary Magdalene, Paddington, Middx.
 West, Thomas John, M.A., Minister of St Mark's, Lewisham, Kent.
 West, William Henry, M.A., Curate of Figheldean, Salisbury.
 Westall, Henry, Curate of St. Matthias, Kensington, Middlesex.
 Westall, William, M.A., Curate of Forebridge, Stafford, Chap. to the Earl of Fife.
 Westerman, Edward, B.A., Vicar of Elton, Lancashire.
 Wetherall, Augustus W., Rural Dean, Rector of Stonegrave, York.
 Wetherall, Charles Maunsell, B.A., Curate of Hambleton, Bucks.
 Wetherall, Henry Rose, M.A., Vicar of Standou, near Ware, Herts.
 Wethered, Florence Thomas, M.A., Vicar of Hurley, Berkshire.
 Whale, Thomas William, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Dolton, North Devon.
 Whall, Wm., M.A., Rector of Thurning and Little Gidding, Huntingdonshire.
 Whalley, Richard Ambrose, B.A., Rector of Gaywood, Norfolk.
 Wharton, John, Incumbent of Stainmore, Westmoreland.
 Wharton, John W., M.A., Curate of Bathwick, Asst. Master of Sidney Coll., Bath.
 Wheat, Christopher Geo., M.A., Vic. of Milbourne St. Andrew, nr. Blandford, Dorset.
 Wheeler, Geo. Domville, M.A., Rector of Barcheston, Vicar of Wolford, Warwick.
 Wheeler George Vincent, Curate of St. Nicholas, Droitwich, Worcestershire.
 Wheeler, H. N., M.A., Chaplain to the Forces, Aldershot.
 Wheeler, Thomas, Curate of St. Thomas's, Pendleton, Manchester.
 Whigham, Lawrence Robert, Curate of Ifracombe.
 Whish, George Thomas, Clandown, Bath.
 Whish, Martin Henry, M.A., Rector of Alderley, Gloucestershire.
 Whistler, Rose F., M.A., Rural Dean, Rec. of St. John's, Ilketshall, Bungay, Suffolk.
 Whitaker, Walter E., B.A., Curate of Chislehurst, Kent.
 Whitby, N. B., Devon County School, West Buckland, Barnstaple.
 White, Darius James, M.A., Curate of Sneyd, Staffordshire.
 White, Edmund Roger Mainwaring, M.A., Vicar of Mendlesham, Suffolk.
 White, Francis Gilbert, M.A., Yealinton, Plympton.
 White, George Cosby, M.A., Vicar of St. Barnabas, Pimlico, London.
 White, G. C., B.A., Walton in Gordano.
 White, James, M.A., Incumbent of Trinity Church, Woolwich, Kent.
 White, James B., M.A., St. Stephen's, near Canterbury.
 White, John, M.A., Rector of Grayingham, Lincolnshire.
 White, John, Bishopsteignton, South Devon.
 White, Joseph, Curate of Dymock, Gloucestershire.
 White, Richard H., M.A., Rector of Little Bardfield, Essex.
 Whitehead, Alfred, M.A., Incumbent of St. Mary, Ramsgate, Kent.
 Whitehead, Charles Henry, Vicar of St. Paul's, Norden, Rochdale, Lancashire.
 Whitehead, William C., M.A., Vicar of Ravensthorpe, Yorkshire.
 Whitelegge, William, M.A., Hon. Canon of Manchester, Rural Dean and Rector of St. George's, Hulme, Manchester.
 Whiteside, Stephen, M.A., Vicar of Shap, Westmoreland.
 Whitford, R. Wells, M.A., British Chaplain at Leipsic, Saxony.
 Whiting, H. B., B.A., Rector of Writhlington, Somerset.
 Whitlaw, George, Clewer, Berks.
 Whitley, Thomas, M.A., Vicar of St. Peter's, Newton-in-Makerfield, Lancashire.
 Whitmarsh, Edgar Dyke, M.A., B.C.L., Curate of St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford.
 Whittington, Richard Thomas, Dedham, Colchester.
 Whittaker, Robert, M.A., Vicar of Leesfield, Ashton-under-Lync.
 Whittington, H. F., B.A., Curate of Northill.

- Whittington, Henry Gambler, B.A., Kegworth, Leicestershire.
 Whyley, Edwd. Bower, M.A., Head Master of the Grammar School, Peterborough.
 Wickham, J. D. C., B.A., Harrow.
 Widdowson, Thomas, B.A., Head Master of the Grammar School, Kettering.
 Wigan, Alfred, M.A., Rector of Luddesdown, Kent.
 Wigan, Septimus, M.A., Vic. of Christ Church, Tettenhall Wood, Wolverhampton.
 Wigan, William Lewis, M.A., Vicar of East Malling, Kent.
 Wigston, William, A.M., Vicar of Rushmere St. Andrew, near Ipswich.
 Wilberforce, Ernest Roland, M.A., Chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester.
 Wilberforce, William Francis, M.A., Vicar of Royston, Barnsley, Yorks.
 Wileocks, Horace Stone, B.A., Curate of St. Peter's, Plymouth.
 Wild, John, M.A., Curate of Newark-upon-Trent.
 Wild, Robert Louis, M.A., Rector of Hurstmonceaux, Sussex.
 Wilde, Albert Sydney, M.A., Prebendary of Lincoln, Rural Dean, Rector of Louth, Lincolnshire, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln.
 Wilde, Richard, M.A., one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools, Mirfield, Normanton.
 Wilder, John M'Mahon, B.D., Rector of Brandeston, Norfolk.
 Wilding, Charles James, Vicar of Upper Arley, Staffordshire.
 Wildman, Thomas, M.A., Garliestown.
 Wilgress, George Fredk., M.A., Hebrew Lecturer at Cuddesdon College, Oxon.
 Wilkie, Christopher Hales, M.A., Curate of Sunninghill, near Staines.
 Wilkins, Arthur Drummond, M.A., Vicar of Dewsbury, Yorkshire, and Rural Dean.
 Wilkins, Henry Robert, B.A., Vicar of Farnsfield, Notts.
 Wilkins, John Murray, M.A., Preb. of Lincoln, Rural Dean, Rec. of Southwell, Notts.
 Wilkins, Richard, M.A., Swanmore, Isle of Wight.
 Wilkins, Thomas Hodson, B.A.
 Wilkinson, Edward Abererombie, M.A., Vicar of Tudhoe, Durham.
 Wilkinson, Edward Gleadow, M.A., Hornsea, Hull.
 Wilkinson, Edward Walker, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Linton, Cambridgeshire.
 Wilkinson, George Howard, M.A., Vicar of St. Peter's, Pimlico, London.
 Wilkinson, George P., M.A., Vicar of Thornley, Wolsingham, Durham.
 Wilkinson, Henry Marlow, M.A., Curate of Bisterne, Ringwood, Hants.
 Wilkinson, John, B.A., Curate of Bodmin, Cornwall.
 Wilkinson, John, M.A., The Lawn, Northwood, Salop.
 Wilkinson, John Bourdieu, M.A., Curate of St. Paul's, Wilton Place.
 Wilkinson, John Farrar, M.A., Vicar of Flamborough, Yorkshire.
 Wilkinson, John James, M.A., Rector of Lanteglos with Advent, Cornwall.
 Wilkinson, Matthew, D.D., Preb. of Sarum & Vic. of West Lavington, nr. Devizes, Wilts.
 Wilkinson, Michael Marlow Umfreville, M.A., Rector of Reepham-cum-Kerdiston, Wilkeson, Sheldon R., Cohnbrook, Bucks.
 Wilkinson, T. B., B.D., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
 Wilkinson, Thos. Hy., M.A., Vicar of Leusden, Ashburton, Devon, & Rural Dean.
 Wilkinson, W., B.A., Vicar of Sutton St. Michael's, Hereford.
 Wilkinson, Walter George, M.A., Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford.
 Wilks, W., M.A., Curate of Croydon, Surrey.
 Willacy, Thomas Robert, B.A., Curate of Holy Trinity, Southport, Lanc.
 Willan, W. Walker, M.A., Curate of St. Michael's, Bromley-by-Bow.
 Willeocks, E. J., Grammar School, Orford, Warrington.
 Willes, George Edward, B.A., Curate of Aynhoe, Northants, and Clifton, Oxon.
 Willett, Edmund Ansten, M.A., Spring Lawn, Ryde, Isle of Wight.
 Willett, Frederick, M.A., Vicar of West Bromwich, Staffs.
 Willett, George, B.A., Little Leigh, Northwick.
 Williams, Alfred, M.A., Rector of Culmington, Salop.
 Williams, A. V., M.A., Down Ampney Vicarage, Cricklade.
 Williams, Alfred Henry, M.A., Rector of Alcester, Warwickshire.
 Williams, Augustin, Rector of Icomb, Gloucester.
 Williams, Bennett Hesketh, B.A., Assist. Master in the Gram. School, Uppingham.

- Williams, Edleston R., B.A., Incumbent of Smallwood, Cheshire.
- Williams, Edmund Turberville, M.A. Rural Dean, Vicar of Caldicot, Monmouthshire.
- Williams, Edward P., B.A., Curate of St. Augustine's, Kilburn, Middlesex.
- Williams, E. Osborne, M.A., Vicar of Llannor Denis, Carnarvonshire.
- Williams, Edward Stephen, M.A., Curate of East Dean, Salisbury, Hants.
- Williams, E. V., M.A., Curate of St. Mark, Clerkenwell.
- Williams, Frederick Maekenzie, M.A., Curate of Culmington, Bromfield, Salop.
- Williams, George, B.D., Vicar of Ringwood, Hampshire.
- Williams, Harry Archibald, B.A., Curate of Dunsford, Devon.
- Williams, Henry, B.A., Bussage, Stroud, Gloucester.
- Williams, Henry, B.A., Curate of Kempston, Beds.
- Williams, Henry, M.A., Vicar of Croxton, near Thetford, Norfolk.
- Williams, Herbert, M.A., Vic. of St. John's and St. Mary's, Breeon, South Wales.
- Williams, H. E., Dolwyddelen, Bangor, Carnarvon.
- Williams, Hubert Brymer, All Saints, Boyne Hill.
- Williams, James, M.A., Vicar of Camberwell, Surrey.
- Williams, John, B.D., Chancellor and Hon. Canon of Bangor, Rural Dean, Rector of Llanddeusant, of Llandegvan, and of Beaumaris, Anglesey.
- Williams, John, M.A., late Assistant Chaplain of Middlesex House of Correction.
- Williams, John, M.A.
- Williams, John, M.A., Curate of Bury, Lancashire.
- Williams, J. B. M., Curate of Bettws, Montgomery.
- Williams, Llewellyn, M.A., Rector of Dodington, Somerset.
- Williams, Philip, B.C.L., and M.A., Rector of Rewe, Devon.
- Williams, Robert, Curate of Trevdraeth with Llangwvvan, near Bangor.
- Williams, Robert, M.A., Hon. Canon of St. Asaph, Rector of Llanfyllyn, Montgomery, and Rural Dean.
- Williams, Robert Price, M.A., Rector of Seartho, Lincolnshire.
- Williams, Robert.
- Williams, Saml., B.A., Vic. of North & South Brewham, & of Redlynch, Somerset.
- Williams, Thos. J., M.A., Rur. Dean, Rec. of Waddesden (Third Portion) nr. Aylesbury.
- Williams, Thomas Lockyer, B.A., Vicar of Porthleven, Cornwall.
- Williams, Wadham Pigott, B.A., Vicar of Bishop's Hull, Taunton, Somerset.
- Williams, William, Curate of Penmorfa, Carnarvonshire.
- Williams, Wm. Hy., M.A., Head Master of the Gram. School, Amersham, Bucks.
- Williams, W. S., Curate of Festiniog, Carnarvonshire.
- Williamson, Arthur, M.A., Curate of St. Peter's, Pimlico, London.
- Williamson, Joseph, M.A., Curate of Sellinge, Kent.
- Williamson, Thomas Pym, Vicar of Little Brickhill, Bucks.
- Williamson, Thomas Pym, jun. B.A., Vicar of Thelwall, near Warrington.
- Willmott, William, M.A., Rector of St. Michael Caerhays, Cornwall.
- Willis, Alfred, Vicar of New Brompton, Kent.
- Willis, Charles Francis, M.A., Rector of Letcombe Bassett, Berkshire.
- Willis, E. F., M.A., Vice Principal of Cuddesdon Theological College.
- Willis, Frederick Augustus, LL.D., St. Leonard's-on-Sea.
- Willis, R. S., Broadwood, Satley, Darlington.
- Willis, Rowland, Curate of Madley, Herefordshire.
- Willoughby, Arthur Henry, B.A., Curate of Hessest, Suffolk.
- Willoughby, Hon. Chas. Jas. M.A., Rural Dean, Rec. of Wollaton with Cossal, Notts.
- Wills, Charles, M.A., Curate of Ventnor, Isle of Wight.
- Wills, William, M.A., Vicar of Holcombe-Rogus, near Wellington, Somerset.
- Willmot, Arthur Alfred, B.A., Curate of Ashburne, Derbyshire.
- Wilson, Alex., M.A., Vicar of Tottenham, Middlesex.
- Wilson, Alfred, M.A., Curate of Cobham, Surrey.
- Wilson, Augustus C. H., Penistone, Yorks.
- Wilson, Beverley S., B.A., Vicar of Duddo, Norham, Berwick-on-Tweed.
- Wilson, C. H., Vicar of Upavon, Marlborough.

- Wilson, Edward, Ditchingham, Norfolk.
 Wilson, Edward Synge, Curate of Fulbeck, Lincolnshire.
 Wilson, Frederick, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Bury, Lancashire.
 Wilson, Freeman, B.A., Rector of East Horsley, near Ripley, Surrey.
 Wilson, Henry James, M.A., Curate of Buckland Denham, near Frome, Somerset.
 Wilson, Hy. Johnson, B.A., Vicar of St. Thomas', West Hyde, Rickmansworth.
 Wilson, James, M.A., Vicar of Holy Trinity, Rotherhithe, Surrey.
 Wilson, John, Curate of Alfreton.
 Wilson, M. H., M.A.
 Wilson, Plumpton Stravenson, M.A., Vicar of West Pinchbeck, Lincolnshire.
 Wilson, Robert Francis, M.A., Prebendary of Salisbury, and Vicar of Rownhams, near Southampton, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Salisbury.
 Wilson, Robert James, M.A., Fellow of Merton College, Oxford.
 Wilson, Robert Spedding, M.A., Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford.
 Wilson, Thomas Charles, B.A., Vicar of Kirkby Fleetham, Yorkshire.
 Wilson, William, B.A., Vicar of Desborough, near Kettering, Northants.
 Wilton, Charles Turner, M.A., Vicar of Foy, Hereford.
 Wimperis, John James, Stamford Hill, London.
 Windsor, Samuel Bampfyld, M.A., Chaplain to the Forces, Sheffield.
 Winning, Robert, M.A., Curate of Horneastle, Lincolnshire.
 Winpenny, John, Rector of Yarum, Yorkshire.
 Winsor, Charles J., B.A., Curate of Prince's Risborough, Buckinghamshire.
 Winslow, Forbes Edward, M.A., Curate of St. Matthias, Stoke Newington, Middx.
 Winslow, Henry L., M.A., Montpellier House, Twickenham.
 Winslow, H. J. S., M.A., Curate of Holy Trinity, Wandsworth, Surrey.
 Winslow, Jno. Lyndhurst, Curate of Holy Trinity, Wandsworth, Surrey.
 Winter, George R., M.A., Rector of East Bradenham, Norfolk.
 Winter, J. B., B.D., 12, Horbury Crescent, Notting Hill.
 Winterborn, Benjamin Thomas, B.A., Curate of Millbrook, Hants.
 Winterbottom, Edward, B.A., Vicar of Allerton, Bywater, near Leeds.
 Wintle, Frederic Thomas William, M.A., Vicar of Maker, near Devonport, and Chaplain to the Earl of Mount Edgeumbe.
 Winwood, Henry Hoyle, M.A., 4, Cavendish Crescent, Bath.
 Wither, William Henry Walter Bigg, B.C.L. and M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford, and Rector of Hardwicke, near Aylesbury.
 Witherby, Cornelius, M.A., Vicar of St. Simon's, Bristol.
 Witherby, Herbert, M.A., Curate of Holy Trinity, Hawley, Hants.
 Withers, Bigland, Curate of St. Paul's, Bury, Lancashire.
 Witt, Samuel Turner, B.A., Curate of St. Stephen's, Westminster.
 Wits, William Frederick, M.A., Chaplain of Uppingham School.
 Wix, Joseph, B.A., Vicar of Littlebury, Essex, Dom. Chap. to Lady Braybrooke.
 Wix, Robert H., B.A., Assistant Master of St. John's College, Hurstpierpoint.
 Wix, Richd. Hooker Edwd., M.A., Vicar of St. Michael's, Swannore, Ryde.
 Wodehouse, Algernon, M.A., Rector of Easton, Hampshire.
 Wodehouse, Constantine Griffith, Curate of Lr. Slaughter with Clapton, Glouc.
 Wodehouse, Philip Cameron, M.A., Chaplain at Hampton Court Palace, Middx.
 Wollaston, Chas. Buchanan, M.A., Prob. of Chichester, Vicar of Felpham, Sussex.
 Wollaston, John, Curate of Ogle Hay, Staffordshire.
 Wollaston, John Burton Thomas, Curate of Hednesford, Stafford.
 Wollaston, Richard Gulston, Curate of St. John the Baptist, Kidderminster.
 Wollaston, Wm. Monro, M.A., Vicar of Merton, near Bicester, Oxon.
 Wolston, Charles, M.A., LL.B., Rector of Torbryan, Devon.
 Wood, Albert, Castlemorton, Tewkesbury.
 Wood, Edmund Gough de Salis, M.A., Curate of St. Clement's, Cambridge.
 Wood, Frederick John, M.A., Senior Curate of St. Peter's, Leeds.
 Wood, Henry Hayton, M.A., Rural Dean, and Rector of Holwell, Dorset.
 Wood, John, M.A., Curate of Wolverton, Bucks.

- Wood, John George, M.A., Belvidere. S.E.
 Wood, John Spicer, D.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.
 Wood, Leonard Chas., B.A., Perpetual Curate of Great Singleton, Kirkham, Lancs.
 Wood, Matthew, M.A., Vicar of All Saints and St. Lawrence, Evesham, Worcester.
 Wood, Richard Nicholson, M.A., Assistant Curate of Street, Somerset.
 Wood, Septimus G., B.A., Rector of West Keal, Lincolnshire.
 Wood, Saml. Theodore, M.A., Assistant Master of the College, Newton Abbot, Devon.
 Wood, T.W., Chap. to Sir E. A. H. Lechmere, Bt., Rhydd Court, Upton-on-Severn.
 Wood, William, D.D., Vicar of Cropredy, near Banbury.
 Wood, William Spicer, D.D., Head Master of the Grammar School, Oakham.
 Woodard, Nathaniel, D.C.L., M.A., Canon of Manchester, Provost of St. Nicolas College, Lancing, Sussex.
 Woodcock, Charles, M.A., Prebendary of Salisbury, Rural Dean, Warden of St. Andrew's College, and Vicar of Chardstock, Dorset.
 Woodcock, George Henry, M.A., Rector of Ratcliffe on the Wreak, and Chaplain of the Union, Barrow, Leicester.
 Woodcock, Thomas, M.A., Shelford, Notts.
 Woodford, Adolphus Fred. Alex., B.A., Rector of Swillington, Yorkshire.
 Woodgate, George Stephen, B.A., Vicar of Pembury, Kent.
 Woodgate, Gordon, B.A., Curate of St. Mary's, Dover, Kent.
 Woodhouse, Charles Goddard, B.A., Incumbent of Minsterley, Salop.
 Woodhouse, Edward, Dover.
 Woodhouse, Fred. Chas., M.A., Rec. of St. Mary's, Moss Side, Hulme, Manchester.
 Woodhouse, George Windus, M.A., Vicar of Albrighton, Shropshire.
 Woodhouse, Henry David, M.A., Vicar of Hinbleton, Worcestershire.
 Woodhouse, Richard, B.A., Rector of Tugford, Salop.
 Woodhouse, Thomas, St. James's, Hull.
 Woodmason, Jas. Matthias, Perp. Curate of Buttermere, and of Wythop, Cumb.
 Woodroffe, Thos. Henry, M.A., Vic. of St. Augustine's, South Hackney, Middx.
 Woodward, Herbert H., B.A., Curate of Wantage, Berkshire.
 Woodward, John Peckham Skirrow, B.A., Curate of Moulsham, Chelmsford.
 Woodward, Matthew, M.A., Vicar of Folkestone, Kent.
 Woodward, Richard Francis, M.A., Curate of Bibury, Gloucestershire.
 Woodward, Thos. Benjamin, B.A., Curate of Chaddesley Corbett, Worcestershire.
 Woodward, William Alexander, Curate of Fauls, Salop.
 Wooler, William George, Curate of St. Cuthbert's, Durham.
 Woolcombe, George, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Highampton, North Devon.
 Woolcombe, Louis, M.A., Rector of Petrockstow, Devon.
 Woolnough, J. B. Williams, M.A., 4, Craven Villas, Ealing.
 Woolner, Charles Edward Shirley, M.A., Rector of St. Andrew's, Deal, Kent.
 Wordsworth, John, M.A., Tutor of Brasenose College, Oxford, Prebendary of the Cathedral, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln.
 Worgan, J. H., 3, Pitville Crescent, Cheltenham.
 Worsley, Edward, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Assistant Master in St. Peter's College, Radley, Berkshire.
 Wortham, Biscoe Hale, B.A., Curate of St. Mary Magdalen, Paddington, Middx.
 Wray, Cecil, M.A., Incumbent of St. Martin's, Liverpool.
 Wray, Wm. Marcus, M.A., Chaplain R.N. Forton, Gosport.
 Wreford, John, B.A., Curate of Sunningdale, Berkshire.
 Wrench, Frederick, M.A., Stowting, Kent.
 Wrey, Arthur Bonchier, M.A., Vicar of Morval, Cornwall.
 Wright, Francis Hill Arbutnot, B.A., Vicar of St. Stithians, Cornwall.
 Wright, Henry Press, M.A., (late Archdeacon), Chaplain to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, and Garrison Chaplain, Portsmouth.
 Wright, John Howard Cressy, M.A., Vicar of Wolferlow, Herefordshire.
 Wright, Henry Edward, B.A., Rector of Vange, Essex.
 Wright, Richd. Robert, M.A., Rector of Marham Church, Cornwall.

- Wright, Thomas Edge, Curate of Hawkshead, near Ambleside.
- Wright, William Ball, B.A., Curate of St. Augustine's, Haggerstone, London.
- Wrottesley, Walter Francis, Curate of St. Peter's, Bournemouth, Hants.
- Wyatt, Arthur Montagu, Rur. Dn., Vic. of Raglan and Llandenny, Monmouthshire.
- Wyatt, John Ingram Penfold, M.A., Incumbent of Hawley, Hants.
- Wyatt, Robert Edward, M.A., Vicar of St. Wilfrid's, Cuckfield, Sussex.
- Wyatt, William, M.A., Curate of Melton Ross, Lincolnshire.
- Wyatt, Wm. Hindes, M.A., Preb. of Lincoln, Vic. of Melton Ross, Ulceby, Lincoln.
- Wyd, C. N., M.A., Curate of St. Martin's, Salisbury.
- Wylde, John, M.A., Curate of Belbroughton, Stourbridge.
- Wyd, Wm. Thos., B.D., Rur. Dn., Rec. of Woodboro' & Blunsdon St. Andrew, Wilts.
- Wylde, John, M.A., Curate of West Bromwich, Staffordshire.
- Wylde, Robert, B.A. Curate of Northfield, near Birmingham.
- Wyndham, Hugh Henry Wyndham, Curate of Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey.
- Wynne, G. H., Vicar of Winterbourne Whitechurch, near Blandford, Dorset.
- Wyon, Walter James, M.A., Precentor of Leeds, Yorkshire.
- Wyvill, Christopher Edward, M.A., Rector of Spennithorne, nr. Bedale, Yorkshire.
- Yalden, George, B.A., Alplington, Devon.
- Yard, Thomas, M.A., Hon. Canon of Peterborough, Rector of Ashwell, Rutland.
- Yarker, William, B.A., Rector of Ravenstonedale, Westmoreland.
- Yarranton, A. J., B.A., Curate of Tingrith, Beds.
- Yarranton, Thomas Cook, M.A., Vicar of Wythall, Alvechurch, Worcestershire.
- Yates, W., Curate of Bisley.
- Yeld, Chas., B.A., Asst. Master of Gram. School, Cur. of St. Matthew's, Nottingham.
- Yeo, Charles Oldham, M.A., Vicar of Kexby, near Yorkshire.
- Yeo, James Pearse, Vicar of Edenfield, Bury, Lancashire.
- Yolland, Bartholomew S., M.A., Curate of Great Waltham, Essex.
- Yonge, Denys Nelson, B.A., Vicar of Broxted, Essex.
- Yonge, Wm. Johnson, M.A., Incumbent of Roekburne, nr. Fordingbridge, Hants.
- Yonge, Wm. Wellington, B.A., Rector of Shottesbrook with White Waltham, Berks.
- York, Samuel, M.A., Vicar of Fritwell, Oxon.
- Young, Arthur, B.A., Curate of Pembridge, Herefordshire.
- Young, Francis Drake, Curate of Howden, Yorkshire.
- Young, Frederick Clement, M.A., Rector of Chetwynd, Salop.
- Young, Frederic John, M.A., Rec. of South Milford, Milford Junction, Yorkshire.
- Young, James, B.A., Oswaldtwisle, near Acerington.
- Young, James Gavin, M.A., Vicar of Hursley, Hants.
- Young, James Reynolds, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of Whitnash, Warwickshire.
- Young, Henry Savill, M.A., Curate of St. Giles's, Reading, Berkshire.
- Young, James Peter, M.A., Curate of Great Grimsby, Lincolnshire.
- Young, Samuel Wilderspin, M.A., Vicar of South Stainley, Yorkshire.
- Young, Thomas Drake, M.A., Perp. Cur. of St. Matthew's, Long Sutton, Lincolnshire.
- Young, William Henry, M.A., Curate of Oving, Bucks.

The following names arrived too late for insertion in their proper order.

Abbott, W. G., B.A., Weston-super-Mare.
 Addison, Frederick, B.A., late Vicar of Clentor, Cumberland.
 Bigg-Wither, Harris J., A.M., Worting Rectory, Hants.
 Binney, Douglas B., M.A., Curate of Clifton, Hampden, Oxon.
 Blatch, F. R., B.A., Curate of St. Mary's, Newington, Surrey.
 Bowles, William, B.A., Rector of Crostwick, Norfolk.
 Bruce, J. Andrew, M.A., Vicar of King's Sutton, Northants.
 Clark, F. Scotson, Mus. B., Brighton.
 Cole, Edward P., B.A., Curate of S. John's, Brighton.
 Cotham, G. T., B.A., Vicar of St. John's, Walworth.
 Duthie, Charles J., B.A., Chaplain of the Forces, Portsmouth.
 Griffith, W. T. G., B.A., Curate of Thornfalcon, Somerset.
 Guilding, J. M., Vicar of Sowerby, Thirsk, Yorkshire.
 Mayow, Mayow Wynell, M.A., Rector of South Heighton cum Tarring Neville.
 Mitchell, Oliver, M.A., Vicar of All Saints', Newington.
 Morgan, A. A., M.A., Incumbent of S. John's, Brighton.
 Parry, William Warner, M.A., Chaplain, Royal Navy.
 Poole, Edward, Curate of S. Matthias, Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester.
 Saywell, Lemuel, M.A., Curate of Ingoldmells, Lincolnshire.
 Wade, Thomas, M.A., Curate of St. Andrew's, Wells Street.

The following Clergy have desired their names to be appended, although they cannot sign as Clergy of the Church of England.

Battersby, W. A., late Chaplain, Derry Chapel of Ease, Ireland.
 Bedford-Jones, T., LL.D., Rector of St. Alban's, Ottawa, Canada.
 Comper, J., St. Margaret's, Aberdeen.
 Gammack, James, Incumbent of St. John Baptist, Drumlithie, N.B.
 Shone, S. Allen, Curate of Gorey, County Waterford, Ireland.

The following names have been appended, with the several conditions specified.

- ¹ Austen, Benjamin, Rector of Little Mongeham, Kent.
- ² Barnes, R., M.A., Vicar of Ardington, Berks.
- ³ Deane, Francis Hugh, B.D., Rector of Stainton-le-Vale, Lincolnshire.
- ⁴ Harvey, William Wigan, B.D., Rector of Buckland, Herts.
- ⁵ Mence, Richard, M.A., Vicar of Bockleton, Worcestershire.
- ⁶ Payne, Edwd., Vicar of Swaleliffe, Oxon, R. Dean, & Hon. Canon of Christ Church.
- ⁷ Raven, Vincent, M.A., Rector of Great Fransham, Norfolk.
- ⁴ Rees, Henry, B.A., Vicar of Conway.
- ⁵ Sanderson, Lancelot, M.A., Elstree, Herts.
- ⁸ Stafford, James Charles, B.D., late Vicar of Dinton, Wilts, sometime Rural Dean.
- ⁹ Thomas, D. W., M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of St. Ann's, Llandegai, Carnarvonshire.

¹ Omitting the latter half of consideration 2.

² Omitting parts of considerations 1 and 2.

³ Omitting the considerations.

⁴ Omitting consideration 1.

⁵ Exclusively on consideration 2.

⁶ Omitting the introductory clause.

⁷ Exclusively on consideration 1.

⁸ Omitting considerations 1 and 4.

⁹ Approving of considerations 2 and 4.

[It was necessary to print the above List with so much haste that some minor inaccuracies in the description of the signatories may possibly have escaped observation. For any such mistakes the Editors beg leave to apologize.
 April 20th, 1871.]

ST. PAUL ON THE APPIAN WAY.

A Seatonian Poem.

BY THE

REV. CHARLES STANWELL, M.A.,

FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Παῦλος ἀπίστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

CAMBRIDGE:

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PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A.
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

ST. PAUL ON THE APPIAN WAY.

WHO hath not read, or tried to read, beneath
His outer lineaments, the heart of one
Strong in fixed purpose, and of constant mind,
Whom neither fear can shake, nor the false voice
Of siren ease lure from his thorn-strewn way?

Aye, when the grace of form and comeliness
Charms with a weakened spell, the spirit loves
To mark that inner beauty of the soul
Which writes its characters on rugged brows,
Or in the lines of suffering, or of death.

Therefore 'tis sweet, soldier of God, 'tis sweet
With thee, O brave Apostle, for awhile
To linger by the way, and, as thy path

Leads ever onward to the sword and wreath,
The sword of pain, the unfading wreath of joy,
To muse o'er all thy heart, and mark thy brow,
In fancy, kindling, and thy features swept
By the swift-gathering winds that stir thy soul.

'Tis strange to one whom perils on the deep,
Through many a weary day and starless night,
With pitiless force have buffeted amain,
Once more to sail o'er calmest tracts of blue,
And, swayed on gentlest undulations, yield
To rapture of repose the o'er-worn frame:
And stranger still to mark how all the scene,
Deformed by tempests, or in storm-clouds wrapt,—
'Threat'ning with giant shapes amid the gloom,—
Puts off its terrors, and at once shine forth
Headland, and cape, and vine-clad height, and woods
That toss their arms of welcome, beck'ning on
To the fair haven where he fain would be.

And yet the tumult of the winds and waves,
The cruel wrath of tempests, and the teeth
Of rocky ledges, where the white foam seethes,
Are gentler oft than they who wait on shore:—
They tell a truer tale than whisp'ring woods,
And sunny skies: The fierceness of man's wrath,
And superstitious hate, eager for blood,
House 'mid the fairest haunts, for their abode
Lies deep within the heart. Though earth and heaven

Murmur of peace, man's spirit mars the strain,
And dissonant passion breaks their harmony.

Methinks he knew, methinks he felt the power
Of voices saying,—'Peace is not for thee:
Not yet 'tis thine,—the sweet tranquillity
Meet for the toil-worn;—O, not thine the home
Due to affection, and sweet hours of love;—
But rather, battling with the foes of Christ,
And loneliness, and anguish of the heart
For friends grown cold, forsaking their first love,
And cruelty, and chains, and bitter death.'

And yet, 'tis when the tempest loudest beats,
'Tis when the weaker fail for fear, that they,
God's chosen spirits, gird their loins anew,
And arm them for the conflict;—on their eyes
Shines down the star of love from Him they serve,
And in their ears one voice of stirring might
Rings, crying, 'Be thou faithful unto death.'

Therefore, if calmer seas and clearer skies,
And airs soft-breathing, lent their gentle power
To soothe awhile the troubles of the past,
He yielded not to nerveless rest, nor asked
Ought save such respite as should lend him might
To strive unto the end, and, striving, die.

Ah! passing sweet the touch of brethren's hands,

And passing sweet the bent and gentle mood
Of the stern soldier. Honour to thy name,
Good Julius! Be thy kindly courtesies
Writ ever in the book of God's remembrance.

And now farewell the sea! Farewell the thought
Of rough barbarians, melted by the sight
Of innocence, unharmed by deadliest fangs,
And shielded by the present aid of God.
Farewell! Except that in the voice of prayer,
And in the visions of an eager soul,
Forth-reaching to the future, ye shall dwell
As those on whom ere long the light shall shine,
By Apostolic benediction drawn
From its High source to gild your darkened way.

Farewell to Capuan halls, and Vesvian slopes
Hiding the secret of their fiery heart.
Lo, how the fabled streams, o'erhung by wands
Of willows, silvered by first breaths of spring,
Steal down into the valleys; past the home
Of the fierce Arpinate; and Formiæ now
Spreads a long curve to meet the ocean's kiss;
And now again vine-tendrils clasp the stones,
The valley deepens, and the gleaming crown
Of Anxur whitens on its dazzling steep.

Once more the voice of comfort, and once more,
Heart-stirring tones of sympathy and love.

O, though the voice of nature be right sweet,
Though all her thousand notes and myriad hues
Weave such a chain of harmony and grace,
To cheer the heart, and lift the drooping soul
With heav'nly utterances, there are hours
When nothing save the voice of man can thrill,
And nought beside the words of love can heal,
And nought save sympathy of man bring strength.

And if, perchance, among that little band
Shone forth a well-known face, or friendly clasp
Recalled the touch of other days, and told,
With deeper pressure, gratitude of some
For gifts beyond the price of rarest gems,
What tongue may tell, what heart may know the power
A glance or touch might render in that day?

Yes! thank thy God, brave spirit, thank thy God!
And in the thanking breathe the breath of strength!
Take all thine armour, for before thee soon
Shall spread the mighty city, Queen of worlds,
Crowned with the spoils of nations, yet ah me!
Slave to herself, worst tyrant, heaviest chain.

Methinks he notes not now the face of things:
What boots it?—when the thronging multitudes,
Dense and more dense, about his pathway grow.
What boots it?—for the past is now the past—
The glories, and the tyrannies, and crimes,

That shed a momentary lustre down,
Or cast a baleful light on haughty Rome,
All, all are numbered with the things that were.
Aye! but in all that living host there dwells
The spirit of their fathers: lust, and pride,
And cruelty, and shameful scorn of weakness;—
These are the foes of him who bears the name
Of Christ,—and most the foes of whom they sway.

Therefore the soul of him of Tarsus went
Forth on the wings of time, and strove to grasp
A distant day, when all the altered earth,
Shadowed by peace, and 'neath the tranquil reign
Of a new faith, should not alone be fair,
But harbour loving hearts, and spirits pure.

And yet,—'O Lord how long!' The sadd'ning thought
Perforce came back;—for clearly might be read
That many a stubborn soul, and angry mind,
And many a spirit by superstition chained,
Lurked 'neath the front of those who came to gaze,
Or gazed in idle vacancy: 'tis hard
For one whose heart beats high with love to note
Hatred, or scorn, or pitiful contempt;
'Tis hard to seek an answer, finding none,
But finding cold repulse, or unbelief,
And obstinate rejection.—On the heights
That look upon Jerusalem had stood
The Son of God made man: and in His eyes

Gathered the unwonted dews, as, like a scroll
 Inscribed with words of flame, the bitter tale
 Of sin, and sorrow, and a nation's doom,
 Unrolled itself before Him; and He cried,
 'If thou hadst known, at least in this thy day,
 The things belonging to thy peace!' I deem
 That he who on the Appian way looked forth
 O'er Rome's great city and its thronging hosts,
 Albeit from him uncertainty's dark veil
 Shrouded the truth, forbore not sigh or tear,
 Wrung by sad auguries of bitter thought.

A soldier kindling at the trumpet's note,
 A warrior arming for his latest field,
 A conqueror laurel-crowned with dying breath,—
 These be the themes that men are wont to love;
 These be the themes on which the fabled Muse,—
 Fabled, yet living in the unseen breeze
 That sways the movements of creative power,—
 Delights to crown with immortality.

'Tis well: There needs a more ærial flight,
 A deeper rapture, and a purer heart,
 To sing the nobler courage, and to hymn
 The higher victories of heart and soul.

Therefore whate'er is sung is sung amiss,
 Or sung unworthily. Awhile, perchance,
 The glory of endurance, and the free

Strong voice of him whom chains could not enslave
Cry in us for the meed of praise, but ah!
The pencil fails in an unequal hand,
And we must silently admire: and yet,
As one who, musing on the portraiture
Of some sweet picture, excellently fair,
Comes ever back again, and, gazing long,
Seemeth to draw into his soul the lines
Of majesty or beauty, till they rest,
Part of himself, engraven on his heart;—
And he too dreams that he may give them life;—
So one that loves the Apostle's voice, and loves
To tread in his unswerving path, is held
Oft by a longing to withdraw the veil
That hides him from the unthinking world, to say
'Lo, here he stood,' 'Lo, here he wept,' 'Lo, here
He felt the spell of sympathy, and here,
As the huge city spread before his eyes,
Albeit he knew the sword was sharp, and knew
The bitterness of bondage to the free,
E'en like his Lord he set his face, and drew
All steadfastly unto the destined end.'

And, lo, the stones are hallowed by his tread,
The martyr's pathway is of nobler name
Than path of any triumph, and the slave
Of Jesus Christ is most divinely free.

THE APOCALYPSE:

IS IT FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF THE CHURCH OF GOD ALONE?

OR,

IS IT A DESCRIPTION OF THE TIMES OF THE GENTILES?

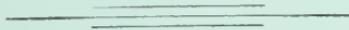
AS SET FORTH IN

“*THE APPROACHING END OF THE AGE,*”

BY H. GRATTAN GUINNESS, F.R.G.S.

BY

W. R. H.



JAMES CARTER,

Aldine Chambers,

13, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

1892.

Price Sixpence, Post Free.

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THE APOCALYPSE.

A WORK by H. Grattan Guinness, F.R.G.S., has just come into my hands for the first time. I presume it is the last edition (the tenth), and is dated 1836.

Having read as far as the concluding remarks, at page 465, I see the following :

“We invite Futurist expositors of the prophetic word, to consider all the arguments on this subject which we have adduced, and either to refute them, or to acknowledge their force. Prophetic discussion and controversy are often feared and deprecated, because they have in other days degenerated into strife, and occasioned separation among brethren. These, however, are happily not necessary results of searching the Scripture on this or any other topic, and they are evils from which humility, and a real desire to discover the truth of God, will effectually preserve sincere inquirers and students.

“We are strongly of opinion that the questions at issue between Presentist and Futurist interpreters of prophecy, *should* be both patiently studied, and fully discussed.”

As the author describes at page 95 the Futurist view, I will quote his words so far as I can subscribe to them; and I will enclose in brackets any important additions which occur to me. I am obliged to adopt this method, for he puts me in singular company; ignorant Fathers, dishonest Jesuits and other Romanists, Protestants ashamed of the Reformation, the leaders of the “Brethren” generally, extreme parties, no two writers agreeing what the symbols prefigure.

“The third, or Futurist view, which teaches that the prophetic visions of Revelation, from chapters iv. to xix., prefigure *events still wholly future*, and not to take place till just at the close of this dispensation. This view gives the literal Israel a large place in the

Apocalypse, and expects a personal infidel Antichrist who shall bitterly oppress the saints for three years and a half, near the date of the second advent, thus interpreting *time*, as well as much else in the Apocalypse, *literally*.

“This view is in a *certain sense* the most ancient of the three, for the primitive fathers agree in several of these latter points. In its present form, however, it may be said to have originated at the end of the sixteenth century, with the Jesuit Ribera, who, moved, like Alcazar, to relieve the Papacy from the terrible stigma cast upon it by the Protestant interpretation, tried to do so by referring these prophecies to the distant *future*, instead of, like Alcazar, to the distant *past*. For a considerable period this view was confined to Romanists, and was refuted by several masterly Protestant works. But of late years, since the commencement of this century, it has sprung up afresh, and sprung up, strange to say, among Protestants.”

Why, “strange to say, among Protestants”? Protestants cannot want it for the purpose Rome did, and surely the author, being a christian man, would own that whatever Protestants got of Divine light they got by taking literally what the word of God says. What a pity they stopped at that one magnificent, emancipating item of justification by faith, when there were so many others needing their attention!

But the author has not stated all that those hold who view the portion of the Apocalypse after chapter iii. as yet future. He has omitted, perhaps because he does not grasp it, that the key of the position of what is held by christian men of this century lies in the fact that the Apocalypse is stated by One who styles Himself

“He that liveth, and was dead : and, behold, I am alive for evermore,”

as consisting of three grand sections, viz., 1st, THE THINGS WHICH THOU HAST SEEN, which, by their very nature, could not be what John had *not* then seen, and must, therefore, be found between verses 10 and 19 of chapter i.; 2nd, THE THINGS THAT ARE, which could not be the previous section, neither could they pass the limit of the last verse of chapter iii., because the next verse—that is, verse 1 of chapter iv.—begins “After this” (*meta tauta*), which is defined as the third section in the words THE THINGS WHICH SHALL BE AFTER THESE (*META TAUTA*), which is the only way to express what comes *after the things that are*.

No possible logic of any school of thought can, as long as THE THINGS THAT ARE are in existence, give the things that are to come after them a *present* existence, much less a *past* one, (as the author does), of interpretation.

This is the key-stone of the Apocalypse. It is not merely the key-stone of a *system* of interpretation, but the Apocalypse itself stands or falls by its own words. Not by the interpretation of its words, but by the words themselves. Past, present, and future cannot be other than past, present, and future; whether it be said concerning the purposes of God respecting the earth, and given to Jesus Christ to make known to His servants, or whether it be said of the nature of Almighty God Himself when He calls Himself the "Is, and the Was, and Who is to come."

In such a conjuncture what is a Protestant to do? Believe the Apocalypse and its revelation of the past, the present, and the future, as stated by the very One on whose account the Revelation is given? or follow the author of "Progressive Revelation" and "Progressive Interpretation," because he has found out, or somebody else has found out, that God is as mathematically exact in His management of the Solar system as He is in the instinct wherewith He has endowed the honey-bee to construct its cell in hexagons? *All* that God does is wonderful. It does not wait till our poor eyes see it to become wonderful. Different effects are produced on different minds by the same things, but surely the wonderful division into past, present, and future of Revelation i. 19, far exceeds the wonders of the truly wonderful year of Messianic cycles. I am in no position to prove the latter, although I take it in good faith as being correct as an astronomer would make it. I have no such reservation about Revelation i. 19. I have not to prove whether *that* be true or not. I accept it as unreservedly as I do the statement that "God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life." If I take such a scripture as being the revelation of God's Son for everlasting life, why should I not take, on the same absolute authority, whatever God may have been pleased to write in His word on any other subject? And, let me say, His word, and what it says, has a totally different effect on me to all the teachings of history and science. *They*

are deeply interesting, and, in a measure, important; but they are not intended to be authoritative, even if mathematically correct. The word of God *is*. Suppose I were shut off from history and science for forty years, and knew nothing at all but what I had learnt from the Bible, will any christian man dare to say I was to be pitied? History and science confirm nothing, any more than a miracle would, except to a person of no faith or weak faith. The word of God, on the contrary, if it take prophecy or any other form, gives me an interest in God's plans and arrangements, which satisfy and gratify my renewed nature, even if they never become history at all in my time. It is all nonsense to think that the word of God wants any confirmation. The moment it wants confirmation it has lost its hold; my faith is gone. It is absurd to say I believe in my friend's honour in respect to the cheque he has given me, if I send over to the bank to ask if he has an account there. And yet people are always pushing the signature of Phocas, or some puppet of the world's history, before you as such a wonderful confirmation of scripture. If, as I firmly believe, not a sparrow falls to the ground without our heavenly Father, I take it for granted that all things are, if not directed, at least permitted by the same Sovereign Ruler. The heavens do rule, "To the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will, and setteth up over it the basest of men." Dan. iv. 17.

But what has this got to do with God choosing to give Jesus Christ a revelation concerning Himself, that He might shew it to His servants *in the churches*? If you tell me that the church and the world are *identical*, I know what you mean. I know that, to you, they are so much alike that it is only a distinction without a difference. But although you make me hang down my head in shame and confusion of face to think that my testimony for a crucified and risen Christ is, after all, no better than that of a cruel or bloodthirsty heathen, yet I know that I have given occasion for your statement, for I am conscious of having once walked as the other Gentiles walked, and I stand reproved by you.

Still, for all that, there is *the church*, as it exists *in God's sight*. At any rate, there is one faithful Witness that has never betrayed

His trust. As Joseph preserved the life of his unworthy brethren, so the Man that sits at God's right hand has been true to the church, if the church has not been true to Him. Christ is the head of the church: and Christ is the Saviour of the body. If you are going to identify "the church" with "the times of the Gentiles," you will have to put Christ in too. Is He a Gentile? I can quite understand *my* getting mixed up with them and their judgment if you separate me from my Head (which, blessed be God, you cannot); but how do you dare to bring in *Him* by implication? Salvation is of the Jews, and in any case He is not a Gentile. But you *must* involve Him if you identify the church with the times of the Gentiles. He being the *only* faithful representative of it matters not; you cannot sever the Head from the body because you wish to wrest the Revelation from its legitimate purpose, and turn it into an *exposé* of the times of the Gentiles.

If I use such a hard word as "wrest," I have no wish to say hard things of persons. The *force* or *power* that does these things is stronger than the *persons* by whom they are done. The author of the book under notice may be well known, and, as I trust he is, an amiable christian gentleman who would not knowingly wrest a scripture from what he believed to be its right and just use any more than myself; but he is carried, as I myself might be, by a force and power beyond his own immediate personality. As persons, we lend ourselves; or, as scripture puts it, "his servants ye are to whom ye obey." But I say that author or writer follows the leadings of that which is not *simply* himself. Having said this much to avoid anything that might be deemed offensive, I say that to make the Book of Revelation tell the tale of the times of the Gentiles is to wrest its meaning and intention. Not only is nothing gained by turning the river of God's truth into a different channel, but a very great deal is lost to souls, and mischief done to them. Who can say how much of the scepticism and apostatizing principles now so glaringly manifest in the present day may be due to souls not having had their portion of meat in due season? Who can say how far the coming of the Lord may not have been retarded by the church not being ready to meet the coming One? All, of course, is foreknown to our God; but, for all that,

retarding influences may be at work. Israel does not recognize her King when He presents Himself, and her day of blessing is deferred nigh two thousand years, and the stranger and the alien are let in to the choicest of the choice, even *heavenly* blessing. Daniel prays, apparently without effect; "but," says the Man clothed in linen, "from the first day . . . thy words were heard, and I am come because of thy words; but the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me one and twenty days. . . . But I will shew thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth: and there is none that holdeth with me in these things but Michael, your prince."

These statements from Dan. x. shew us that while Daniel was afflicting himself, mourning, fasting, praying three whole weeks, there was a hindrance going on outside during the whole of that time, and not only so, but when that hindrance should be got rid of, another would rise up (*c.* 20). And, after all, the "scripture of truth" would have to be the base of operations; and "none holdeth with me in these things but Michael, your prince." So, within and without the church, there is nothing but hindrance from people not heeding what is noted in the scripture of truth: but, as I aver, they wrest them from their true meaning, and thus (as Peter says, 2 Epist. iii. 16), because there are some things hard to be understood, they that are unlearned and unstable wrest them, as they do also the other scriptures, to their own loss.

The same beloved apostle tells me to BEWARE! I pass the word on to my beloved brethren, by whatever name they may be called in this day of confusion, and under whatever phase of the "things that are" they may be found; Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, or Laodicea, I say, BEWARE! Lay aside these dangerous deceits, and let us turn to what is "noted in the scripture of truth."

The structure of the Apocalypse forbids it being applied to the times of the Gentiles, as the Book of Daniel might be. The Book of Daniel is not given to the church, but is very distinctly given to Daniel's people, the Jews. Again, the Apocalypse is not given to the Jew nor to the Gentile, but very distinctly is it given to Jesus Christ, who sends His

angel to testify these things *in the churches*. It can nowhere in the book be shewn that it is addressed to a single Jew, or to a single Gentile. It is the sole and special heritage of the *church*. "What thou seest, write in a book, and send it unto the seven *churches* which are in Asia." And, again, at the end, in the passage referred to: "I Jesus have sent mine angel to shew unto you these things in the *churches*." Hence it is a special and privileged *church* document; not belonging to the church alone, but to Jesus Christ, though He has been gracious enough to communicate it to His servants through John.

Now, in the communication made there are three items:—

"What thou hast seen" (Christ).

"Things that are" (History of 7 churches).

"Things after these" (Prophecy).

Let it be carefully noted how these three items set before the church are mutually related to each other, and that no one of the three could be left out without spoiling the integrity of the revelation.

1st. "That which thou hast seen"; viz., what is contained between verses 10 and 18:

"I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet, saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last: and, What thou seest, write in a book, and send it unto the seven churches which are in Asia; unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea. And I turned to see the voice that spake with me. And being turned, I saw seven golden candlesticks; and in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like unto the Son of man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle. His head and His hairs were white like wool, as white as snow; and His eyes were as a flame of fire; and His feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace; and His voice as the sound of many waters. And He had in His right hand seven stars: and out of His mouth went a sharp two-edged sword: and His countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength. And when I saw Him, I fell at His feet as dead. And He laid His right hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not; I am the First and the Last: I am He that liveth and was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death."

We need not stop to explain who the One that walks among the seven candlesticks is, nor who the One who holds the seven stars in His right hand. Every christian, of whatever shade of thought, will own that it is Christ, and Christ seen in His relation to the seven churches.

2nd. "The things that are" are equally well known as the seven churches seen in their time-state upon the earth, and which, in fact, is the reason they are stated as seven, for in the sight of *God* the church is one.

Now, the church without Christ, or Christ without the church, would be an absurdity. Christ without the church would nullify the Cross and Pentecost. The church without Christ would be a lifeless corpse.

3rd. "The things that are *after* the things that are." These include all the prophetic part of the book. (Chaps. iv.-xix.)

And part 3 is as essential as part 1 and part 2. The very object for which Scripture declares the church to have been created, is that she should reign with her Lord and Master Jesus Christ.

"To sit with Me in My throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with My Father in His throne." (Chap. iii. 21.)

"Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world?" (1 Cor. vi. 2.)

"Know ye not that we shall judge angels?" (1 Cor. vi. 3.)

"If we suffer, we shall also reign with Him." (2 Tim. ii. 12.)

It is therefore necessary, if Christ is to judge and reign, and the church is to judge and reign with Him, that she should be instructed in respect to those things in which she, with Him, holds such an important function, for this is His and her joint reward. He has waited for her, and she has "kept the word of His patience." The "prophecy of this book" is as necessary to the church's teaching, as the "book of this prophecy" is to her comfort and internal regulation. The prophecy is her programme—her "agenda" of things that must shortly be done, and whatever Mr. G. may be able to see in the prophecy by the light of the sun and moon, the church of God is not so foolish as to fritter away her "Revelation" into a thing of the past, and let the Papacy appropriate and exhaust its effects. The church of God, by the light of God's Spirit, sees what is in the near future of the world's history, when she herself has parted company from it. If Mr. Guinness looks at Revelation by the light of the sun and moon, and adapts *its* chronology to their movements, of course he *must* say of them (703):

"Our Futurist critics are an enigma to us! They cannot be blind to certain grand historical facts. No one can fail to see how exactly the

symbols of prophecy answer to these facts. Even Futurists admit this, and yet they deny that the symbols foretell the facts; and assert—what of course can neither be proved nor disproved—that they foretell other future events!”

No one denies what *your* light shews you. We see certain coincidences which it would be ignorance, prejudice, or bigotry to deny you the credit of setting forth; but *our* light shews us these things as yet to take place, simply because we are told they follow “the things that *are*,” which “things that *are*” are not yet ended, for the heavenly contingent has not yet been “caught up,” nor the earthly contingent “spued out.” How do you have the temerity to say that the question of future events in the Apocalypse “can neither be proved nor disproved,” when we tell you that Christ speaks of them as following the things that *are*, and that the things that *are* are not yet terminated? Say that “the things that are” are not the church, or say that there is no church, or say that the church is a thing of the past, caught up or spued out; but do not say that the things “after these” come before “the things that are,” when the scripture says they come *after* them. Futurists are only men of like passions with yourselves, but they believe it to be wisdom to take what God says, even if they cannot prove it. You seem to find the exercise of your wisdom in making scripture and history fit into one another.

I cannot help thinking that you make no distinction between Providence and Prophecy. Of course, God knows the end from the beginning, whether in providence or in prophecy. I know of no reason why He should not work His providential dealings on prophetic lines. But providence and prophecy are quite distinct, and have different ends in view. Prophecy always supposes that man has failed in shewing forth Christ's glory, and that the Spirit of God is maintaining it. Hence all prophecy, more or less, runs on to the end, when that glory will be more appropriately and manifestly displayed; although meanwhile, the faithful glorify Him by it while waiting. But providence is God's ordering of the affairs of men to keep them alive upon the earth, and to preserve them from the devil, who does all the mischief in connection with providence. (See Job.) I know of no reason why the great scheme of providence

during three hundred and sixty times seven years, should not be carried on on the same lines on which prophecy has laid down the last seven years of this world's crisis. The Presentist can have his year-day, and the Futurist his year-year, fulfilment; only call things by their right names. Do not call the past, *fulfilled prophecy*. Prophecy is the light shining in the dark place until the day dawn. Say it is fulfilled, and you put the light out. It is the same as if you ran your pen through certain parts of Holy Writ. It is the light of day that will do away with the night-light of prophecy. I do not object to what people may see in the seven times that passed over Nebuchadnezzar, and which, as they call it his "insanity," I suppose bears something of that character when extended on the year-day principle; but I do also see *concentration* indicated from the outset, as well as expansion. I see expansion, because I find that the principle started in the image is considerably developed in subsequent visions, especially under the four beasts of chapter vii. Then, chapter viii., developing the Grecian Empire with force and rapidity, to shew its expansion into four smaller Powers. Then, when all the four great empires have been set in motion, the Seventy weeks connects the holy people with the last empire: with its true Christ at the early part, and with its false Christ at the latter part. It only then needed chapters x. to xii. to fill up the details of the latter part to carry the whole scheme to its conclusion, with the true Christ triumphant. During the whole period of this expansion, what people call "insanity" of chapter iv. is at work. It may be that "insanity" is the right word, but what I gather from that scripture is that if man, created for God's glory, does not act with *conscience* of what is due to Him, he must be looked at and treated as a beast without conscience until he knows better. I am not at all surprised, therefore, if the same hand, God, who cares for oxen, lets the dew of heaven fall upon this 2,520 years' period, until the judgments of the Crisis shall have brought recognition of God after a human sort (Ezekiel xxxix. 21); and, as I have said, if this dew of heaven, or rule of heaven, or kingdom of heaven, or kingdom in mystery, or times of the Gentiles, or whatever other name it may be called by in scripture, is conducted on the lines of the

prophetic part of the Apocalypse, I should have no objection to offer to those who have light on that department. All I would contend for is, that it is not prophecy proper that has been fulfilled, for prophecy is for the time of the end. WHEN the stone smites the image on its feet, and the iron and pottery part are broken to pieces, THEN was the iron, the pottery, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces TOGETHER. (Daniel ii. 35.) Whatever may have happened previously was not prophecy, for the spirit of prophecy is the testimony of JESUS.

But I have spoken of contraction as well as expansion. In Daniel ii., iv.—xii. all relate to expansion or development of the great Gentile image; but in chapter iii. I find all the power of the image contracting or concentrating its power for the purpose of exalting *itself*, and making all peoples, nations, and languages fall down and worship *itself*. The great Gentile image, in the person of its head of gold, makes an image entirely of gold 60 × 6 cubits, and inaugurates it with pleasant sounds from the breath and fingers of man. Certain three Jews, however, utterly refuse, under the direst threats, to worship. God is able to deliver, and He will; “but if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will *not* serve thy gods, *nor* worship the golden image which thou hast set up.” It is a contest such as we find in the crisis week,—death or the mark of the beast. The king, in his rage, orders the furnace to be made seven times hotter than usual; so hot, that the executants of the king are slain by it. And with what result? A fourth and divine Personage is seen with these three Jews, who emerge from the furnace, not only without one hair of their heads singed, but the very smell of the fire has not passed on them. It is the picture of the END.

I cannot find anything of this episode in Mr. Guinness’s book. Perhaps I may have overlooked it; perhaps astronomy does not lend its aid to such a small matter. To me, however, it is even more important than any cycle, lunar or solar, or both combined. I find in it the true character of faith that shall be found in the holy seed, when the beast and the false prophet shall be in full play, with the full power of the devil at their backs. I find that the holy seed have got a divine Helper, which is their Lord and mine. I find that the

holy seed may laugh at beast and false prophet when they are in company with the Lord of the whole earth. I find that the beast and the false prophet shall be cast alive into the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone.

You mean the Pope and his clergy, says Mr. Guinness.

I mean nothing of the kind. I mean the beast and the false prophet which Futurists read about between chapters xiii.-xix. of the Apocalypse. I am as fully conscious as any of the fearful mischief that has been wrought by Satan in that which answers to the Thyatiran church, identified as that church has been with the world. I am not surprised that the principles that have their *complete* development in the crisis week should have their *partial* development in the great week of "times" that have rolled by, and that the first half of that week of "times" should have found its expression in the Jew being oppressed by the Gentiles, and in its second half by the church of God being oppressed by the Gentiles. It matters little as to the *spirit* of the ruling power, whether it finds its expression through a Nebuchadnezzar or an Antiochus; a Herod or a Nero; a line of Roman Emperors or a line of Roman Pontiffs. Its spirit is one and the same. Just as the fiery furnace, the den of lions, the work of Titus, the work of the Inquisition, the fires of Nero or the fires of Smithfield, are, one may say, the work of one and the same spirit.

Grant therefore, if it be necessary, that in some way not revealed in scripture, prophecy casts its reflection on the past, as well as being a light in a dark place till day-dawn; grant that the workings of providence have had, in some way, in which Futurists have not been instructed, such a reference to prophecy as have caused certain indications of the closing days to fall with a singular regularity in the events that have transpired, and the aspirations of Mr. Guinness may stand.

"We are strongly of opinion that the questions at issue between Presentist and Futurist interpreters of prophecy *should* be both patiently studied, and fully discussed."

But let me be well understood. I say, "Grant therefore that in some way not revealed," and "Grant that the workings of providence, in some way in which Futurists have not been instructed," &c.

It is incumbent on Presentists to show us what authority they have in scripture for thus working backwards.

We Futurists have not only, as it appears to us, the authority of scripture for always looking forward to what prophecy tells us, but we think we have the consensus of the church in all periods of its history, that prophecy *has* this direction of *future*. And if it can be shown that Presentists have good ground in the scripture for the use they put it to, let them show it that we may not shut our eyes to it. Our education has not led us to this view. We have been brought up to trust God where we could not trace Him. We have said, "Our times are in Thy hand." We have looked upon the wonderful and astounding events that have transpired in our little day, and we have regarded them as we should the leaping lightning, or the rolling thunder, or the devastating hurricane; that providential handling of the universe which is just what we should expect while God is suspending His righteous judgments that His grace may not be hindered. Grace reigns through righteousness, but if God were to deal in open righteousness with the world at one and the same time as He is showing grace, one set of His dealings would stultify the other set.

At the risk of the charge of reiteration, let us look a little further at the past, present, and future laid down in the Apocalypse. While the Church is upon earth it must of necessity be "the things that are." We know that it is, according to 1 Thess. iv., to be caught up to heaven. It is not yet caught up, and therefore it is still "things that are," and while "things that are" exist, it is absurd to say that "things after it" exist; and still more absurd to say that the things that have not yet come to pass have had their fulfilment. No one denies that certain things have taken place since the Lord went to heaven, which have a certain resemblance to things in the Apocalypse, and it would be strange indeed if they did not; for the *spirit* of evil that finds its culmination in the week yet future has been at work in the world all through history. In fact, there is *one evil spirit* at work both in history and in the Crisis, as there has been one spirit of truth which has been working in the church, and which will depart ere the crisis; for the very object of the crisis is to give the devil full swing in the world, and

among men, who have given him every encouragement thereto: directly, by doing as they like; and indirectly, by not doing God's will. As they have sown, so they must reap. Mr. Guinness does not like to entertain a twofold aspect of history and crisis.

“One system or other must be erroneous.” (465.)

Not so. There may be some very remarkable things in the times of the Gentiles. The year-day system as applicable to those times may be absolutely correct, not merely as coincidences, but as being the external principles at work in the world, which have their full blossoming in the crisis week; but the lines on which the Futurist, as a rule, works, have another scope and object. He is interested, not so much to know the place that he himself occupies in the prophetic scheme, although it *is* interesting; but he has been told, and he believes it, and feels it, and prefers it, that Christ, and Christ alone, should be the object and end of all prophetic announcement: That the rejected Man who got nothing should be the displayed Man who is glorified in everything. Not, What shall *we* get? but, What shall *He* get? Now, the scheme of Mr. Guinness does not touch this. It is not that one supposes he does not love Christ. God forbid that we should doubt it; but I ask, Is it not the servant's place to be anxious about his Master's interests and glory, to the exclusion of aught else? Very serious issues are involved if I take an erroneous view, even of truth itself. All truth centres round Him who is THE TRUTH, and not about His servants. Am I to read my Bible as a man reads a newspaper? to run over it just reading those paragraphs that interest *me*, and leaving all the rest? Reading, perhaps twice or thrice, about *my* salvation, *my* place in glory, *my* freedom from the toil and worry and burden of this downstairs world, and looking forward to the promised day when *I* shall be acknowledged *publicly* as one of the family, and take *my* place amid the ease and freedom of the drawing-room? I am ashamed of myself and of my fellow-servants who are so out of order in these matters. I say HE has not yet been *publicly* acknowledged! and it is only decent to wait till He gets His rightful place in this world's economy. If He, for whom are all things and by whom are all

things, waits in patience the word from God the Father, let me too maintain the waiting, expectant attitude also, and say,

“*My times are in Thy hand.*” (Ps. xxxi. 15.)

But I might be answered, “Who are you, to judge us? Who are you, to accuse us of a rude pushing ourselves to the front? Who are you, to say we have not our Master’s interests at heart even more than you, although you are parading it and we are not?”

My dear fellow-servants, I reply, I can bear your heat. But, you see, we are His witnesses, and other folks besides ourselves are in question. It is not always the question of the wagging of our own tongues among ourselves. Peter, James, John, are not cut in one die, though all are gold. The mischief is that we set other tongues wagging, other minds working, other thoughts straying, other hopes taking wrong directions, if our talk be not of the Master and *His* interests. If we are in any sense shepherds (I am ashamed to use such a word in respect to myself; but I say, if in any sense this high term can be applied to anybody in these last days), what about the sheep? Have they good, wholesome pasturage? I mean pasturage suited to their nature and condition. I do not mean artificial abominations, but that food which God created for His creatures, and which must be good because He gave it. And what is the true food for God’s people but the Bread that came down from heaven; Christ, the Wisdom of God and the Power of God? Am I so to attend to the few sheep committed to me in this wilderness as to cause them to say, “Our souls loatheth this light food”? Give us political allusions, interesting anecdotes, prophetic disquisitions! Prophecy, like all other things, has its use and its abuse. Its use is to make my dull soul cognizant of the exceeding honour and glory God is going to put upon His Son. Its abuse is when it stimulates my natural love of the marvellous, and occupies me with the course of this world and not with Christ. And pray do not think that I say this just to be scripturally correct, and, as such, to hold up the finger at my brethren. I am as they are. I am as curious to look into those wonderful and enchanting soli-lunar cycles as they, and more especially when they expand into the grand

Messianic Cycle. These things interest me amazingly, but I lay them aside; for my sober judgment, nay, I trust, the Spirit of Christ, tells me that this is not *my* proper pabulum. I find in scripture only three classes of men on the earth. One class does not belong to it at all. Its charter and privileges were all laid *before* the foundation of the world. Its life, hopes, and throne are *outside* the world. It is *in* the world *only by sufferance*. Its Lord had a right, but it was disputed. We have no right, disputed or otherwise. What have I got to do with the course of this world, who am neither Jew nor Gentile? *Their* charter is *from* the foundation of the world, not *before* it, as mine is. To them times and seasons belong, from Adam down to the time when Christ delivers up the kingdom. Not so the church; it knows not Adam, whose son was Cain. It knows not even Christ as its King, *with* whom it is to reign. Eternity is its cycle. The church is to reign *over* the earth, not as Israel, who reigns *on* the earth, and is head of the nations, having the supremacy which she lost during the times of the Gentiles, and in fact never had to its full extent during the reigns of David and Solomon. When Christ shall be King over all the earth, Israel's territory will be greatly extended, and instead of being not much larger than Wales, she will be about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as large as Great Britain and Ireland. But the heavenly saints who reign with Christ during the 1,000 years occupy the *heavenly* places: no longer the abode of Satan and his hosts; no longer the sphere from whence every influence of evil emanates, but, on the contrary, the sphere from whence every influence of good is disseminated for the benefit of Israel and the nations. So may be understood the end of the second chapter of Hosea, where Jehovah says that the heavens will be in communication with Him, and the earth with the heavens; that all the blessings of the earth—corn, wine, oil—may respond to the seed of God: one complete circle of blessing without a break, according to the liberality of a God who delights in blessing largely.

There is a mischief, then, in distracting a heavenly saint from his proper hope, which is Christ, and fixing it upon transactions at the end of the age, as if he were waiting for *that*. And I do not hesitate to say that the Book of Reve-

lation is *not* of the same scope as the Book of Daniel. The latter is written for God's people, Israel; the former is written for the church. There is no prophecy, that I know of, in the same way written for Gentiles. Gentiles were never God's people in the sense that the seed of Abraham and Isaac are. The Gentiles came in by the way, partly to shew God's wondrous grace, and to take OUT of them a people for His name; and partly to provoke Israel to jealousy. The church has no prophecy, because it has no earthly future. The Gentile has no prophecy, because it is never, under any circumstances, a principal, but only a subsidiary object of God's dealing. *All* prophecy, therefore, without exception, even what may have reference to Gentiles, is given to the Jew. He and the church are the only two with whom God is on terms by virtue of His own covenant with Abraham and Isaac. I say the church, because "If ye are Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise. (Gal. iii. 29.) Why do I leave out Jacob, in connection with whom alone, if with any one, the Gentiles get blessing at all? For the simple reason that "To Abraham and his *seed* were the promises made. He saith not, And to *seeds*, as of many; but as of one, And to thy *seed*, which is Christ." (Gal. iii. 16.) He that had received the promises offered up his only begotten son, of whom it was said that "in Isaac" shall thy seed be called. (Heb. xi. 18.) Jacob represents the one in whom all the crooked ways of Israel are dealt with; the one who gets supplanted by the Gentile, but maintains his name as Israel in the end, by supplanting the Gentile. Crooked as he is, he is Abraham's seed through Isaac (Christ); which the Gentile never was, and never will be. "Not my people" is a Gentile designation which gave such mighty force to the term being written upon Israel as well as to the same term applied to Gentiles, out of whom God takes people, and makes them sons and daughters according to grace. (2 Cor. vi. 16.)

Now I have made a statement about Revelation which I hasten to substantiate. I have said that the Book of Revelation is given only to the church. "What thou seest write in a book, and send it to *the seven churches* which are in Asia." (Rev. i. 11.) "I, Jesus, have sent mine angel to testify unto

you these things *in the churches.*" (Rev. xxii. 16.) Why is the whole book put between these two statements? Why do verses 18, 19 (chap. xxii.) say that the book must be taken as it stands? That the prophecy must not be added to, and that the book containing the prophecy must not be taken from—shewing that the book itself and the prophecy that is in it are two distinct things? Why must you not add Daniel or any other book to Revelation prophecy? Because, if you do, you throw it out of gear; you destroy its balance; you make it of none effect; you turn its edge. Whatever any other prophecy is to teach, *this* is to shew seven churches what shall be after (*μετα ταυτα*) seven churches have come to their finality on earth. Prophecy must of necessity be "things to come." "Things that are" is history, not prophecy. The Holy Ghost's testimony is twofold. "He shall take of the things of Mine, and shall shew it unto you"; and "He shall shew you things to come." The latter is prophecy; the former is not. Now the "things that are" have not reached finality, inasmuch as the testimony has not been finally rejected, and the church as a witness "spued out" of Christ's mouth. Until it is (and something will have to be done with overcomers, for we may be sure *they* are not spued out) "the things that shall be *after* these" cannot take place. The person who holds this self-evident fact is dubbed "a Futurist," whereas the person who dubs himself "a Presentist" will tell you not only that *all the future has already come to pass!* but he can give you the dates; and, if you wish it, he could astronomically give you the hour and the minute, for all these things synchronize with the course of the sun and moon! I have before said I find these statements wonderful, and I am not indulging in anything apart from seriousness when I say so; but if you ask me to set aside the plain word of God, as declared in the Book of Revelation, I not only get restive, but I would denounce as emptiness anything that dares compete with it. Let the sun and moon stand still, and the whole host of heaven be moved out of their places, before the word of the mighty God who gave them all their several orbits be displaceed! "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the

breath of His mouth"; but the smallest revelation of His Christ surpasses all.

But it may be said, If the things after the third chapter of Revelation have not yet begun to come to pass, how comes it that we Presentists have, by our soli-lunar interpretation, been able to shew such results of coincidence as almost to amount to the miraculous, if it is not the result of divine ordering? To this I reply, that I am told to obey, not to speculate and then try to account for speculations. I have shewn that the things "after" things that "are" do not require semi-lunar observations, but are plain words addressed to "the churches." ("Ye see not many wise are called.")

I have not got to account for speculations you have started. *I know* who is the Faithful witness in the church of God, *but I do not know* (through God's grace) the mysteries of the harlot church, and him who works them after his own will. (2 Tim. ii. 26.) I should be very sorry to say, unless the Word informed me of it, that it was the God of Heaven who was regulating the times of the Gentiles, so as to make the transactions of the mystic Babylon fit in with the Apocalyptic visions. It does not become me, to pronounce judgment on such a subject, neither am I called upon to do so. The only way to keep out of error is to say only what the Word plainly says, and to abstain from saying what IT does not say. Satan can trip us up even when we say what may be true in itself abstractedly, if it be not "the truth" which is what the Spirit of truth leads us into, and *that* because "the truth" is Christ. I should be very sorry to think that Mr. Elliott and Mr. Guinness were not dear to the Lord as redeemed by His blood; but if even Peter savours not of the things of God, but the things of men, he is met by a prompt "Get thee behind me, adversary!" Mr. E. interprets the seven thunders as Papal bulls. (*Horæ Apoc.* vol. ii. p. 119.) What right has he to disclose what John is told to seal and not write? Is he wiser than the Spirit of God, who had His reasons for not telling us of the seven thunders, and yet giving us ample particulars concerning seven seals, trumpets, and vials? The scriptures are by God's grace given us for heart and conscience to be governed and regulated by, not to do with as we list, as men have already done with the Son of man. Is nothing to be

held sacred from a utilitarian age? Is man to out-rival the usefulness of the fabled Prometheus, because he cannot wait an answer by return of post? Daniel mourns and fasts for three weeks, then waits three days, and *then* is found powerless and with his face to the earth ere he is strengthened to receive the communications concerning his people. Is this the attitude of the men of this generation in their rôle of prophecy-mongers? No; *this* is the modern method:

“We are strongly of opinion that the questions at issue between Presentist and Futurist interpreters of prophecy should be both patiently studied, and fully discussed, both from the platform and by the press,”

(I trust he does not mean the newspapers!)

“with a view to their removal. One system or other must be erroneous; surely it is not hopeless to discover which!”

Where is God in all this? Where the Spirit of truth? Where the Master’s honour? Is it really a “Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto Him, to shew unto His servants” or not? Am I to conduct my friends through Her Majesty’s private grounds, and give my opinions as to her arrangements, without even asking her permission? nay, more, to show that her servants and those of her adversary hold views which *must* be erroneous because I hold the contrary?

“Taken literally, the periods of symbolic prophecy are astronomically *nothing*.”

Very likely. More than very likely. If God chooses to give a Revelation of Jesus Christ; if Jesus Christ chooses to employ an angel to go and show that Revelation to His servant John, with His own Personal instructions to John to write it in a book to be sent to seven assemblies in Asia, who am I that I should say, that if those assemblies, or whomsoever may represent those assemblies, take what is written literally, they are astronomically nothing? Jesus Christ did not say they were astronomically anything. The angel simply said:

“These sayings are faithful and true: and the Lord God of the holy prophets sent His angel to shew unto His servants the things which must shortly be done.”

And then, to give stronger force, Jesus Himself says :

“Behold, I come quickly: blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book.” (Rev. xxii. 6, 7.)

Why “shortly,” if a year for a day is to be understood by these servants? And how “shortly” if some 1800 years are to elapse before they are to come into force? Whereas if I am in heaven before they begin, they are “shortly” indeed.

Because, mark it well, O Presentists, as you designate yourselves, “taken literally the periods of symbolic prophecy are astronomically *nothing*.” You are in the “Times of the Gentiles,” and astronomically you have got to wait possibly 31 years from 1892 ere the heavens will open according to Revelation xix., and “The Word of God” comes forth. We Futurists, as you call us, still found among the “things that *are*,” have never astronomically been connected with our absent Lord, but, on the contrary, His coming has been always THE NEXT THING according to *our* hope. That hope has been no juggle of words. There has been an avowed hindrance; we have always been told that there was, but we were told not to be discouraged by it, but to keep ourselves “in the love of God,” and “in the patience of Christ.” We have not always been patient or intelligent, I admit; still, we have had to *wait*, and to comfort one another we have nourished our immediate *hope*. From what you tell us, it *may* be that the “times of the Gentiles” cause the delay. They *may* have to run out or not; it does not affect us. We once were Gentiles. (1 Cor. xii. 2.) We were in time past Gentiles (Eph. ii. 11), but we are not so now; we are baptized by one Spirit into one body (1 Cor. xii. 13), and in spite of the extraordinary insinuations made by the author on pages 136–7, we hold, not only that the church is in heaven during the whole course of the apocalyptic judgments and God’s dealings with His Jewish saints on earth, but that the church, which is His body, is also the bride, the Lamb’s wife, ere the Lord appears, in Revelation xix.

In order to make the church pass through the apocalyptic judgments (he would find them far more terrible than he now so lightly estimates them), the author has to pass through some processes of reasoning which, were he in subjection to the

teaching of the word of God, he would be preserved from. He says, on page 134, of John :

“He was in exile for the word of God, and for the testimony which he held, which expression therefore means *Christianity*.”

He knows very well that he ought to have written “which in John’s case means *Christianity*.” He knows perfectly well that the word of God and testimony existed *before* Christianity, and that it will exist *after* it. And if he is ignorant of the latter, from unconsciousness that not Christ’s presence on earth only, but the Holy Ghost’s also, constitutes Christianity, he knows that “the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch.” But the reason that this illogical statement is made is to fasten another upon it. He says :

“Under the fifth seal we catch a glimpse of a company of martyrs who were slain ‘for the word of God and for the testimony which they held,’ that is, for confessing their *Christian faith*, like John ; they were slain because they were Christians.”

Let us hear from the scripture itself how they express their Christianity :

“How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost Thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth ?”

Does the author really believe that this is the language of Christianity? If so, we may well use the Master’s words, “Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of.” (Luke ix. 55.) It is as essentially the language of Israel to call for righteousness as it is for Christians to call for grace.

“Lord, lay not this sin to their charge,”
is the language of Christianity.

“Let God, arise, and let His enemies be scattered,”
is the proper language of the earthly people.

Then the author says :

“In chapter vii. we have presented to us a company in heaven, unquestionably *Christians* also.

“In chapter viii. ‘the prayers of all saints’ and ‘the prayers of the saints’ are mentioned ; now prayer ascends from suppliants on earth, and ‘saints’ in New Testament phraseology means *Christians*. We have no right in the last book of the New Testament to revert to an Old Testament signification of this word.”

No one but the author says they are in heaven. No one but the author says they are Christians. Is the great tribulation out of which the elder tells us they are come, in heaven? Is *before* the throne the same thing as *on* the throne or *within the circle of* the throne? The question is raised by the elder with John, and answered by the elder for the express purpose of instructing the author that these saved Gentiles are *not* in the same category as those represented by the elder. If the author grasped the structure of the Apocalypse, he could not fail to see that in this wonderful book of judgment, which God has, by Jesus Christ, put into the hands of Christians, He is telling them of His direct dealings with themselves, with the Jews, with the Gentiles, with the heaven-dwellers, with the earth-dwellers, with the true church, with the false church, with the devil, with the beast, with the false prophet; in fact, with every possible class that can come under judgment. And between the lines of His direct judgment He, in wonderful parentheses, lets us know His *purpose* ere the things themselves come to pass in the direct dealings of the book. Hence the opening of the fifth seal is a parenthesis, by which we are informed that martyrs, using Israel's language, must wait awhile, till other like martyrs are in existence; but in the meantime the white robe is an assurance to them that they are accounted righteous. The blood of the Lamb is not mentioned, because the covenant which God made with their fathers was *based upon that blood*; "for without shedding of blood is no remission." In the case of the sealing, under the next parenthesis, it is the same; no blood is mentioned, because it is involved in the promises made to the fathers. But in the case of the Gentiles (always known by the terms nations, kindreds, people, tongues) blood must be mentioned, because they are (as Christians once Gentiles were) strangers from the covenants of promise. (Eph. ii. 12.) Then, as to the parenthesis following the sixth trumpet, there is the testimony of the little book, which has to be made before peoples, nations, tongues, and kings. (Chapter x. 11.) As to the two witnesses who make their testimony during 1260 days, and are slain, people, kindreds, tongues, and nations looking on, and earth-dwellers making merry, all this is subject of parenthesis. Then again, when the beast comes into

the scene in chapter xiii., we get him exercising his blasphemy against God, His name, His tabernacle, and heaven-dwellers, for he cannot do anything else to those he cannot reach; but to those he *can* reach, viz., saints, he overcomes them. Kindreds, tongues, and nations, he exercises power over them; earth-dwellers, they fall down and worship him. Afterwards, in chapter xiv., we get another instance of saved Jew and Gentile; of the first, 144,000 on Mount Zion (these are *before* the throne), and of the second, the everlasting gospel declared to earth-dwellers, nations, kindreds, tongues, and peoples.

All these (so rapidly glanced over) the author masses indiscriminately together, and calls them "the church," and intimates (page 137) that those who teach otherwise ought to be ashamed of themselves for not "rightly dividing the word of truth"!

As I have said before, God forbid that doubt should be thrown upon the author's being a sincere Christian man. Many passages in his book in the earlier pages are really excellent. But, as he says (page 24),

"It is strange that many children of God are content to leave this great question an open one, and to continue in willing ignorance on the subject. And it is doubly strange that too many who ought, as teachers of the truth, boldly to declare the whole counsel of God, should be content to promulgate, through the entire course of their ministry, views which they hold from education and from habit,"

aided by astronomy,

"rather than as the result of research and of strong conviction,"

the result of God's word and Spirit and prayer,

"that they are *the truth*, views that they would be at a loss to sustain by solid scriptural argument.

"And the views thus thoughtlessly imparted, and thoughtlessly received, are yet firmly held; for mental habits are strong. That which we have always heard and supposed to be true, that which most people appear to hold as true, assumes the authority of ascertained truth in the mind, and the moment it is attacked, prejudice rises in arms to defend it. The consequence is, that notwithstanding the late large and rapid increase in the number of those who look for the coming of Christ as their own individual hope, and as the next great event in the history of the Church, and of the

world, the majority of professing Christians, and especially those who have little leisure for reading and study, still retain the opposite view, look for death personally, and expect the coming of Christ to take place only at the end of the world,"

or at the end of the times of the Gentiles.

"Yet that coming is the grand motive uniformly presented in the New Testament to love, to obedience, to holiness, to spirituality of mind, to works of mercy, to watchfulness, to patience, to moderation and sobriety, to diligence, and to all other Christian graces." " 'That blessed hope' is essential to the production of the Christian character in its perfection. What consolation it affords in bereavement and affliction! What holy restraint it is calculated to exercise in prosperity and joy, and what an incentive it supplies to exertion in the christian work and warfare,"

and what a refreshment to the heart of the blessed patient Lord and Master to think that His waiting ones love Him, are not discouraged at the length of the journey, and are overjoyed at the thought that soon He shall see of the travail of His soul, and shall be satisfied!

Now, the above quotation from the author is really excellent, and to the point; and if parentheses have been added, it is not in an unbrotherly spirit, but to shew where, in the writer's heart, he believes the author's weak points lie. No believer has any ground of boasting over his fellow-believer that he should be puffed up for one against another. "For who maketh thee to differ from another? and what hast thou that thou didst not *receive*? Now if thou didst *receive* it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not *received* it?" (1 Cor. iv. 6, 7.) The writer takes credit for nothing. It was intended that the whole company should be the result of

"God, rich in mercy, for His great love wherewith He loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ (by grace we [Gentiles] are saved), and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus: that in the ages to come He might shew the exceeding riches of His grace in His kindness toward us through Christ Jesus." (Eph. ii. 6, 7.)

It is an ungracious and an uncongenial occupation to find fault with another's labours—labours very far greater than any one who reads a book of 776 pages would suppose. Let the writer leave other matter, on which a companion volume,

of an equal number of pages might be written, and briefly, if God give ability, present a few remarks on the Apocalypse as given to the Church of God. But first a few preliminary reflections.

Man is a compound being, created to be the exponent of varied glories, and to be to the praise of Him who called him out of darkness into His marvellous light.

We have just used two symbols. Let us take the latter and divide it into its primaries.

Man is a compound being. Intelligence, conscience, affections, must be duly blended, and in due proportions, else light will not be manifested.

An angel could not be so defined. Intelligence might be there, for God is Light. Love might be there, for God is Love. But conscience could not be there, for an angel has not sinned.

All that forms a man is found in "the scripture of truth." An angel does not need the scripture. They do God's will, "hearkening to the voice of His word."

Man or angel therefore, the Word of God is the food by which each exist. It is, so to speak, the *raison d'être* of their existence.

The third verse of Gen. i. begins "And God 'said.'" The last verse but one of Revelation informs us that "He which testifieth these things 'saith.'"

If fallen man's word be taken as a guide, he can only as a blind man lead the blind.

If renewed man's word be taken as a guide, he can only point to God's word. Renewed by it, he never can rise above it, and therefore must appeal to it.

Even the Lord Jesus Himself as Man appeals to the scripture. As God He *is* The Word.

Renewed man therefore not only has no need to travel outside the scripture of truth for the interpretation of God's mind, but if he does so travel outside of it he gets into the darkness.

The scripture of truth itself may be divided into three primary parts: The things that have been, the things that are, and the things that will be, after these.

That which is divine is known by threefold manifestation in

order to present to us oneness. Father, Son, Holy Ghost—one God.

That which is divine, expressed manward, is known by four-fold manifestation. Hence four gospels to present Christ: King, Prophet, Man, Son.

Daniel and John are both men upon whom the choice title of "Beloved" is stamped. To both were committed the secrets of the future.

To Daniel was entrusted secrets concerning the Gentile and the Jew.

To John was entrusted secrets concerning the church of God, the Gentile, and the Jew.

Observe how in each case the Jew comes last. Why? Because, had he not failed, prophecy had never been needed at all.

Prophecy is divine light, graciously bestowed to illumine man's darkness till the day dawn.

When Israel's light waned, the Gentile kept order by divine appointment.

When under Gentile rule a voice was heard saying, "Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee." Alas! there was no response.

"The darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people; but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and His glory shall be seen upon thee." Alas! still no response.

"And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising." (Isaiah lx. 3.)

The church is formed.

No prophecy finds its fulfilment in itself. (See 2 Peter i. 20.) The above has all of it to be repeated at the close of the times of the Gentiles. But where is the church? Gone!

Daniel sees the future of the chosen people from the EARTH. He is one of them. "Go thou thy way till the end be; for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of the days." (Daniel xii. 13.)

John sees the future of the chosen people from HEAVEN. He is of it. "After this I looked, and, behold, a door opened in heaven: and the first voice which I heard as it were a trumpet talking with me [chap. i. 10]; which said, Come up

hither, and I will shew thee things which must be hereafter." (Rev. iv. 1.)

John "in the Spirit" hears the history of seven churches which are in Asia announced by sound of trumpet in the isle that is called Patmos. (i. 9, 10.)

John receives an invitation to come up to heaven, also announced by sound of trumpet, to be shown what must be hereafter. Immediately he is "in the Spirit." (iv. 1, 2.)

John "in the Spirit" is carried by one of the angels, which had the seven vials full of the seven last plagues, to a great and high mountain. (xxi. 9, 10.)

John was talked to by this angel, showing that judgments were all over, and he not touched by them, seeing he had been in heaven all the time. (xxi. 9.)

John, on the great and high mountain, sees the bride, the Lamb's wife, under the symbol of that great city the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God. (xxi. 10.)

John tells us that "the Gentiles shall walk by means of its light" (see editors), "and the kings of the earth [all Israel] do bring their glory" (see editors) "unto it" (xxi. 24), "and they shall bring the glory and honour of the Gentiles unto it." (xxi. 26.)

Let us recapitulate the above.

John *on earth* hears the seven-phased history of the church *on earth*.

John IN HEAVEN sees the judgments on Israel, the Gentiles and all the powers that have led them astray on earth.

John, *on earth* again, sees the church descending FROM HEAVEN.

Let us hear Mr. Guinness.

"So far from the church being actually and exclusively in heaven at the commencement of the prophetic drama of this book, *she is seen on earth during its entire course.*" (Page 136.)

Let us get to Scripture again.

"Unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans write ; These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true Witness, the beginning of the creation of God : I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot : I would that thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold or hot, I will spue thee out of My mouth." (Rev. iii. 14-16.)

“To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with Me in My throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with My Father on His throne. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches. After this (*μετα ταυτα*) I looked, and behold, a door was opened in heaven: and the first voice which I heard as it were of a trumpet talking with me; which said, Come up hither, and I will shew thee things which must be hereafter” (*μετα ταυτα*). (Rev. iii. 21, 22; iv. 1.)

Let us recapitulate the above.

In the seventh phase of the church it is spued out. But the overcomer is granted a place with the faithful and true Witness on His throne, as He overcame and sat down on His Father's throne. *After* those things John is shown what shall be *after* those things. But he is taken up to heaven to see them.

Now I want to ask Mr. Guinness: Is the church that “is seen on earth during its entire course” (page 136) that which is seen as spued out? or that which is described as overcoming?

If it is the spued-out part, how is it seen coming down out of heaven from God? (Chap. xxi. 10.)

If it is the overcomer part, why is it not seen on the throne as promised, when things are occurring *after* its overcoming? (Chap. iii. 21.)

I will not leave any reader in suspense till Mr. Guinness shall have answered the above. There is only one conclusion that can be drawn therefrom; and that is, that the spued-out part merges in the judgments of the remainder of the book (vi.-xix.), while the overcomer is taken up before those judgments begin; and the promise to the previous section (Philadelphia) confirms it: “I will keep thee from the hour of temptation which shall come upon all the world to try them that dwell upon the earth.” (Chap. ii. 10.)

Fellow-Christian,—If you believe what has been advanced up to this point, hold it fast, that no man take thy crown; for Jesus says He is coming quickly. You would find sorry comfort in soli-lunar cycles, if you were left behind to go through a tribulation more dreadful than anything that has ever yet happened to the sons of men. To find that (whatever mercy God might be pleased to hold out to you as a Gentile, and as such to deliver you from that great tribulation), you had forfeited for ever all place with the church which is Christ's body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all; would be sad

indeed. Rub out the church; and Mr. Guinness's book is, I take it, a very remarkable book concerning the end.

That Mr. Guinness's teaching involves you in the great tribulation, let me point out to you from his book. Turn to page 136. After having said that the church

"is seen on earth during its entire course"—

and he uses italics that you may not mistake his meaning—he says,

"She is seen collectively under various symbols, such as
 The hundred and forty-four thousand,
 The two witnesses,
 The sun-clad woman,
 The armies of heaven,
 The new Jerusalem,
 and
 Her members are seen severally
 as 'the saints.'"

The armies of heaven and the New Jerusalem we need not concern ourselves with. He cannot possibly mean that the armies that are seen to come out of heaven are on earth at the same time; neither can we suppose that the New Jerusalem which comes down from God out of a *new* heaven can be seen on the *old* earth, after the said old earth has been dissolved into its elements. So leaving these "symbols," which I presume must have something they symbolize, let us consider first:

The hundred and forty-four thousand.

This, as it comes before the two witnesses, must be the 144,000 of the seventh chapter.

Let us betake ourselves to "that which is noted in the scripture of truth."

"I heard the number of them which were sealed: and there were sealed an hundred and forty and four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel." (Rev. vii. 4.)

This is the oddest possible "symbol" of "the church," especially as each tribe is mentioned by name: Judah, Reuben, Gad, Aser, Nephthalim, Manasses, Simeon, Levi, Issachar, Zabulon, Joseph, Benjamin. If there are two things in the Acts and the Epistles

that stand in the strongest contrast to each other, the one being the result of counsel *before* and the other *from* the foundation of the world, it is the church and Israel. To take Israel, then, in the most literal of all forms in which it can be described, and to pretend that it is a "symbol" of the church, is to display before men how far the human mind can err from the truth, to substantiate the creations of itself.

Hear Mr. Guinness on symbols (p. 104):

The system that says: "Babylon means Babylon must be false. In the Apocalypse Babylon does *not* mean Babylon, nor Jerusalem Jerusalem, nor a Jew a Jew, nor the temple the temple."

Now the above sentence is written for the purpose of slipping in the words "nor a Jew a Jew." I will prove it presently. Mr. G. inserts it honestly, I doubt not. But we need be careful who is at our elbow when the pen is in hand.

In the Apocalypse, no doubt, "Babylon" is not the city which bore that name, but refers to the vast system of which the city was one expression. So likewise with Jerusalem. Babylon was the metropolis of the devil; transferred to Pergamos when Babylon fell, and transferred from thence by Attalus III. to Rome, where it assumed its mystic form. Jerusalem, on the other hand, was the metropolis of God; and as such, could stand for a heavenly or an earthly city, equally well to express either. So also the Temple, which represented [not any of the five temples built in Jerusalem, so much as it expressed] all that arrangement and disposing of things by which God could be worshipped. Hence in the Holy Jerusalem there is no temple as known before; because God and the Lamb have their rightful place as such.

But to introduce the false symbol:

"Nor a Jew a Jew."

Paul, dealing with the Jew in the sight of God, in Romans ii., tells him that the name of God was blasphemed among the Gentiles by reason of his doing the very things which, as a Jew, he was a public testimony should not be done. What is the use of this testimony, says the Holy Ghost, through the apostle, if the one that you are to testify to, has to turn round and set you right? (Verse 27.) "For he is not a Jew which

is one outwardly. . . . But he is a Jew [not a Christian] which is one inwardly."

The above is brought forward by Mr. G. to support a statement that our Lord takes from "Jew" its old literal meaning, and confines it to a higher sense. (Page 106.) The statement so supported, is one needing much support indeed. Let us look at it.

Mr. G. says :

"There is . . . the twice repeated expression 'which say they are Jews and are not, but do lie.' The parties alluded to clearly were literal Jews, but being unbelievers, our Lord here denies to them the name, thereby taking from Jew thenceforth its old literal meaning, and confining it to a higher sense."

Suppose Mr. G. were to say he was a "Futurist"! [We know he is not; but,] strange to say, he *would be a literal Futurist!* but being a "Presentist" in very truth, we should deny him the name of Futurist, taking from Futurist thenceforth its old literal meaning, and confining it to a higher sense (of Presentist?)!

A writer must indeed be driven to straits when his examples serve him in this fashion. He can reason well enough on points that admit of reason, but the effort to prove black is white must leave the best of reasoners in an undignified position.

We see now why "Jew" was so carefully placed between two undoubted symbols. It was that he might come under the grasp of the next sentence.

"These explanations and indications at the commencement of this prophecy, are like a Divine warning against the error of taking these Jewish emblems literally. In the Apocalypse they must uniformly be interpreted as *signs of other things.*"

Mr. G. is not quite comfortable with the conclusion he has come to, so he goes to justify his conclusion; and thus falls into the common misfortune of making bad worse.

He continues :

"In every part of Scripture it is the Spirit, and not the letter, that is life and light giving; how especially must this be the case in a part where the letter, that is the outward form and expression of the truth, is so mysterious, so enigmatical, so unspiritual, as in the Apocalypse." (Page 106.)

What? The words dictated by the Lord Jesus unspiritual? Mysterious and enigmatical they may be to one who sees "hereafter" fulfilled before "the things that are" are concluded: but unspiritual they cannot be, either in outward form or inner meaning. Smyrna—one of the instances quoted about Jews, and Philadelphia, the other—both say: He that hath an ear, let him hear what the SPIRIT saith unto the churches; and so Ephesus, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, and Laodicea. Besides, John was IN THE SPIRIT before he could hear or see or write anything about the churches. Again, he was IN THE SPIRIT when taken up to heaven to see transactions on earth. He was IN THE SPIRIT to see Mystery Babylon. IN THE SPIRIT to see the Holy Jerusalem descend out of heaven from God. Truly we have a solemn instance here how a man who loves the Lord Jesus, as many parts of his book testify; can thus commit himself, when he forces Scripture to take his teaching, instead of getting his from it.

The employment of Symbols by the Spirit of God is a great boon to a spiritual mind. A hard literal fact, like a pointed Hebrew word, is limited to one use and no other; whereas in a symbol I get the whole nature and system of a thing; and the Spirit of God can expand or contract its use to my heart, conscience, or intelligence in a thousand different ways. Take Babylon as a symbol, and Babylon as a literal city. As a symbol, I get a vast system of iniquity, idolatry, priestcraft, witchcraft; in fact, every form in which *deceit* could be instilled by the devil into the minds of men; from the Flood, down to the Alleluia of Rev. xix. 1, 2. But if I take Babylon in a literal way, my mind travels to a broad-walled city on the Euphrates, whose vast power was crippled by the Medes and Persians in 538 B.C., and there it stops. The Spirit of God may sometimes speak of one, sometimes of the other; but He expects me to have sufficient intelligence by His gracious presence in me, to be able to discern whether symbol, or literal use is intended. We have no difficulty in our ordinary conversation in the use of symbol or literality. If I say a man has come to the end of his tether, no one doubts that I mean the exhaustion of his resources. But if I speak of a horse at the end of his tether, every one knows I am speaking of a

literal rope which secures the animal to one feeding-ground. If I refer to the modern Babylon, no one accustomed to the language of ordinary literature would dream of any other place than London. And if such a person said there was no Babylon in these days, we should smile at his extreme simplicity, and cite him as one not up to date. Mr. Guinness (page 102) speaks of the meagreness of metaphor and allegory. It might be so if we were to look for the identical hatchet that the savage said he had buried. But it would have a fulness of meaning to one who had fled before that same hatchet when its possessor was on the war-path. It is the ignorant who confuse symbols with things symbolized. It is as John says in his Epistle, "I have not written unto you because ye know not the truth, but because you *do* know it." You must have got the truth of a thing in you, before you know how to apply what is said about it. What should I know about a Lamb in the Revelation, did I not know in my soul the virtues of the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world? The very mention of the word "Lamb" calls up before my mind the astounding virtues of redemption, whose wonders eternity will never be able to exhaust. Meagreness in that word of four letters! Why, the world could not contain the books that could be written on it! Then, when I find it used in connection with seals, and *not* with trumpets and vials; it opens up a train of reflection as to the staying mercies of the first series of judgments, as compared with the more severe trumpets, and the unsparing vials. It is with a sigh of relief, after having lost sight of the Lamb during the trumpets and the vials, the casting down from heaven of Satan, and the uprising of the two beasts; to find the blessed Name once more standing at the head of the fourteenth chapter. Of course, I know who He is, and far better than if He said, as He will in chap. xxii. 16, "I, Jesus"; because under the title "Lamb" I know what phase of His wondrous attributes is in exercise. So, again, take the mighty angel standing at the head of the 10th chapter. I know who He is, though He is not seen as the Lamb. To faith He can never be hid. (Mark vii. 24.) He may go to the coast of Tyre and Sidon; go into a house and would have no one know; but a Gentile woman will discover Him and get what she wants; taking no

rebuff, but routing the devil on his own ground. And so it is always. Flesh and blood does not reveal Him; but the Father knows Him, and He will take up a poor wretch out of a hot-bed of idolatry, where "that woman Jezebel" came from, and rejoice the heart of His Beloved in a weary land.

Symbols, therefore, are no sign of poverty of language, but of overflowing richness of grace, which hide gigantic mysteries from the wise and prudent, and reveal them unto babes. "Half-civilized," if you please; wholly savage, if you will. What matter! If it seems good in the Father's sight to glorify His Son thus, who shall stay His hand? Who shall say, "What doest thou?"

But to take a plain designation like "Jew," "Israel," "Hebrew," and make a symbol of it, is, as Job says, to "meet with darkness in the daytime, and grope in the noon-day as in the night." If I saw a veritable son of Japheth acting like a son of Shem, with the Decalogue over his head, and standing at a place *he* calls an altar, and usurping the place of Moses by speaking to the people "the words of this law"; what could I say to him (if the law of the land permitted me to say anything)? Would it not be to this effect? "You say you are a Jew? You are not. You do lie. The Lord will make you of the synagogue of Satan if you take this false position in the things of God. And the Lord will make some of those people that you taught to cry, 'Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law,' to tell you the plain truth; and you will have eventually to confess that the Lord loved those poor people, and delivered them from your lies."

This would be far nearer the truth than the Lord "taking from '*Jew*' its old literal meaning and confining it to a higher sense."

But we must not refer to Philadelphia only. Perhaps, though Mr. G. coupled the two texts together, his remarks were written without the Smyrna text before him. We could not have used the same words about the same evil-doers at that earlier stage of the church's career. Smyrna gives us the origin of that, which in Philadelphia is seen in full blow. There can be little doubt that Irenæus, pious man as he was, pressed unduly, what all the fathers at the beginning of the

second century were ripe for, viz., the exaltation of the bishop and elder, no doubt wishing to reduce the laxity of the churches to better order. But one has only to read between the lines of the Acts and the Epistles to see that the devil was using Judaism to nullify and destroy its total contrast the church, and to bring its heavenly calling down to an earthly level. Philosophy and heresy, no doubt, did much to corrupt the church, and lead her to join hands with the world; but the order of the clergy, and all that belongs to it, is founded on the Jew's religion. Many were persuaded then, as many have thought since, that Christianity is a *continuation* of Judaism, instead of being its complete *contrast*; and indeed the Epistle to the Hebrews was written to *show* its contrast: and that not by exhibiting one force *opposed* to another force, but to teach the great truth that all the wondrous types and shadows under which God was pleased to open His mind to man were mystic, incomplete, and unsatisfactory, until the great Antitype should come. That then, Judaism, which had already waxed old, should vanish away. The great effort of the adversary was first to destroy the Antitype. Failing utterly in this, he tried to maintain and sustain that which, in God's purpose, was to vanish away. The Acts show us how relentlessly the Apostles of the church were driven to prison and to death. After they were gone, grievous wolves from without, and men speaking perverse things from within; very soon swamped the truth with Judaism and Babylonianism (called Orientalism then). Judaism first did its deadly work in Smyrna: and Babylonianism, in its double form of Balaamism and Nicolaitanism, in Pergamos; thus preparing the way for Jezebelism (which is Babylonianism in full blow), in Thyatira. But Smyrna is our theme at present, and Judaism its special form of corruption; as any one may learn from Bingham. (*Antiq. Chr. Ch.* vol. i. page 42.) He admits that the common priesthood of believers is taught in the New Testament; but that the Fathers, from the earliest times, formed the church on the Jewish system.

What wonder then that He, "whose eyes are as a flame of fire" (Rev. i. 14), tells John to write to the angel of the church in Smyrna and say, "I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan."

Now can Mr. G. be right in saying (page 105, 6):

“The parties alluded to clearly were literal Jews, but being unbelievers, our Lord here denies to them the name, thereby taking from ‘*Jew*’ thenceforth its old literal meaning, and confining it to a higher sense.”

The Lord says, SYNAGOGUE OF SATAN. Is that a higher sense?

Ah, Christian reader, and you, Mr. Guinness, among them; see how the evil influences that began so early, have continued so late! See how the springs of Christianity were poisoned so early, and how the virus still dements us all! Do not think I take any other ground than that of “a debtor to mercy alone,” that I was rescued from that system of error. Do not think I consider any place higher than the dust adequate to any of us who have contributed to bring Christendom to the fearful condition in which it is found at this moment. We may well be looking for the Lord to come and take us out of the awful confusion we have brought the church into. We do not mend matters, nor justify our own defections, by reviling the Harlot. We were called to “shine as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life.” (Phil. i. 14.) Lights: not ordinary lights, but the same light like unto a stone most precious that is given off by the Holy Jerusalem that John saw descending out of heaven from God, having the glory of God. The word is only used twice in the Scriptures, and it shews thus what was expected of us. The Harlot never could have had the footing she has, had we maintained the truth. Darkness cannot exist in the presence of light.

This leaven of Judaism, then, is what is ruining the testimony of devout and earnest men like Mr. Guinness and the late Mr. Elliott. I may take up the words of the Preface (xv.) and say,

“With all earnestness and sobriety of mind they assure their brethren that it is their deep conviction that *this is the testimony of sacred scripture*; yet

[they and]

multitudes of Christian teachers, without even taking the trouble of examining into the subject, still preach the contrary

[of the scripture],

or imply it in their preaching; not from well-grounded conviction of its truth, but from educational prejudice or mere force of habit. Is this right? Ought not every minister of the word to study for himself the teachings of scripture until he is satisfied that he has attained the truth on this momentous theme?"

From not being able to divest himself of this leaven of Judaism, Mr. Guinness has written a great book which deflects the hopes and interests of the Church of God into that nearly finished sewer, "the times of the Gentiles." It is a good thing that "the Lord knoweth them that are His" (2 Tim. ii. 19), but it is very much to be hoped that before the Lord makes the selection of those who are to be caught up, "every one that nameth the name of the Lord will depart from iniquity," else He will say to such, "Depart from Me, all ye workers of iniquity." It is the same word that is used in Rom. i. 18, of "men who hold the truth in *unrighteousness*." We are accustomed, from the polluted stream through which we struggle daily, to regard "iniquity" as moral evil only; but this in Scripture is invariably expressed as wickedness, and by the same kind of word that designates the wicked one; whereas iniquity is the religious form of evil; that speaks of preaching, or prophesying, or casting out devils; and yet, for all that, is disowned by Him.

These are painful things to write about, but better now than when too late. It is the *truth* that delivers from every form of evil, and the truth consists in saying and doing what God says. If the Lord, after hanging nearly six hours on the cross, was yet solicitous that the one remaining scripture which expressed His thirst, should not pass unnoticed; what care does it behove us to take, lest we elbow our own opinions into an effete Christendom instead of the life-giving words of a life-giving God! The attitude of Jeremiah becomes us. He says to the Lord (xv. 16): "Thy words were found of me, and I did eat them; and Thy word was unto me the joy and rejoicing of my heart." And what says the Lord in reply? (xv. 19): "If thou take forth the precious from the vile, thou shalt be as My mouth: let them return to thee; but return not thou unto them."

It is a solemn reflection that *truth* held in *unrighteousness* is sure to dishonour the Lord, even where there may be no per-

sonal intention or wish to do so. Peter makes out his Lord to be a stranger to Israel, by admitting that his Master paid tribute; but this is as nothing compared to the horror of saying that "the prince that shall come" is MESSIAH (page 713). Messiah is cut off (Prince though he is), and gets nothing. Then the *people* of the Prince that shall come, destroy the city and the sanctuary. If the people of the Prince that shall come were the Romans, is the *Prince* that shall come other than a Roman? Was the Lord a Roman? How, indeed, can he that makes a covenant for one week, and then in the middle of the week breaks it, be the Lord? Does our Lord break any covenants? Does He even make or confirm any? The very thought of such a thing is to upset the magnificent grace of God, and to set up Judaism again on its own ruins, in order to identify, at any cost, the heavenly church with the times of the Gentiles! Truly said the blessed One, "If *another* shall come in his own name, him ye will receive." This false theory receives him in advance, by making out the "desolator" to be Messiah.

People may well ask (page 717):

"Why are the Jews and Jerusalem altogether excluded from Mr. Guinness' theory?"

Hear Mr. Guinness in reply:

"The answer is simple. They are not excluded; on the contrary, they fill a very large place. The past history and future restoration of the Jews occupy most prominent positions in the pages of inspiration. But in prophecies of events to take place during the course of 'the times of the Gentiles' or present age, the Jews are to a large extent overlooked. They are the natural branches of the olive tree, but they are for the present 'broken off.' They knew not the day of their visitation, and the kingdom of God is for the present taken from them and given to others. Blindness in part is happened to Israel, *until* the fulness of the Gentiles be come in, and then all Israel shall be saved. Hence the great antichristian power, symbolized as 'the little horn,' and called the 'man of sin'; and the eighth head of the beast, being the last form of Gentile power, and belonging to these 'times of the Gentiles,' has little to do with the literal Israel, or the literal Jerusalem, or the literal Temple."

Hear what is "noted in the scripture of truth" (Dan. xii. 1.)

"And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince that standeth for the children of thy people : and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time : and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book."

Hear the Lord Jesus on the same subject (Mark xiii. 19) :

"For in those days shall be affliction such as was not from the beginning of the creation which God created unto this time, neither shall be. And except that the Lord had shortened those days, no flesh should be saved : but for the elect's sake, whom He hath chosen, He hath shortened the days. And then if any man shall say to you, "Lo, here is Christ," or, "Lo, He is there," believe him not ; for false Christs and false prophets shall rise, and shall shew signs and wonders, to seduce, if it were possible, even the elect. But take ye heed : behold, I have foretold you all things. But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars of heaven shall fall, and the powers that are in heaven shall be shaken. And then shall they see the Son of man coming in the clouds with great power and glory."

In the above scripture the Lord describes, in the most thrilling language, the terrors of that day of retribution for Israel's wickedness. Mr. Guinness can discourse with "a light heart" on "the future restoration of the Jews"—

"The Jews are to a large extent overlooked"—

and is so enamoured of "the times of the Gentiles," that he will appropriate to them tribulation and everything connected with it.

"It has little to do with literal Israel, literal Jerusalem, or literal Temple."

What an infatuation ! first to confound the church of God with "the times of the Gentiles," then to appropriate all Judah's fearful sorrows into the times of the Gentiles. How cheap ! if it is all nearly past. How dear ! if it has all yet to come, in its concentrated form, within the compass of seven years. Do not sneer at the shortness of the crisis period. Except those days *had* been shortened, no flesh would have been saved. All this is, like Mr. Elliott's interpretation of the end of Rev. vi., to be the downfall of Paganism in the fourth century ! All these cheap estimations of God's dire judgments, by a system that regards them as past ; take off that restraining influence on man's wickedness that they were intended to exercise ; and cause men to scoff and jeer at that, which they are informed can never

touch them, having had its fulfilment years before they were born !

The providential dealings of God during the times of the Gentiles *may, perhaps*, have been framed on the lines of the Apocalypse. God is Sovereign Ruler, I know, and nothing can happen without His permission. But the Book of Job shews me at least this: that Satan can get that permission both as to Job's property and person. I see no reason to doubt that he who would travesty the bride of Christ by the harlot church could also travesty the Apocalypse itself, so as to bring about that fearful manifestation of himself as God. Satan is the god of this age (2 Cor. iv. 4), and his function is to blind the eyes to the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ. It is, therefore, quite conceivable that he could so fashion the times of the Gentiles on the lines of the Apocalypse, as to make men believe that *providential* matters were *prophetic fulfilments*. As to solar and lunar cycles, he is hardly likely to be ignorant of them; seeing the instruction he gave to the Egyptians and Babylonians; and that their idolatrous practices were all based upon the motions of the heavenly bodies. The church of God (as such), refuses to identify herself with these things under the sun; seeing it is not her sphere at all. She belongs to the heavenly places, where Christ sits at the right hand of God; a sphere where times and seasons—solar, lunar, or stellar—have no place as time measurers. I fully admit their wonderful character. If they are all that Mr. Guinness says they are, and I see no reason to doubt it; they are far more wonderful than they have received credit for; but they can contribute nothing to God's truth, but, alas! the very reverse. If Mr. Guinness's Christianity were not so leavened with Judaism, he would never have allowed them to take the immense place they have with him. The leaven of Judaism has deadened and blunted spiritual perceptions as to the high dignities and destinies of the church of God; which he has, by means of times and seasons, degraded to the corrupt level of the times of the Gentiles. I do not know any educational course so suitable to form a thorough "earth-dweller" as the work of Mr. Guinness. On the other hand, the only thing that will preserve one whose citizenship is in heaven, is the pure word of God. I have to bear in mind that not only

did our Lord Jesus Christ give Himself "for our sins," but that He might deliver us from "this present evil age"; and that both were "according to the will of God and our Father, to whom be glory for ever and ever." Amen.

The few pages thus feebly presented, are but to call readers to examine what they read by the word of God. A volume as large as Mr. Guinness's might be written on the multiform chain of error. But it is not good for writer or reader to engage in these angean pursuits. We need *positive* teaching concerning the multi-coloured glories of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we are so soon to see face to face.

Note.—It was intended to give a rapid sketch of the Book of Revelation, presenting its salient features; but it would have been difficult to do it justice within the limit of this pamphlet. Any person interested in the divisions of the book will find them set forth in *The Revelation of Jesus Christ** in the same order as in the word of God, but detached, so that one may not be confused with another. Interesting subjects, some from the Book of Revelation, are put forth in a portable form in small booklets called "Prophetic Series" from time to time, and are announced in a monthly circular.

* The author publicly disavows emolument directly or indirectly from the publication of his own or any other works on the momentous subject of the Lord's return; but anyone interested in the further pursuit of sound literature thereon, may obtain a list of works by persons known and unknown to the author, and which have been carefully read by him, by sending stamped and addressed envelope to the publisher, who himself has no interest beyond the truth, and the per-centage by which publishers live. Should profit beyond this result, it will be employed to cheapen or extend the knowledge of the Lord's return. The author need hardly say, that while approving and helping on the dissemination of the scriptural views of others, he must in no wise be held thereby to endorse them absolutely; each reader needs to weigh *before God* all ministry, irrespective of the ministrant. *God's own word alone being absolutely free from error.*



WINE :

AN

AUTHORITATIVE DEFENCE OF ITS USE.

BY

N.—M.,

A GRADUATE OF CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY, AND A CLERGYMAN OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

“There is scarcely one good thing which may not be abused, and all,
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WHEN the nations of antiquity attributed the first use of Wine and strong drink, among men, to the instruction of their gods, they showed, at least, their invaluable estimation of that whose origin they thus thought to be worthy of a divinity, or whose discoverer they thus thought to be worthy of deification. For whether these beneficent instructors were considered as emanations from the Supreme, or mortals exalted to the rank of deities, their worship may certainly be taken as expressing the verdict of extended experience, and the gratitude of joyful humanity.

Noah, in the Sacred History, is the first whose use of Wine is mentioned. Like Adam, Noah was a tiller of the earth, and after the flood he did what, doubtless, he had done before,—“ he planted a vineyard.”¹ He knew not only the culture of the vine, but also the art of Wine-making; for “ he drank of the Wine, ” from his vineyard, “ and was drunken. ” This is the first time the words “ Wine ” and “ drunken ” are used in the Bible, and, we must observe, they are defined by the circumstances which preclude the possibility of any

¹ Gen. ix. 20, 21.

ambiguity, either from uncertain usage, or from dubious etymology:—"Wine" proceeds from the "vineyard," and it makes men "drunken,"—and in these meanings these words continue thenceforth to be used.

From the earliest times Wine has been associated with religious worship, and its use, or disuse, has been apparently the mark of difference in systems of religion. The disuse of Wine was probably at one time among the stringent rules of oriental philosophy.¹ If credit may be given to the later authority of Plutarch, then the priests of the Sun at Heliopolis never permitted Wine to enter the temple of their god, and not till the time of Psammetichus was Wine drunk by kings or priests, or used in libations to the gods. And for this disuse they had a reason in their religion: Wine was supposed to be the blood of those who fell in the war against the gods, and from whose carcases, mingled with the earth, the vine was produced.² Of the Egyptian priests, we are told, some altogether abstained from Wine, others used it sparingly as possible. At certain times, as an exercise of purity, they abstained from bread; at other times they mixed it with hyssop, which, they said, diminished the strength of bread. Many also abstained from the use of oil; others used a few drops to mitigate the taste of their vegetables.³

¹ Jablonski Pan. Ægypt. Lib ii. c. i. ² Plut. De Is. et Os.

³ Porphyr De Abstin. Lib. iv.

These ascetic practices were doubtless connected with their secret theology as “counsels of perfection.”

In direct and practical opposition to this Egyptian system we have the writer of Psalm civ. He tells us, his God brings food out of the earth (ver. 15, &c.), Wine that maketh glad the heart of man, oil to make his face to shine, and bread to strengthen his heart; and, says he, “I will praise my God while I have my being.” These three things—Wine, oil, and bread—abhorred or maltreated by the highest orders of the Egyptian hierarchy, are by the Psalmist esteemed among the greatest blessings.

That these opposite and conflicting systems existed in early ages, may be assumed; and this seems to give a peculiar and notable significance to the Sacred History in which, the second time, Wine is mentioned. Abraham, returning from his victory, was met by Melchizedek, who brought forth bread and Wine, and, it is added, “he was the priest of the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth.” (Gen. xiv., 18.)

The first priest of the true God whom the Bible mentions brings forth bread and Wine to Abraham, the father of the faithful, the first whom the Bible mentions as “he believed in the Lord.” The king of Salem and the wanderer from Chaldea were of the same faith, and both used Wine.

Apart from definite matters of religion, Wine appears to have been a common beverage among the patriarchs. Lot, by calamity, separated from social intercourse, has Wine in his cave, using it, doubtless, as a comfort in his solitude.¹ Isaac is fond of "savoury meat," and with it he has Wine as its usual concomitant. He bestows on his son the blessing, the gift of God, and it is "the fatness of the earth, plenty of corn and Wine."² Nor was Jacob forgetful of his father's benediction, for, on his death-bed, he extended the blessing to the son whom his brethren should praise,— "binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine; he washed his garments in Wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes."³

If the kings and priests of ancient Egypt were singularly abstemious, and wholly or in great part abstained from Wine, it is certain that they enforced no such abstinence on the rest of the people. The Egyptians were generally a social Wine-loving race, who studied carefully the art of drinking. A large portion of their country was "a land of vines"; much Wine also was imported. In the corn-growing portion, where the vine was not cultivated, we are told, they prudently manufactured barley Wine as a comfortable substitute⁴; and this, says one who might well be an

¹ Gen. xix.

² Gen. xxvii., 28.

³ Gen. xlix., 11.

⁴ Herod. lib. i. c. 77; Athenæi. lib. i. c. 25.

authority, was not much inferior to the Wine of the vine.¹ Their convivial character is incidentally seen in the account of Joseph's entertainment of his brethren. He said, "Set on bread,"—an ancient formula, perhaps, but which then included the apparatus of a feast, for they ate, "drank, and were merry with him."² In our margin it is "drank largely;" the word used is that in the case of Noah; it is, "they drank, and were drunken with him." We need not to suppose that Joseph and his brethren were drunk in the worst possible meaning; nor need we to soften down the meaning lest their conduct might be "highly improper" to sickly morality.

In the religion or in the practice of the patriarchs we find nothing to contradict even a fondness for Wine. Certainly we see its unrestricted use, and the civil, the priestly, or even the fashionable rules of the wisdom of Egypt were not, we may well think, violated by Joseph. Still, deference must be given to erudition, and it may be admitted that abstinence from Wine was a part of, or associated with, the teaching of the higher philosophy.

...On the establishment of the Hebrew nation under Moses, the "vineyards which thou plantedst not" were among the chief glories of their land. Wine was esteemed among the best of God's many good gifts to his favoured people. With an

¹ Lioid. Sic. Lib. i. ² Gen. xliii.

almost endless variety of expression, Wine and its parent became the symbols of all good things. Peace, prosperity, benefits national or individual, blessings spiritual or temporal, happiness and joy in every form and kind,—all come under some figure of the vine and its offspring. On the other hand also, Wine enfeebled by mixture with water, or made from bad vines, becomes the symbol of misfortune, disaster, punishment, and every kind of evil. The most mournful distress, expressed in the most plaintive lamentation, is the loss of Wine. “There is a crying for Wine in the streets; all joy is darkened; the mirth of the land is gone.”¹

This language plainly originated in the habits of the people, and in the character of their country. The Hebrews were proud of their vines, and fond of their Wine; and their country, as under God’s special blessing,² richly supplied to them the means of their enjoyment. It was also “a land of barley.” We know that the Hebrews took with them many of the arts of Egypt, and among them, we may be certain, that of making the famous barley-wine.

In English we have no single word, in common use, to express that class of common drinks usually called “intoxicating,” neither had the Greeks, nor the Romans; but the Hebrews had the word *shecar*, which is retained in the Septuagint, and

¹ Is. xxiv. 11.

² Deut. xi, 12.

in the Vulgate, and which, in our version, is usually rendered "strong drink." This *shecar* is the general name for all inebriating drinks, whether made from corn, honey, fruits, or any juices, and once,¹ at least, it seems to include Wine, from which it is generally distinguished. The ordinary beverages among the Hebrews appear to have been Wine, vinegar of Wine, liquor of grapes, strong drink and vinegar of strong drink.²

Whatsoever doubts, opinions, or dogmas, concerning the use or disuse of Wine and strong drink, might be in other sacred or social systems, the language of the Law of Moses is clear and decisive in this matter. The laws and institutions of the Hebrews have no tendency towards ascetic austerity; they give no shelter to the opinion that the soul is naturally oppressed by the body; they do not suppose that the emaciation of the body invigorates the intellect, nor that any benefit arises to the soul through the torment of its earthly companion. Moses has no place for "counsels of perfection," for these are the inventions of priestcraft to satisfy religious vanity, or to shelter ardent hypocrisy. In the Law the use of Wine and strong drink is not permitted as an indulgence, nor is their disuse suggested as promoting holiness.

On the contrary, the use of Wine and strong drink is a positive precept, and the disuse, urged

Numb. xxviii, 7.

Numb. vi, 3.

and accepted as a general duty, is a distinct denial of the divine sanction. If the excellence of the ascetic practice was taught in the philosophy of Egypt, then, that philosophy, which was known to Moses, is distinctly condemned and rejected by him as the legislator of the Hebrews.

The government established by Moses was, as Josephus says, a Theocracy—the Lord was their king. The tabernacle, or the temple, was the king's house, and the things suitable for a house were provided. There was the holy table, with the dishes, the spoons, the bowls, and the covers. The fire burnt on the sacred hearth; the lights, the candlesticks, and the snuffers were there also.¹ Into this house, as into the house of the king, provisions were daily brought by willing subjects. Bread, wine, strong drink, the flesh of animals, bullocks, sheep, goats, composed the food. And on this food, thus supplied, the Lord of the house himself fed,² and with it also he fed his household. And, guarding against a not uncommon dereliction of duty, he forbade his servants to taste the inebriating drinks while attending in his presence.³ Higher sanction than this cannot be given for the use of the food; and to condemn any portion of this food as physically, or morally, deleterious to the eater, is to condemn the conduct of him who, by using, has sanctioned it.

¹ Excd. xxxvii. 16-23. ² Mal. i. 12, Lev. vii. 28-34.

³ Lev. x. 9.

A generous hospitality was almost inseparable from an Oriental household ; but the law of Moses provided for a national hospitality—for national feasts and festivities, most munificent, when the highest and lowest, richest and poorest, met and mingled in common hilarity, and every inhabitant was called upon to rejoice. These feasts were matters of express commandment ; they could not be evaded by those whose duty it was to provide them ; and, in them, not one single thing used in the house of the Lord was either forbidden or restrictively permitted. These feasts, thus enforced, were of certain tithes and first-fruits. These, under defined conditions, were permitted to be sold by their owners ; but the seller was commanded, and, by the command, compelled to spend the money—and these are the directions for the spending :—“Thou shalt bestow that money for whatsoever thy soul lusteth after ; for oxen, or for sheep, or for wine, or for strong drink, or for whatsoever thy soul desireth ; and thou shalt eat them before the Lord thy God, and thou shalt rejoice, thou and thine household.” “And the Levite, and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, shall come, and shall eat and be satisfied.”¹

It seems too obvious to escape even the most languid attention, that these feasts, and others similar, could never have been instituted by any

¹ Deut. xiv.

legislator who thought, or had any suspicion, that the legally unrestricted use of Wine, and strong drink, tended to social degradation; nor could these convivial meetings ever have been sanctioned by any theologian, or philosopher, whose system inclined to the opinion that Wine and strong drink were the productions of evil. Nor were these feasts, and this use of Wine and strong drink, temporary institutions, adapted perhaps to ruder ages, and to be modified, or finally removed, by the progressive excellence of morality and civility. They were a permanent and integral part of the code and system of Moses, whose law was to remain unchanged, and co-existent with the Hebrew nation.

The opinions of men, great and wise as they may be, may, sometimes, be not unreasonably disputed; and the example of their conduct may, sometimes, be not injuriously rejected; but, in the case before us, the whole of the Jewish polity is involved; the symbols of the temple, the nature of the sacrifices, the whole civil fabric, the very constitution of the nation, all require this constant use of Wine and strong drink as essentially interwoven with their existence. It is not, therefore, required to seek minutely through Jewish history for illustrations either of the use, or the abuse of Wine, nor to attach any great weight to the sayings of their wise men, either blaming or praising; the law required its use, and

to reject this use was to vilify the law, and to be an outcast from Israel.

Thus in later times, when other teachers had set themselves in the chair of Moses, when traditions had been manufactured, or introduced, and when an assumption of ascetic holiness, imitated from other systems, had become the fashionable cloak for hypocrisy and deception, still, even then, Rabbinical casuistry could invent no evasion of the law in this matter. Misunderstanding, or misrepresenting the character of his vow, they were perplexed by the case of the Nazarite. "If he drink," said they, "he violates his vow, if not, he violates the law of the Tithes, and the rules of the Passover. The solution must be left for Elijah when he comes."¹

By the rules of the Passover four cups, and not fewer, were prescribed for each person, even if they had to be given to him from the fund for the poor.² These four necessary cups were of red Wine, generous and potent, but there was no restriction to this number. In their interval of fasting, which was preparatory for the full enjoyment of the feast, it was forbidden to drink water, but Wine was allowed to allay any queasiness, and to stimulate the appetite. During the meal there was free indulgence, so says the Mishna, "A man may drink as much as he likes between

¹ Lightfoot *Hor. Heb. in Luc. cap. i. 15.*

² *Mishna, Pesach, c. x. i.*

the first two glasses, but not between the third and the fourth." And, says Maimonides,¹ "the reason why he is not permitted to drink between the third and fourth cups is, to prevent drunkenness. For wine, taken during a meal, does not inebriate, but without food it does." A special provision was made for those who fell asleep during the meal, and sometimes all the company were thus overpowered. A fast for three days appears to have been the penalty for great excess.²

Similarly, in the feast of weeks, or Pentecost, and in the feast of tabernacles, or the harvest-feast, there was universal rejoicing; the whole population of the land rejoiced, and enjoyed the blessings of its fertility. The time and manner of the feast of tabernacles made Plutarch say that Bacchus was worshipped by the Jews.³ And in their feast of Purim (Esther ix. 26), the Rabbis gave authority to the excess which Plato⁴ conceded to the feast of the wine-giver, and which Seneca⁵ thought to be sometimes useful. Says Buxtorf, "it is written, expressly in the Talmud, a man is bound in the feast of Purim to be inebriated so far as to be unable to distinguish between 'blessed be Mordecai,' and 'cursed be Haman'; and this precept, beyond all others, is most studiously observed."⁶ It was, as the Jews

¹ Comment. in Mishnam, Pesach, x. 7. ² Buxtorf Synag. Jud.

³ Sympos. iv. 5. ⁴ De legibus. vi. ⁵ De Tranquil. animi.

⁶ Synag. Jud., cap. xxix.

thus remind us, at the banquet of Wine that Esther obtained her request from the King; but the King's rule was wiser than that of the Rabbis—for, "the drinking was according to law, none did compel, for so the King appointed" it. (Esther i. 8.)

Among the many and strange aberrations of the Jews from the laws and institutions of Moses they do not ever seem to have entertained in any great degree that system of oriental philosophy which, we are told, so rigorously condemned the use of Wine. Perhaps the influence of this philosophy has been exaggerated, and its disciples over numbered. The Magi—the mighty men of wisdom, are said to have abstained from Wine,¹—or, at least, their higher orders abstained; but when Daniel the Hebrew was "chief of the magicians" and "over all the wise men of Babylon," abstinence from Wine was neither his habit, nor part of his official duty. (Dan. x. 3.) Certainly, in their second captivity, the Jews had for masters a race of men not less convivial, nor less Wine-loving than their former masters in Egypt. Herodotus says of the Persians, "they are very fond of Wine and drink it in large quantities," but they had no libations in their sacrifices,² and water only was used in the mysteries of their great god Mithras.³ The kings, however, who

¹ Clem. Alex. Strom. iii. ² Lib. i. 133, 132.

Justin Martyr Dial. cum Tryp.

protected the Jews in restoring the worship of the God of heaven in Jerusalem, knew that, by the law of Moses, Wine was essential to this worship, and, therefore, in their decrees Wine is expressly granted for the sacrifices. (Ezra vi. 9., vii. 22.) Whatsoever the Jews might else bring from Babylon, it is certain that the sacrificial system of Moses was not deserted, nor the character of his feasts; nor were the principles of the ascetic philosophy transplanted to Judæa. The prophets of the restoration promised that the vine should again give her fruit; and the blood of the grape was again poured out before the Lord. (Hag. ii. 19., Zec. viii. 12., Ecclus. l. 15.)

Jesus the son of Sirach was not less esteemed, it is said, than Solomon for his wisdom,—he says that “the blood of the grape is one of the principal things for the whole use of man’s life; and, wine is as good as life to a man; what is life, then, to a man without Wine? for it was made to make men glad.” (Ecclus. xxxix. 26., xxxi. 27.) In the prologue of this remarkable book, we are told that it was translated from Hebrew into the Greek tongue in Egypt, for those who were prepared to live after the law. For in Egypt there was a sect of his own countrymen who had in many things forsaken the law of Moses; Greek-speaking Jews, who had adopted ascetic habits, after the manner of some where they resided; they abstained from flesh, they detested Wine, oil was a defilement,

they ate hyssop with their bread.¹ But, "Wine is as good as life," says the son of Sirach, asserting the truth of what the Psalmist had said before.

A sect essentially similar, but, in some respects, mitigated and modified, flourished in Palestine when the Saviour was born, in the reign of Herod, by whom they were held in high honour. Josephus gives a reason for this regal favour. The Essenes—for this was their name—knew the means by which men attain to foreknowledge, and they used their art for the king.² This gift of prescience was supposed to be the reward, if not the necessary consequence, of abstemious devotion. The origin of this sect is uncertain. It has been supposed that it sprang from the Rechabites who, living in Palestine, became a sort of proselytes, and retained the custom of their ancestors in the desert. For these were apparently descendants of the Kenites, Scenite Arabs of Nabathæa, "with whom," says Diodorus Siculus, "it is a law not to sow grain, nor to plant any fruit-bearing plant, nor to use Wine, nor to build a house."³ And this was not as some have, not wisely, supposed, "to preserve the purity of their morals," but, as the historian tells us, to preserve their independence. For they supposed that the settled possession of the things thus forbidden would invite attack, and diminish the love of freedom. Their

¹ Philo, *De Vita contemp.*

² *Antiq.* xv. 10.

³ *Diod. Sic. Lib. xix.*

drink was milk, and wild honey mixed with water, a most potent drink when fermented; and there is no proof that even the Rechabites abstained from all inebriating liquors. Josephus says of the Essenes, "They live the same kind of life as they whom the Greeks call Pythagoreans;" and, according to Jamblichus, Pythagoras forbade his disciples to drink Wine in the day-time, and it was altogether forbidden to those who sought to rise to the highest perfection in his philosophy, which, as with the Essenes, included the power of divination.¹ It has been thought that John the Baptist was educated in the school of this sect, but there is no proof. Many, again, of the Essenes are supposed to have been among the first who embraced Christianity. This may have been; and in some degree we may, therefore, to their presence in the Church, attribute the errors which St. Paul rebuked and corrected,² though the extirpation was incomplete, and after ages nourished what the enemy had preserved. Nor, need we here to inquire why it was said of the Baptist—"He shall drink neither Wine nor strong drink." He founded no sect, his example is not proposed for our imitation. If he came, as some suppose, under the law of the Nazarite, then according to the Rabbis, not all inebriating liquor, but simply all from the vine was forbidden to him. Strong drink made from dates, figs, &c.,

¹ Jamblic. De Vit. Pythag. cap. xxi and xxiv. ² Colos. ii. 21.

was free to him.¹ The “strong drink” forbidden in Num. vi. 3, is defined to be “old Wine,² and a vow from Wine did not include “Wine” made from other fruits than grapes.³ But, supposing this decision to be wrong, the case of the Baptist, like that of Samson, is not for our imitation. Their abstinence, in this matter, arose out of a Divine and particular command, and to set them as our examples would be, if nothing more, at least a presumptuous and dangerous affectation. We have no such command; and, therefore, we have no such duty. Nor have we the slightest reason to suppose that the Baptist in his teaching advised abstinence either from Wine and strong drink, or from anything permitted or enjoined in the law of Moses.

The Saviour, both by his recorded conduct and his express words, separates himself at once, and completely, from the practice of John and the teaching of the Essenes. “John came neither eating nor drinking; the Son of Man came eating and drinking.”⁴ Again,—there was a marriage in Cana; Jesus was there with His mother and His disciples; the Wine provided for the marriage was drunk up by the guests; then, by the power of Jesus, the water in six large waterpots became Wine. “This beginning of miracles Jesus did in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glory.”⁵

¹ Maimonides cited by Carpzov. ² Targ. Onkel in Num. vi. 3.

³ Mishna, Nedarim.

⁴ Matt. xi., 18.

⁵ John ii.

We very justly attach great importance, special and peculiar, to this presence of Jesus at the marriage, and to this manifestation of His glorious power. The Essenes abstained from marriage, and discountenanced the use of Wine; Jesus, by His presence, with His disciples, consecrated marriage; and by His first miracle sanctioned not only the use, but the generous use, of Wine. Thus, at once and completely, He, in the strongest manner, repudiates the alleged doctrine of the Essenes. Thus, by His first supernatural act, He associates His teaching with the law of Moses, and separates Himself, absolutely, from the teachers whose followers, for any reasons, abstained from Wine. Moreover, it must be observed that this Wine of the miracle was not to supply some piteous destitution, nor to alleviate urgently oppressive sorrow; the guests had "well drunk" when this "good Wine" was additionally set before them. It is curious to observe how the expositors, great and little, laboriously tell us, in succession, that by "well drunk" we are not to understand "drunk" or "inebriated," but "filled," "saturated," "satisfied," and so on,—words which, when substituted, not much change the obvious meaning. For, as in the Old Testament so in the New—in both the first mention of Wine-drinking has a definition in the circumstances. In this case, the master of the feast, who, we must suppose, was himself sober, plainly intimates that the

guests were, at least, beginning to feel the effects of Wine ; they were in that condition when, either through parsimonious deception or to prevent dangerous excess, a weaker wine was usually introduced. The conduct of the Saviour, for its justification, requires no linguistic contortions, nor have we any other moral standard than his example. Our ascetic moralists would have reversed the miracle, and changed the Wine into water.

Neither in the conduct nor in the teaching of the Saviour, in no part of His history, do we find any indication of more than ordinary abstinence in food. His fast of forty days, supernatural in its character, still tells us that the Tempter watches for the opportunity of physical weakness.

The first miracle and the last actions of Christ are, however, connected with Wine. The first feast and the last supper have Wine in common. By Wine He first manifested forth His glory, and by Wine, as He ordained, we show forth His death till He come again in His glory. In the Christian communion Wine is essential, and he who rejects Wine, as a thing detestable and to be avoided,—a thing bad in itself and dangerous in its use,—he, I say, separates himself from the body of Christians ; he is expelled by the words, “Drink ; do this in remembrance of me.” Can a man drink thankfully from the cup whose

contents he detests? Can he gratefully revive the memory by means which his soul abhors?

When we come to the acts and writings of the Apostles, we find them not instituting new rules of life in this matter, but enforcing the old. Drunkenness is forbidden, as is all excess of appetite. The drunkard is excluded from the benefits of the Gospel, as are all workers of iniquity. But Wine and strong drink are not prohibited, nor is their disuse even suggested, either as a matter of common prudence, or as a religious duty, or as a counsel of perfection. Nor, indeed, could there be any such prohibition. For with the sacred history of the Lord still fresh in memory, with His living example as it were before their eyes, with the Lord's supper as a central religious rite, Wine could be no more excluded from the Church than from the institutions of Moses. In both the use of Wine was prescribed by indisputable and unchangeable authority.

It is surely reasonable to conclude that the rule of the Christian life was not more abstemiously rigorous than that which directed the selection of officers in the Church. These, then, are the laws.

A bishop must be given to hospitality, but not given to Wine,—not one who tarries long at Wine till he becomes quarrelsome. (1 Tim. iii. 3; Tit. i. 7).

So the deacon must be not given to much

Wine,—not giving himself to Wine, not devoted to it. (1 Tim iii. 8.)

So the aged women, whose office it was to teach to the young their various duties, were to be “not given to much Wine,”—not the slaves of Wine, not in its bondage. (Tit. ii. 3.)

The difference of the phrases used by the Apostle may be of no great importance. Grades of abstinence are not implied, and there is no approximation to teetotalism.

To Timothy St. Paul says, “Drink no longer water, but use a little Wine for thy stomach’s sake, and thine often infirmities.” (1 Tim. v. 23.) This is not a medical prescription of Wine to be taken when required; it is an absolute prohibition of water-drinking; and Wine is to be used continually, and not as an occasional stimulant. Nor can it be inferred that hitherto Timothy had drunk only water; and even if he had, he was worse for it, and his continued use of it was no proof of his wisdom.

When the apostles and elders met together at Jerusalem, they decreed abstinence from meats offered to idols, from blood, and from things strangled;¹ no restriction in drinks was ever laid on the Jews, and none is laid on the Gentiles.

Yet these men, thus assembled, are, justly, by us placed in the highest ranks of mortals; they were deficient neither in knowledge nor authority.

¹ Acts xv. 29.

They knew the dangers of indulgence, and the efficacy of restraint; but neither when assembled, nor when teaching separately did they ever restrain what the law of Moses left free. They knew, also, that in subsequent times men would arise in the Church who would abuse their liberty, and who, as lovers of pleasure, would make the Christian feasts become the places of drunkenness and gluttony. They knew, also, that other men would arise, who would restrain the Christian freedom, and who by abstinence would aspire to perfection.

Now, these founders of the Church, thus inspired and thus prescient, did not restrict meats which excite gulosity, nor drinks whose excess brings drunkenness; but they did, most emphatically, warn their hearers, and forewarn the Church against the abstainers whose dogmas were “touch not, taste not, handle not,”—“abstain from meats.”¹

It is not a necessary part of my design to inquire concerning the disputes which arose about the eating of things offered in sacrifice to idols, but these, also, require some attention.

The Gentile converts to Christianity willingly abjured the worship of the gods, but they were not equally willing to deny their existence. “We know,” says St. Paul, “that an idol is nothing in the world—but this knowledge is not in every man,—for some with conscience of the idol,

¹ Colos. ii. 21.—I. Tim. iv. 3.

believing the idol to have a real existence, eat that which is offered to the idol." Thus the Christian became entangled in the argument which we find afterwards urged by Celsus. It was thus--everything is committed to a demon, to whom it is consecrated, and by whose influence it is impregnated; so that we cannot eat bread, or drink Wine, in any way whatever, or taste fruits, or even take a draught of water without eating and drinking with demons.¹ He, therefore, who knew the idol to be nothing, might eat anything in any place; but this seductive example could not be innocently imitated by the man of feebler knowledge, who still thought the idol to be what it was said to be, or, at least, something of the kind. This was not to build up, but to destroy the work of God. The advice of the Apostle was, that they who still had conscience of the idol, they who had rejected idolatry, but who had not been induced to believe the idol to be nothing, were to be treated as "weak," to be gradually strengthened by instruction. They had faith, but doubts mingled with their faith, and it was the duty of the stronger brother to deal tenderly with these doubts, till augmented knowledge should expel them.

In the early Church, however, there were other men who, from other motives and for other purposes, raised disputes concerning meats and drinks and abstinence. To discard marriage as

¹ Orig. cont. Cels. Lib. viii.

degrading sensuality ; to strangle natural appetite and affection as essentially sinful ; to defy the wants and demands of the body as the temptations of evil ; to live remote in solitude, in deserts, among rocks, and wild beasts ; to feed on the coarsest and poorest food, fruit unripe, or herbs uncooked ; to undergo excruciating torments, self-inflicted ;—these, and the like of these, have widely been esteemed as among the means necessary and most effectual to sustain the intellectual life, to elevate the mind to the sublimity of pure devotion, and to unite the soul with the Supreme Deity. These aspirants to divine perfection have, through many ages, been contemplated with reverential awe by multitudes who, however, had no irrepressible desire to be more than partial imitators.

While the Apostles were yet alive, the advocates of ascetic devotion crept into the Church ; flesh and Wine, generous and invigorating food, were condemned, not because of the demons, but as impediments to the divine life, as physically incompatible with purity of mind, and as the stimulants of passions which overclouded and polluted the soul. In this system St. Paul admits that there was something which seemed to be wise and good. They “have,” says he, “a show of wisdom in will worship and in humility ;”—there is a voluntary subjection to a severe and degrading rule in “neglecting the body” which many men spend their foolish lives in pampering ; and they

are "not in any honour to the satisfying of the flesh," they are things which apparently cannot be desired by any natural inclination as satisfying self-esteem. Yet these humble and self-denying ordinances were essentially inconsistent with Christianity; they had the show of wisdom, of humility, and of self-denial, but in reality they were the offspring of fleshly minds puffed up by vanity.¹ These men were not the "weak" who were to be received and treated tenderly and lovingly; they were the introducers of foreign elements contrary to the first principles of the Gospel; they were the teachers of a "philosophy falsely so called." The promulgators of this pseudonymous wisdom were not a few, and their followers were many. The following may stand for instances:—

The Ebionites were an early sect of Jews who adopted some of the teaching and more of the phraseology of Christianity. They had an imitation of the Christian mysteries, and instead of Wine used only water. The Essenes, before, had a somewhat similar rite; and bread and a cup of water were used in the mysteries of the Persian Mithras, whose worship had been introduced into the Roman Empire, and from which the leaders of sects in the Church took many of their opinions. Wine was not offered to Mithras.

Saturminus, of Antioch, was the chief of a sect, and he taught abstinence from flesh and Wine.

¹ Colos. ii.

Marcion, of Pontus, and Tatian, an Assyrian, adopted the ascetic system, and used only water in the Lord's Supper. Their followers were known as Encratites, Hydroparastates, and Apotactites. Others are also mentioned; one Severus, especially, taught his followers that Wine was the offspring of the earth and the devil, to whom he also assigned the entire creation of woman, and much of man. It would be too long to name all that might be named who, among other things, abstained from Wine, and denounced it as pernicious. One more must, however, be referred to. Manes, or Manichæus, by birth a Persian, compounded what he had of Christianity with the system of the Magi, of whom he is said to have been one. He divided his followers into classes, and for the higher orders his rules were rigorously abstinent. Wine was forbidden as a thing horrible and detestable, the gall of the power darkness, and a poison distilled from the devil. Mahomet, as is well known, forbade the use of Wine, though it has been disputed whether the prohibition be absolute. He had, perhaps, as much of Christianity as had some who took the name, or who still take it; and he gave a reason for his prohibition of Wine, which may be of use in my argument.

We have now to inquire how these renunciators of Wine were treated by the early Church, and my quotations shall have reference to this one subject,—the use or disuse of Wine in religious

rites and as a domestic beverage. With the other opinions of these abstainers we are not now concerned. My assertion is that the use or disuse of Wine, in the Eucharist, and as an ordinary drink, was discussed by the primitive Church, and the abstainers were pronounced to be in error. It was not a subtle discussion of an obscure matter; it required no extended learning nor singular attainments; nor was it the conflict of accidentally predominating factions. The use of Wine was essential in the worship prescribed by the Holy Scriptures, and, as yet, these Scriptures were in the Church the supreme authority.

And the reasons which made the use of Wine and strong drink essential in the institutions of Moses; the reasons which made Wine essential in the proper and prescribed administration of the Lord's Supper; the reasons which made the Fathers of the Church, after the Apostles, eject from their communion those who rejected the use of Wine; these reasons, accumulated, still act with their original force, and make it the duty of those who still believe their Bibles to repress, as they may be able, the modern resuscitation of antiquated fallacies, and to rescue their Book from the misrepresentations of those advocates of a system which, at best, had its origin among deliriously religious dreamers, but which has long been used as a covering of the worst impostures.

Without attaching any undue importance to the canons and constitutions which are usually called Apostolical, it is certain they have, in the question before us, a very high authority. Thus, then, we read:—

“ If any bishop, priest, or deacon, or any one of the clergy, abstain from marriage, or flesh, or Wine,—not as restraining the appetite, but as detesting the things, forgetting that ‘all things were very good,’ and ‘God made man, male and female,’ but speaking evil of the work of the Creator,—let him be thoroughly made right, or be deprived of his office and cast out of the Church, and the same for a layman.” (Apost. Can. 51.)

“ If any bishop, priest, or deacon, partakes not, on festival days, of flesh and Wine, let him be deprived, as having his own conscience seared, and the cause of scandal to many.” (Can. 53.)

“ When you are invited to the funeral meals, feast with good order. * * * Presbyters and deacons of Christ, ye ought to be always sober. * * * We say this not that they should not drink Wine, otherwise it would be to reproach what God has made for cheerfulness, but that they may not be drunk and disorderly. For the Scripture does not say, ‘Do not drink Wine;’ but what says it?—‘Drink not Wine to drunkenness,’” * * * and we say this not to the clergy only, but also to every Christian. (Apost. Constitut. lib. viii. 44.)

And here it may be observed that though the

ascetic system was early introduced into the Church, and extended rapidly, yet the most rigorous ascetics in communion with the Church never rejected Wine as an object of disgust or abhorrence, nor sought to exterminate its common, general use. On the contrary, we are told that, lest their abstinence might be mistaken, many who, for the sake of temperance, had not for years tasted cheese, eggs, or Wine; relaxed their rules, and partook of them to remove all suspicion of scandal.¹

These, then, were the laws of the early Church, and they were generally obeyed; Wine was not used merely as a needful part of food, but for relaxation, for enjoyment, for hilarity. No man abstained from Wine as from a thing forbidden, or of doubtful permission; nor was abstinence from Wine urged as a moral or social duty. It is not necessary for us to make our conclusions from passing allusions, incidental remarks, or obscure inferences; we have the writings of the most famous teachers in the Church, and they speak of this subject, fully, clearly, and decisively.

Clement of Alexandria was the illustrious head of the famous school of catechumens in that city, He is not suspected of any inclination to sensual indulgence; in his work, "The Pædagogus," or "Teacher," he treats of eating and drinking; and from him are the following extracts, exactly, or with his meaning.

¹ Balsamon, *Apost. Can.* 51.

“It suits divine studies not to be heavy with Wine. Towards evening, about supper time, Wine may be used, when we are no longer engaged in more serious readings. Those who are old may drink more hilariously, warming harmlessly the chilliness of age by the medicine of the vine.”

“It is fitting that some should use Wine as medicine for digestion; others for relaxation, and diffusive enjoyment. For Wine in its first effects makes a man more self-complacent, more courteous to his companions, and more gentle to his household, and more pleasant to his friends.”

“Water and Wine are the works of God, and the mixture conduces to health, for life consists of what is necessary, and what is useful; therefore, with water which is necessary we must mix Wine that is useful.”

“The Scythians, the Celts, the Iberians, and the Thracians, are war-like races, and are much given to drunkenness, thinking that their mode of life is happy and morally beautiful. But we, a peaceful race, feast for the enjoyment of the thing, not for the riot; we drink the sober draughts sacred to friendship, and our loving cups are, in fact, what they are in name.”

“In what manner think you our Lord drank, when for our sakes he was made man? Was it shamelessly as we? Was it not courteously, decently, reasonably? For, know well, he himself took Wine, for he himself was a man; and he

blessed the Wine, saying, take, drink, this is my blood, the blood of the vine; he means, allegorically, The Word; shed for many for the remission of sins,—the holy stream of gladness; and, that he who drinks should be discreet and moderate, he plainly showed by what he taught at feasts; for he never taught affected by Wine. And that it was Wine which was blessed he again showed, saying to his disciples, ‘I will not drink of the fruit of this vine till I drink it with you in the kingdom of my father.’ But, that it was indeed Wine which was drank by the Lord,—he himself speaks of himself when upbraiding the obduracy of the Jews, and he says, ‘the Son of man came and they say behold a gluttonous man, and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans.’ Let this be held firm and fast by us against those that are called Encratites.”¹ Thus much may at present suffice from Clement.

Chrysostom stands conspicuous among the highest, and from him I take what follows:—

“This place (1 Tim. v. 23),—drink no longer water, use a little Wine—is to be used against those heretics who slander God’s creation (*i.e.* Wine); for if it had been among things forbidden, Paul would not have permitted it; he would never have said ‘Use Wine.’ And not only in opposition to the heretics is this place to be used; it applies also to the simpler sort of our own brethren, who, when they see men misbehaving

¹ Clem. Alex. Pæd., Lib. ii.

themselves through drunkenness, do not blame the men, but calumniate the fruit given by God, saying, 'Away with Wine!' Let us, therefore, say to these men, 'Away with drunkenness!' For Wine is the work of God, drunkenness is the work of the devil; the Wine makes not the drunkenness; the profligate excess makes the drunkenness; therefore blame not falsely the creation of God, but accuse the madness of thy fellow-servant. By neglecting to punish or to correct the sinner, thou wantonly insultest the well-doer. When, therefore, we hear certain men saying these things, let us stop their mouths, for not the use, but the immoderation makes the drunkenness."¹

"Perhaps some one may ask, why was the vine, a plant full of such evils, ever introduced into this world? Stop, man, do not utter what just happens to be on your tongue. For the plant is not evil, nor is the Wine wicked; the evil is in the improper use; for these deadly sins are the offspring not of Wine, but of the corrupted will, and the profitable use of Wine is outraged by intemperance."

"Above all, think in your own mind where Wine has become useful; think, man, and tremble. For by this Wine the essential purpose of our salvation is completed. The initiated know what is said."² This seems to be enough from Chrysostom.

In the early Church, the Wine of the Eucharist

¹ Hom. I. ad pop. Antioe. ² In cap. ix. Genes. Hom. xxix.

was generally mixed, it is said, with water ; but the abstainers logically and consistently insisted upon the use of only water unmixed with Wine.

Cyprian, the famous bishop of Carthage, has a long letter to a friend against those who used only water ; he eagerly contends for the mixture, but prefers pure wine to pure water, and intimates that a part of the meaning of the mixture was taught by the miracle at Cana, the water representing the Gentiles flowing into Christ, and transformed by the process. The following abbreviated extracts from this letter belong more directly to our present subject.

“ When Christ says, I am the true vine ! surely the blood of Christ is not water, but Wine ; neither can his blood be seen in the cup, when in the cup there is no Wine, by which the blood of Christ is shown forth according to the Scriptures. In Genesis, the history of Noah is prefigurative ; he drank Wine, and was drunken. As a type of future truth, Noah drank not water, but Wine. In Melchizedek, the same thing is prefigured ; he offered bread and Wine, and our priest, Jesus Christ, offered that very same thing. In the blessing of Judah, where, when the blood of the grape is mentioned, what else is set forth than the Wine of the cup of the Lord’s blood ? From the Saviour’s language, it is plain that the Lord’s Supper is not lawfully celebrated if there be no Wine in the cup.”

“ In the Psalms, too, the Holy Spirit is not

silent, but mentions the Lord's cup, and says, 'thy inebriating cup, how surpassingly good it is.' Now the cup which inebriates is, surely, mingled with Wine, for water cannot inebriate any one. But the cup of the Lord inebriates just as in Genesis Noah drinking Wine was inebriated. But the ebriety of the Lord's cup and blood is not precisely such as the ebriety of natural Wine. Yet there is a comparison. As by common Wine the mind is set at liberty, the soul is relaxed, and all sadness is thrown aside, so by drinking the blood of the Lord and the cup of salvation, the memory of the former man is cast away, there is an oblivion of the former natural life: and the sad and sorrowful breast, oppressed by grievous sins, is released from its mourning, and gladdened by the joy of the Divine indulgence." So much from Cyprian.¹

St. Augustine, in early life, was entangled in the opinions of the Manichæans, whom afterwards he strenuously opposed. The subterfuges and evasions of modern times are sometimes imitations of the antique. We have now men who proclaim themselves the advocates of temperance, and we have "temperance societies," with whom temperance means only restraint in drinking, and in only one kind of drinking. The acquaintances of Augustine affected the most severe austerity, yet they contrived both to eat luxuriously and to drink plentifully. Wine, they said, was the gall

of the devil, and they, with an exact definition, made Wine the inebriating juice of the grape; they therefore, without hesitation, used other preparations of the grape and its juice. We need not enter into their reasons; they used, as Augustine tells us, imitations of Wine, and placed no restriction on the use of grapes. "What a perversity it is to think that Wine is the gall of the evil principle, and yet to eat grapes to the full! Was the gall essentially present in the vat more than in the grape-berry?" The argument is adapted to their philosophy, which, practically, is admitted by teetotalers as a part of their system; for it is said all food is deteriorated by keeping—"from the moment the herb is gathered, or the cluster of the vine plucked, the process of injurious decay commences."¹ The coincidence is at least curious. "There are many things," says Augustine, "plucked from trees, or pulled up from the earth, which are improved as food by keeping them some time before use, as grapes, apples, figs, &c. That Wine becomes purer and better by age who knows not? Nor is its finer flavour increased, as you say, to overthrow the senses; it is of greater use in nourishing the body; only let there be moderation, which, in all things, should bear sway. For the senses are disturbed and disordered soonest, generally, by the fresher must, so that, if it has remained any time in the vat, and has in the least begun to work, if a man holds his

¹ Nott's Lectures. iii.

head over it, the fumes will affect the brain and make him senseless,—fatally, if relief be not at hand.”¹ The Manichæans, however, did not drink must, not even when most freshly pressed. Augustine himself always drank Wine.²

Irenæus, Hippolytus, and Epiphanius — the famous refutators of erroneous teaching—all have express and formal arguments against those who rejected Wine from the Eucharist and from common use. To these writers it is, however, not now necessary to refer in particular instances. All three were bishops; all have been highly esteemed as authorities, and their writings may, in a case like this before us, be safely taken as expressing the opinions, the practice, the teaching, and the decisions of the Church in their own times, and in times preceding.

But among the discoveries which make this nineteenth century illustrious, we are invited to reckon, as one of the most important, this:—the Wine used by the patriarchs, commanded in the sacred rites and national festivities of the Hebrews; the Wine used in the Supper of the Lord, and of necessary use in the Church, was a Wine which would not inebriate. This is the argument. In the Scriptures, Wine is praised and Wine is blamed; but it is impossible that the same thing in the same state can be both praised and blamed, therefore, there must have been two classes of

¹ De Moribus Manich, lib. ii. c. xvi.

² Possidius, in Vit. Aug.

Wines: one inebriating, the other not; and the Wine which would not inebriate is the Wine sanctioned by Scripture.

Now, in the first place, it is a strange thing to assume that the early Christian writers—the men whom I have cited—knew nothing of this distinction of Wines, neither did their Wine-rejecting opponents. We are asked to suppose that a liquor, Wine, deleterious, pernicious, detestable, essentially poisonous, was stealthily introduced and substituted as the sacred symbol of the Christian's life and his Saviour's blood. If any man ever knew the true character of Wine, and what should be drunk in Christian feasts, we may think he was St. Paul; but he gave not the slightest intimation that a wrong Wine, a Wine stimulating evil passions and destroying reason, had been substituted or improperly adopted when he reproved the temulent Corinthians.¹ Yet we are to suppose that, in his correction of the sin, he was silent concerning the worst part of it! These, and many similarly strange, monstrous, and incredible suppositions, we must make before this teetotal part of the ascetic system be admitted among Christians. But there is another supposition which it is difficult to reject—the supposition that the leaders, some or many, of this ascetic revival, use arguments which they know to be false in support of what they believe to be true.

The etymological meaning of the Hebrew *yayin*,

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 21, &c.

jain, or *yin*, as it may be variously sounded, is, perhaps, too uncertain to be used in argument. When the etymology of a word is known it should be preserved in use, carefully as possible, for use will always supply much, if not the most part, of a word's full meaning;—etymology should correct and control use. This is certain in the matter before us; the word, and with it the thing signified, have been received in the nations of the three languages whose use is to be our principal guide;—the *yayin* of the Hebrews is the *οἶνος* (*oinos*) of the Greeks, the *vinum* of the Latins;—it has spread through the countries of Europe, and is our English *Wine*.

The first time the word *Wine* is used in the Bible there is, as we have seen, a complete, practical definition in the circumstances; he drank of the *Wine*, he was drunken, he fell asleep, he lay helplessly exposed. The quality of the *Wine* is clearly expressed, and this quality must be included in the meaning of the word wherever it occurs. Thus, in precise agreement with this original definition, we have Varro, the learned Roman, seeking in his native tongue, and deriving *vinum* à *vi*—strength, or force.¹ Thus, following the proper meaning, the Hebrew youth in the Persian Court maintained, “*Wine* is the strongest.”² Socrates, in Plato, half jocular, perhaps, would derive the word *οἶνος* from its effects in making men *οἰσθαί ποῦν ἔχειν*—to imagine

¹ Varr. De Ling. Lat. Lib. iv.

² I. Esdras iii.

they have a mind, *i.e.*, “to think themselves wise,” when they are not.¹ Thus, the etymologist; “Wine, so called as the cause of winding, wandering, self conceit, and arrogance; or from *ὄρω*—to help, support, delight, cheer, and invigorate. Thus in Homer, “drink and be recruited, for Wine greatly strengthens the weary.”² The derivations may be wrong, but they exclude all reasonable doubt as to the quality of the thing intended to be defined. Aristotle is exactly to the point; he tells us that a preparation of the juice of the grape which will not inebriate is in fact not Wine.³

But, it is insisted, the same thing in the same state cannot be praiseworthy and blameworthy, *i.e.*, having good and bad qualities together. Let us see. Pliny, the naturalist, is often quoted by our teetotal writers; he supplies them with various kinds of Wine,---some nominal. He writes, “of Wine it may be justly said, there is nothing more wholesome, nothing more useful for man; nor anything more hurtful if used out of measure.”⁴ Pliny speaks of the same thing, in the same state.

Eubulus, the Athenian Poet, introduces Bacchus himself as saying—

“Three bowls, no more, I mingle for the wise;
 One, for good health, first drunk; the next I make
 Sacred to love and pleasantness; the third
 Is for sweet sleep; then, they whom I call wise,

¹ Cratylus.

² Etymol. Mag. sub voce.

³ Meteorolog. Lib. iv. 9., Prob. Sect. iii. ⁴ Lib. xiv. c. v.

Homewards betake themselves and there repose.
 But, if a fourth be mixed, it is not mine ;
 Riot then rules, and brawling revelry
 Calls for a fifth ; the sixth is quarrelsome ;
 Blows and black eyes accompany the seventh ;
 The eighth calls out for legal witnesses
 To prove assaults ; the ninth is bitter rage ;
 The tenth brings madness, and the drunken fools
 Totter and fall in frenzied feebleness."¹

It is the same Wine, in the same state, which produces this discordant train of consequences.

Panyasis, of Halicarnassus, said—

“ The best, the noblest, gift of Gods to men
 Is Wine, if moderately drank ; if not,
 The worst.”²

Theognis, of Megara, says—

“ Thee, Wine ! I partly laud, I partly blame ;
 Thee, wholly, neither can I hate or love ;
 Thou art both good and evil ; no wise man
 Hath ever thee reproach'd, or freely prais'd.”³

Mahomet ought to be, and he is, an authority in this matter ;—“ They will ask thee concerning Wine and lots ; answer, in both there is great sin, and also some things of use unto men ; but their sinfulness is greater than their use.”⁴ It is the same thing in the same state ; Mahomet, like the rest of the world, who were no prophets, knew nothing of the distinction of Wines, one good, the other bad ; but he knew of Wine, the same thing in the same state, useful and hurtful, and, he determined, the hurtful predominated. The

¹ Athenæus Lib. ii.

² Poet. Græc. Min. Cantab, 1672.

³ Theog. 871.

⁴ Koran c. ii. -

sense, and candid expression of the Arabian are heavier than the huge sophisms of our English teetotalers; with him we might reasonably dispute; but reason is almost hopeless in refuting what reason never maintained.

The wisdom of the son of Sirach says, “ show not thy valiantness in Wine, for Wine hath destroyed many. Wine, measurably drunk, and in season, bringeth gladness of the heart, and cheerfulness of the mind, but Wine drunken with excess, maketh bitterness of the mind, with brawling and quarrelling.”¹ Here, again, it is the same thing in the same state; it is as good as life, and it maketh bitterness; the use and the misuse are defined by their physical effects.

And in the words of King Lemuel, which his mother taught him, we have again the same things in the same state, Wine and strong drink to be refrained from, and to be freely used. It is not for kings, and princes,—judges,—to drink, lest they forget the law and pervert judgment; but let the Wine and strong drink be given to the poor, the wretched, the sorrowful,—let them drink, and forget their poverty and misery. Forgetfulness is the effect of the same thing in the same state—both forget. It seems impossible to produce a more cogent proof that in ancient times, as in our own, this same one thing—Wine—in the ordinary use of language, was both praised and blamed, by its judicious or not judicious users, or

¹ Ecclus. xxxi. 27.

by men the wisest and the worst; or, by one man, who knows the meaning of the name, and the qualities of the thing. Men of "the simpler sort," according to Chrysostom, blame the Wine when they should blame the drunkard; and he blames the Wine when he should blame himself. But we are told, and it is not the least of the strange things told by our teetotalers, that, in placing the praise or blame of Wine in its orderly or in its excessive use, we separate it from every other good gift of God to men.¹ Even the experience of a child is enough to contradict this notion. There is scarcely one good thing which may not be abused, and all, when abused, are, by the simpler sort, blamed for the evil consequences. Fire warms and burns, it invigorates or destroys. And as Wine is said to signify both wrath and favour, so, with greater certainty, fire is the symbol of renovating as of destroying power. Water, too, signifies things directly opposite, consolation and comfort, afflictions and troubles.

There is a word—*tirosh*—which we render "new Wine," but which teetotalers tell us means "vintage fruit," and which, they admit, is to be reckoned among invaluable blessings, and this very *tirosh* is by the prophet expressly said to "take away the heart." (Hosea iv., 11.) And it seems as if teetotalism also takes away the heart, and is not very beneficial to the head. They refer to Prov. xx., 1—"Wine is a mocker, strong drink

¹ Nott p. 42.

is raging,"—and what then? why, it is—"who-soever is deceived thereby is not wise." The ill effects are from the want of wisdom; the deception is from the man's folly. And again—Prov. xxiii., 29—"Who hath woe? who hath redness of eyes?" why! "they that tarry long at the Wine!" We have redness of eyes in the blessing of Jacob on Judah, and the woe is the result, not of drinking Wine in season, but of the long tarrying. Again, ver. 31,—“Look not thou on the Wine when it is red, when it giveth his colour in the cup . . . at last it biteth like a serpent,” &c. Now, this is very good advice, and such as might be expected from the wise king who wrote to give subtilty to the simple, to the young man knowledge and discretion; but which never could have been given by a man who knew that there was a Wine prescribed in the law, used in the Holy Sacrifices, praised, it may be, in the song of his own father, and by himself, as the drink of the wise; a Wine which was not a mocker, nor made red eyes, nor bit like a serpent, but which was exactly fitted for the use of teetotalers. But Solomon, with all his wisdom, knew nothing of any such Wine; or, if he did, he never recommended it.

But further,—leavened bread is fermented bread—leaven is ferment—and all leaven, or ferment, was excluded from the feast of unleavened bread; therefore, also, the juice of the grape, leavened, or fermented,—thus, they are ready to conclude,—was prohibited. The quibble lies in the

use of the word "fermentation." The ancients had no such distinction as Wine fermented and Wine not fermented, for "fermentation" was not used of Wine. Our philosophers distinguish fermentation as vinous, acetic, and putrefactive; and our teetotalers are disposed to use fermentation only in the sense of putrefaction. But with the ancients Wine was not said ζυμοῦν—*fermentare*, but ζεῖν—*fervere*—to boil, to work as the raw juice passed into Wine proper. No artificial preparation was necessarily introduced; the juice of the grape contained within itself all things essential, and the process was considered as a natural boiling, by which the juice purged itself; and the feculent deposit possessed the property of causing a similar boiling in the juices of other plants or fruits not naturally fervent. Ferment was also made from water and barley,¹ and was used for "raising" bread, and for the manufacture of those strong drinks which, as Virgil sings, made joyful the inhabitants of the regions of frost when Wine had to be split with hatchets.² Neither by Greek, nor Roman, nor Hebrew, was Wine included among things fermented. By the transmutation of the elements, Wine was, in fact, considered as water which had passed through the vine, and, by the process, become transformed into the best of liquors, as water becomes "wort" by passing through the "mashing-tub." Thus Plato makes Wine the chief of the igneous juices,

¹ Pliny, lib. xviii, c. xi.

² Georg. iii., 379.

which are water strained from the earth through plants, for it warms at once both the body and the soul.¹ To reckon Wine among things *leavened*, or fermented, as fermentation was understood by the ancients, is an error; it may be the offspring of ignorance, though it has the features of a less reputable family. The rule of the Jews was, “whatsoever is composed of any kind of grain can cause a transgression of the paschal laws,” and therefore, the Cutach of Babylon, the Shecar of the Medes, the Chometz of Edom, and the Zythus of Egypt—all drinks made from grain—were excluded; but Wine was used, as before related.²

But our teetotalers remark, and bid us keep their remark in mind, that, at the last supper, the Lord made no mention of Wine. It was *the cup* which the Lord gave, and the cup contained the fruit of the vine. This is a very grave remark, and we naturally look for the proper consequence,—“The fruit of the vine is the grape;” but, unfortunately for our teetotalers, the Saviour said, “Drink,” and therefore we must assume that it was not Wine, not fermented Wine, but “the pure blood of the grape expressed from the cluster.”³

These men are thus continually talking as if a ripe, rich cluster were ever at hand ready to be pressed, and the luxuriant juice were at once drunk. And we have their books in which the “Pompeian Bacchus” is smilingly pressing

¹ Plat. Timæus. ² Mishna Pesachim. ³ Nott. p. 52.

grapes with his hands, and the juice is nicely represented as falling into a two-handled tankard. Hear it, and wonder!—the “Pompeian Bacchus” is the patron of teetotalers! No Bacchus ever played such a trick, nor need we suppose it was ever done by any man. There is no reason whatever to suppose that this pressing and immediate drinking was ever a custom in any country. The whole fabric of assertion rests apparently on what Pharaoh’s butler is supposed to have done in his dream; and it might be as justly supposed that, whenever the Pharaoh wished for Wine, a vine immediately budded, blossomed, shot forth and brought forth ripe grapes; for all this was also in the dream.¹ It is enough to suppose that the cup was given to Pharaoh when its contents were fit for drinking.

The vintage was in the autumn, the Passover was in the spring, when there were no grapes. The truth is, the “fruit or offspring of the vine” was a common expression well known and well understood; and it meant “Wine,” the common daily drink of the Hebrews, who, in this daily use, before drinking, gave thanks to God and said, “Blessed be thou who createst the fruit of the vine.” So says the Mishna. This was the prescribed form for Wine, for fruit it was, “who createst the fruit of the tree.”² Nor is the expression even a Hebraism. It is the same figure when Wine is called “the child of the vine” by

¹ Gen. xl.

² Mishna, Berachoth.

Anacreon,¹ and “son of the vine” by Pindar;² or when the vine is called “the purple mother of Wine” by Euripides,³ or “the mother of mighty Wine,” by Barry Cornwall. And generally any fruit was the “offspring” of its parent tree.

“The blood of the grape” is an expression in which our teetotalers say they find their unfermented Wine. If they were right it would be no great matter, for not “the blood of the grape,” but Wine and strong drink are prescribed for use by the law. But they are not right; they are, as usual, singularly wrong. The first place in which “the blood of the grapes” is mentioned is Gen. xlix, 11, in the blessing of Judah:—“He washed his garments in Wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes.” Wine and “the blood” are plainly equivalent in meaning, or, if not, the character of the Wine is defined in the next sentence, “his eyes shall be red with Wine.” The next place is Deut. xxxii. 14:—“Thou didst drink the pure blood of the grape;” in the Septuagint, “Wine, the blood of the grape.” Our teetotalers would make fermentation equivalent to pollution, or the blood would be impure if fermented. But the truth is, that “pure,” in our version, as applied to this blood, means the blood purged from all feculent admixture by this very process of fermentation. The word translated “pure”—*chemer*—is originally connected with natural heat, the all-pervading fire; thus it is

Od. l.

² Nem. ix. 123.

³ Alcest. 757.

used of pitch or bitumen, like Wine, one of the igneous fluids¹ produced by natural estuation, boiling from the earth.

This *chamar* was apparently the Wine of kings ; for it is never elsewhere mentioned as a common drink, but as the drink or the gift of kings. This is the Wine which is in the cup in the hand of the Lord, the symbol of divine providence, filled with the mixture of wisdom, which is poured forth in blessings on the righteous, but the dregs are reserved for the wicked. This is the Wine of the vineyard planted and protected by the Lord.² It is the “blood of the grape” in its best condition, purified, defecated by its natural powers, and fitted for the use of those whom the Possessor of heaven and earth delights to honour. Such were the Hebrews in the song of Moses, and this Wine they drank. The “blood of the grape” is an expression whose meaning is so obvious that explication seems to be almost needless. Trees and plants were spoken of as animals, or as other animals, for all had life—a body, skin, flesh, blood, nerves, veins, bones, marrow, and so on.³ Of course, the various “bloods” used for drinks retained their bodily names after their proper preparation for drinking ; and the blood of the grape was still the blood, when by spontaneous purification, as if specially influenced by the beneficent deity, it fitted itself for human use. That the “blood of

¹ Plat. Timæus.

² Ps. lxxv. 9 ; Isaiah xxvii. 2.

³ Pliny xvi. 38.

the grape" was "Wine" is proved most distinctly. "Wine is good as life to a man if it be drunk moderately," says the son of Sirach, in c. xxxi. 27; and in c. xxxix. 26, of ten things, as water, fire, iron, &c.—"the principal things for the whole use of a man's life,"—one is "the blood of the grape." The first book of Maccabees, c. vi. 34, is referred to by our teetotalers, but it makes nothing for their purpose. We are there told, "to the end that they might provoke the elephants to fight, they showed them the blood of grapes and mulberries." And suppose that this blood was the raw, rough, juice newly pressed out—What then? Would it prove that the "pure blood" prepared and fit for human drinking was the raw juice? It is supposed that this blood was shown to the elephants by way of making them familiar with the sight of human blood, that they might not be frightened by it in the battle. But "the Indian who guided him" knew better the character of the animal. The half-reasoning elephant is no teetotaler. His fellow mortal, the serpent, who also has a reputation for wisdom, takes his Wine; but his head cannot bear much, he is easily intoxicated—he ought to take the pledge. In the days of Aristotle,¹ the elephant was noted for his ability to drink wine hugely, and his descendants retain the faculty, and love to use it. Says a popular writer, "it is rather remarkable that the elephant should be so fond of intoxicating liquors as to be

¹ Arist. Hist. Animal, viii. 9.

induced by the promise of porter, beer, or spirits to perform tricks which it would otherwise refuse to attempt.¹

And here be it observed, that when teetotalers appeal, as they often appeal, to the natural sobriety of brutes, their appeal is fallacious. Many animals are very fond of inebriating drink; and, doubtless, it would be in general use among them if they knew how either to make or obtain it. Man has the knowledge and means to satisfy an appetite which is universal; and it is equally a part of his wisdom to fix the limits of indulgence. Every object of appetite has its seductive influence, which may lead to excess and consequent injury; and it is the business of reason to correct the irregular desires of the senses, which may be towards an injurious abstinence as well as towards hurtful excess. And among the means for maintaining this moral rectitude, one is the calling of things by their right names. The confusion of names is from confusion of thought, which in turn it augments, till vice and virtue become as verbal playthings. Adopt, and strictly apply, the methods of our teetotalers, and the wildest songs of the drunkards would become the solemn songs of the Wine-haters. "Plumpy Bacchus, with pink eyne," may have been an ancient archbishop in scarlet, or a well-fed dean who had Anacreon for his precentor. It might be made more than dubious whether, in ancient times, any

¹ J. G. Wood, Nat. Hist. Vol i. p. 738.

real drunkenness ever existed ; for all the words which we give as names to our Wine and strong drink meant, or may be easily supposed as having originally meant, something, perhaps, very nice, pleasant, and palatable, but “ certainly not ” inebriating. And, indeed, these men seem to be not unwilling to admit something like these supposed transformations ; for, even gravely, we are told, “ The ancient Greeks and Romans furnished, by their exemplary abstemiousness, a severe rebuke to modern Christians. Their festivals were schools of temperance and sobriety.”¹ We may well stand amazed ; for of all the nations of the world, none, perhaps, ever drank more than the Greeks and Romans ! Even the severe Lycurgus allowed each of his Spartans to drink two dozen—twenty-four quarts—of Wine in the month at the one public meal,² and privately there was no restriction. Solon, the wisest of Athenians, and Cato, the sternest of Romans, indulged freely in Wine ; so says Seneca, the most rigid of philosophers, who, from time to time, recommends the wise example.³ To express the habit of the Greeks, the Romans made and used the word *pergræcor*—to spend day and night in hard drinking—nor were they themselves more abstemious ; the most repulsive, the most terrible account of drunkards and drunkenness ever written, is that by Pliny, of his own countrymen.⁴

¹ Nott, Lect. iv. p. 49.

² Plutarch Lycurg.

³ Lib. De Tranquil. Animi.

⁴ Lib. xiv. 22.

The two Apostles, also, well knew, and have told us, what were the life, the habits, the morals of these very nations whose "festivals" we are now told "were schools of temperance and sobriety."¹

"The Wines used on these occasions were invariably mixed with water." Teetotalers lay great stress on this fact, that the ancients mingled water with their Wine, and apparently in very large quantities. Now the ancients, in this matter, knew more than these moderns, if these really tell us what they know. "Water is naturally in all Wines, and most in the Wines of wet seasons, of young vines, or of new vineyards; and these watery Wines soonest become sour. The great point with the ancients was to get rid of this watery portion, and their modes of procedure sometimes made the Wines very thick."² When these Wines were matured by age, their consistence, as well as their enormous strength, required the use of water to make them drinkable."

"Moreover, Wine diluted with water more readily produces intoxication than the pure Wine would do,"³ and its drinking is followed by more painful effects. This was known to the ancients, as to the moderns, and Aristotle discusses the whole matter.⁴ It was not, therefore, in attempting to be teetotalers that the ancients mingled water with their Wine.

We are not to suppose that the Hebrews studied

¹ Paul, Rom. c. i., 1 Pet. iv. 7.

² Penny Cyclop. Art. Wine. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Problem, Sect. iii.

the art of Wine-making so variously, deeply, and anxiously as did the Greeks and Romans.

Let it, however, be observed ; when the prophet would express the physical, political, and moral degradation of Judæa, he says, “thy Wine is mixed with water.”¹ Wisdom, in the Proverbs, mingles her Wine, doubtless, as was the custom of the country, with milk and honey ; Prudence and Pleasure too mixed water and honey with the Wine of the Greek ; but neither Wisdom, nor Prudence, nor Pleasure ever yet mingled drink for teetotalers.

A large portion of the early Church mixed water with the Wine of the Eucharist. Thus also the Roman church now,—though the laity are not permitted to taste of the mixture, a custom which should be agreeable to our teetotalers, and vastly augment in their estimation the profound wisdom which issued the prohibition !

Many mystic reasons were given for this mixture,—the Popish church gives two,²—but no man ever thought that it was to diminish the inebriating power of the Wine, or to prevent drunkenness ; and, therefore, the fact affords no shelter for those men who, however, would willingly use it, and, having a drop of Wine in a cup of water, pretend to obey the command which in fact they evade and repudiate.

The whole force of these men is employed in attempting to eject, from the sacred rite of the

¹ Isaiah i. 22.

² Con. Trident. Sess. xxii,

Christian Church, the Wine which was ordained in the prefigurative rites of Moses, and which, when the prefigurative use was completed, was resumed by the Saviour to show forth his death till he come. From the time of Moses to the present hour, the thing and its name have been preserved in holy usage ; but these men request us to dissociate what God originally joined, and what his Providence, through more than three thousand years, has kept inviolably united. They ask us, as Christians, to use a new thing under an old name, and thus nominally to retain what, in fact, would be rejected, and this in a sacred action. By instinct, or by art, these men know how learning may be disgusted, and ignorance perplexed ; how one man may be persuaded to withhold opposition, and another may be seduced into approval, when, by means which neither can fully commend, some vast social benefit is supposed to be attainable. Few may be disposed to admit that “ the end justifies the means ;” but another sophism, from the same workshop, may find friends ; and many may be not unwilling to suppose that a little, or much less, error may be pardonably used in the correction of one greater ; the greater and the less being assumed, or determined by delusive measures.

In the present matter that which is assumed to be the greater is the prevalence of drunkenness, of which the infallible cure is total abstinence from inebriating liquors. That which seems to be the less—a trivial error, if it be an error, is, in fact,

an assumption of knowledge in matters of morality superior to that which, for the life of Christians, gave written laws. This error, supposed to be small, if it be an error, changes in fact, and by changing destroys the essential meaning of that sacred symbol, which, while it raises in the mind the holiest and loftiest thoughts of things spiritual, tells us also that the wants of the body are to be recognized, and that there is a corporeal gratification which is consecrated by the divine wisdom.

These men proclaim their system of total abstinence as the grandest and most beneficial discovery of this century, whether moral, political, or physical; as a revelation of a truth hid from all preceding ages, but now made known as a law of irresistible nature.¹ Only one kind of folk can be deceived by this kind of language; they are "the simpler sort," but they can understand in some sense that "drunkenness is caused by drinking," as by cutting off the toe you effectually cure the corn. But this is the introduction of science, this grandest, this most beneficial of all discoveries—that is, "drunkenness is caused by drinking," is "scientific," and it is to be classed with "the Copernican system," which was once supposed to be contrary to the Bible. Who then can disregard the decisions of science? And it is singular how these men wish to make the Bible talk their "language of science," to gabble in their own

jargon, till some craftier conjuror comes with more potential gibberish. For, in truth, this grand discovery to which all things are to be bent, under whose influence words must change their meanings, and morality transform its laws; this mighty secret, "hidden for ages" is, at best, merely the resuscitated apparition of defunct folly. No new law has been discovered, neither in nature nor in morals. Drunkenness, its causes and its effects, physical and moral, have been long, as now, well known; and total abstinence from inebriating drinks has long been praised, and practised.

We may admit that even in the days of Moses, as in the days of the Apostles, there were men—societies of men, by whom inebriating drinks were reprobated and rejected, as vigorously as now; while the science of the day, Jannes and Jambres, supplied arguments from the law of nature. But Moses, as we have seen, made the use of Wine and strong drink essential in his constitution of the nation. Among the Hebrews, drunkenness was at times terrible; often was it reproved, and often denounced by the prophets, but these sacred teachers never called to their aid the well known principles of the total abstainers; neither to repress, nor to uproot, the national sin. Nor do they accuse their countryman of forsaking the Wine which their law approved, for the use of the Wine which their law condemned. We have seen that the Saviour himself by words, as by actions, repelled the ascetic sodality. We have seen that

in the early Church the subject was fully discussed, and the water-drinkers were pronounced to be wrong ; but there was no dispute about the terms. Both parties used the same words, and meant the same thing—Wine—the juice of the grape, which, when drunk in excess, produced drunkenness ; neither orthodox nor heretic sought shelter under any possible ambiguity ; other, tropical, meanings there might be, but neither the most eager disputants, nor the most subtle expositors, ever descended to use these figurative meanings as the grammatically and practically true. But the sublime discovery of these teetotalers is that, in fact, till this century no man ever really knew the meaning of the word Wine ; and now they have found and fixed its meaning by a new law of nature of which they have the “scientific expression.” What may be the right of these men to speak as men of science I need not to enquire. Allow them to make definitions as they please, then, doubtless, they can demonstrate what they want. These men are willing to admit, and desirous to obtain, the authority of the Bible, and the only way in which they can attain their object is that which they pursue ; change the meaning or rather give new meanings ; for, make the Bible talk the language of teetotalers, and then, doubtless, they can prove from it that teetotalism is a sacred moral duty. The old machinery of imposture is set in motion to manufacture a new article. Never before was it required to be proved that the

use of Wine and strong drink was contrary to the Bible. Often, before, has the Bible been subjected to torture and to insult; often has it been used to establish what it, unquestionably, had hitherto condemned; but, out of the Roman Church, no attempt has ever, in shameless audacity, surpassed this by which the teetotalers would make it destroy itself. They have penetrated the Roman secret, and become the reckless imitators of craftier workmen. We may marvel how, for instance, image-worship may be said to be sanctioned by the very Scriptures which were written to forbid it. The method is this; assert, as indisputable, there are various kinds of images and of worship, some permitted, some not; then make a selection; assert again that this selection is according to the laws of scientific reason as understood by the highest authorities, and the thing is done. So with these teetotalers. Assume teetotalism is true—therefore it must be taught in the Bible. There are various kinds of Wine, some good, some bad; define “bad” as “fermented,” “good” as “unfermented;” insist upon this distinction as a law of nature; and what was to be done is done. That the trick may be the more successful, or less suspected, the operator should put on the dress and mien of the philanthropic moralist. But he may be stripped and exposed, and I think I have stripped him.

To limit or to repress the use of inebriating drinks by legislation is a matter into which it is not my present purpose far to inquire. We have

seen our liberty under the Law of Moses and of Christ, and certainly we may well doubt whether, under any circumstances, this liberty should be restricted or destroyed. If ever favourable conditions existed for the trial, they were in the East, when Mahomet, reviving or accepting the tradition of his tribe, promulgated his famous prohibitory law. Nothing was wanting for success—and the law has failed. Exactly as in the days of Herodotus, the Persians are still fond of the produce of their indigenous vine ; but “ it is quite appalling indeed to see the quantity of liquor which some of these toppers habitually consume, and they usually prefer spirits to Wine.”¹ The Turks, according to their ability, follow the example. And, suppose the consumption of Wine to have been diminished by the command of their prophet, the various and varied preparations of intoxicating drugs, hemp, hellebore, and opium, bang, and hashish, have been the terrible substitutes. Nor need we to suppose that the ascetic sects, Christian, heretic, or Pagan, had nothing to take the place of Wine suitably to their wants or wishes. A lettuce, an onion, or a few blackberries may be judiciously adapted to the soporific languor of religious dreamers. The laurel-leaf was a medium of inspiration ; and the marvellous Pythagoras, when he sought the temples of the gods, called to his aid the virtues of the poppy. The ascetic system of the Roman Church has degraded morality.

¹ Sir H. C. Rawlinson.

With exceptions so few, we may indeed say that the human race has universally thrown off, as intolerable tyranny, the attempted prohibitions of Wine and strong drink ; and universal experience has borne its conclusive testimony to their beneficial use. It is a matter in which common sense, led by common experience, is competent to decide, and it has decided, and the decision is confirmed by a sanction which we believe to be Divine. Nor is it desirable to manufacture crimes by imposing laws which provoke resistance, which make sinful what before was innocent, and make evasion seem to be honest.

The attempt to affiliate societies of "temperance" or teetotalism on the Church of England is at best an imitation of the ascetic system which has been adopted by the Roman Church, and is a proper part of the scheme of religion which, in that Church, takes the name of Catholicism. Counsels of perfection, works of supererogation, the exaggerated value of artificial morality, form a trading stock in the hands of priests who also hold indulgences. Members of the Church of England already belong to a society in which no part of morality is left untaught, nor any part unduly estimated. Already are they pledged, God being their helper, "to renounce the devil and all his works," and taught to keep their bodies "in temperance, soberness, and chastity." No magic efficacy need be ascribed to Baptism and Confirmation, but surely the vows then made

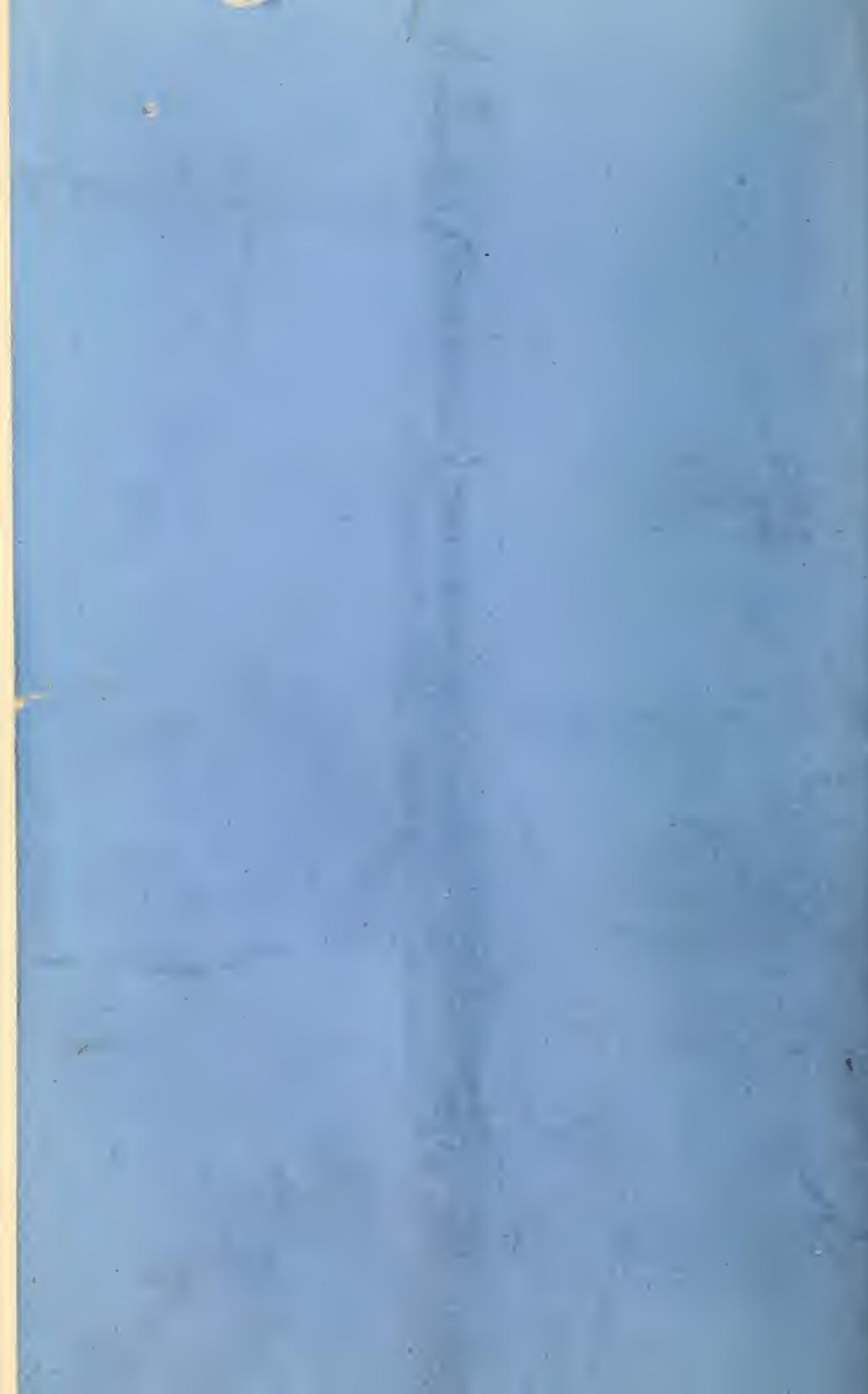
may be taken as something more solemn than the pledges in "bands of hope;" and they who are bound together by these "promises and vows" are surely a society of a higher morality than that which they are asked to join. If they consider the matter, they may find that he who, by any argument, would persuade them to join another society and take other pledges, to enable them to remain temperate or to avoid the evils of intemperance, should, having assumed the form of the Tempter, be told to "go hence."

As members of a society of a divine origin, and followers of the revealed law, they may, without presumption, expect God's blessing, and pray for His assistance; but they can have no such expectation, nor any such prayer, when they are pursuing a course which God never prescribed, or when taking pledges which He never commanded, nor ever sanctioned. The Roman Church proclaims itself infallible; it may therefore change times and laws, and, when it thinks fit, contradict itself and the Church.

The withdrawing of the cup from the laity, in the Eucharist, was the proper development of the system which destroyed the truth of Christ's natural body,—the secret system of the oriental mystics, in which transubstantiation had its origin. Teetotalers, Romanists, and Romanizers have much in common, and each may consider the other as a convenient tool for the formation of their societies for the development of other matters;

but the Church of England needs no such societies—they are abhorrent to her constitution as the “witness and keeper of Holy Writ.” She has not yet canonized duplicity, nor raised deception to an art of holiness—nor has she taught us that the laws of morality—the laws by which men should live, and empires be governed,—may change as passions or appetites, or be mutable as the fantasies of mortals. But she has taught us that the laws of social life, contained in the Holy Scriptures, proceeded originally from the Supreme mind; and she has taught us that these are the laws by which our motives and their actions will be approved or condemned when we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ. I, therefore, as one of her children, have done this to refute the perverted and contorted meaning which, in the use of Wine and strong drink, has been given to these laws. I wished to repel the assertion, which has been fiercely pushed forward, that a deleterious liquor has been substituted in our most sacred rite for a pure Wine, the Wine originally ordained; and the assertion that in our daily domestic use of Wine and strong drink we are violating the laws of God, and that our duty as Christians is “total abstinence.”

What I thus wished to do I think I have done, I hope, to the satisfaction of many; but more can be done, if more be required.



THE LORD'S DAY:
SUBSTANCE OF A SPEECH

*DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE PRESBYTERY OF
GLASGOW, ON THURSDAY, 16th NOVEMBER, 1865.*

BY

NORMAN MACLEOD, D.D.,

MINISTER OF THE BARONY, GLASGOW;
AND ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S CHAPLAINS FOR SCOTLAND.

"I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day."

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P R E F A C E.

THE speech of which I now publish the substance, was not written, but was delivered extempore from a few brief notes indicating my line of argument. Though spoken very rapidly, it occupied three hours in its delivery. I was placed in a difficult position, having to reply to long and carefully written speeches by my learned and excellent friends on the other side. I was thus obliged to take up the whole question, and to discuss it with regard to the state of feeling in Glasgow and in Scotland, as well as in the Presbytery, both with reference to the Sabbath, and to a tendency manifesting itself, in some quarters, to lose all faith in the Lord's-day, because losing faith in the only ground on which it had generally been put in Scotland. My sincere desire was not to destroy, but to build up; and my belief is, that what I have said will have this effect on the minds of very many who will give my words their candid consideration.

I call this pamphlet, treatise, sermon,—for it partakes of the character of all,—*the substance* of my speech, because I have had to write it; and while embodying every principle, every doctrine, every fact, every argument contained in the original speech, with every anecdote even which may, at the moment, have escaped from my tongue, I have expanded many portions of it, re-adjusted others, lengthened here, or added there, to explain more fully what I meant and mean. A great part of the latter portion was not reported in the newspapers. I am very sensible of the unartistic form in which it appears—I cannot help it now. I leave it to be fairly judged of as a whole.

Unless I had, to a large extent, anticipated the results of this discussion,—so far, at least, as they have been personal to myself,—I should not have engaged in it with such a feeling of pain, and such a solemn sense of my responsibility to God as I did.

But having been enabled to accept the duty, which I believed, and now believe more than ever, God, in His providence, had imposed on me, I accept, in perfect peace, all the consequences, however deeply painful to me, which the performance of that duty has involved.

Some of these results I much lament for the sake of others, more even than for my own. I lament the spirit in which I have been everywhere in Scotland criticized, and spoken of, and written of, by some who are opposed to me, from the pulpit, the platform, and the press. A meaning

has been given—studiedly, I fear, in some cases—to the expressions regarding the Decalogue, which my *words* might possibly be made to bear to a mind not willing to understand them; but which, even had it been true and unmistakeable, might, in charity, have been pardoned or left unnoticed, as simply bearing evidence of my insanity! Strange to say, the same words were quite understood in England, and by all who sympathized with me in Scotland. I beg those who wish to do me justice, to read the extracts from Baxter, quoted in my speech, and to remember that these were read by me, as a part of that speech, at the first meeting of Presbytery, and as expressing what I meant by the abrogation of the Decalogue; and that, though not published then, they were again read at the second meeting of the Presbytery, and thereafter published in all the Glasgow newspapers,—and then let them say, whether, with these passages as an exponent of my meaning, I have been dealt with in the spirit of fair play, or of Christian charity, by very many of my critics?

I refrain from further alluding to all that has been uttered against me. There is One who fully understands the sorrow which must be endured by those who, seeking to do His will, are yet the occasion of creating doubt in the hearts of those they love, regarding their own character, or of adding, in any case, to the most intolerable burden that can weigh down the spirit of man—that of dislike or of hate to a brother.

But I should be very ungrateful unless I acknowledged different results from these—such as the Christian treatment I received from my brethren opposed to me in the Presbytery, and from many Christian gentlemen who, whether with me or against me, have spoken from the platform, or written in the press, with justice and fairness on this subject, as well as the letters of kind sympathy and of cordial agreement in my views which have come to me, every day, from both clergy and laity of every denomination;—most of all, as might be expected, from those of my own Church. As it has been impossible for me otherwise to reply to these, I take this opportunity of thankfully acknowledging them. But I hope for results of more importance, and less personal to myself, from this discussion. One of these I pray may be, and I believe will be, a Lord's-day, in the slow, perhaps, but sure progress of Christian opinion, kept on sounder grounds, with less of the spirit of bondage, and more of the spirit of that true liberty of faith and love with which Christ has set us free—a liberty which, the more it is understood and believed, can never be used as a cloak for licentiousness.

I must, before concluding this long Preface, allude to some objections to my speech, or rather to my speaking at all on such a question, or my venturing to open it up in Scotland.

(1.) It has been urged against me that, after all, my opponents and I, though starting from different points, come at last, practically, to the same point—that of a holy keeping of the Lord's day;—why, then, it is asked, moot the speculative difference, and not be satisfied with the prac-

tical agreement? I reply, that if I and those who think with me—a vast number in the Protestant Churches in this and other countries—cordially give our brethren liberty to keep the Lord's-day in *their* way, and to spend it in such a spirit, and for such reasons, as *they* believe to be according to God's will; why should not the same liberty be extended to us? Is this a point of difference in which there is to be no *mutual* forbearance? Must *we* alone be silent, or be reviled, and our names associated with infidels, and put down as opposed to the keeping a holy day to the Lord; nay, in some extreme cases, be spoken against with as fierce a spirit as the Master was, when accused of "having a devil," because He broke the Sabbath? It is full time, I think, for such liberty being demanded, on our part, as our *right*.

(2.) "But it will give a handle to the ungodly, who will abuse and pervert the Christian liberty you speak of, and which Christians only can use aright. For the sake of the ungodly there must be a fixed *law* of the Fourth Commandment." I am not aware of any gift of God, or of any truth of God, which ungodly men have not abused and perverted since the days of the Apostle Paul, and none more than the doctrine of Christian liberty. But I am really not hopeful of the success of any effort to make the Fourth Commandment respected by ungodly men, who, in spirit or deed, break one or more of the other nine. Many, alas! who profess to reverence the Fourth, seem to have little regard for the Ninth.

(3.) "But it will give offence to many of the godly, and weaken your influence; and we know how St. Paul, while teaching Christian toleration, warns us to beware how we offend even a weak brother." As to my influence, I leave that in God's hands. All I have to do with is His truth. As to offending weak brethren, there are, I think, few things more grievously misunderstood than the principles and conduct of St. Paul with reference to weak brethren,—while in his *practice* he yielded to prejudice, he never by silence strengthened that prejudice, but ever in his *speech* protested against it. If he did not condemn the weak brother, who, esteeming certain things to be unclean, acted according to his belief, but commended him for so doing; yet, at the same time, he testified against that weak belief, and said, "*I know*, and am persuaded of the Lord, that there is nothing unclean of itself." He became, indeed, as a Jew to the Jew, complying in love with many of his old religious customs and prejudices. But why?—to lift the Jew out of the bondage of that very Judaism, and to wean him from those very customs; for in the same spirit of love he never failed, by unmistakable, frank, and open speech, to protest against the Judaism, teaching that those customs were, in Christ, done away, and that the Jewish "principles" of his brother *were* prejudices. And so should it be with every Christian. Let us, in *action*, and from love, come down as far as possible to meet our weak brethren, and not cause them to offend by what we *do* in things indifferent; but from the same love, and in order to lift them up into a truer spirit, let us speak out the truth regarding the very points in which

we think them weak, and to which, on that account, they may cling with great tenacity and passion. Otherwise the fear of giving offence by our speech will degenerate into all that is mean, cowardly, and dishonest. False impressions as to our real convictions will be given by our silence. Every species of prejudice will be strengthened by those who should remove them, and a better state of things made impossible, unless it comes from without the Church, instead of from within. The weak will not only be tolerated, but govern; and the strong will not be tolerated, but, if possible, be crushed in the name of truth and of piety.

I have done ;—

“That which I have done
May He within himself make pure.”

As far as in me lies, I will not be dragged into any further controversy on this subject. I leave the battle to younger men. I have spoken in my place in the Church Court to which I have the honour to belong, and I have spoken on a single point only of religious practice. I will henceforth, as heretofore, give myself, not to this or to that point, however true, within the whole range of Christian truth or practice; but will preach Jesus Christ and Him crucified; and seek, with God's blessing, to make those whom I teach true believers in Him; and in this way only, secure obedience to all His commandments,—which verily are not grievous.

An apology is due to the reader for the length of this Preface and for its egotistical character. But, in the whole circumstances of the case, I could hardly help myself. The delay in the publication of the Speech has been occasioned partly by my unavoidable absence from home, and partly by the preparation of the Appendix. I beg to acknowledge my manifold obligations to Dr. Hessey's *Bampton Lectures*, for both argument and authorities; and also to the ample collection of the latter by Mr. Cox, in his lately published volumes on *The Literature of the Sabbath Question*.

SUBSTANCE OF SPEECH.

MODERATOR,—I crave the kind indulgence of my brethren—their charitable interpretation of my words, and of the spirit in which I now address them. I rely, and I am sure not in vain, on your brotherly sympathy while I address you upon this most important topic.

Believe me, Moderator, that nothing but an overwhelming sense of duty could induce me to bring this subject before any Court of our Church. It is always a great pain to me—far greater, perhaps, than those who do not know me will give me credit for—to differ from my brethren of this Church or Presbytery, and from none more than from the friends who have now addressed you. It is a very great pain, indeed, to differ from Christian men anywhere. To suppose that I am indifferent to the opinion of my brethren—that I do not care what they think of me, or what they say of me—would be extremely false to the deepest, truest feelings of my heart. The more I love my brethren, the more I desire them to love me; the more I respect their judgment, and confide in the truth and sincerity with which they utter their opinions, the more I crave with my whole heart that they should give me the same credit. And believe me, Moderator and friends, not the fear, but the certainty of being misunderstood,—in some cases, perhaps, of being misrepresented,—of hard words being spoken against me, of hard thoughts being entertained of me by those whom I love and respect,—fills me at this moment with great pain, and I might say nervous anxiety. At the same time, sir, there are other things which I fear still more. There is an awful danger to a man from being entangled by any circumstances on earth to speak that which is false to himself, or to be silent about that which he holds true before God. There is danger, in this respect, not only from the irreligious world, but also from what is called the religious world; and danger to every Christian minister, more especially to young brethren in the ministry, from their characters or beliefs being suspected by those whom they respect and love within the Church. There are dangers from true disciples, and dangers from false disciples; dangers from Pharisees, Sadducees, and Scribes; dangers besetting us as Christian men and Christian ministers from every side, and from ourselves most of all.

None of us are free from them; and our duty, therefore, is to carry one another's burdens; to sympathize with one another; and, as we shall answer to God, to do all we can to lay no stumbling-block in the way of a brother's searching for and speaking out the truth,—nay, to help him to do so before God. We should all fear lest our eye be turned aside from the truth by influences of any kind, “orthodox” or “heterodox;” remembering our Master's solemn warning, “How can ye believe who seek honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?” There are two things to which we must ever be true—conscience within and Christ above. When these are lost, all is lost!

I regret very much, indeed, a word that escaped my respected brother, in his introductory speech—he, I daresay, from his goodness, not attaching so much weight to it as I do—when he spoke of my dragging this subject before the Court. He did not know me, or did not think, perhaps, at the moment, or he would not have spoken thus. During the eight-and-twenty years I have had the honour and privilege—an honour and privilege for which I am every day more thankful to God, and never more thankful than at this moment, when I feel the freedom with which I can address my brethren, though in a minority—I say during the eight-and-twenty years I have had the honour of being a minister of the Church of Scotland, I do not think I ever brought forward before a Church Court anything controversial, or that could possibly divide them. I have brought forward many practical questions,—not speculative ones, or questions of no practical value. You know this is true. But when others have introduced questions of a different kind, I may have had the unhappiness of opposing them. I would have you remember the peculiar circumstances in which the present distracting question has been “dragged” by me before you. I have made it a rule never to discuss questions of doctrine in public meetings. I do not blame brethren for doing so in the City Hall, or anywhere else, if such be their judgment. There are two places only where I have done so,—from the pulpit and in Church Courts. I have always preached to my own people that which I solemnly believed at the time, willing rather, in six weeks afterwards, if necessary, to confess from the pulpit that I was wrong, and mistaken in what I had said, than to be untrue at the time; and ever resolved that I should never be in that pulpit, for any consideration under heaven, as a mere telegraphic wire, to communicate that in which I did not myself believe, and with which I did not sympathize. The other place in which I have spoken, when called upon to do so, in questions of doctrine, has been in the Church Courts; and there, with whatever pain I have differed from brethren, I have always stated the opinions which I honestly held. Well, in what circumstances am I placed here? For years I have preached to my people, not your view of the Lord's-day, but another—one not based on the Sabbath law of the Decalogue, as to the origin; but based on the necessities of Christian worship, and the authority of Christ and His apostles. I came here to hear this Pastoral. Had there been nothing in it contradictory to my own

convictions, or to the teaching I have given from the pulpit, I should never have said a word on the subject. But I was placed in this position: either not to read your Pastoral,—which would, in my opinion, have been highly disrespectful to the Presbytery,—or to read that Pastoral ministerially, and say, “I read these things, but I do not believe in some of them;”—or, as my only other alternative, to come and state to the Presbytery frankly why I did not assent to these points, or acquiesce in them; and then, with that explanation, to request the Presbytery to let me be free to express my dissent from these points. These were the circumstances, sir, in which I brought forward this question the last day that we met here. Nay, further, I beg you to remember—and I do think you will give me credit for it—that though quite ready then to have addressed you, I moved an adjournment, as most of our members had gone to hear Mr. Gladstone, and I thought the question too important to be discussed at a thin meeting, and when those best acquainted with it were either not present, or not prepared to oppose me with all the might of their knowledge and convictions. The elaborate and eloquent orations we have been privileged to listen to to-day, prove how much you have gained by delay, though they add to my personal difficulties while arguing against them. Such conduct on my part, I submit, was not “dragging” the question before the Court, as if I were actuated by vanity, inconsiderate rashness, or selfish ambition.

Now, while there are points on which I differ from you, still I am thankful to say that there are many more points in your Address, and in all that has been said, in which I most heartily agree. We are all agreed in this Court, I am sure, in wishing, with simple and sincere hearts, to know the will of Jesus Christ. I should hope there is not one man here who would not, as far as he knows, die, rather than do anything he felt to be against the will of his Master. We are agreed also on another point,—that there is, and ever will be in the Church, a Lord’s-day. Nor do I think there has been anything said, so far as I could catch, either in the Address, or in what has been spoken, regarding the mode of keeping the Lord’s-day, in its right observance, in which I do not agree with you; nay, I may, in some respects, possibly go further in my estimate of our duties and privileges on that day. The points on which we disagree are the historical origin of the Lord’s-day, and the grounds on which its observance is binding upon the Christian Church. I think that your position is an inconsistent one. I think you are basing a number of duties upon the Sabbath law of the Fourth Commandment, and taking liberties with it, as contained in the Decalogue, which you have no right to do. I at once state, therefore, that I cannot, as a Christian, accept of the continued obligation of the Sabbath law of the Fourth Commandment; while, at the same time, I have perfect faith in the Lord’s-day.

But let us suppose, brethren, that we could not, in the end, agree in our views regarding the Bible “law” as to this day, while we might agree as to Christian practice on it;—that you, on the one hand, should maintain,—what, I am quite sure, you do most firmly and

earnestly believe,—that your present position is the only sure and right one; nay, even that you were persuaded that the Sabbath should fall upon the seventh day of the week; while I, on the other hand, maintained with equal sincerity and good conscience my belief that the Sabbath of the Old dispensation was abrogated, or had been lost or absorbed into something far better, because belonging to the New,—and that too upon apostolic authority;—then, even with such a difference of opinion as this, I would confidently ask if there is a single case that could conceivably occur in the Christian Church in which we might be more clearly guided in our relative duties by what the Apostle said in reference to the keeping of days in the Epistle to the Romans? If his principles, evolved from the very nature of the New dispensation, cannot apply to our case, they cannot, as far as I see, apply to any. Hear what he said, and hear it, believing, as you truly say you do, that the Fourth Commandment was then binding on Christians:—“One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it. He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks.” And if any of us imagines, that because he is right in his views of this or of that day, *therefore* his brother, who differs from him on such outside details, is necessarily wrong, what said the inspired Apostle—who was “persuaded of the Lord” that there was nothing unclean of itself? Did he say, If I am right, you must be wrong, and *therefore* you must act as I command you? No; but in the charity of Christ he said, “To him who *thinketh* it is unclean, to him it is unclean.” Oh! blessed liberty of the spirit of truth, which we must strive to see and learn! I remind you of this now, dear brethren, that you may bear with my difference of opinion, as I seek to bear with yours; and that you may hear me at least with kindly feelings, though what I am about to say may probably pain you. For in thus freely speaking my mind, I am speaking in defence of at least fair Christian liberty, and demand, therefore, in Christ’s name, and under the Magna Charta of our common liberties, bestowed by Him on His Church, that you do not, in this matter, either despise or judge me, were even the day I “regard unto the Lord” different, in its origin, character, and objects, from yours.

Let me, then, proceed with my argument. Now, I admit that upon this Sabbath question nothing original can be said. I do not profess to say anything original. If I did, it would be a strong presumption that I was wrong. Our sober duty, however, is to weigh the already complete and exhaustive evidence, to judge fairly of what can be said and has been said on both sides, and to endeavour wisely to apply whatever principles we thus arrive at to the solution of the complex practical problems to which our every-day life and the present condition of the Church and of society give rise. We are bound to be persuaded in our own minds, and not because others are persuaded.

Let us, then, briefly inquire as to the nature of the Fourth Commandment. What is it? Under what obligations does it really place us, for the discharge of which we are responsible to God? As to its letter, it is clear, for example, that it authoritatively binds us to keep *the seventh day holy*.* It is not *a seventh*—that is, in my opinion, not fair criticism. Indeed, I am not aware that this has ever been seriously questioned, except perhaps by those who, judging from their line of argument, fear that the elasticity of “*a day*” is required to make the commandment applicable to the whole world, while “*the day*” would seem to favour the conclusion to which they object, that it was for a limited portion of the globe only. Further, the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment was from evening to evening.† It began upon—what we should call—the Friday evening, and ended upon the Saturday evening. This fact is of some importance as telling on social habits. You remember, doubtless, what Michaelis makes of this, showing the much more favourable position in which the Jew was placed in the fine climate of Palestine, as compared with the Christian, especially the poor Christian, in the cold, damp climate of Northern Europe. The Jew, he reminds us, might, for example, have his hot dinner on the Friday afternoon before the Sabbath began. In the delicious climate of Palestine he might have on the Sabbath his milk, his grapes,—all, in fact, that he could desire in hot weather; and then, when the evening of Saturday closed, he might have his hot dinner again. This, as a fact, bears very materially upon the question of breaking the Fourth Commandment, as it has been hitherto explained in Scotland, where men seriously talk of the sin of cooking a hot dinner on Sunday!

Then, consider further, the *objects* of the Fourth Commandment. The Sabbath was, no doubt, a grand witness for Jehovah as the Creator of the world, but especially for that Creator as being the very same God who had brought the children of Israel out of Egypt. It was also a blessed day of rest, and I doubt not, to the spiritually seeing Jew, was a shadow of better things to come. It is a fair question, indeed, how far the blessed rest secured by the Jewish Sabbath was at all connected with *public* worship.‡ I certainly am very much inclined to think that it was more of an end in itself than a means of attaining anything higher, beyond that of individual worship and social instruction—not necessarily by Levites—on Divine things. For let us recollect the circumstances of the country. How, for example, could there have been any *united* worship upon that day? You may force the word “*sanctify*” to mean that, though it may also mean simply “*separate*,” or “*set apart*.” But if you mean *public* worship—where could that worship have been performed, according to the Mosaic law? Synagogues did not exist for a long time after the giving of the law. The question of their origin is a difficult one. They were not Mosaic, but began probably about the time of Ezra. The convocations that are spoken of up to that time were connected with the sacrifice at the Tabernacle or Temple; for social worship was then connected so much with a place,

* See Appendix A.

† See Appendix B.

‡ See Appendix C.

either at Gilgal, or Gibeon, or Shiloh, or in the Temple, or wherever the Ark was, that to enjoy it in Palestine every "Sabbath," as we do now in Scotland, was for ages physically and "ecclesiastically" impossible. There was of course on that, as on every other day, individual worship; but when you are running a parallel between the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment as observed by the Jews in Palestine, and the Lord's-day as enjoyed by Christians, you cannot prove that there was anything among the former corresponding to our worship in our churches.

But I beg to call your attention to the Sabbath as it has commonly been described and enforced in this country. Not content with the character of its employments as described in the commandment itself, we have habitually explained the day, by the light of all the comments in the Pentateuch and Prophets on it, as the Jewish Sabbath; and then we have said to our people, *this* is the Christian Sabbath, which is of perpetual obligation. Now, we must keep in mind that there are not two Sabbaths described in the Old dispensation;—one that was comparatively easy; and another which could not be relaxed, but was binding in jot and tittle like a *moral* law, and to the breaking of which many pains and penalties were annexed. We have one law in the Decalogue, and out of it; one law, which, if it laid men under a moral obligation to keep it at all, obliged them to keep every jot and tittle of it. There can be no trifling with it either as a moral law, or as a positive command given by God.

If this account is correct, then I dare to affirm, without fear of contradiction, that we do not practically acknowledge ourselves bound by this commandment. It is not to the point to say that we keep it in spirit. We have no right, I repeat, thus to tamper with it, or to let "one jot or tittle" of this law pass away, if it be of "perpetual obligation," until it is all, and in every point fulfilled by us. The day of the week; the hours and measure of the day; what may, and what may not be done on that day; each and every point as defined in the commandment itself, or as explained by what we assume to be its authoritative comments, must be kept. We dare not alter a letter of what has been written by God's finger on tables of stone, if what He has written is *for us*. Now, in this sense the commandment is, I allege, not kept by any of us. One Christian man only that I know of in this city—I mean Mr. Begg*—seems to me to carry out logically the premises which have been here assumed as true, for he has kept the seventh day from evening to evening for thirty years.

We do not keep the day; and in a hundred things we do on Sunday what it would have been unlawful for the pious Jew to have done on his Sabbath.† Our servants do servile work,—light fires, make beds, clean out our rooms, cook our dinners, &c., and probably drive those to church who have carriages. This is too notorious to be insisted upon; and so, many men feel themselves to be in an inconsistent position, and try to get out of it, just like my excellent friend Dr. Macduff, who, while he holds so firmly to this Fourth Commandment, would allow to be done upon his Sabbath what would

* See Appendix D.

† See Appendix E.

have horrified any pious Israelite of any age or time. Dr. Macduff does it because he cannot see any ill in it. He uses his own good Christian common sense, walks in the spirit—but yet, unfortunately, as I think, for my friend's consistency. I maintain that, whatever we clergy may say to the contrary, unprejudiced laymen see in our conduct a manifest inconsistency. I was very often inconsistent on this point, I admit, when I believed as you did. But should any man try to be consistent, and to keep the commandment as it has been described from the pulpit and in tracts by those who lay burdens on men's shoulders which they, perhaps, do not carry themselves—then what follows? Asceticism does. Not, however, that I am one who would despise an ascetic for conscience-sake. It is often a grand visible triumph of spirit over sense, from conviction, however erroneous. And this asceticism, or Judaism, I cannot help seeing in the old Covenanters—noble men, who, if they did not fight for the liberty of others, fought at least for their own, and have preserved the independence of our country. These men had a strength and backbone in them which was grand. They would have been chief among the tribes of Israel. I read, for instance, of James Howie of Lochgoin, who, when passing along the moor bogs, and just as he was treading on the moss, saw a broken jar full of coins, (still preserved in his family); and when some of his boys—as I suppose we should have done ourselves, even under the Fourth Commandment—rushed to possess themselves of them, the old man said, “No, don't touch them; it is the Sabbath of the Lord; pass on.” I say he was a grand Christian Jew, that. I admire him. I am not prepared to say that I should not have been tempted to secure the gold on Sunday, had it come my way; but I am sure I should have given it to the old man on Monday morning—every farthing of it—from sheer admiration of his grand self-denial.

But there have been other results than mere asceticism from the views I am comparing and combating. I think that the *tone* of teaching, in general, throughout Scotland, which has logically sprung from this view regarding the Sabbath law of the Fourth Commandment, has produced in our country a Judaical spirit, which I think is to be deplored, and ought to be kindly, but firmly exposed, in order to be changed into the true freedom of the Christian life of faith and love through God's Spirit. Look, for example, at the state of most districts in the North of Scotland where this teaching has had full and uncontrolled sway. I might, without any unkindly feeling, challenge any Free Church Minister,—and perhaps I might extend the challenge to those who, in my opinion, are still freer—to some of the Established clergy also in those districts,—whether he would dare to shave on Sunday morning, and let his people know it? Would not his influence be weakened, and his piety suspected? Take another illustration of what I mean. A friend of mine, a deacon of my church, went with a party to fish, the other summer, in one of the outer Hebrides. He was living with a good man, but an out-and-out Jew. My friend had a nice ham, a few slices of which he wished to cook for breakfast

on Sunday morning. His host did not refuse to cook the ham, for a Highland Jew, as well as a Palestine one, likes his food. So John began to slice the ham until he came to the bone, when he put down the knife and said, "I would rather not!" "Why, John?" "Because it is the Sabbath." So my deacon had to saw the bone, when John continued the cutting of the ham. I don't "despise" John at all for his scruples. He acted according to his light. I state the fact only as it illustrates the feelings and practices of thousands in the North regarding the Lord's-day;* and only by such facts, however trifling they appear to some, can the state of feeling in a country be understood. I could give innumerable illustrations of the same sort, to shew how *hide-bound* people are by the letter. And, alas! many of the clergy themselves have become slaves, and have conscientiously forged the very chains from which they cannot now escape, even while feeling their bondage. To the best of their knowledge, I believe, and with perfect honesty, but not seeing a more excellent way, they have been so drilling their people into the Jewish Sabbath and all its Jewish details, that they are now in a position from which they can hardly emancipate themselves, without such an apparent inconsistency on their own part, and such a shaking of the faith or prejudices of their people, as they fear to encounter,—a very painful position, in which I heartily sympathize with many a brother.

But is this Judaism confined to one part of the country only? I grant that our freedom has been immensely increased. Sentiments to-day even have been uttered that no minister would have dared to have spoken a few years ago. I think we owe much of this liberty, not to the clergy, but to Christian laymen, who have not been so much bound by their position as we have been, and also to the leaders of opinion beyond our country who have unconsciously fought for us. But there is even now in Glasgow a vast deal of Judaism; while things have been done, within our memories, by clergy, magistrates, and police, in the way of interfering with others, which, thanks to public opinion, would not be tolerated now.† Yet even now, for example, some will worship with an instrument in Church, and yet will not do so in their own houses. They will train up little children to keep the Lord's-day as if they were old apostles. And in regard to walking on Sunday by those who need it for health, or for recreation,—about which I rejoice to hear the sentiments of my friend, Dr. Macduff,—I ask you, sir, whether Christian men—whether from the effects of long teaching or mere prejudice, I do not know—would not have been, a few years or even months ago, very much shocked at his sentiments? I myself having incidentally mentioned, in a speech about a North-End Park, that I thought on the Sunday evening working-men might enjoy God's fair world with their families, was publicly spoken against, and of course impeached as *exhorting* men to spend the evening in that way only, when I had an extra service in Church for them! There was a howl got up immediately for my daring to say this. But, with the exception of

* See Appendix F

† See Appendix G.

my friend Mr. M'Gregor, who was present at that meeting, I never, until now, heard another clergyman speak out in my support. I can assure you I was horrified at such gross Judaism. It made me, I might say, almost tremble for the condition we were in in Scotland, and feel that we were standing on the edge of a slippery precipice, over which many might suddenly fall into utter disregard of the Lord's-day. It revealed a state of matters that might induce a terrific reaction as a protest against such ignorance and such cruelty; and all in the name of our Father in heaven! Only think of it! We get parks for those working-men—men who rise at five o'clock in the morning, and drudge through life during the day, and come home weary at night—and we have, hitherto, practically said to these men, in the name of the Sabbath of the Lord, “Kennel up into your wretched abodes!” Who dares deny it? For what else was I blamed, I should like to know? Against what else was the cry raised? And let Dr. Macduff beware, or he will have the cry against him too. And to put our Judaism beyond a doubt in this respect, let me remind writers of kind and sensible Pastorals, that our own General Assembly, as late as 1834—I quote second-hand—in a Pastoral addressed to our churches, declared walking on Sunday to be “an impious encroachment on one of the inalienable prerogatives of the Lord's-day.”* That is what I call clerical Judaism. The same thing comes constantly into play. It comes in contact with the merest trifles as “an everlasting No.” Wet or dry, can we take a cab?—No. Why?—The Fourth Commandment. Dare we have a hot joint for dinner on Sunday?—No. Why?—The Fourth Commandment. Can we walk out with our children on Sunday?—No. Why?—The Fourth Commandment. Can we let young children amuse themselves in any way on Sunday?—No. Why?—The Fourth Commandment!† And so on in innumerable trifles, in a way, the reasonableness of which no man can see or feel. In this spirit have I heard a person lamenting the passing away of religion. “In my day,” he said, “we walked to the kirk on the top of the causeway, and never boo'd an e'e; and sat in the kirk and durstna tak' our e'en aff the minister; and then cam' hame; and then we were chasteesed”—he meant catechized—“chasteesed a' nicht on the carriteh.” And can we, until such a state of things as this is boldly and firmly exposed and denounced by us clergy, as ignorance of the will of our gracious Father, go to the people and say, “You are to be cheerful; very cheerful on this day?” I grant you that our Pastoral expresses on the whole a different spirit; but it is difficult to discover it as a legitimate consequence of a belief in the Sabbath of the Old dispensation as of perpetual obligation. What more remarkable proof could I give of the presence and influence of this spirit with which our habits of mind are imbued, than what was said at the recent public meeting in our City Hall about Sabbath trains? A clergyman from England, of our own city,—for whose Christian character I have the highest respect,—stood up, without one single person to dissent from him, not even my friend Dr. Jamieson, who was present,

* See Appendix H.

† See Appendix I.

and said, as a proof of how strictly he had been accustomed to keep the Sabbath, that he had never seen a hot joint of meat on Sunday till he came to Scotland; and never had been in a carriage on Sunday; and then, speaking of Sunday travelling, pronounced the judgment, that any man who travelled on a railway on the Lord's-day could not have in him the love of Christ! What Sabbath-breaking could be so bad as the utterance of such a sentiment? And this is just one of the dangers of enslaving people to the letter, instead of leading them up to a spirit and life in Christ; that we get a style of religion which strains at gnats, and swallows camels; which tithes mint, anise, and cummin, and omits the weightier matters of the law—judgment, mercy, and faith; and which has a constant tendency to substitute outward forms, shibboleths, phrases, even tones of voice and peculiarities of manner, for the genuine life which is in and by Jesus Christ,—yea, alas! in many cases, the hate of the old Pharisees at the alleged breaking of an outward rule, for that Christian love which is the fulfilling of the law. With unfeigned sorrow, God knows, I utter this; and greater sorrow must I, or any man, endure, who will dare expose it, though with no other wish than to lead brethren to a truer and nobler position.

It strikes me, again, that this same "Scottish Sabbath" of ours is, in some respects, more rigid than even the Sabbath of the Pharisees in our Lord's time. Let me illustrate what I mean. When the late Lord Palmerston was here, I had the honour of being asked, with others, by the Lord Provost of the day, to meet him at dinner on Sunday. A most excellent lady, whom I very much love and respect, came to me in great anxiety afterwards, saying, "I have to ask you one question: Did you dine with Lord Palmerston on Sunday?" I said, "No, my friend, I did not." "I am so thankful to hear it," she replied; "I was sure, however, you would not have done so." I said, "Pray do not mistake my principles. That evening happened to be one for my preaching to the working-classes, and I thought it would be, to say the least of it, in wretchedly bad taste if I gave up my lecture even to meet so agreeable and distinguished a person as Lord Palmerston; but otherwise I would have gone with pleasure and a good conscience. Remember," I added, "that our Lord dined with a Pharisee on Sabbath."

DR. JAMESON—Was it on Sabbath?

DR. MACLEOD—I have never heard it doubted.

DR. JAMESON—I rather think not. It was after sunset on the Sabbath.

DR. MACLEOD—Well, it was after sunset I was asked to dine with Lord Palmerston! My friend exclaimed, "Oh, surely not!" "Saint Luke mentions it," I said; "yet do not infer from this that we are all to have dinner-parties on Sunday. We must obey the spirit, not the letter."

Without illustrating my position further, it does humbly appear to me, that our attempting to combine the perpetual obligation of the Sabbath law with the Christian liberty of the Lord's-day,—to impress men, on the one hand, with the strictness of the letter, instead

of lifting them up into the spirit of obedient love, and then, ever and anon, to relax that letter when convenient—produces confusion and doubt. Men are wavering between a rule and a spirit,—sometimes following the one, sometimes the other; hardly knowing, or guessing in darkness, what God's will is. I am quite sure, also, that very many are induced to do many things which, although quite innocent, they have yet been taught to believe are wrong, and that morality is thus weakened. Things which God hath cleansed are called unclean. Heavy burdens are laid on weak and uninformed consciences which God has removed; and all this tends to weaken the authority of conscience, and the reverence due to it in regard to what is moral law, or eternal right and wrong. An excellent elder of another church in Glasgow once asked me, "Did you preach in your church that a man might, if he pleased, walk on Sunday?" I said, "Yes, I did; and I confess it to the whole world." "Well," he said, "I am thankful for it. I always walked,—but I went out at the back-door." As another example, I was told by an English barrister, that on one of the English circuits, when a very stringent assize discourse had been preached on the breach of the Sabbath as a great source of crime, the presiding judge remarked to the preacher, that he quite agreed with him, but on very different grounds from those adduced in his discourse, inasmuch as, in his own experience, he traced the beginning of much crime to the fact of the young being trained up in the habit of doing many things on Sunday which they believed to be sins, though in themselves quite allowable, in forgetfulness of what the Apostle says, "When I was a child I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child." These illustrations may be sneered at as unbecoming levity and mere trifles; but they shew how the wind has been steadily blowing; and every man can add to them evidences of the same breeze—sometimes a gale—from his own observation.

Another result of our teaching is not without danger, especially to our people when abroad, who have not learned the real spirit in which the Lord's-day should be kept; and that is, the idea of a Scottish Sabbath being, as it were, an institution peculiar to Scotland, and sacred only within her borders, and to be kept on grounds that are not suited to every country under heaven. For myself, I have never seen any reason for keeping the Lord's-day when abroad, differently from what I do when at home. But, I regret to say, this has not been my experience of many Scotchmen who have, in Scotland, held rigidly to the Sabbath law,—a fact which, if it were necessary, I might illustrate by notable examples. I have never yet met abroad that minister or man who did not, even after preaching a sermon, take a walk—a sober, pleasant walk; in Switzerland, for instance, to enjoy its scenery; or on ship-board, for hours on the deck, enjoying society and the sea. I never met a countryman in Jerusalem, or Moseow, or anywhere else, who did not do so; and yet, in an Edinburgh Presbytery—recollect, in the nineteenth century—a most respected and intelligent clergyman, a few years ago, expressed his amazement at the state of religion in Stras-

burg, because, when he called with a letter of introduction on a clergyman, he found him—doing what? Dancing, or drunk?—No; but walking on the ramparts on Sunday! Once more, suppose I were to open schools in Glasgow on the Sunday morning, for wretched outcasts,—boys who work to support their widowed mothers from seven in the morning till eight at night; who cannot get education unless the pale-faced creatures sit half-asleep at a desk after their heavy work is done, to learn to read and write until nine or ten,—a torment which you and I would never think of inflicting upon our own boys and girls,—were I to take these creatures, playing in the kennel; going about the streets, and perhaps tempted to steal; growing up in ignorance of all religious truth, and the means of attaining or communicating it by reading or writing; and if, *along with religion*, I were to teach them these branches, adding the comforts of a warm fire, and possibly some food,—are there not hundreds who, believing they did God a service, would protest equally against the children learning to read or write as against their “playing” on Sunday, and denounce me as a dangerous revolutionist, who wished to destroy the day of holy rest and worship? If not, a marvellous revolution has come over us! Well, Dr. Thomson, Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Guthrie, preached for such schools, and I have had the honour of doing the same, at Stockport,—and we did right in this. But how many would be disposed to think, “Oh! that was only the Sabbath on the other side of the Tweed!” Is there no temptation, therefore, I ask, from this constant talk about a Scottish Sabbath, to make men think that what might be very wrong in Glasgow, is quite innocent, or even right, in London or Paris? Is there no danger here?

The conclusion to which I have been forced to come is, that the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment is not binding upon the Christian Church. The answer to this is,—that it must be so, because it is contained in the Decalogue, and that the Decalogue is the moral law, and as such is necessarily of perpetual obligation. This might be conclusive if no distinction could be made between the Decalogue and the moral law, and both were identical. But this assumption, if carefully considered, might involve serious difficulties when endeavouring to reconcile the change of any portion whatever, and on any authority whatever, of a *moral law*, and one, consequently, of perpetual obligation. The more you describe the circumstances in which the Decalogue was given and received, in order to impress its binding character upon men, the more solemn awe you cast around the “Ten Words,”—the more puzzling must it appear how any one of these words could, in any degree, or to any extent, be modified by changing the day or anything else, unless by an authority as undoubted as that by which it was at first promulgated. But on the supposition that there is a real distinction between the moral law as contained in the Decalogue, and the Decalogue itself as a covenant between God and Israel, no such difficulty will be felt; but harmony only perceived between the authority of the Old and New, and in our duty in relation to every portion of God’s revealed will. We can easily understand such a distinction as

this in the case of a marriage contract, which might impose, under heavy penalties, certain duties on a husband, such as, to protect, shelter, and support his wife,—never to strike her, never to starve her, never to desert her, &c. These very same duties, while binding on the husband *because in the contract*, would be felt to be binding on him also because he was a man, not a brute—a Christian, not a heathen; and would remain in full force were the contract abrogated which contained them. Now, it does seem to me that such a distinction as I have alluded to is recognized in Scripture. The Decalogue, or the Ten Words, was the sum and substance—the essence, so to speak—of the “covenant” which God made with Israel. Hence it is said, “And the Lord said unto Moses, Write thou these words: for after the tenor of these words *I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel*. And he was there with the Lord forty days and forty nights; he did neither eat bread, nor drink water: and *He wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the Ten Commandments*.” Hence, also, these tables are called, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, “the tables of *the covenant*,” and the chest which contained them, is named “the ark of *the covenant*.” This supposition sufficiently accounts for the fact, that there are in the Decalogue, viewed as the “words of the covenant,” allusions peculiar to the past history and future prospects of the people with whom that covenant was made: such, for example, as, “I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage,”—a blessed deliverance indeed, but which does not apply to us as Gentiles.* I was never brought out of Egypt, nor out of bondage, for I am not of the Jews according to the flesh; nor am I, like the member of a “caste,” virtually descended from them, for I am born of God. In like manner, the promise annexed to the Fifth Commandment is local and temporal.†

DR. JAMIESON—It is repeated in the Gospel.

DR. MACLEOD—Yes, it is, indeed, quoted in the Epistles as the first commandment with promise; and this shews its importance for all time. But the promise itself is one which, from its very nature, cannot be literally fulfilled to us, but is evidently local and temporal. There are also many Christian duties which might, without due consideration, *seem* to be based on Old Testament commands, when there is yet no connection between them, except that of some inner abiding truth,—as, for example, when the duty of supporting the ministry is, by the Apostle, enforced by “the law,” “*For*,” he says, “it is written in the law of Moses, Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn.” But is this the “law,” therefore, of the Christian Church for the support of the clergy?

Now, it is the Decalogue, viewed in this aspect, as written on “the tables of the covenant,” and including necessarily its Sabbath law as the sign of the covenant, which I presume to think has been abrogated by being nailed to Christ’s cross,‡ with the

* See Appendix K.

† See Appendix L.

‡ See Appendix M.

whole Mosaic economy, and buried in the grave with Jesus. Hence, as the Apostle says, with reference to this whole "covenant," including, consequently, the law of the Sabbath, "Blotting out the hand-writing of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to His cross; and, having spoiled principalities and powers, He made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it. Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holiday, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath-days: which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ." But the moral law, on the other hand, obviously rests on a totally different basis from the "ten words" of the "covenant." Its precepts, as moral duties, are binding on us, because they are true and right in themselves; and they are not true and right because they are in the Decalogue, but they are in the Decalogue because they are true and right. All moral law is, moreover, discoverable by the moral nature of man, so that Gentiles who have not "the law," as written on tables of stone by the finger of God for the Jews, have, nevertheless, the same law, in so far as it is moral, written on their spirits by the finger of the same God. Surely on this ground we may affirm, without doubt or offence, that the law of the Fourth Commandment, from its very nature, is not moral. To worship God, and to set apart a fixed time for that worship, may indeed, with some truth, be called moral; but, to say the least of it, it is doubtful whether even the duty of worship can be found in the Fourth Commandment, though possibly it may be inferred from it; for it must be admitted that there is not one hint in it about worship, but only of sanctifying the day, or of setting it apart for rest. And in regard to what really is contained in it—even though rest were a moral duty, because a physical and social necessity, yet a command to rest on the seventh day, with children, cattle, strangers, &c., is obviously not a *moral* law, but a positive enactment, binding only on those to whom it is given. To abrogate a positive command by competent authority, is possible; but to abrogate a moral law, is impossible by any authority whatever. The Sabbath may be abrogated, and the covenant of which it was a sign; but who can abrogate a moral duty, or make right and wrong exchange places? The Decalogue, as a marriage contract, may pass away; but Decalogue or no Decalogue, every commandment in it, in so far as it is moral, must be of as perpetual obligation as the law of *duty* to God and man.

I therefore do not believe in the continued obligation of the Fourth Commandment.

But should we come to the conclusion, that the Decalogue, as God's covenant with Israel, has been abrogated, while we, as Christians, have still to do with it as an expression of moral law in the true sense of the term, the practical question remains, What use are *we* to make of it? and how do we stand related to it? For example,—is this, we ask, "the law" by which all of us must now reach, or by which any of us have ever reached, a knowledge of sin? If any man who has never known or realized the evil in his own

heart; its fearful corruption, and the results and evidence of this in thought, word, and deed; his want of love to God and man; his dire opposition to God's holy will; his base selfishness, pride, and unbelief; his hatred, malice, and uncharitableness; his unprofitableness as a servant; his abuse of his talents; and most of all, that which is very sin itself, and of which the Spirit specially convinces us,—the not believing in Jesus, and the consequent unlikeness to Him;—if such a man, I say, is to be taught to know what he is, and to feel his evil condition by seeing his guilt in a broken law, whither, for this end, are we to send him? To Exodus, or to the Gospels and Epistles? To Sinai and the Decalogue, or to Calvary and Christ? Which will most enlighten and convince the conscience? Let the experiment be made by any earnest man. For myself, I should be ashamed not to declare before the world, that one intelligent look, by faith, of the holy and loving Christ, would crush me to the dust with a sense of sin, which the Decalogue, heard even from Sinai, could never produce. Never by the Ten Commandments could I be so convinced and humbled, even when perceiving their spirituality, as I should be in seeing *law*, or God's holy will, expressed in what Christ *was* and *was not*.

Must I go to the Decalogue for justification? No Christian asserts this. Jesus is my justifier. I am justified by faith. He is the end of the law for righteousness to all who believe.

Must I go, then, to the Decalogue for a rule of life? Am I obliged, by any moral necessity, to pass by the teaching of the Apostles on every duty, with all that is described by them as life in the flesh and in the spirit?—and must I go to the Decalogue, saying, There is no rule full enough and spiritual enough for me in Apostolic teaching, so I must find it here? Must I pass also Jesus Christ and His life as a revelation of duty, and His laws as its expression, and say, there is no rule sufficiently explicit, searching, and directing, revealed for me even in Him?—and must I travel upward until I search the Decalogue to find rules of life clearer, fuller, and more able to guide me than all I have left behind? If any man means to assert this, or anything like this, or anything approaching to this, then I can only say, that I cannot understand him! Christ's life is itself a sufficient rule;—in Him all God's moral law, as a rule of life, is summarily comprehended. If men must have it evolved into principles of conduct expressed in words, they will find it in such as these:—"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even unto them; for this is the Law and the Prophets." "Love is the fulfilling of the law." "All the law is fulfilled in one point, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." If we wish a fuller exposition of the law of duty to God and man, we shall find it in the Sermon on the Mount, and in all the Gospels and Epistles. If this will not suffice, I fear the Ten Commandments will prove still more insufficient; and that conscience, as the last resort, and the reflection of the moral law, will not be more clear or full. To go from Christ, then, to the "law" for a rule of life, would be to me like going from the sun at noon-day to the moon at night, for

light to guide me on my journey. It does not seem to me to be true Gospel teaching, to send me first from Moses to Christ for pardon and grace, and then to send me back again to Moses for a rule of life. Moses was the servant, Christ alone is the Master. In the presence of Moses and Elias, God said, "This is my beloved Son; hear Him!"

But after all, what is "the rule of life" to a believer? Is it a series of *rules*? No, it is life itself; it is that which is the true life of the soul; the right condition of the spirit toward God and man, out of which all right thought, right feeling, right action, must come; that life which is derived from, and sustained by Christ. And what is that? What but love to God and man. All rules are but channels cut out by our wise and gracious Master, along which the water of this divine life in the spirit *ought* to flow, and *will* flow.

To the believer Christ is all in all. Through Christ he finds peace with God, being reconciled to Him by His atoning death, and, receiving the adoption of sons through His Spirit, he cries with the spirit of freedom and of love shed abroad in his heart, "Father!" He abides through faith in Christ, and as a disciple, is *disciplined* to "learn Christ;"—and to put off the old man, with his affections and lusts, and to be renewed *in the spirit of his mind*; and to put on the new man, which, after God, is renewed in righteousness and true holiness. In one sense the Christian is above law as mere rule; inasmuch as he walks according to "the spirit of life which is in Christ Jesus;" and as he has received the Lord Jesus, "so he walks *in Him*," "rooted and built up *in Him*." He can say, "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet, not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life I live in the flesh, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me." To such a man, as living in the Spirit and following Jesus, it would make no possible *practical* difference if he never saw the Ten Commandments. Let us beware, then, of giving them a place which the Lord alone and His Spirit should occupy. But "do we then make void the law? God forbid! Yea, we establish the law." "The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ."

If you ask me, then, to keep the Sabbath law, you must prove to me, as being under law to Christ, that I am to keep it as contained in the law of life which is in Christ, or as sanctioned or enacted by the Master. What precept, what duty imposed on me as a Christian, do I fail to find in Christ, that I must go back to an earlier stage of His kingdom and government in order to find it? Where, then, is His authority for keeping the Sabbath law of the Fourth Commandment after His resurrection? In vain I ask! It has died out with the old economy. The Passover has gone, without even formal abrogation, and we have the Lord's Supper; circumcision has died out, and we have baptism; the Sabbath has died out, and we have the Lord's-day. So, too, Jerusalem has died out, and we have the worship everywhere in spirit and in truth. Palestine has vanished as the Holy Land, and we have the world

as our field, and the hope that the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdoms of the Lord. A religion of mere rules, forms, and outward restraints has been lost in a religion of holy principles, working in freedom to the sure result of holy practice, perfect peace, and exceeding joy. The Sabbath has sunk gradually beneath the horizon, as His worship and the first day of the week have risen with himself from the grave; while high above all times and seasons, all days, weeks, months, and years, rises Jesus Christ himself as my life,—its source, its expression, its end, its all and in all!

But let us turn once more to the Decalogue, whether as a covenant with Israel, or as an epitome of moral duties, and see how it looks to us in the light of Christ. We Christians not only know that the Lord our God is the Creator of the heavens and of the earth, but we know also—what no man of God living under the Old dispensation ever dreamt of—that the eternal Son of God was that Creator; “For all things were made by Him and for Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made.” Though we have never been brought out of the land of Egypt, nor out of the house of bondage, we have yet been redeemed by the precious blood of Jesus, and delivered from the bondage of guilt and of sin, and have become the servants of Him, our Redeemer. We not only know the folly of worshipping dumb idols, but we know the glory and blessedness of worshipping Jesus Christ as our Lord and God. We do not, verily, take the name of the Lord our God in vain; but we know His name as it was never known before, and rejoice in it as that of our Father in Heaven, the God and Father of our Lord and Saviour, whose name is Love. If we are free from any obligation to keep the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment, we nevertheless enjoy the substance of which that was the shadow;—we enjoy Christ; and by ceasing from our own works and believing in Him, we enter into His rest in God; and we enjoy the spiritual rest of commemorating Him, and of worshipping, with the whole Catholic Church, on the day of His resurrection; and thus link the law of the Old with the life and privileges of the New covenant. We honour our father and our mother; but these holy words have, to us, a meaning higher than the pious Jew could understand, when we see them in the light of a Divine Father and a Divine Son, and of that Son as born of woman, and as having been subject to His parents. “Thou shalt not kill,” is in Christ lifted up to the loving of my brother; as Christ, the Brother of us all, has loved me, and has taught me so to love my brother as to give my life for him, if needs be. In Jesus Christ I see my body as the temple of the Holy Ghost, which if any man defile, him will God destroy; and I see Jesus as the Lord of the body; and I see His sister as my sister, whom I am bound to respect and honour; and I see marriage elevated in Christ on the ground that we are members of *His* body, of His flesh, and of His bones. As a believer in the Lord, it is not enough that I do not steal, but that I labour with my own hands in the thing that is good, so that I may give to him that needeth; and that my brother’s goods be as secure with me

as with him, because I love him as myself. It is not enough that I do not bear false witness against my neighbour, but that I love and cherish his character and name as I do my own, because we are members one of another. In Christ, covetousness is an idolatry which shuts men out of the kingdom of God—while all the children of the kingdom rejoice to give themselves and all they have to the Lord. I do not deny that there are harmonies between the letter even of the Old, and the spirit of the New covenant, more varied and deep than we can discover, until we sing that song of Moses and the Lamb, in which they will ultimately blend. But here we can see a glory in the New that never was in the Old. “If the ministration of death, written and engraven in stones, was glorious, so that the children of Israel could not stedfastly behold the face of Moses for the glory of his countenance; which glory was to be done away; how shall not the ministration of the Spirit be rather glorious? For if the ministration of condemnation be glory, much more doth the ministration of righteousness exceed in glory. For even that which was made glorious had no glory in this respect, by reason of the glory that excelleth. For if that which was done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious!”

[At this stage of the debate the Presbytery, having to preside at an ordination, unavoidably adjourned. On their meeting again DR. MACLEOD resumed his speech.]

In resuming this debate, Moderator, I need not occupy your time by going over the ground already traversed. But let me read to you one or two passages from this volume of Richard Baxter’s, which contains a treatise with which I have long been familiar, on the divine appointment of the Lord’s-day,* not as proving, but as expressing the views on the Decalogue which I have endeavoured to state, and with an authority which none of us, I suppose, profess to have.

“Moses’s law never bound any to it but the Jews, and those proselytes that made themselves inhabitants of their land, or voluntarily subjected themselves to their policy. For Moses was ruler of none but the Jews, nor a legislator or deputed officer from God to any other nation. *The Decalogue was but part of the Jewish law, if you consider it not as it is written in nature, but in tables of stone; and the Jewish law was given as a law to no other people but to them.* It was a national law, as they were a peculiar people and holy nation. So that even in Moses’s days it bound no other nations of the world. Therefore it needed not any abrogation to the Gentiles, but a declaration that it did not bind them. *The whole law of Moses, formally as such, is ceased or abrogated by Christ.* *Object.* ‘This is the doctrine of the Antinomians, that the law is abrogated, even the moral law.’—*Answ.* It is the doctrine of the true Antinomians that we are under no Divine law, neither of nature nor of Christ; but it is the doctrine of Paul and all Christians, that the Jewish Mosaical law, as such,

* *The Divine Appointment of the Lord’s-day Proved.* Baxter’s Practical Works, vol. xiii., pp. 417-420. Lond. 1830.

is abolished. *Object.* 'But do not all divines say that the moral law is of perpetual obligation?'—*Answ.* Yes; because it is God's law of nature, and also the law of Christ. *Object.* 'But do not most say that the Decalogue written in stone, is the moral law, and of perpetual obligation?'—*Answ.* Yes; for by the word *moral* they mean *natural*, and so take *moral*, not in the large sense as it signifieth a law '*de moribus*,' as all laws are whatsoever, but in a narrower sense, as signifying, that which by nature is of universal and perpetual obligation. So that they mean not that it is perpetual as it is Moses's law, and written in stone formally, but as it is moral, that is natural; and they mean that materially the Decalogue containeth the same law which is the law of nature, and therefore is materially still in force: but they still except certain points and circumstances in it, as the prefatory reason, 'I am the Lord that brought thee out of the land of Egypt,' &c. And especially this of the seventh-day Sabbath. . . . The law of Christ bindeth us not to the observation of the seventh-day Sabbath. Proved. *Because it is proved that Christ abrogated Moses's law, as such;* and it is nowhere proved that He re-assumed this as a part of His own law. For it is no part of the law of nature (as is proved), which we confess now to be part of His law."

Before leaving the negative side of my argument, and passing to the consideration of the institution of the Lord's-day, I must advert to several arguments which have been adduced in support of the perpetual obligation of the Sabbath law of the Fourth Commandment. One of these is founded on the alleged fact, that the Sabbath was a primeval institution, appointed by God for Adam in Paradise. Now, if my learned friends attempt to prove, that for several reasons—amongst others, the necessities of man's spiritual nature, and the goodness of God in ever revealing what man required to know for his present and eternal well-being—it is highly probable that the human race, in the earliest ages, may have had holy times, seasons—probably even every seventh day—consecrated to Divine worship, I should not be disposed to challenge their opinion. But when, not contented with such an admission, my friends are determined to build upon the theory of a primeval Sabbath the immense superstructure of the perpetual obligation of the same Sabbath on *all* men, *because* represented in Adam, I am compelled, however briefly, to examine this argument. Many of our greatest thinkers and best commentators have been unable to find any evidence for this primeval Sabbath.* The argument for it is founded almost exclusively upon the reasons assigned for keeping the Sabbath contained in the commandment itself: "For in six days," &c., "*wherefore*," &c. It is admitted that God revealed to *Moses* the facts connected with the creation of the world 2700 years after its creation; and amongst these facts, this one, of His working six days, and resting on the seventh. But is it as certain that this fact was revealed to *Adam*? I can see no proof of this. Then, again, it is by no means so very certain, as it is assumed by many to be, that the purpose of sanctifying the seventh day, grounded on the rest after creation, was actually *carried into*

* See Appendix N.

effect from the beginning of time—any more than, as Bishop Bramhall has remarked, that the purpose of God regarding the Apostle Paul was carried into effect until many long years after, though he was consecrated to God from his mother's womb. You have therefore to suppose Moses, as the inspired historian, revealing, *for the first time*, the fact of the six days' work of God, and of the seventh day rest, and adding—"wherefore God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it." But blessed it when? In Paradise, 2700 years before, or now in the wilderness, at this moment in the history of His Church? I agree with Paley in his argument: I do not think it an unfair one. But if it is not conclusive, far less are those on the opposite side: and any argument would require to be very firm indeed, in order to bear all that is laid upon this one.

The support which my friends attempt to give to the primeval Sabbath from the septennial division of time, is not convincing. No person knows better than Dr. Jamieson how the septennial division of time—one, too, by no means universal—has been otherwise accounted for. He knows very well how some writers on this subject have asserted that it arose from the natural divisions of the lunar month, and others, from the seven planets, observed from the earliest times.

Nor is it easy to account for the marked silence of 2700 years as to this primeval institution; nor for its neglect, necessarily, by the slaves of Israel in Egypt for centuries, without a word said as to its suspension.

But with all this *doubt* regarding a primeval Sabbath, as instituted by God himself, what would my learned friends make of the fact if proved? They insist on establishing nothing less than this:—that a law, supposed to be given to Adam while in his un-fallen state, and under the covenant of works, without sin or sorrow, without bodily or mental weakness, or fatigue of any kind, without sickness or death, not even while earning his bread in the sweat of his brow; that a law given to such an one, in such circumstances, being given to Adam as man's representative, was of perpetual obligation upon the whole human race, Jew and Gentile, Barbarian and Scythian, bond and free; upon men degraded, sinful, and subject to every infirmity; on men, who, if heathen, never heard of it; and who, if Christian, were under the covenant of grace! I will not trust myself to say what I think of such arguments and conclusions, should they be a hundred times stronger than they are. It seems to me, if I may dare to say so, that the only analogy in this respect between Adam and his descendants is the only one practically ignored—that whereas Adam, without labour or fatigue, could walk in an earthly Paradise on the Sabbath, his wearied children have been hitherto forbidden to walk even in a City Park.

What has been said by my reverend friend regarding the falling of the manna as a proof of an earlier Sabbath, was very ingenious, though he wisely did not pin his own faith to it. It has, as he well knows, received a different, and, in my opinion, a more probable inter-

pretation.* It has been asked, whether, when the manna fell on the sixth day in a very large quantity, and the people could not make out the reason, but were all astonished and perplexed, they would have been so if the Sabbath had been familiar to them? But Moses tells them the reason for this gift from heaven: "To-morrow," he says, "is the Sabbath,"—as though he had said, "To-morrow is the day God hath set apart as a holy festival, and therefore learn, for the first time, that this provision has been made for it." I am astonished that so much has been made of the word "remember,"† as if it necessarily applied to past time, rather than to present attention. The very fact of the Sabbath law being a positive command, and not a *moral* law written on the conscience, made it the more necessary to have attention called to it. Besides, it is notorious, that the same emphatic word "remember," is, in the original, used in regard to the Passover, which was admittedly a new institution; and in several portions of Scripture, where attention is directed, not to the past at all, but only to the future.

As to the arguments from the prophetic writings about the continuance of a Sabbath, Dr. Jamieson passed them over, feeling their weakness; and Dr. Macduff, I think, alluded to them but slightly. These passages prove too much. Reference was made to the 66th of Isaiah, and the 17th and 23rd chapters of Jeremiah. I think it is not possible to read these without seeing that they would prove new moons as well as Sabbaths to continue till Gospel times. They are clearly declarations made to the Jews, and to the Jews only. I believe in their spirit—namely, that as long as the Church exists on earth, there must be public worship. But they teach me no more. Then, again, I think you introduced into your Pastoral the passage supposed to refer to the Sabbath rest in Hebrews.

DR. M^cTAGGART—It was merely an allusion to the reading in the margin, "the keeping of a Sabbath."

DR. MACLEOD—Well, I believe you will not differ from me when I say that that interpretation is given up. Dr. Lindsay Alexander, in his *Life of Wardlaw*,—who, in his Sabbath treatise, adopted Owen's criticism,—has given it up. It refers obviously not to the rest of creation, nor to the rest of Canaan, but to a higher rest in God, which they who believe in Jesus enter into.

Another argument in proof of the same position has been adduced from the fact that the Sabbath, according to Christ's prediction, should continue after His death, when He said, "Pray that your fight be not in winter, neither on the Sabbath-day."‡ But His warning only assumed the fact, that the Jewish Christians would keep their Sabbath until the destruction of the Temple. We know that the Christians fled to Pella from Jerusalem when the Temple was about to be destroyed. In His compassion and mercy, He therefore says, "Pray that it be not in the winter." How thoughtful that was! Pray that it be in a good season. Pray that it be not on the Sabbath, for He knew that that Jewish institution would then exist; and that this being so,

* See Appendix O.

† See Appendix P.

‡ See Appendix Q.

the contingency was a matter of immense importance to them. We know that the Jews, while they resisted, always refused to attack the enemy on the Sabbath. What was the consequence?—the Romans took advantage of that day to arrange all their troops and battering-rams quietly and peaceably under their very walls, for the attack next day. No Jewish Christian, seeking to flee from Jerusalem at that time, could have carried a burden; nor have been permitted to leave the town with it. It was tantamount to his losing his life, therefore, to have attempted to fly from Jerusalem on the Sabbath. Then, again, it has been strongly urged that the phrase, “The Sabbath was made for man,” proves it to have been for man *as* man, or for humanity.* I think it is a gift of God to man, but that this text does not prove it to be so. It is remarkable that such accurate divines as my friends should misquote Scripture, for there is no such verse in the Bible. It is but half a verse. It is like the quotation, “Judas went out and hanged himself: go thou and do likewise.” These may be *words* of Scripture, but you are not to put them together; as little should you separate those which are united. Had a drowning man a bag of gold about him, and did the practical question arise, whether he should save his gold or his life? it might be said, in such a case, either “the gold was made for man,” so you must keep it and lose your life; or, “the gold was made for man, not man for the gold,” and so lose the gold, but save your life. The text is, “The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath;” and it proves, it strikes me, the very reverse of what our respected friends and others allege it does. It proves, that when the claims of the Sabbath in any respect come into conflict with the claims of man as man, the Sabbath must yield. The institution was made for man—for man’s good, and not man for the institution. This is not what would be said of any part of the moral law, which cannot mould itself to man, but demands that man should mould his character and ways to its obligations. Lastly, the fact that our Lord himself always kept the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment, proves only what no one calls in question, that, “being born under the law,” He fulfilled all righteousness. The New dispensation did not commence until after His death and resurrection.

I am, therefore, not convinced that the Sabbath law, as revealed in the Fourth Commandment, is binding on Christians, yet I cordially admit that it was a gift from God;—that it was a witness for great facts in the history of the world and of the Church; that it consecrated labour and rest to God; and that we might expect that, *in some way or other*, its blessings would be rescued from the ruins of the Mosaical economy, and be reproduced in a still more free and beautiful form, in harmony with the spirit of the new economy. We shall not, therefore, be surprised to find that the Lord’s-day is in harmony with the old Sabbath, and has, under God, grown up within the bosom of the Christian Church.

But I must approach the positive part of my argument.

* See Appendix R.

Now, suppose we assume that the Sabbath law, as an ordinance which belonged entirely to another economy, has passed away, having done its noble work on the earth, and been an immense blessing to the Church of God in its infancy. What then? I can well understand how many Christians should at first, and for a moment, feel alarmed at the conclusion, and exclaim, "Do not take it from us; explain it in any way you please, to adapt it to the times; but do not take it from us." Why? "Because if we let it go, we have no Sunday." Were it removed, they are disposed to say, as Mary said at the empty sepulchre of Christ, "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him." Yet, as she got something better than the old human form, when she found her risen Lord, so I hope we shall also get, in Christ, a day better than the Sabbath. How well I remember this feeling myself, when, a long time ago, I preached a course of sermons on the Sabbath, following most sincerely the very line of argument you have been pleased to follow to-day, and most heartily believing in it, as you most heartily believe in it now. I do not mean to allege whether I have advanced or gone back—I pass no judgment in this respect on myself or upon you; but while I preached according to my belief, I felt myself constantly met by difficulties which I could not answer. I felt in this way: "I believe as far as I see; I cannot disbelieve it; but I am not satisfied, and perhaps never can be." Profoundly I felt, that if the old Sabbath law was given up, I did not know what to lay hold of. The very passionate manner in which men cling to it, often springs from nothing else than their passionate love to a holy day consecrated to the Lord. There is in the bosom of the Church a deep and undying conviction as to the blessedness of such a day, as being essential for the existence of the Church, and part and parcel of its history; and so long as Christians remain on earth, they will and shall have a holy day in seven. And most acutely do I feel the pain which I fear my argument must give to many humble and holy souls, at whose feet I am not worthy to sit, when it seems to them to lead necessarily to the conclusion, that it must end in my giving up, or inducing others to give up, that day which is to us so unspeakably precious.

The argument *must* be wrong which *necessarily* leads to such a conclusion. Let them believe, at least, that I would mourn such a result as much as any man on earth, and let them in charity assume that my sincere belief before God is, that the arguments by which some men would, with most perfect honesty, and with more ability than I pretend to, establish this day on the perpetual obligation of the Fourth Commandment, are insufficient, and therefore destructive in the end of what we all love. If I, therefore, seem to destroy, it is only in order to build up. I may, of course, be mistaken. If so, I have faith in God that He will in mercy destroy my work. But if it is good, He will protect it, whatever men may do or say to the contrary. Let me, then, endeavour to shew you the grounds on which I think the Lord's-day may be established as an ordinance, which cannot

but command the approval of every Christian man, or of any man, indeed, who has any respect for God, or any sense of his own responsibility.

In doing so, let me, in the first place, remind you, that there is a fact essential to Christianity, and that is, the existence of a Church. There is an absolute necessity, as a part of our Christianity, for Christians to meet together for worship, and to remember Christ at the Lord's Supper,—an ordinance given us as a symbol of our fellowship, not only with Christ, but with one another, expressed and strengthened by our eating the one bread and drinking the one cup. Christ has established such a Church on earth, and His will is not fulfilled by one who only professes, "I believe in Christ; I stand related to Christ;" but refuses to unite himself, as a member of the Church, with those who profess, and, as far as he can judge, actually possess, the same living faith. "Him that is weak *in the faith* receive ye," says the Apostle; thus intimating that faith, which alone unites us to Christ, should unite us to one another. Thus believers should, as a society, meet in their corporate capacity for instruction, for worship, and for partaking of the communion; nay, did the present circumstances of society admit of it in every case, not only to assemble themselves together, but also to consider *one another*, and to provoke to love and good works. This is as much a part of practical Christianity as anything revealed by Christ. The whole social system of the Gospel is a protest against the individual man shrinking up within himself, or remaining alone, saying, "I believe in Christ, that is enough." The Christian, by his very faith and obedience to Christ, dare not do this if he would; and I am sure he would not if he had that love to his brethren which necessarily springs out of love to the Father and Elder Brother. The brotherhood of the Church is rooted in its relationship to the Eternal Son. I maintain, therefore, that if a Christian went to a distant part of the world, —to India, or anywhere else,—he ought to find out other believers, if no Church already existed in the place, and to worship along with them on Sunday, remembering the promise, "Where two or three are met together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." Nay, more, they would meet together to remember Christ at the Lord's Supper, even where there was no ordained minister of the Gospel to dispense it. For am I to be told that Christians, thus meeting in the distant wilderness, are never to remember Jesus Christ till some clergyman comes amongst them; that they have no liberty to constitute themselves into a church for a time; and that if, *in such peculiar circumstances*, they said, in the presence of God, "We recognize this bread and wine no longer as ordinary food, but partake of it in remembrance of Christ,"—this would not be recognized as a holy sacrament? I cannot deny this without going into the Popish idea of the Eucharist, as *necessarily* requiring the consecration of the priest. But for the sake of order,—believing, as I heartily do, in a Christian ministry as the *rule*, and in government of some kind as necessary for every

society as distinct from a mob,—such cases are exceptional. But I allude to them as bearing out the great idea of what I might call—if you will pardon the expression—the socialism of Christianity. And I have illustrated, by an extreme case, the importance which I humbly think is attached to the social Christian fellowship of the Church. But if what I have alleged regarding our duty on the Lord's-day, would hold true, even where there was no organized branch of Christ's Catholic Church, how much more binding is the duty in a Christian country!

But supposing that this first duty is granted,—which, remember, I base on *the revealed will of Christ*, and the very existence and necessity of a Christian Church,—I further affirm, that the duty and privilege of such Christian fellowship in holy worship, necessarily involves the appointment of *some fixed day* for the performance of such Christian duties, and for the enjoyment of such Christian privileges. This does not require any proof.

Now I find such a day, as a matter of fact, in existence. I am born into it. I never made it; but I awake and find myself, as a baptized man and a Christian, in the light and glory of a day of rest and worship. I do not at present speak of this or that day of the week, or of *the* day, whether it be the seventh or the first, but of *a* day in each week, which, as a fact, is set apart, in the providence of God, for the social worship of the Christian Church. Now, the fact is a most marvellous one, and one the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated, that *a* day is consecrated wherever the name of Christ is known and Christianity professed, for the worship of God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Once a-week the sun, during twenty-four hours, sheds its light on Christian congregations in prayer throughout the whole earth. And let me here ask, in passing, whether any Christian objects to such a holy day as this? Can he, dare he, do so? Is it possible for him to allege that the Christian Church either need not, or ought not thus to consecrate *any* day of the week? And if one professing Christian were found capable of saying this, is it conceivable that the Christian Church will ever agree with him, and alter the usage of eighteen centuries?

But that we may more fully appreciate the singular blessings of *a* day such as that which, whatever be its origin, we now, as a fact, possess; let me, for the sake of others—because I speak to and for others without, more than to or for those within this house—glance at some of the benefits of this day.

It is, first of all, adapted to our whole wants as men and as Christians,—adapted to our wants physically.* The great mass of men require rest from labour. I do not allege that any physical law makes one day in seven necessary, but I am quite sure that this proportion of rest to hard-wrought men is a felt blessing, and is adapted to their wants. I will give an illustration of this. Some years ago, for certain reasons, I went upon a private expedition to Paris, furnished with letters not easily got, to investigate into the state of the working-classes, and some of those co-

* See Appendix S.

operative societies which had begun in the time of the Republic. In the course of my inquiry it was necessary to come in contact with many of the Socialists in Paris. I met them in their workshops, and I found a body of men the most intellectual and most intelligent I almost ever met in my life,—men who had utterly broken away from Romanism, but who were more religious in their feelings than most in that city. They believed in a God, in a right and wrong, and in a future state, and led comparatively moral lives. To these men I said, "Well, what is your rule in regard to Sunday work?" The reply was, "We once worked upon it as on other days." "How did you find that succeed?" I asked. "Not at all; very badly: we found at the end of the month that we had not turned out more work; and that it was best to rest on Sunday." I said to my friend, a Protestant clergyman, who was with me, "I had rather have that testimony from these men, than whole tons of pamphlets by Sabbath Alliances; those might be written with an unconscious bias, but with these men it is not so." And you all know that infidel France, after having banished the day of rest, restored it as a necessity.

Consider, further, this day in *its social aspect*. What a fearful breaking up this busy commercial life is of social ties! Think of the separation among members of the same family: the merchant going off in the morning, working all day, and returning in the evening to dinner, hardly meeting with his family at all. No person blames him for this: it is a necessity—a duty; yet it is socially a loss. He is hardly able to meet his friends in a quiet way, or—so busy is he—to visit that old lonely gentleman or gentlewoman, or even sick relation; or to cultivate much intimacy with his dear children, far less to visit the poor and needy. But this day enables him to do this. He can cultivate all those sweet, tender, affections round the fireside, with wife, children, and friend, and keep up a delightful intercourse with Christian acquaintances. The importance of such a day in this respect to the working-classes it is hardly possible to exaggerate. Here is the father of a family, who, in the morning, in pitch darkness, leaves his house at five or six o'clock,—leaves all his little children in bed, takes a hurried meal, has hardly time to speak to any one at home, and trudges, amidst the clanging of bells, or long before they begin to sound, to a distant part of the town. There you see him in the afternoon, sitting, perhaps on a cold stone, taking his meal that is carried to him in a tin can by some little child. He does not see his family at his meals. He may, indeed, be supplied at one of those noble refreshment rooms of Mr. Corbet's,—and what a blessing they are to the town!—but there is no family life there! At night he returns home, but the children he left in bed he finds in bed. He sits at his fireside; but there is no sweet and pleasant intercourse between the wearied man and wife or child. He hardly knows them. The children, even if not in bed, have probably been out working, and have come back wearied and sleepy. The wife has been toiling all day, and is now busy getting a little

supper for her husband. And then the night and oblivion come, and in the morning they rise to pursue again the same routine of labour. Unless these men meet their families on the Lord's-day, and cultivate family affection, I know not what will become of our population. This is the chief reason why you find, with noble exceptions, indeed, so many parents who prosecute their children for alimant;—and find instances of children taking their food at one end of the room, and their mother taking hers at the other. There is a want of that intercourse by which the children shall know and love their parents, and the parents their children. Now, this one day in the week is admirably suited to meet those wants; while there is also time given upon it to visit this sick neighbour, or that old acquaintance; and to cultivate friendly intercourse between man and man.

I might dwell also upon its *intellectual* advantages, as affording opportunity of culture to the mind; and I have no hesitation in saying that, while much has been rightly attributed to the power of our schools, in giving an educational training to our working-classes, far too little has been said about the training of our pulpits. I hold that this has been, perhaps, the most powerful training of all. Some critics, who do not know us, affect to ridicule the argumentative and logical sermons that are preached to the people of Scotland by the Presbyterian clergy; but our people, in former days, at least, understood these sermons, and grappled with their arguments. This was at once a religious and an intellectual training. It may be so now, and often is, as much as in any former age. And, besides, this is almost the only day which men working hard during six days can command for reading. And when we remember the stores of rich intellectual thought and varied information which are placed within the reach of the working-classes, and which even the most scrupulous on the point of "Sunday reading" would not forbid them upon this day, we are more and more impressed with its adaptation to the intellectual wants of man.

But there is another end attained by this day, and that is, the scope which it affords for our active powers in a moral direction. There are an immense number of duties which Christian people ought to discharge to the poor, the needy, and ignorant, that we have no time for during the week. And this activity in the "doing good unto all men as we have opportunity, especially unto them who are of the household of faith," is a true rest for the affections. Rest is thus often but a change of labour; and the Sunday affords a noble opportunity for such activity. Yet, how selfishly is it neglected! How poorly is the noble privilege enjoyed!

But I have hardly alluded to the highest of all ends of this day—its *spiritual* advantages. Nothing has been said by any of my respected brethren on this point with which I do not sympathize most deeply. I pray God for the time when I shall see our wishes more realized. What would become of us if we had not its worship and teaching? All men have to be reminded, that "Man doth

not live by bread alone;" but needs the Bread of Life; and must be dealt with as an immortal being; and be led into the peace and blessedness of his Father's home. How is it possible to estimate the moral value, to man, of such a day as we now possess in each week!—a day when all that can quicken the conscience, purify the affections, and elevate the spirit of immortal man, is brought before him in the word read and preached;—when he is taught all that can guide, strengthen, and comfort him in duty, in temptation, and in sorrow;—when true light is cast on this life, and on that which is to come;—when, in one word, *Jesus Christ* as the light, revealing God and man and all things, as the very eternal life of the soul, the all in all, is preached to sinful men, and is remembered by all who know and love Him, while united worship from glad hearts ascends by Him to the throne of God. The very silence of the day is a sermon of rest, in *Jesus*, for all who are weary and heavy laden.

“Oh sweeter than the marriage feast,

'Tis sweeter far to me,
To walk together to the kirk
With a goodly company :

To walk together to the kirk,
And there together pray,
While each to his great Father bends—
Old men, and babes, and loving friends,
And youths and maidens gay.”

We have thus, you see, to deal with actual facts. The Christian Church demands, from its very nature and the conditions of its existence, a day for social worship, and for the social feast of the Lord's Supper. Such a day now exists, whatever be its origin. This day, moreover, is also marvellously adapted to meet all our wants as men and immortal beings. This being admitted, I might here again pause in my argument, and ask those who demand a reason for retaining this day, on what grounds they would abrogate it if they could? They are not responsible in any degree for having established such a remarkable day as this in the world's history,—one so rich in blessings; but they *are* responsible for attempting to destroy it, and must be ready to give a reason for this faith which is in them,—that no such day should be kept on earth. To those, therefore, who ask, Why keep it up?—I ask, with confidence, in reply, Who would dare to put it down?

But not only have we such a day as I have described, but we have emphatically *the first day of the week*, being the day of our Lord's resurrection, consecrated as *the day* for all those noble ends. Let us glance at the evidence for this. It is a fact, that the first day of the week has been set apart by the whole Christian Church, up to the days of the Apostles, as a day of worship,—a holy day unto the Lord. Moreover, for three or four centuries before we reach apostolic times, a constant and uniform testimony is borne by all the Fathers, and corroborated by heathen testimony, that Christians met for worship, and for partaking of the sacraments, on the first day of the week, *because* on that day *Jesus* rose from the dead; while *not one* of the Fathers, in a single instance, connects this sacred day

with the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment; and others protest against the Sabbath, while vindicating "the Lord's-day." But when we examine the teaching of the Apostles themselves, and read the history of the early Church, its institutions and practices, what do we find? We find the first day of the week greatly honoured by Jesus Christ after He rose from the dead, but never the Sabbath in which He lay in the grave. We find the early Christians everywhere meeting for worship, mutual instruction, and Christian intercourse, on the first day of the week, but never, if Gentile Christians, on the Sabbath. We find St. Paul assuming, everywhere, the existence of social worship on the Lord's-day, but never mentioning the Sabbath, except to protest against its being imposed on Gentiles. And when all this is taken in connection with the glorious objects which are gained by a day, I can come to no other conclusion than that *this* day is sanctioned by the Apostles, inspired by the Spirit of God, and under the authority of Jesus Christ. It is not that the day *itself* is holy, but the great ends and objects which are secured by the day are so. These sanctify the day. And what other day could be selected by our Lord with more will and wisdom for the good of His Church than the day of His resurrection? The Sabbath witnessed for creation, but the Lord's-day alone witnesses for Jesus Christ, for His death, His resurrection, and for himself alive for evermore,—our resurrection and our life. The Sabbath on which Christ lay in the tomb ended the Mosaic economy. The first day of the week began the New. The one ended a week of six days work with a dead Christ; the other, with a living Christ, began a week,—a week in which I am every day to labour in Christ's Spirit and for His glory. And thus I thankfully acknowledge the day to be divine, and of perpetual obligation. I bless God also for the old Sabbath, which, though it has passed away as a command of perpetual obligation, has yet left such undying traces of its existence in the history of the Christian Church.*

So much, however, has been said already by my friends on the other side as to the proofs, from apostolic history, of the first day of the week having been kept as a day of worship, that I need not recapitulate them. For I can adopt every argument, and accept of every fact, adduced in favour of this part of their case. The only difference between us here being, that whereas they adduce all those facts, in apostolic history, to prove that the seventh day has been changed, by Divine authority, into the first of the week, while the Sabbath law or *Institution* remains the same as in the Old economy; I, on the other hand, adduce the very same facts to prove that Jesus and His apostles have sanctioned a different day, to be kept from higher motives, and in a higher spirit than the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment. To quote the language of Calvin: "In this way we get quit of the trifling of the false prophets, who, in later times, instilled Jewish ideas into the people, alleging that nothing was abrogated but what was ceremonial in the Commandment, (this

* See Appendix T.

they term, in their language, the taxation of the seventh day,) while the moral part remains,—viz., the observance of one day in seven. But this is nothing else than to insult the Jews, by changing the day, and yet mentally attributing to it the same sanctity; thus retaining the same typical distinction of days as had place among the Jews. And, of a truth, we see what profit they have made by such a doctrine. Those who cling to their constitutions go thrice as far as the Jews, in the gross and carnal superstition of Sabbatism; so that the rebukes which we read in Isaiah, (Isaiah i. 13; viii. 13,) apply as much to those of the present day, as to those to whom the prophet addressed them. We must be careful, however, to observe the general doctrine—viz., in order that religion may neither be lost nor languish among us, we must diligently attend on our religious assemblies, and duly avail ourselves of those external aids which tend to promote the worship of God.”*

But this leads me to consider a little further what has been said by preceding speakers regarding the Lord’s-day being the old Sabbath revived.† Believing, as I do, that it is an original institution, connected as much, but not more, with the Mosaic Sabbath as the Lord’s Supper is connected with the Passover, or Baptism with Circumcision, but each standing on its own independent basis—I confess that I see no authority whatever, not a vestige, for what is described as being a “change of the day, but not of the law.” I find, indeed, that Jews worshipped on the seventh, and Jewish and Gentile Christians on the first,—the one on the grounds mentioned in the Decalogue, the other to commemorate the Resurrection. I find, along with this, such language as that already alluded to, used by the Apostle in the Epistles to Galatians and Romans—language which, in my opinion, it would have been utterly impossible for him to have used had the Sabbath been obligatory on Christians. I do not find, moreover, that the Jerusalem Church, in its first great Pastoral, imposed any such day upon the Gentiles, nor ever even mentioned the Ten Commandments; nor can I discover one syllable in all the Epistles and all the Pastorals of the apostles against the sin of Sabbath-breaking, or about the special duties to be performed on the Sabbath, or anything whatever to indicate that they held the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment,—a most unaccountable fact for those who not only believe that the Fourth Commandment is contained in the Moral Law, but seem to believe that all the Moral Law is contained in the Fourth Commandment, such a prominent place do they give it in the circle of duty! Nay, more, such an alleged change cannot be reconciled with the very nature of the case, or the circumstances of the early Church. Theoretically, no doubt, the Sabbath was abrogated, or ceased to exist as a law to Christians, on the morning when Christ rose from the dead. But God, in His infinite mercy, not putting new wine into old bottles, allowed the institution gradually to die out, or pass into something much better, when the Church was.

* Calvin’s *Institutes*, II., chap. viii. § 34.

† See Appendix U.

in the transition state betwixt His death and the destruction of the Temple. During these forty years, both the Jewish and the Gentile Christians met on the first day of the week,—the Gentiles never having had the Sabbath of the seventh day imposed upon them. But the Jewish Christians kept their old worship upon the Saturday, and kept it for forty years after our Lord's death; during which period, indeed, it remained still a part of the civil law of Palestine. We find St. Paul, accordingly, complying, as a Jewish citizen, with many Jewish customs, and meeting the Jews in every way possible for him, without compromising his own freedom as a Christian. But whenever the Jews dared to tyrannize over the Gentiles, and to impose upon the many one duty or ceremony which they did not receive from Christ and His Spirit, he instantly defended the Gentile against the Jew; so that the great battle fought by him for the Gentile Church against all ceremonies, all laws of Moses, as distinct from Jesus Christ as all in all, was to gain the freedom of the Church for ever, and to make it Catholic, and not Mosaic, for Jew and Gentile as one,—not in Moses, but in Christ. He could, therefore, as it were, say to the Jews, "You and I may keep our Sabbath if we please, for we are Jews by birth; but let these Gentiles alone, and force not them to worship on our day, in our forms, and with our ceremonies. They worship with us to remember Jesus on the first day; it is enough. Let no one judge them in respect to the Sabbath." Thus, for nearly half a century, Jews and Gentile Christians met together, *on the first day of the week*, to commemorate the one grand event on which their salvation depended—Christ's Resurrection; and *some* Christian Jews worshipped on the seventh, as of old. Now, can you or any man believe it possible, if this liberty on the part of the Gentiles continued during the existence of the Temple, that so soon as it was destroyed, the Jew could say to his brother Gentile, "Brother, for years you have had liberty to keep the first day of the week, simply as a commemoration of Christ's death and for the Lord's Supper, but were never forced to keep our Jewish Sabbath; now, however, that Jerusalem is in ruins, you must worship as we do, and keep the Lord's-day on the authority of the Fourth Commandment, and for the reasons stated in our law! The thing is inconceivable—much more so when the Gentile knew that, as a Gentile, "the law" had never been promulgated to him, and that by so much less did he require to be bound by it; that he had now found Christ, who did not send him back to Moses for anything necessary for salvation, but was Himself all sufficient for principle and precept.

Now, Moderator, you may perhaps say, "What would be the application of these principles?" I might reply, that I have nothing to do with their application or consequences. If the principles are good, they will produce good consequences. My belief is, however, that I shall find it much easier to apply my principles honestly to the actual state of society, than you will, when attempting honestly to apply your rule of the Sabbath law. You open wider the back-door of "necessity and mercy" than I think the

Sabbath, as the "moral law," will admit of. "Necessity," of course, is easy, for it has no law; if it must be, it must be. And "mercy" may be interpreted to mean anything by a man who has a *rule* only, not a *principle* to guide him. But I rely on a principle, not on a mere rule.

Let me illustrate the application of my principle. If Christians, for example, believe it to be their duty and privilege to worship God in spirit and in truth on the Lord's-day, and either to partake of the communion, or at least to profess that spirit of fellowship with Jesus which is expressed in communion,—then they will, for this reason, as well as every other springing out of their wants as human beings and as Christians, *rest* on that day, and specially *in order* to worship. They *cannot*, because they will not, as a rule, spend the day in labour, far less in idle, foolish, dissipating recreation. It must, from the nature of the case, be spent *in harmony* with the tone and spirit of this or any other day set apart for holy social worship by those who love their Father and Brother; while, also, on the broad principle of Christian love, they will, though strong themselves in faith towards God, yet forego much they might otherwise do for the good and well-being of others who may be weak, and even superstitious. We have thus, in addition to all that is pleasing and edifying in public worship, the Christian conscience as a security for the right keeping of the Lord's-day. We have a further security in the loving, wise, and tender discipline of the Church,—equally removed, on the one hand, from the meddling of the detective, or the tyranny of clerical power; and on the other, from the disorder which would make a congregation a mere mob, and leave a society without any law to save it from confusion. Beyond this, and among very many who might not worship with us, we have the security of that justice, and respect for the opinion and prejudices of others, much more for their religious convictions, which characterizes the intelligent members of a Christian society. We have, moreover, that protection which a Christian Government and its laws gives to its subjects, by which, *as much as possible*, they are set free from labour on the Lord's-day, and thus enabled to worship according to their conscience, but yet with liberty to act as they please, *short* of interfering with the rights of their fellow-subjects. Therefore, if we can, by God's help, and with all our grand moral and Gospel appliances, imbue society with a *right spirit*, we have every security that reasonable men can seek for the preservation of the Lord's-day as holy and blessed. As for those who *are* Christians, we know that even if the State were against us, and tried to put down the Lord's-day, we would suffer persecution rather than give it up, knowing that we would thereby be practically giving up the visible Church of Christ. Christians and the Lord's-day must, therefore, exist as long as the world lasts, or perish together. If these principles fail you, where will you find better security for our retaining a holy day? If neither the holy Christian exercises of the Lord's-day, nor the example of the Christian Church, nor the wants of man as an

immortal being, nor the authority of Jesus and His apostles, can bind men, does any man, in his sober senses, believe that the Sabbath law of the Fourth Commandment will succeed, were it even as binding as are those moral and religious considerations which I have mentioned? If the flood of selfishness, ignorance, worldliness, vanity, and self-indulgence, can sweep away the Lord's-day, as explained, even by me, do you believe that the Sabbath, as explained by you will stem it? Will anything in the mere authority of the Old covenant be a safeguard against what has destroyed the authority and the moral influences of the New? This, verily, is not my opinion of the Christian people, nor of the power of the pulpit, in Scotland or anywhere else. To believe it would make me despair of Christianity! And all this alarm, too, in a country in which, in every parish, fast-days are kept as strictly as the Lord's-day, or even a Jewish Sabbath, and on no higher authority than the kirk-session!

Do you ask me to apply my principle more in detail, and to such practical questions as those of cabs and trains? In all such cases I should be guided by this consideration—Have the men who are employed, time on the Lord's-day to meet for worship? If not, can such time be obtained for them in the present exigencies of society? And the rule certainly should be to obtain, in every case, a day of rest; because all men who labour require rest for the body, and in this Christian country they all ought, as a rule, to have an opportunity for worship first, and along with it all the blessings which can be enjoyed on the Lord's-day. But when we ask *peddling* questions as to whether it is lawful in itself to ride on horseback, to walk five or ten miles, to take a cab, to laugh or talk about this or that, to read this book or that, we get into the confusion of minute Talmudical rules, and must fall back on the common sense, right spirit, and manly principle of Christians. Thus, because it is said in the Fourth Commandment that animals should rest on the Sabbath, is that any reason why well-fed horses, suffering from plethora in the stable, and a coachman with little to do any day in the week, should not drive out on a Sunday, provided it does not interfere with the other duties or privileges of the day? Then, as to using cabs: every man must feel, that as far as these poor hard-wrought men and horses are concerned, they should be treated with the greatest tenderness and consideration. We must endeavour to get them such a day of rest as will enable them to enjoy a day of worship in spirit and truth. With them, as with our domestic servants, "day about" might at least be the rule. But if employers refuse some such liberty to their servants, they act unlovingly, and therefore unchristianly. With cabmen, as with all we employ, we should take heed how we deny them the privileges which we ourselves enjoy as Christians. But both cabmen, and *all* men, are liable to have their Sunday rest sacrificed for a more general good. Mercy to the many, must often involve suffering of some sort to the few. Hence, when a cabman once came home with me after preaching, he said, "Really we are very ill used." I said, "Who—you, your horse, or I? because we

have been all three working to-day. I have had, the whole of this winter, three sermons every Sunday,—one being for working-men,—besides having to meet a class for the young, with hardly one day of rest which I can command during the week; and as I am thus obliged to sacrifice my ease, and my comfort, and my rest, and my family, for a public good, you must, perhaps, have this to sacrifice also." On this ground I would seek to act, not from an abstract horror of riding in a cab on Sunday,—which is simple nonsense,—but on the ground that the Sunday is a day set apart for rest and worship; and that, therefore, men ought to be enabled, when possible, to have rest from labour, to enjoy worship, if they please to do so.

On the same Christian intelligible principle I would act in regard to railway travelling on Sunday,—a subject of the very gravest importance. As to excursion trains, my principle would exclude them; but considering that the Jews had not only fifty-two Sabbaths in their fine climate, but thirty joyous festivals throughout the year, our working-classes are sorely tempted, when deprived of holidays, to make the Lord's-day one,—and would be still more so if they were tyrannically hindered from enjoying our parks and gardens by any extreme and selfish, and so-called "religious" faction, lay or clerical. But a day of social worship, and for the cultivation chiefly of men's highest and spiritual good, must preclude the idea of thoughtful and considerate Christians spending it in mere recreation like this—to the country by steamers and excursion trains—more especially when, by so doing, they must unnecessarily compel others to sacrifice their best blessings to their selfish enjoyment. But as to a train, morning and evening, along our great lines of thoroughfare,—which does not needlessly deprive the employed of their fair measure of rest, and of their Lord's-day worship,—not only do I not object to it, but I cannot see how railway directors can rightly avoid having one. I do not speak of goods trains, unless they are proved to be necessary, which I cannot think possible; but I speak of passenger trains. Suppose, for example, that a limited liability company became possessed, by Act of Parliament, of all the roads in Scotland. We will suppose their dividends to be derived from the tolls, and that Dr. Gibson—and let me say that I admire him for his bold, honest advocacy of his opinions—was chairman, or any other man firmly and conscientiously opposed, as he is, to travelling on Sunday; and that the directors and the company were to resolve, that on the ground of travellers using vehicles on that day being contrary to the Fourth Commandment as a moral law of perpetual and universal obligation, they would lock all the toll-bars;—then I, for one, would join in having them—the gates—knocked down, as preventing what was lawful, and being a tyranny worse than Sabbath-breaking. And so in regard to a railway. To me it is not an arrangement which ought possibly to be permitted, but one which seems, in the present state of society, to be almost a necessity for matters of police and of government, and for matters of good, as well as for the sake of mercy, and of good in very many ways; and that you ought not to compare

the necessities of the little land of Palestine,—hardly more extensive than between this and Perth,—with its simple peasantry, its little intercourse and petty commerce; with those of a country and state of society like ours, and far less go back to the beginning of the world to determine our Sunday duties in Glasgow from any Sabbath institution given to unfallen man in Eden! I take the liberty of saying, however, that I think the chairman of the North British Railway committed a great mistake, and put the running of a train on the wrong ground, when he made it a mere matter of pounds, shillings, and pence. Out of respect to the general religious feelings of the most sober-minded in our country, not to speak of the fair and righteous claims of the men employed, far less of higher considerations, the arrangement should have been made an exceptional one, and upon the broad ground of justice to the community and the merciful necessity of keeping open a communication between great centres of population, which can be done by public conveyances only. I could, therefore, on my principles, go to the directors and respectfully say, “I do not object to a morning and evening train; but I do seriously object, that for the sake of mere pay, and without a strong necessity, you should prevent large bodies of men from worshipping God.” I would appeal to them on the ground of sympathy with their fellow-men, whether they should not, by an outlay of money, or by additional servants, secure to those men what we secure to our servants in our own houses? Let them charge more, if necessary, to the public if this arrangement costs more; but their duty is, and so is ours, to do all in our power to give those employed by us rest for worship; and let me add, to give horses rest for the sake of the mercy due to the wearied brute creation. But when we have thus secured, as far as possible, a Lord’s-day rest for worship and communion on the Lord’s-day, then each man must follow his own conscience as to how he spends the day. I agree with all that has been said so well in the Pastoral on this point. I detest that little petty meddling of one man with another, and gossiping inquiries whether he does this or that, with everything like ecclesiastical espionage, which every intelligent Christian man in these days will rise and protest against. I would give every man his full liberty, as answerable to God, until his liberty infringed upon the liberty of others, and if a church member, until it was contrary to the recognized morals of the Christian Church. These are my principles applied regarding this question. Once more: you will say, perhaps, that we will thus come to the English Sabbath, or the Continental Sabbath. The fact is, that the Lord’s-day in England is, as a whole, marvellously well kept, but neither better nor worse than in our own city. As to the Continent, I am tolerably well acquainted with most parts of it; and I lament the manner in which Sunday is generally kept in it. But why fear a Continental Sabbath in our country, unless as a reaction from extreme teaching; more especially when its habits have never taken possession of England since the days of the Book of Sports, though the country is so much nearer the

Continent than ours, and the home of tens of thousands of Jews and foreigners? Why compare the state of feeling in Roman Catholic countries, and in other countries that should know better, where no Gospel is either preached or believed, with a country like ours, where, in all its truth, Christ's Gospel is preached by ministers of every Church, and believed and read by tens of thousands of our people? It is surely, I repeat it, a fearful confession to make, and almost a libel on our ministers and people, to express alarm lest, if the claims of the first day of the week are urged for it as being the Lord's-day, apart from the authority of the old Sabbath law, all public worship would cease and our communion tables become empty, and, instead of this, theatres and dancing saloons be filled, and our rest destroyed by excursionists? I, for one, will never give the impression that we have no solid ground, no sufficient reasons for keeping the Lord's-day holy, except on the ground of the perpetual obligation of the law of the Fourth Commandment. I have more faith than this in the Lord Jesus, and in the power of His resurrection, and in the blessedness of His day, as recognized by every one who believes in His name.

But I cannot conclude this long speech without saying that there is a more excellent way, by which we may come at a right keeping of the Lord's-day, than that of mere speeches or pastorals about it. It seems to me we are beginning at the wrong end with this Sabbath controversy. We are going forth to the people, saying, "Do not do this or that; but keep the Sabbath with cheerfulness and reverence." But how, in their present condition, can you expect a response to this from the mass of the population of whom so many complain, and whose indifference to the Sunday they fear? for the clergy are not complaining of the ladies and gentlemen—although, I daresay, if we knew all about them, these would need a little stirring up too as to Sunday duties. Attention is directed chiefly, if not solely, to the working-classes. Now, we clergymen know what hundreds and thousands of most admirable Christian men there are amongst the working-classes. But as to the multitudes who crowd our lanes and courts, or group in idleness on our streets, and never think of ever entering a church door, I ask you, in the name of Him who made them, on what grounds can they, in their present state of ignorance, be expected to keep the Lord's-day? Thousands of them do not know what you mean by the Lord's-day, or by the resurrection of Christ: they have not been instructed in the most simple facts of Christianity. Now, I wish to know what is doing by us—the Established Church—at this moment in order so to imbue them with the knowledge of Christ that we shall need laws beyond their own convictions to make them rejoice on the Lord's-day? Without the knowledge of Christ as their own Saviour, as their resurrection and life, how can they keep the Lord's-day or rejoice in it? When, some years ago, we spoke here against the Sunday steamers, with the patronage of which, even for the sake of the working-classes themselves, I had no sympathy, while yet, wishing to deal reasonably and tenderly with their supporters, I

threw out, as now, the same idea, that we should begin at the root of the evil by a more vigorous Home Mission. Some of those men, who took it into their heads I was defending Sabbath steamers *versus* churches, waited on me. I said, "Men, you are utterly wrong; but come next Sunday to my church, and I will preach to you what I know and believe on the duties and privileges of the Lord's-day." They did come. What was the result? Did my views make them more indifferent to the Lord's-day? I shall give one illustration of the practical effect of my teaching:—A man's wife afterwards came to me, and said, "I hope my husband will not lose his seat, because he came to hear you with very loose views of religion,"—I think she said he was a Deist,—“but when you preached he said there was no reasonable man could object to that. He began family worship; and instead of spending his Sundays, as he used to do, in a steamer, he was never absent from the church one day after that.”

What we need, is to inform old and young, in this city of Glasgow, as to the duties and privileges of Christians; to instruct the masses, not with right views of the Lord's-day only, but first of all, and most of all, with right views of the Lord himself, and His relationship to them.

To accomplish this, I think we require for large cities and populous districts in Scotland, not what are called, in the ecclesiastical sense of the word, *Churches*; but mission-houses, built, however, like churches, commodious and comely; not having necessarily an ordained minister and kirk-session, but with a preacher of the Gospel, under the government of the parish minister and his session, and having the sacraments regularly dispensed in them by the parish minister. These churches I would call Sessional Churches, as we call our congregational schools Sessional Schools.* But what, as a Church, have we done, during the last thirty years, for the poor in the East of Glasgow? Let me not misrepresent my dear Church of Scotland. We have opened many Chapels, closed in 1843, and which are now well attended. We have built several churches in the South and *West*, where they were much needed; and our liberal Christian merchants have both built and endowed the Park and Sandyford churches,—one good result of which has been, that we have, as members of Presbytery, our much-respected and valued friends, Dr. Macduff and Mr. Charteris. In the East, too, we have a Memorial Church, now in the course of erection by the Messrs. Baird, which will be endowed also by them. I rejoice to acknowledge such marks of love by the members of the Established Church. But most heartily and thankfully recognizing this, I have yet very humbly and respectfully to remind you, that we have yet done little, almost nothing, in comparison with what we could and should have done, and, with God's help, may yet do, for a city whose population is increasing at the rate

* I must refer to the Appendix for what I said in my speech, and for much more than I could say, on what I think is of some interest to fellow-labourers in this Home Mission field. (See Appendix V.)

of one thousand—a large congregation!—every month. Since the church-building era, we have built in the whole city, east of the Crescents, but two churches—the Havannah and my Mission Church; and sold two, St. Thomas's and Duke Street chapels. And I therefore repeat it, that if we are warranted in hoping that our masses will sanctify the Lord's-day, we can only do so when we provide for them the means of instruction, by which they shall know what it means; who the Lord is; and why every man on whom it dawns should rejoice in the Lord as his resurrection and life—who gives to all who believe His own rest in God. We have failed, brethren, in doing this. Think not I presume to arrogate any praise to myself as having done more than my brethren in this respect. I dare not, and could not say so at any time, least of all in the presence of even the framer of this Pastoral,—not to speak of others here present,—one of the most faithful and laborious ministers in Glasgow; whom, as a worker, I would be proud to imitate and follow. But Home Missions in Glasgow admit of no delay. Other churches are doing a part in this blessed work; we must do ours, or all we talk about will pass, as it ought to do, for mere talk, as an easy orthodox way of advocating the Sabbath as a doctrine, but not the difficult way of getting it kept as a holy duty and blessed privilege. With this discussion we should incorporate a new era in Home Mission work. Any one of us, I am sure, would undertake, for every £4000 we get, to secure a Church free from debt, holding 900 people, and also a small endowment for a Missionary, and such an organization as would secure the Christian instruction of one soul, every year while it lasted, for every pound subscribed. Liverpool, I hear, has given £20,000 for such an object. If a few towns in America gave, the other day, nearly £100,000 for a mission to the South, why should not our thousands of members and our wealthy merchants help us, as they have never yet done, but I believe may yet be induced to do, without our begging it from door to door, but offering to us money for Sessional Churches for the working-classes?

I do not here speak of the great Sunday School organization of Glasgow, which, along with the City Mission, is unquestionably one of the most important and blessed that exists. Our army of teachers is the most powerful Home Mission we possess, and requires only to be constantly recruited, carefully organized, and wisely governed, so as to work with increasing vigour.

Again, as another suggestion for bringing about a truer observance of the Lord's-day, it seems to me that all our clergy have too much to do, not only with secular business on week-days, which other persons could do as well, or better, but in the preaching on Sundays, in which they might be aided. It seems to be assumed by many in large cities, that a clergyman is needed for every meeting, for every object that can possibly occupy the public mind, even those which are called "secular!" Meetings of all sorts,—soirees, lectures, charities, until one fancies the most commonplace good cannot be done without a "meeting," which must be addressed by a clergyman. On Sunday he must preach, of course, twice, and often

thrice. The people who attend his ministry would not accept less. They must have several Sunday meetings and sermons by their own pastor; and if *they* are edified and comforted, what signifies though thousands, who never spoke to a clergyman, are left in ignorance! The clergy should have more time given to them on week days, and specially on Sundays, personally to evangelize the masses, and become acquainted with those who are outside of all churches, and of Christianity itself. The more experienced—the more cultivated—the higher the social position of a clergyman is, the more is he suited to obtain a patient and respectful hearing, and to do good among the masses, if he has good sense, good feeling, and sound views of the Gospel of good-will to man, in his heart as well as on his lips. The actual Home Mission work—that of bringing the lost prodigals into Christ's fold—is too much left to a few city missionaries: good, sincere, young men, let it be admitted, but wanting experience, and necessarily under no ecclesiastical government. Such missionaries as these, working always in connection with kirk-sessions, would form noble aids to the clergy. I know not what we should do without them; but they never can be adequate substitutes for the educated and experienced clergy, or verily we are unworthy of our position and calling in this city. Now, the Lord's-day is the one grand day for mission work among the people, when the men of the working-classes can be met with in their own houses, or have time to receive in peace the visit of a Christian clergyman, and to converse with him; but as things are now, it is the only day we clergy can do nothing for them when alone they can be found, and the day on which, as far as visiting them is concerned, even the excellent city missionaries must do least. We must have more time and freedom, I repeat, on the Sunday, and many more efficient labourers, to work systematically under us on the Sunday, if we would help men to love the Sunday who at present know nothing about its nature, and who, if they have any feeling about it as a sacred day, associate it with ennui, dissipation, or dislike. These suggestions could be more easily carried out in Glasgow than in most cities; for while, in such a large community, there must, of course, be found some exceptions, yet there are a vast majority of clergy, of all denominations, who, with firm and intelligent convictions on points on which differences are allowable, have as firm, strong convictions, far more real, on those vital points of eternal truth in which we all agree, and who have much influence, and could combine for a wider, more united, and better Home Mission.

Time does not permit of my entering on another most important point:—the development of the gifts of our office-bearers in connection with the evangelization of the masses. Many an elder, aye, and many a member, is nobly fitted to give most efficient aid, not only in visiting, but in addressing the masses. We have but very partially availed ourselves of the gifts bestowed by the Spirit on our churches for spreading abroad the Gospel, and that, too, under the orderly government of the Church.

Once more, much has yet to be done for the better keeping of the Lord's-day, both by rich and poor, in their own families. The members of our congregations should do more on Sunday for the instruction of their children. The custom is, among even intelligent working-men, to hand them over—their children—to a Sunday School, which, possibly, they never themselves entered, and with whose teaching and discipline they are utterly unacquainted, while they themselves teach them nothing. There are thus, I am convinced, thousands of children of professing Christians who never heard religious truth confessed or taught by the lips of father or mother. Why cannot the parents teach them? They are perhaps not "learned;" but if not, they should learn. Yet, are they not hearers of the Gospel? Do they not sit at the Lord's table, and remember Jesus? And is it possible that they cannot teach their children anything about the Name in which they have been baptized,—Father, Son, and Spirit? It is not "learning" that is needed, far less hard, dry lessons; but loving, true words,—few, perhaps, but simple and hearty, so as to help a child to rise from the knowledge and love of the father on earth to the Father in heaven. Now, this, as a supplement to any instruction given by pastor or teacher, would be a good work for the Lord's-day, whether walking with the children, or talking with them amidst the pleasant, frank, free, and natural, social intercourse of the fireside; so that the Lord's-day would be in the children's memory,—not the sullen day, but literally the Sun-day of the week.

Rich men, I am disposed to think, need to be stirred up to the performance of the same duties. Some, I fear, who profess to be Christians, hand over to mothers, tutors, or governesses, the blessed privilege of instructing their children. They thus give the impression, unconsciously, that they are ashamed to make any such confession of interest in Christ and His truth. On any other subject, however vain, trifling, or worldly, they may find words to speak, fully, confidentially, and earnestly. But of religion! That seems a solemn secret. The Lord's-day is the one above all others when, from its very design, a blessed opportunity is given for associating the name of father and mother in the minds of the boys and girls—those young, but sinful and immortal beings!—with what alone can enable them to fulfil the end of their being, and unite them for ever to each other in God. It is the one day, moreover, which affords time and opportunity for our bridging over the fearful gulph which separates the rich from the poor. This fact is one of the saddest, and one of the most momentous in the condition of our great cities—the separation of classes. They do not know each other, any more than if the Atlantic flowed between them; and therefore there is no mutual love, no mutual respect, none whatever, except what arises from the accidental connection between employers and employed. "Oh! day thrice holy," which enables the rich and poor to meet together. On other days both are "too busy." On this day both, in God's providence, have time given them for works of good. Can we conceive of the glorious results to our city if even one thousand

members, gathered from all our churches of every denomination,—and I believe they could easily afford many more of thoughtful, loving, and intelligent Christians, of good social position,—who would take each, say, ten persons, among the more ignorant and careless, or the sick, the aged, the lonely, from our poor; whose acquaintance they would respectfully and friendly—not patronizingly—endeavour to make; and whom, with good sense, good feeling, and the humility of true love, they would try and help in any way,—and if in no other way, at least by brotherly sympathy, and, if needed, brotherly or sisterly instruction, and temporal aid:—would not such labour as this of the upper one thousand (equal to about one congregation!) among the lower ten thousand, do more to make Christianity a reality to them, its life beautiful, its laws glorious, His day and worship appreciated, than all the tracts ever printed, and meetings ever held, and resolutions ever passed, on this subject? This is one way; most trying and difficult I admit, but most effectual for teaching our people to keep the Lord's-day holy, and to change a mere doctrine, associated with apparent gloom, as if under the law, into a practical duty, discharged with a joyous and free spirit, as becomes the Gospel. If the veil of Moses was withdrawn, it would only be to let the light of the glory of God shine as seen in the face of Jesus Christ!

Finally, it appears to me that, before we can attract the masses to our churches, we must labour to make our services more attractive,—not by mere forms addressed to the flesh, but by realities to which the spirits of men may respond. We want shorter, more frequent, and more simple prayers; with praise that shall, according to God's will, be real music, which is so pleasing, and not discord, which is so painful. We require more intelligible discourses, dealing with the felt wants of men, and which men can feel to be helpful to them in real life. No mere laws, of course, can drive men to church; but truth and goodness, and love and mercy will, under God, if anything will, attract, retain, and bless. I never expect, verily, to make the Lord's-day, or any spiritual duty, agreeable to ungodly men; but it may be made, according to God's will, more pleasing and edifying to Christian men, and to those sincerely seeking to become such. And believing as we do in the Holy Spirit, and in His abiding with, and in the Church of Christ; and that it is His work—His joy—to glorify the Son, that the Son may glorify the Father, by His giving eternal life to men. Oh, let us never despair! but work with Him; and work, therefore, with the strength and joy that spring from faith. Ah! brethren, the Sabbath question, if we will only grasp it, goes deeper down than we choose, perhaps, to think. It implies many weighty and practical questions and duties, which it is difficult calmly to weigh and meet. It cannot be solved by words, unless it ends there, but by works only.

My prayer to Almighty God is, that He may guide us into all truth, and the performance of all duty! If the results of this great discussion may appear to some to threaten the introduction of more of the week-day into the Lord's-day, I pray God that this may not

happen, unless from more of the spirit of the Lord's-day having been first introduced into week-days by every day being made holy—the first day most of all—unto the Lord. For he who sanctifies every day of the week, regarding each day as holy unto the Lord, in its ordinary labours and recreations, in its joys, and sorrows, will not be less, but the more, disposed to keep holy “the Lord's-day,” and to rejoice in all its spiritual privileges! I conclude by thanking you cordially, my very dear brethren, for your extreme patience and goodness in having listened to me so long on a question on which—in some of its aspects—I have the misfortune to differ from many of you.

A P P E N D I X.

A.—PAGE 11.

“It authoritatively binds us to keep THE seventh day holy.”

So Milton—*Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, Book II. chap. 7:—

“If, on the plea of a divine command, they impose upon us the observance of a particular day, how do they presume, without the authority of a divine command, to substitute another day in its place? or, in other words, to pronounce, that not merely the seventh day, which was appointed for the observation of the Israelites alone, but any one of the seven, may, even on the authority of the Fourth Commandment itself, be kept holy; and that this is to be accounted an article of moral duty among all nations.

“In the first place, I do not see how this assertion can be established, for it is impossible to extort such a sense from the words of the commandment; seeing that the reason for which the command itself was originally given—namely, as a memorial of God’s having rested from the creation of the world—cannot be transferred from the seventh day to the first; nor can any new motive be substituted in its place, whether the resurrection of our Lord or any other, without the sanction of a divine commandment. Since, then, it is evident from more than one passage of Scripture, that the original Sabbath is abrogated, and since we are nowhere told that it has been transferred from one day to another, nor is any reason given why it should be so transferred, the Church, when she sanctioned a change in this matter, evinced, not her obedience to God’s command, (inasmuch as the command existed no longer,) but her own rightful liberty; for in any other view it can only be termed folly. To make any change whatever in a commandment of God, whether we believe that commandment to be still in force or not, is equally dangerous, and equally reprehensible; inasmuch as in so doing we are either annulling what is not yet repealed, or re-enacting what is obsolete.”

Bishop Hopkins—*An Exposition of the Commandments*, p. 134, (Ed. of 1710:)—

“We do not celebrate the Lord’s-day itself upon any obligation laid upon us by the letter of this Fourth Commandment, (for that expressly enjoins the seventh day from the creation, whereas ours is the eighth;) but only from the analogy and perfection of moral reason, which requires that a due and convenient portion of our time should be separated to the service and worship of God.”

Dr. Arnold—*Sermons*, vol. iii., Sermon 22:—

“Are we right in keeping the Sunday, or are we not right? The Fourth Commandment does not answer this question by itself; no, not though it be used every Sunday in our own service. For we do not keep the Fourth Commandment, seeing that we do not keep holy the seventh day, but the first; not the day on which God rested from all His works, but the day on which He raised up Jesus Christ from the dead. And as to altering a command of the Law, he must know little of the obedience which the Law requires who could think that men might alter it at their discretion.”

Archbishop—Whately, *On some of the Difficulties in the Writings of St. Paul*, Essay V. :—

“In saying that there is no mention of the Lord’s-day in the Mosaic law, we mean, that there is not only no mention of that specific festival which Christians observe on the first day of the week, in memory of our Lord’s resurrection on the morning following the Jewish Sabbath, but that there is not any injunction to sanctify *one day in seven*. Throughout the whole of the Old Testament, we never hear of keeping holy *some one day in every seven*, but *the seventh day*, as the day in which God ‘rested from all His works.’”

Dean Alford—*Second Letter to Mr. Sperling*, pp. 12, 13:—

“If I were disposed to turn the tables—which I am not, for I as little believe my Sabbatarian friends guilty of disingenuousness as they me—might I not fairly say, to which of the two does the charge more properly apply—to myself, who, regarding the commandment as not binding in its literal sense, read it as interpreted by the Gospel and the Church,—or to them who, regarding it as strictly and literally obligatory on them, obey its command to observe *one prescribed day for a definite assigned reason*, and in a *strictly specified manner*, by observing *another day for a totally different reason*, and in a *manner entirely their own*;—first praying that they may keep the law, then abrogating every word of it, substituting a new law of their own, and investing it with the authority of the other.”

B.—PAGE 11.

“*The Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment was from evening to evening.*”

This is of course admitted by all parties, and the Jews to this day keep their Sabbath “from even to even.” In our own city, this seems at one time to have been the rule. Thus Woodrow, extracting from the records of the kirk-session of Glasgow, in 1590, writes, that “the bretheren interpret the Sabbath to be from sun to sun; and afterwards the session explain it, that no work is to be done from light to light in winter, and betwixt sun to sun in summer.”—*Memorabilia*, vol. ii., Part II., p. 35.

In 1594, “The Presbiterie of Glasgow statutis and ordenis that gif Mungo Craig sall playe on his pypes on the Sondaye fra the sunne rising quhill the sunn goinge to in any place within the boundis of this Presbiterie, that he incontinent thairefter sal be summarlie excommunicat. Lykwise statutis that wpone the Sondaye in the said tyme, nane gif thameselfis to pastymes and profane gaymes within the said boundis, wnder the pane of the censures of the kirk; and this to be intimat furth of pulpet the nixt Sondaye be everie minister within this Presbiterie, and specialie be the minister of Ruglen.”—*Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, i., p. 67. In 1608, the kirk-session of Glasgow made an order, “That ther be no buying of timber on Sunday at the watter of Clyde, from sun-rising to sun-setting.” In 1613, they ordain the “litsters (dyers) not to big on their fires beneath their fats till after 4 on Sunday’s night.” In 1619, they ordain “that no fleshers slay flesh between light and light;” and this ordinance is repeated in 1622 and 1630. But in 1640, they “make a very strict act against profaning the Sunday; and declare it to be from 12 on Saturdayes night to 12 on Sunday’s night.”—Woodrow, *ut supra*. The same rule seems to have prevailed in Edinburgh prior to 1650. Thus, during the plague in 1574, or 7th September, the ministers, elders, and deacons thought “guid and necessar to institute ane Publict Fast and Humiliation, with ane ernst prayar adjunit thairto, within this burgh for the space of aucht dayis nixt to cum, quhill salbegyne vpone setterday the ferd day of this instant at aucht houris at evin, and sua to continew quhill sonday come aucht dayis at sex houris at nycht, ACCORDING TO THE ORDOUR OF ALL PUBLIC FASTIS OBSERUIT IN TYMES BYPAST, Requiring the hail faythfull of this burgh to observe the samyn in all poyntis as thai tender the mercies of God.”—*Miscellany, ut*

supra, p. 105. And again, on 7th December of the same year, they ordered another “public fast and humiliatioun for the space of aucht dayis, togidder with ane ernst inuocatioun and prayar for the assistance of Godis holy spreit that our synnis may be pardonit, quhairby the said appeirand scourge may be removit, and Godis vrayth pasifit; the said publick Fast to begynne vpon satterday nixt to cum, at aucht houris at ewin, and sua to contineue quhill sonday at sex houris at ewin, thair foud only to be breid and drink with all kind of sobrietie.”—*Miscellany, ut supra*, page 111. In 1646 the same parties recommended “that the ports. (gates) of Edinr. sall stand closed from Saturday, at night, till Sunday, at six o'clock at night; and none of them to be opened all the while, save only one of the south ports, to give way for watering of horse, at morning and evening; at which time they must be attended by some faithful, honest man, for restraining the people's faith-breaking, and thereafter to be closed.”—*Appendix to Report of Sir Andrew Agnew's Committee, 1832*, p. 304. In 1650, however, the magistrates of Edinburgh ordered the gates to be closed from Saturday night at 10 o'clock, to Monday morning at 4 o'clock.—*Coltness Collections, Mait. Club*, p. 368.

The passage referred to from Michaelis will be found in Article 195 of his *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*.

C.—PAGE 11.

“It is a fair question, indeed, how far the blessed rest secured by the Jewish Sabbath was at all connected with PUBLIC worship?”

See as to this, *Vitringa, De Synagoga vetere libri tres*,—Lib. I., p. 2, cap. 2, and Michaelis, *ut sup.*, Art. 52.

D.—PAGE 12.

“I mean Mr. Begg.”

See “*An Examination of the Authority for a Change of the Weekly Sabbath at the Resurrection of Christ, proving that the practice of the Church, in Substituting the First Day of the Week for the appointed Seventh Day, is unsanctioned by the New Testament Scriptures.*”—By James A. Begg. Glasgow, 1850. Pp. 156.

E.—PAGE 12.

“In a hundred things we do on Sunday what it would have been unlawful for the pious Jew to have done on his Sabbath.”

This needs no proof; but I cannot resist publishing the following very striking letter, which I have received, since my speech was delivered, from one who was for some time a missionary in India, and which will illustrate some of the effects of our practice in this respect:—

“REV. SIR,—I have been listening, with some interest, to the discussions in which you have been engaged in this much-talked-of Sabbath-question; and as I have had a pretty good opportunity of seeing round me for many years, in foreign lands, I think it right to say to you what I think as to the effect of binding down the heathen and others to the Decalogue, as such.

“Take, for instance, the natives of India, where the Church of our fathers has been labouring for many years. I have been myself, and I know many others have been, likewise, much puzzled with the strange inconsistency between the precept and practice of our ministers and missionaries; and so have the natives, though they possess enough of their oriental cunning, to keep even their own masters in the dark as to what they think.

“When they are told, ‘Thus saith the Lord, Thou shalt do no work,’ &c.,

'thou, nor thy man-servant,' &c.,—what so common as to see or bear a group of the domestics sit down on a Sabbath evening, with their Hookah or Chillum, and discuss the pros and cons of precept and example of the padre sahib. They begin with the bishop with his £3000 yearly, the minister with £600 to £1200, the missionary with £200 to £400, and the city missionary with £60 to £150; and what do they say? Just this: that every one of the padre sahibs makes out the list of his own necessities according to his pay (tullup); and that while their masters tell them to do no work on Sabbath, (Etwar,) they compel them to work all night and day, Sabbath and Saturday, in the face of God's command. (Kodah ka hookum.) Now, sir, here is a list of the servants that our good ministers keep in India, just because they are able to keep them. They have their khansamah, kitnutgar, babengee, bearer, coachman, two syees, matther, dhobie, bheestie; and their wives have their ayah. These servants say, 'We have to do the sahib's work (kam) in the house; we have to clean the horses and carriage on Sabbath; and we have to pull the punkah over them in the church for hours, morning and evening; and when they come home, we have to pull the punkah over them all night. The matther must do his work in the bath-room twice a-day, and yet they tell us we must do no work; do they think that this is no work, or does *God give one order* (hookum) for us, and *another for them*? We see the Jews, (Yahudee log,) they will not work themselves on their Saturday (Suneechar), nor make their establishment of servants (Nowkar chacker) work; it is all humbug, (Sub tamash Bhatta he,) God's Word is one, but the padre sahib gives other orders. Who can tell which we are to hear? We (Mussulmans) go to our own musjeed on our own Friday (Joommah), and the Jews have their own caste, but we see this, Christians have more caste than we have, and they cannot agree over them.' Now, sir, I am well aware of the necessities of a hot climate, and the many luxuries that Europeans require there, that never would be thought of here; but, sir, is it necessary to break one command to keep another? I say that there is no luxury that people can afford that should be dispensed with, such as the use of ice in the water, and the punkah night and day, Sabbath and Saturday; but what do these long-headed, clear-sighted Hindoos, Mussulmans, and Gentiles, say on the subject? Is it not, that you are making them do what you tell them it is wrong to do on the Sabbath-day?

"What, sir, I ask, in the name of reason and common-sense, do they know of our interpretation of those two elastic door-posts, necessity and mercy? Do they not see every ecclesiastic, from the highest to the lowest, just stretch them out to answer themselves. Everything is necessary, in India, to counteract the effects of the climate; it is necessary to live in an upper-roomed house, so as to be out of the malaria that rises for 10 or 12 feet above the ground, and all who can, do keep upper-roomed houses; yet how many thousands are there who cannot, and must live on the lower floor; and just so with the punkah-bearer, two or three men are kept, night and day, Sabbath and Saturday, at work, just because it is conducive to comfort in a hot climate.

"But, sir, what has all this got to do with the Fourth Commandment? It gives no license for all this; and the puzzle to the natives is, that they are told that they are to keep it, while they see their teachers break it every week.

"I am aware, sir, that some people have represented the natives of India as a dull, stupid race, and in some respects, this is true; but just ask a lawyer, a merchant, or broker in any of the large towns in India, and *they* will tell you that they, the natives, can split a hair with any of them. And again, sir, those of them who are taught at the missionary school, are not so dull or blind as not to see the palpable contradiction between your Confession of Faith, which says, as Dr. M'Taggart explains it, '*a seventh day*,' and as the Catechism has it, '*the seventh day*.'

"And again, sir, what do these dull, stupid, yet long-headed natives say about the Fourth Commandment as to sea voyages? Just this, that 'God

sends strong winds,' and makes the Christian break His own commands. They are acute enough to see, that those who press home on them the Fourth Commandment, are puzzled in this dilemma; and while the Jewish law is pressed on any man outside the bounds of the Jewish land, the same consequence must follow. There is no permission for sea voyages in that command, and I myself have pressed the subject home on strict Sabbatarians at sea, but had to leave a loop-hole for them to get out of. And I was forced to the conclusion, that it is the *precept* that is at fault, and not the practice. I have seen some good, but strict men, of the old school, spend days and weeks of misery, on account of having to touch a rope on Sabbath, and covering a guilty and condemned conscience, from which they might have been relieved, had they left the Decalogue to the Jews, or given up their work and profession at sea.

"Now, sir, I am aware it will be at once stated that so many good men have been in India, and that none of them ever put this forward before. This, I say, is not true, for it was brought forward twenty years ago in the southern parts of India, and much was said on both sides. But I must confess, it was very painful to see the miserable shifts to which some were driven, when their own inconsistencies were hurled in their face; who came down with an anathema maranatha on all who scouted the idea of being bound by a law, which the ministers and missionaries themselves break every Sabbath.

"Any man in India may, if he wishes, hear the opinion of the natives on this, if he can speak to them, and if *they* are not afraid of him. Of course it requires some tact and skill to ingratiate yourself into their feelings; but once that is effected, you may get any information you want. But for want of that tact, you may live fifty years among them and remain ignorant.

"Again, sir, they can see, in some town in India, the representatives of as many, if not more, nations than were collected on the day of Pentecost; and they see that every caste has its own Sabbath; and in none of these do they see such flat contradictions as with our strict Sabbatarians, who keep the first day of the week, while the Greeks keep the second, the Persians the third, the Assyrians the fourth, the Egyptians the fifth, the Mussulmen the sixth, and the Jews the seventh day of the week.—Trusting you will excuse me my taking up so much of your time, I remain, yours truly."

F.—PAGE 14.

"I state the fact only as it illustrates the feelings and practices of thousands in the North regarding the Lord's-day."

The following letter from the *Scotsman* of November 25, 1865, confirms the truth of the story referred to, while at the same time it gives a better version of it:—

"Edinburgh, 23rd November, 1865.

"SIR,—Dr. Macleod, in his great speech before the Glasgow Presbytery lately, referred, in illustration of his subject, to an incident regarding a ham, which, from his seeming not to know the circumstances connected with it particularly, was ineffectively told, and consequently has since been the occasion of a great deal of jeering remark. The story, however, is a good one, and it is simply this:—Several gentlemen had taken for a few weeks certain salmon and trout fishings in the Lews, and before proceeding thither, they were given to understand that, as the inn at Colarnish—the only place of up-putting at their command—was miserably provided with all sorts of things in the shape of edibles, they would require to take with them a supply of bread, potatoes, beef, &c. Amongst other such matters was a large Yorkshire ham. On the Sunday, when the party had done breakfast, the innkeeper came to them and put the question as to 'What they would like for dinner that day?' when one of them replied, 'You had better cut the ham in two, and boil one-half for dinner; the other half may be kept for boiling for breakfast.' 'Ay,' replied mine host; 'but how

would you like it cuttit?' 'Oh,' replied the speaker for the party, 'cut the flesh to the bone with a knife, and then take a saw and saw the bone.' 'Well, gentlemen,' rejoined the innkeeper, 'I have no objection to use a knife on the Sabbath-day, but I could not use a saw.' 'Have you got a saw in the house?' 'Yes,' 'Bring it if you please.' And so the saw was brought, and the worthy innkeeper—for a worthy man he is—cut the flesh with a knife; and though he could not conscientiously saw the bone himself, he held the two ends of the same, while the individual who mentioned the circumstance to me did so to the satisfaction of all parties.—I am, &c.,

DRAWING THE LINE."

It would be a most ungracious task to select from the records of northern presbyteries, or of southern ones either, the innumerable examples of that spirit of Judaism which, so long as the Church had the power of civil coercion, made the Scottish Sabbath truly a day of pains and penalties. But I cannot refrain from referring to a confirmation of my remarks, furnished by the evidence of a witness,—a solicitor in Inverness, on an investigation before the Presbytery of Inverness of a charge, to which I will not further refer here,—not, be it remembered, in the seventeenth, nor yet in the eighteenth century, but in the week following that in which this speech was delivered. I quote from the *Glasgow Herald* of 24th November:—

"I meant," said the witness, referring to a remark he had previously made, "that from my long residence in Inverness, and being a native of it, and consequently pretty well acquainted with the views of the people, that many have peculiar notions about what the conduct of a minister ought to be."

"Do you mean on a Saturday night, as this was?"—"Not particularly so; but I know of some people here who have conscientious objections against a minister going to the Post Office, or even being outside his own door, on a Saturday."

Since my speech was delivered, I have received the following letter on one of the points as to which I have been accused of exaggeration:—

"Melfort, 9th December, 1865.

"MY DEAR DR. MACLEOD,

"Shortly after your speech on the Sabbath question at the meeting of the Glasgow Presbytery, I was in company with three West Highland ministers of the Established Church, to whom I expressed my doubts as to the correctness of your assertion, that a considerable number of ministers abstained from shaving on Sundays, from conscientious motives. To my great surprise, I found that two out of the three themselves performed the operation overnight, for fear of breaking the Sabbath; and the third mentioned, that when he was a student, he was found fault with for not having a close-shaven chin on Monday,—the inference being, that as he had not shaved on that day, he probably had done so on the one immediately preceding.—

Yours sincerely,

A. M. CAMPBELL."

G.—PAGE 14.

"Things have been done, within our memories, by clergy, magistrates, and police, in the way of interfering with others, which, thanks to public opinion, would not be tolerated now."

In the west of Scotland, the custom of perambulating the streets in quest of Sabbath-breakers, seems to have continued to a later date than elsewhere in Scotland. (See passages cited in Cox's *Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties*, p. 312, note.) The late Rev. Dr. M'Farlane, of Renfrew, gave the following evidence as to this before Sir Andrew Agnew's Committee, (Question 3693):

—"It is an old Scottish practice," says he, "which I have heard often spoken of by those who lived a generation before me, and of which I have also heard much from the members of my own Church, when I was a minister in one of the suburbs of Glasgow. Elders of our churches were, at the period to which I refer, accustomed to walk the streets in towns, two and two in turns, during the hours of divine service, to take notice of children or disorderly persons strolling about, and to attempt, by moral suasion, to induce them to go to their houses, or to go to church; and if those means were inefficient, *they were handed over to the civil magistrate.* This practice continued till, from an increase of population, an increase of vice, and a growing want of support on the part of the magistrates, it was gradually given up; and I am not aware at this moment whether any society of the description now given exists in Scotland; but I believe, from the accounts I have had, that they did continue to exist till within a dozen years ago. I ought to have added, that this was not confined to the elders of the church, but that well-disposed individuals associated with them, took turn with them, and carried into effect those objects."

H.—PAGE 15.

"Our own General Assembly, as late as 1834—I quote second-hand—in a Pastoral addressed to our churches, declared walking on Sunday to be 'an impious encroachment on one of the inalienable prerogatives of the Lord's-day.'"

Dr. Hill writes to the Glasgow *Herald* of 29th November, that I am in error here, though the quotation he himself gives from the Pastoral is, I submit, proof that I am right. Here is the passage to which I referred,—*Acts of the General Assembly*, p. 1164:—

"With deep concern we have learned, that in various parts of the country there has been, for a number of years past, a great increase of unnecessary travelling on the Lord's-day, both for purposes of business and amusement; that shops have been kept open on that day for the sale of provisions and other articles of traffic; that multitudes, forgetful of their most sacred duties and their immortal interests, have become accustomed to *wander in the fields*, to frequent scenes of recreation, or to spend their time in riot and drunkenness, and other immoralities. . . . As the Lord God has appropriated the Sabbath to himself, it is an impious encroachment on His inalienable prerogative to attempt to convert it either into a day of business or a day of idleness and pastime. . . . Knowing the terrors of the Lord, we would persuade and adjure the hardened, by all that is bitter in remorse, by all that is intolerable in an awakened and unpurified conscience, by all that is fearful on the deathbed of impenitence, by all that is scorching in the frown of an unreconciled Judge, by all that is repulsive in the fellowship of accursed spirits, by all that is wofully agonizing in the gnawing of the worm that dieth not, and in the fire that is not quenched, to awaken from the dream of guilty insensibility, and to flee from the wrath to come to the hope set before them in the Gospel."

The above, it must be admitted, gives a sad picture of the state of Scotland,—a state of things, be it remembered, which (if it *was* actually as bad as here described) was produced in this country, notwithstanding the prevalent teaching as to Sabbath observance. But may it not be questioned whether any but bad results can follow from classing together "wandering in the fields" with "spending time in riot and drunkenness, and other immoralities?"

The speakers who took part against me in the Presbytery, spoke out so generally against this prohibition of breathing God's air on God's own day, that nothing need be said here on that subject now. I add the

words of one whose name is dear to all God's people in England and in Scotland,—Charles Simeon,—because they are weighty, not only on this head, but on others touched upon in my speech:—

“In my own personal habit I am as strict as most; but in my judgment, as before God, I think that many religious characters—Ministers as well as others—are in error. I think that many Judaize too much, and that they would have joined the Pharisees in condemning our Lord on many occasions. But I would have you remark this: I do not think that they err in acting up to their own principles, (*there they are right*;) but that they err in making their own standard a standard for all others. This is a prevailing evil among religious persons. They will in effect argue thus:—‘I do not walk out on a Sabbath-day, *therefore* an artisan may not walk out into the fields for an hour on that day.’ They forget that the poor man is confined all the rest of the week, which they are not: and that they themselves will walk in their own garden when the poor have no garden to walk in. Now in this I do not think that they act towards others, as they, in a change of circumstances, would think it right for others to act towards them: and if your brother will limit his refreshment to such a relaxation as is necessary for health, or materially conducive to it, I shall agree with him, and shall rank this amongst works of necessity or of charity. Again, I am not prepared to utter either anathemas or lamentations if Ministers of State occasionally, in a time of great pressure of public business, and in a quiet way, avail themselves of an hour or two for conference with each other on that day. I do not commend it; but I do not condemn it. They cannot command their own times. Public affairs may be full as pressing, and may call for immediate conference, as much as an ox or an ass for deliverance from a pit into which it has fallen; and I think that love to one's country may justify a deviation from a ritual observance of the Sabbath, as much as love or pity for a beast. In fact, if the most scrupulous will examine the frame of their own minds, and the real spirituality of their own conversation for two or three hours on some part of the Sabbath, they will find but little right, whatever their disposition be, to cast a stone at a poor man with his family, or at a Minister of State with his compeers. Again, I say, *they may be right*; but the others who think and act differently are not *therefore wrong*. Those who ate, and those who refused to eat, meat offered to idols, were *both right* if they acted to the Lord, as were those also who observed, and those who did not observe, certain days, which, under the Jewish dispensation, were actually prescribed. I will tell you what I consider the perfect rule: let all judge for themselves in relation to the ritual observance of such matters; the strong not despising the weak, and the weak forbearing to sit in judgment on the strong. This will be the surest and best discharge of the duty of all parties whether to *God* or *man*: to God, who has said, ‘I will have mercy and not sacrifice;’ and to man, who should be left to stand or fall to his own Master.”—*Life*, p. 292-4.

I.—PAGE 15.

“*Can we let young children amuse themselves in any way on Sunday?—No. Why?—The Fourth Commandment.*”

The following passage is from a sermon by Dr. Chalmers, preached in the church where my speech was delivered:—

“Certain it is that the Sabbath-day may be made to wear an aspect of great gloom and great ungainliness, with each hour having its own irksome punctuality attached to it; and when the weary formalist, labouring to acquit himself in full tale and measure of all his manifold observations, is either sorely fatigued in the work of filling up the unvaried routine, or is sorely oppressed in conscience, should there be the slightest encroachment either on its regularity or on its entireness. We may follow him through his Sabbath history, and mark how, in the spirit of bondage, this drivelling slave plies

at an unceasing task, to which, all the while, there is a secret dissatisfaction in his own bosom, and with which he lays an intolerable penance on his whole family. He is clothed in the habiliments of seriousness, and holds out the aspect of it; but never was aspect more unpromising or more unlovely. And, in this very character of severity, is it possible for him to move through all the stages of Sabbath observancy—first, to eke out his morning hour of solitary devotion; and then to assemble his household to the psalms, and the readings, and the prayers, which are all set forth in due and regular celebration; and then, with stern parental authority, to muster, in full attendance for church, all the children and domestics who belong to him; and then, in his compressed and crowded pew, to hold out, in complete array, the demureness of spirit that sits upon his own countenance, and the demureness of constraint that sits on the general face of his family; and then, to follow up the public services of the day by an evening, the reigning expression of which shall be that of strict, unbending austerity, when the exercises of patience, and the exercises of memory, and a confinement that must not be broken from even for the tempting air and beauty of a garden, and the manifold other interdicts that are laid on the vivacity of childhood, may truly turn every Sabbath as it comes round into a periodical season of sufferance and dejection. And thus, instead of being a preparation of love and joy for a heaven of its own likeness, may all these proprieties be discharged for no other purpose than that of pacifying the jealousies of a God of vengeance, and working out a burdensome acquittal from the exactions of this hard and unrelenting task-master.”—*Congregational Sermons*. Sermon XIII., vol ii., pp. 274-275.

K.—PAGE 19.

“*I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage,*”—a blessed deliverance indeed, but which does not apply to us as Gentiles.”

I spoke almost in the words of Luther, though not so strongly—

“The Ten Commandments,” writes the Reformer, “do not apply to us Gentiles and Christians, but only to the Jews. If a preacher wishes to force you back to Moses, ask him whether you were brought by Moses out of Egypt? If he says, No; then say, How, then, does Moses concern me, since he speaks to the people that have been brought out of Egypt? In the New Testament Moses comes to an end, and his laws lose their force. He must bow in the presence of Christ.”—Luther on the *Ten Commandments*, quoted by Hengstenberg *On the Lord's-day*, p. 62.

Again, “We must stop the mouths of the factious spirits who say, ‘Thus says Moses.’ Then do you reply, Moses does not concern us. If I accept Moses in one commandment, I must accept the whole Moses. In that case I should be obliged to be circumcised, and to wash my clothes in a Jewish manner, and to eat and drink, and dress, and do everything of this kind in the manner in which the Jews are commanded to do these in the law. Therefore we will not obey Moses, nor accept him. Moses died, and his covenant terminated when Christ came.”

And again, “The words of Scripture prove clearly to us that the Ten Commandments do not affect us; for God has not brought us out of Egypt, but only the Jews.”—*Instructions to Christians how to make use of Moses*.—*Lutheri Opera*, III., 63. Jena, 1603.

So Archbishop Whately, in his *Fifth Essay on some of the Difficulties in the Writings of St. Paul*.—

“The very law itself indicates, on the face of it, that the whole of its precepts were intended for the Israelites exclusively, (on which supposition they cannot of course be, by their own authority, binding on Christians,) not only from the intermixture of civil and ceremonial precepts with moral, but from the very terms in which even these last are delivered. For instance, there cannot be any duties more clearly of universal obligation than

that of the worship of the one true God alone, and that of honouring parents; yet the precepts for both of these are so delivered as to address them to the children of Israel exclusively: 'I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage; thou shalt have none other gods but Me.' And again, 'Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.'

L.—PAGE 19.

"The promise annexed to the Fifth Commandment is local and temporal."

So John Selden—*Table-talk*, p. 195. Irving's Edit., Edin. 1854.

"Why should I think all the Fourth Commandment belongs to me, when all the Fifth does not? What land will the Lord give me for honouring my father? It was spoken to the Jews with reference to the land of Canaan; but the meaning is, if I honour my parents, God will also bless me. We read the Commandments in the Church-service, as we do David's Psalms, not that all there concerns us, but a great deal of them does."

Dr. P. Doddridge—*Pneumatology*, v. ii., p. 361, Lect. 198. Scholium 3. Lond. 1794:—

"Nevertheless we allow, that the observation of the Sabbath is not to be urged as of universal obligation, merely because it is to be found in the Jewish Decalogue, and that its place there only obliged the Jews; since, in the preface to those Ten Commandments, their deliverance from Egypt is urged as a reason for observing them, and the Fifth Commandment is enforced by promises peculiar to the Jews: not to insist on the addition (Dent. v. 15) which is probably to be considered as the words of Moses, not of God, and a comment on the Fourth Commandment, rather than a part of it."

Dr. Whewell—*Elements of Morality*, B. III., ch. xvi.:—

"The Ten Commandments are not binding upon Christians because they are parts of the law of Moses, but because they are part of the moral law. *Thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit adultery;* are precepts which do not derive their authority from any special command, but from the moral nature God has given to man. There are parts of the Ten Commandments which are merely arbitrary, or local, or temporary, and apply only to the ancient Jews. Such is the reason given in the fifth command, *that thy days, &c.*; such is the command of absolute abstinence from labour on the Sabbath; such is the selection of the seventh day of the week for the day of rest, if that selection is really included in the command."

M.—PAGE 20.

"It is the Decalogue, viewed in this aspect, . . . which I presume to think has been ABROGATED by being nailed to Christ's cross."

Much has been said of my use of this expression. It is simply amazing to me that my meaning could have for a moment been misunderstood by any one. I have already quoted Baxter (who uses the same word, and in the very same sense) in the text, and can add nothing to his defence against the same Antinomianism with which I have been so unsparingly charged, and with which Luther, for exactly the same offence, (see Appendix K,) was charged before him. I may, however, quote the following from Archbishop Whately, who, though I differ from him on other parts of the question, ably argues out this point, on which we are at one:—

"It cannot be denied that he, Paul, does speak, frequently and strongly, of the termination of the Mosaic law, and of the exemption of Christians from its obligations, without ever limiting and qualifying the assertion,—without even hinting at a distinction between one part which is abrogated, and another which remains in full force. It cannot be said that he had in

his mind the Ceremonial law alone, and was alluding merely to the abolition of that; for in the very passages in question, he makes such allusions to *sin*, as evidently shew that he had the *moral* law in his mind; as, for instance, where he says, 'The law was added because of transgressions:—'by the law was the knowledge of sin;' with many other such expressions. And it is remarkable, that even when he seems to feel himself pressed with the mischievous practical consequences which either had been, or he is sensible might be, drawn from his doctrines, he never attempts to guard against these by limiting his original assertion;—by declaring that though part of the law was at an end, still, part continued to be binding; but he always inculcates the necessity of moral conduct on some *different* ground: For instance, 'What shall we say, then? Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound? God forbid!' He does not then add, that a part of the Mosaic law remains in force; but urges this consideration, 'How shall we, who are dead to sin, live any longer therein? Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into His death? Therefore we are buried with Him by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life.' 'Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with Him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we *should not serve sin.*' And again, 'Shall we sin because we are not under the law, but under grace? God forbid! Know ye not that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey? whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness.' 'Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness.' And such also is his tone in every passage relating to the same subject.

'Now, let us but adopt the obvious interpretation of the Apostle's words, and admit the entire abrogation, according to him, of the Mosaic law; concluding that it was originally designed for the Israelites alone, and that its dominion over *them* ceased when the Gospel-system was established: and we shall find that this concession does not go a step towards introducing the Antinomian conclusion, that moral conduct is not required of Christians. For it is evident that the natural distinctions of right and wrong, which conscience points out, must remain where they were. These distinctions, not having been introduced by the Mosaic law, cannot, it is evident, be overthrown by its removal; any more than the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem implied the destruction of the Mount Zion whereon it was built. The Apostle does indeed speak, in some passages, of the law as having been a guide and instructor in matters of morality; as where he says, 'I had not known sin but by the law;' but that this must not be understood, in the fullest extent, as implying that no moral obligation could exist, or could be understood, independent of the Mosaic revelation, is evident, not only from the nature of the case, but from his own remarks in the same epistle, relative to 'the Gentiles, which have not the law,' being capable of '*doing by nature* the things contained in the law their *conscience* also bearing witness, and their thoughts accusing or else excusing one another;' and of their '*knowing*' (in cases where they committed sin) 'that they who do such things are worthy of death.' To say, therefore, that no part of the Jewish law is binding on Christians, is very far from leaving them at liberty to disregard all moral duties. For, in fact, the very definition of a *moral* duty, *implies* its universal obligation independent of all *enactment*. The precepts respecting sacrifices, for instance, and other ceremonial observances, we call *positive* ordinances; meaning, that the things in question become *duties* because they were *commanded*:—the commandment to love one's neighbour as oneself, on the contrary, we call a *moral* precept, on the very ground that this was a thing *commanded* because it was *right*. And it is evident, that what was right or wrong in itself before the law existed, must remain such after it is abrogated. Before the commandments to do no murder, and to honour one's parents, had been delivered from Mount Sinai, Cain was cursed for killing his brother, and Ham for dishonouring his father; which crimes,

therefore, could not cease to be such, at least, as any consequence of the abolition of that law.

“Nor need it be feared, that to proclaim an exemption from the Mosaic law should leave men without any moral guide, and at a loss to distinguish right and wrong: since, after all, the light of reason is that to which every man *must* be left, in the interpretation of that very law. For Moses, it should be remembered, did not write three distinct books, one of the Ceremonial law, one of the Civil, and a third of the Moral; nor does he hint at any such distinction. When, therefore, any one is told that a *part* of the Mosaic precepts are binding on us, viz., the *moral* ones, and if he ask *which* are the Moral precepts, and how to distinguish them from the Ceremonial and the Civil, with which they mingled, the answer must be, that his conscience, if he consult it honestly, will determine that point. So far, consequently, from the moral precepts of the law being, to the Christian, necessary as a guide to his judgment in determining *what* is right and wrong, on the contrary this moral judgment is necessary to determine *what* are the *moral* precepts of Moses.

“The study, indeed, of the moral law of Moses is profitable for instruction, and may serve to aid our judgment in some doubtful cases that may occur; provided we are careful to bear in mind all the circumstances under which each precept was delivered. For there is a presumption that what was commanded or prohibited by Moses, is right or wrong in itself, *unless some reason can be assigned*, which makes our case at present different from that of the Israelites;—some circumstance of distinction, which either leaves us more at large than they, or (as is oftener the case) calls for a higher and purer moral practice from us. But to consult a code of moral precepts for *instruction*, is very different from referring to that as a *standard*, and rule of conduct.

“If the notion, then, that such as are not under the Mosaic law, are, on that account, exempt from all moral obligations, be rejected as utterly groundless, and if, consequently, no practical danger or absurdity be involved in the supposition of that law being fully abrogated, the conclusion that it *is* so abrogated will hardly be any longer open to doubt; being evidently the most agreeable to the Apostle’s expressions in their obvious, natural, and unrestrained sense.”—Essay V., *ut supra*.

And in a note he adds:—

“I am inclined to believe that one reason which makes some persons reluctant to acknowledge the total abolition of the Mosaic law, is the notion that the sanctity of the ‘Christian Sabbath’ depends on the Fourth Commandment, and that, consequently, the reverence due to the Lord’s-day would be destroyed, or impaired, by our admitting the Ten Commandments to be no longer binding. But a little reflection will satisfy any candid mind that there is no ground for any such suspicion, and that all the various opinions respecting the Lord’s-day, however irreconcilable with each other, are all perfectly reconcilable with the belief of the abrogation of the Mosaic Law.”

Dr. Arnold—*Life*, i., p. 355 (Ed. 1844):—

“It is not that we may pick and choose what commandments we like to obey, but, as all the commandments have no force upon us *as such*,—that is, as positive and literal commands addressed to ourselves,—it is only a question how far each commandment is applicable to us,—that is, how far we are in the same circumstances with those to whom it was given.” And again, (L. 366,)—“Although I think that the whole law is done away with, so far as it is the law given on Mount Sinai; yet, so far as it is the law of the Spirit, I hold it to be all binding; and believing that our need of a Lord’s-day is as great as ever it was, and that, therefore, its observance is God’s will, and is likely, so far as we see, to be so to the end of time, I should think it most mischievous to weaken the respect paid to it.”

Dr. George Cook—*General and Historical View of Christianity*, vol. ii., ch. 10, pp. 286–287.

“The Sabbath, as thus defined in the Decalogue, continued so long as the

Mosaical dispensation was obligatory; but it cannot have escaped any attentive reader of the Gospel, that whilst our Saviour, on the seventh-day, attended the Synagogue, and thus shewed His veneration for the authority by which it was hallowed, He on many occasions placed the spirit of the institution more prominently in view than the letter of it, doing without hesitation what the Pharisees, and those who affected peculiar strictness and holiness, considered as profaning the Sabbath. It inculcated the infinite value of mercy above sacrifice, explicitly declaring that the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath. When by His death,—which was the fulfilment of all that had been shadowed forth under the Jewish dispensation,—that dispensation was done away, the appointment of the Sabbath, that is, of a specific day for the service of God, and of a specific mode in which it was to be observed, ceased; these were comprehended under that handwriting of ordinances which was blotted out; the Apostle upon one occasion saying, ‘Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of a holy-day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath-day, which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is Christ.’”

Dr. Reichel, in his notes to a very able sermon preached in Dublin in 1856, defends himself from an accusation similar in many respects to that brought against myself:—

“The evils,” he writes, “that have arisen from the exaggerated view generally taken of the Decalogue (as a supposed summary of the moral law), and which have been sanctioned by unreflecting reverence and unquestioned custom, may teach us how dangerous it is to yield to the temptation of giving a reason which is not true, but which the person to whom it is addressed will fancy to be true. Appeals to the Sabbath-command of the Decalogue in favour of the observance of the Lord’s-day, and of all church festivals, were originally made in the middle ages by Romish divines, who knew that those whom they wished to influence were too ignorant to draw the distinction between the moral and the ceremonial parts of the Decalogue, and could not therefore detect the fallacy of these appeals. This habit of appealing to the Decalogue in its turn countenanced the idea that it was a summary of the moral law; and this being once assumed as an unquestionable fact, ‘Sabbath observance,’ in spite of its evidently ceremonial nature, was boldly asserted to be a part of the moral law! Thus arose a perfect confusion of mind on the subject of the nature of a moral as distinguished from a ceremonial precept; an evil so great that it may be seriously questioned whether it do not more than counterbalance the advantage of reciting the Decalogue in the Communion Service; and whether it would not have been wiser to introduce into the service instead of the Decalogue ‘the two great commandments’ from which the Decalogue itself is derived, as was actually proposed at the Revolution of 1688.”—*The Lord’s-day not the Sabbath*. By Charles Parsons Reichel, D.D., late Donellan Lecturer to the University of Dublin. Dub. 1859.

N.—PAGE 25.

“Many of our greatest thinkers and best commentators have been unable to find any evidence for this primeval Sabbath.”

I subjoin a few illustrations:—

Justyn Martyr.—“All these men before-named, (Adam, Enoch, Noah, Melchizedek, and Lot,) pleased God without observing the Sabbath; and after them, Abraham and all his posterity to the time of Moses.”—*Dialogue with Typho*. Therlby’s edit. 1722, p. 147. “If before Abraham there was no custom of circumcision, nor before Moses of celebrating the Sabbath—is there any need of these things?”—*Ib.*, 183. “As, therefore, circumcision took its rise from Abraham, and the Sabbath and sacrifices, and offerings and festivals, (which, it hath been proved, were ordained on account of your

people's hardness of heart,) took their rise from Moses; so was it proper that these things should, according to the counsel of the Father, come to an end in Him, the Son of God, Jesus Christ."—*Ib.*, p. 222.

Irenæus.—"Abraham, without circumcision, and without observance of Sabbath, believed in God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness, and he was called the friend of God."—*Contra Hæres.*, IV. 16.

Tertullian.—"Since God ordained that Adam should be neither circumcised nor an observer of the Sabbath, so he commanded Adam's son, Abel, when offering sacrifices to Him, though Abel was uncircumcised, and not an observer of the Sabbath;" and then he goes on to shew that neither Noah, Enoch, Melchizedek, Lot, nor Abraham, kept the Sabbath, and yet were approved of by God.—*Contra Judæos*, Rigault's edit., Paris, 1675, p. 185.

Eusebius.—"As the name Christian is intended to indicate this very idea, that a man, by the knowledge and doctrine of Christ, is distinguished by modesty and justice, by patience and a virtuous fortitude, and by a profession of piety towards the one and only true and supreme God, all this was no less studiously cultivated by them (the patriarchs, from Adam to Abraham) than by us. They did not, therefore, regard circumcision, nor observe the Sabbath; nor do we; neither do we abstain from certain foods, nor regard other injunctions which Moses subsequently delivered to be observed in types and symbols, because such things as these do not belong to Christians."—*Eccles. Hist.*, Cruse's transl., p. 46.

Archbishop Branch.—"We find (from Adam to Moses) oblations, and priests, and sacrifices, and choirs, and oratories, and prayers, and thanksgivings, and vows, and whatsoever natural religion doth dictate about the service of God; but we find not an instance of the execution of this supposed law of the seventh-day Sabbath."—*On the Sabbath and Lord's-day*, p. 20.

John Bunyan.—"Question II.—Whether the seventh-day Sabbath, as to man's keeping of it holy, was ever made known to, or imposed by a positive precept upon him until the time of Moses? . . . As to the imposing of a seventh-day Sabbath upon men from Adam to Moses, of that we find nothing in Holy Writ, either from precept or example. . . . The seventh day, therefore, was not from Paradise, nor from nature, nor from the Fathers, but from the wilderness and from Sinai."—*Questions about the Nature and Perpetuity of the seventh-day Sabbath, and proof that the first day of the week is the true Christian Sabbath*.—Works, edited by Offer, vol. ii., pp. 363-5. Glasgow, 1853.

John Milton.—"With regard to the Sabbath, it is clear that God hallowed it to himself, and dedicated it to rest, in remembrance of the consummation of His work, (Gen. ii. 2, 3; Exod. xxxi. 17.) Whether its institution was ever made known to Adam, or whether any commandment relative to its observance was given previous to the delivery of the law on Mount Sinai, much less whether any such was given before the fall of man, cannot be ascertained, Scripture being silent on the subject. The most probable supposition is, that Moses, who seems to have written the book of Genesis much later than the promulgation of the law, inserted this sentence from the Fourth Commandment, into what appeared a suitable place for it; where an opportunity was afforded for reminding the Israelites, by a natural and easy transition, of the reason assigned by God, many ages after the event itself, for His command with regard to the observance of the Sabbath by the covenanted people."—*Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, Book I., ch. 10.

Archdeacon Paley.—"In my opinion the transaction in the wilderness, above recited, (Exod. xvi.), was the first actual institution of the Sabbath. For if the Sabbath had been instituted at the time of the creation, as the words in Genesis may seem at first sight to import; and if it had been observed all along from that time to the departure of the Jews out of Egypt, a period of about two thousand five hundred years, it appears unaccountable that no mention of it, no occasion of even the obscurest allusion to it, should occur, either in the general history of the world before the call of Abraham, which contains, we admit, only a few memoirs of its early ages, and those extremely abridged; or, which is more to be wondered at, in that of the lives

of the first three Jewish patriarchs, which in many parts of the account is sufficiently circumstantial and domestic. Nor is there, in the passage above quoted, (he has mentioned Exod. c. xvi.,) any intimation that the Sabbath, when appointed to be observed, was only the revival of an ancient institution, which had been neglected, forgotten, or suspended; nor is any such neglect imputed either to the inhabitants of the Old World, or to any part of the family of Noah; nor, lastly, is any permission recorded to dispense with the institution during the captivity of the Jews in Egypt, or on any other public emergency." And then he proceeds, "The passage in the second chapter of Genesis, which creates the whole controversy on the subject, is not inconsistent with this opinion: for, as the seventh day was erected into a Sabbath, on account of God's resting upon that day from the work of creation, it was natural enough in the historian, when he had related the history of the creation, and of God's ceasing from it on the seventh day, to add, 'And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it, because that on it He had rested from all His work which God had created and made;' although the blessing and sanctification, *i. e.*, the religious distinction and appropriation of that day, were not actually made till many ages afterwards. The words do not assert, that God *then* 'blessed and sanctified' the seventh day, but that He blessed and sanctified it *for that reason*; and if any ask, why the Sabbath, or the sanctification of the seventh day, was *then* mentioned, if it was not *then* appointed? the answer is at hand: the order of connection and not of time introduced the mention of the Sabbath in the history of the subject which it was ordained to commemorate."—*The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, chap. 7.

It would be easy to multiply the above, as any one will see who takes the trouble to consult the index to Mr. Cox's *Literature of the Sabbath Question*. The whole subject is fully discussed in the 4th of Dr. Hessey's *Bampton Lectures*, to which I refer.

O.—PAGE 27.

"What has been said regarding the falling of the manna as a proof of an earlier Sabbath, . . . has received a different, and, in my opinion, a more probable interpretation."

Thus *John Milton*.—"The injunction respecting the celebration of the Sabbath in the wilderness, (Exod. xvi.,) a short time previous to the delivery of the law, namely, that no one should go out to gather manna on the seventh morning, because God had said that he would not rain it from heaven on that day, seems rather to have been intended as a preparatory notice, the groundwork, as it were, of a law for the Israelites, to be delivered shortly afterwards in a clearer manner; they having been previously ignorant of the mode of observing the Sabbath. Compare ver. 5 with ver. 22-30. For the rulers of the congregation, who ought to have been better acquainted than the rest with the commandment of the Sabbath, if any such institution then existed, wondered why the people gathered twice as much on the sixth day, and appealed to Moses; who, then, as if announcing something new, proclaimed to them that the morrow would be the Sabbath. After which, as if he had already related in what manner the Sabbath was for the first time observed, he proceeds, ver. 30, 'so the people rested on the seventh day.' That the Israelites had not so much as heard of the Sabbath before this time, seems to be confirmed by several passages of the prophets. (Ezek. xx. 10-12;) 'I caused them to go forth out of the land of Egypt, and brought them into the wilderness; and I gave them my statutes, and shewed them my judgments. . . . Moreover also I gave them my Sabbaths to be a sign between me and them, that they might know that I am Jehovah that sanctify them.' (Neh. ix. 13, 14;) 'thou camest down also upon Mount Sinai . . . and gavest them right judgments . . . and madest known unto them thy holy Sabbath, and commandedst them precepts, statutes, and laws, by the hand of Moses thy servant.'"—*Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, i., chap. 10.

And Hengstenberg.—“When a double portion fell on the sixth day, (for which God had prepared Moses, though the latter had certainly not mentioned it to the people), the rulers came and told Moses. They are astonished at the providence of God, that they had found a double quantity of manna, and ask what they are to do with it. The reply which Moses makes them, shews us the reason of their bringing him the information. This to them inexplicable occurrence is *first* explained in his reply. *Then* follow directions how to dispose of the surplus. Now, neither of these, the astonishment or the perplexity, could have arisen, if the Sabbath had been already known and observed. We are led to the same conclusion, when we find that, notwithstanding the instructions of Moses, some of the people went out on the Sabbath to gather, shewing how new a thing it was to the people, and how difficult it was at first to conform. And we infer it also from the total absence in the words of Moses of a reference to an already existing Sabbath ordinance. Liebetrut indeed thinks that the words of Moses, ‘This is that which the Lord said,’ shew that the Sabbath was already known, since no such declaration is made in verses 4 and 5. But Moses is not referring here to an earlier declaration of the Lord, but to something actually said by the Lord when pouring out the double portion of manna on the sixth day: ‘This is that which the Lord hath said (by this occurrence), To-morrow is the rest of a holy Sabbath to the Lord.’ No doubt remains then,” says the same writer, “that the Sabbath was first instituted in connection with the whole of the Mosaic economy. ‘The Lord hath given you the Sabbath.’”—Hengstenberg *On the Lord’s-day*, p. 7.

P.—PAGE 27.

“*I am astonished that so much has been made of the word ‘remember.’*”

The compilers of our *Larger Catechism* did not find any difficulty in interpreting this phrase with me:—

“The word *remember* is set in the beginning of the Fourth Commandment, partly, because of the great benefit of remembering it, we being thereby helped in our preparation to keep it, and, in keeping it, better to keep all the rest of the commandments, and to continue a thankful remembrance of the two great benefits of creation and redemption, which contain a short abridgment of religion; and partly, because we are very ready to forget it, for that there is less light of nature for it, and yet it restraineth our natural liberty in things at other times lawful; that it cometh but once in seven days, and many worldly businesses come between, and too often take off our minds from thinking of it, either to prepare for it, or to sanctify it; and that Satan with his instruments much labour to blot out the glory, and even the memory of it, to bring in all irreligion and impiety.”—*Question 121. Nothing here, at least, about a primeval Sabbath.*

Whately, in his *Thoughts on the Sabbath*, p. 13, (3d Ed.), expresses my view with his usual clearness:—“Nor does the expression, ‘remember the Sabbath-day,’ necessarily imply its having been *before* observed; but rather that the precept was one liable to be violated through negligence and *forgetfulness*. We often say, in like manner, ‘remember to call at such a place, at such an hour;’ or ‘remember to deliver this letter,’ &c.; meaning, ‘take care not to forget it.’ It is not said, accordingly, ‘remember not to steal,’ ‘remember to honour your parents.’ &c., though, certainly, *these* precepts must have been always in force; but they are such as no one is likely to violate through forgetfulness.”

Q.—PAGE 27.

“*Another argument in proof of the same position has been adduced from the fact, that the Sabbath, according to Chrisl’s prediction, should continue after His death, when He said, ‘Pray that your flight be not in winter.’*”

Dr. Hessey writes, (Lect. 5).—“In a nation like that of the Jews, in which the fiction of the ‘Sabbath-day’s journey’ prevailed extensively, it

was no doubt considered wrong to assist the traveller, however urgent his errand, in his movements on the Sabbath-day. All possible impediments, therefore, would be thrown in the way of the fugitives, by those who were still zealous for the supposed requirements of the law. They would render them no aid, they would assail with obloquy, if with nothing worse, the violators of the sanctity of the Sabbath. A Roman Satirist asserted of the Jews, that they considered it to be their duty

‘Non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti,
Quæsitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.’

If this were so, they would certainly be yet more uncharitable to those who were in their eyes not merely aliens, but apostates; not merely ignorant of their law, but despisers of it and contributors to its overthrow. What wonder, then, that our blessed Lord, foreseeing that the Sabbath would still exist as a fact, though no longer obligatory as an institution, and would still be cherished by the Jews, should have bid His disciples pray, that their flight be not cast, not merely in the time of winter, but on a day which would expose them to the yet keener blasts of those who would resent a violation of their ancient day of rest. It may be that our Lord foresaw a lingering regard on the part of His disciples for this remnant of the Jewish law, such as we know the Nazarenes long entertained, and that He hinted at what their personal feelings would be. Of this, however, we have no evidence. Perhaps, then, it is safer to conclude that He spoke merely of a certain external circumstance, the averting of which, as its presence would increase their trials, should be made the subject of prayer.”

The same view I find in an old Baptist author of some celebrity in the seventeenth century, Benjamin Keach.—“Therefore this,” says he, “I take to be the direct meaning of our blessed Lord, viz., because on the Jewish Sabbath-day the unbelieving Jews, among whom you will remain (or many of you), when the destruction of the city comes, may be so strict and superstitious as to keep watch and ward at every gate and way, that you will not be able to escape, at least not above one of their Sabbath-day’s journey; therefore pray your flight be not on that day. This is all I can see in this text.”—*The Jewish Sabbath Abrogated*, p. 148.

Well may Hengstenberg write, that if this text were to be taken as in favour of Sabbatical observance, “the Saviour is but helping to build up, what He always aimed to overthrow,—the scruples of the Pharisees with regard to the outward observance of the Sabbath.”—*On the Lord’s-day*, p. 106.

R.—PAGE 28.

“Then, again, it has been strongly urged that the phrase, ‘The Sabbath was made for man,’ proves it to have been for man *as man*, or for humanity.”

My illustration of the drowning man and the gold was suggested by the recollection of a passage in Dr. Hessey’s 4th Lecture:—

“The real question was, Which is the more important,—the Sabbath or man? Which is the more precious in God’s sight, the ordinance or the moral being? which is the end? which is made for the other? Our Lord replies, ‘The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath.’ Just as if a person were about to sacrifice his life for the preservation of his gold,—one would say to him, ‘Gold was made for man, not man for gold.’ This would not of course imply that gold and no other sort of money must necessarily be for ever the medium of commerce. Such might or might not be the case, but it could not be gathered legitimately from the mere terms of the expostulation.”

S.—PAGE 31.

“It is, first of all, adapted to our whole wants as men and as Christians,—
adapted to our wants physically.”

I may refer to M. Proudhon’s Pamphlet, *De la Celebration du Dimanche considéré sous les rapports de l’Hygiène publique, de la Morale, des relations*

de Famille et de Cité, Paris, 1850, where the advantages of the precise proportion of six days of work to one of rest are pointed out. I have not seen this work, which was referred to by Mr. Charteris, but the value of such a testimony is great.

T.—PAGE 35.

The following quotations are intended to shew the views held by the early Reformers and other Protestant divines. It will be observed that some of these writers go far beyond my views :—

Luther.—"God set apart the seventh day, and appointed it to be observed, and commanded that it should be considered holy above all others; and this command, as far as the outward observance is concerned, was given to the Jews alone, that they should abstain from hard labour, and rest, in order that both man and beast might be refreshed, and not be worn out by constant work. Therefore this commandment, literally understood, does not apply to us Christians; for it is entirely outward, like other ordinances of the Old Testament, bound to modes, and persons, and times and customs, all of which are now left free by Christ. But in order that the simple may obtain a Christian view of that which God requires of us in this commandment, observe that we keep a festival, not for the sake of intelligent and advanced Christians, for these have no need of it; but first for the sake of the body, because Nature teaches that the working-classes, servants and maids, who have spent the whole week in their work and occupation, absolutely require a day in which they can leave off work, and rest and refresh themselves; and, chiefly, in order that men may, on such a day of rest, have time and opportunity, such as they could not otherwise have, to attend to the worship of God, that so they may come in crowds, to hear the word of God and practise it, to praise God, and sing, and pray. But this is not bound to any particular time, as with the Jews, so that it must be this day or that; for no day is in itself better than any other, but it ought to be performed daily; only, because this would be impossible to the mass of the people, we must at least devote one day to this purpose. And because Sunday has been appointed from the earliest times, we ought to keep to this arrangement, that all things may be done in harmony and order, and no confusion be caused by unnecessary novelties."—*Luther's Larger Catechism*.—Martin's translation of Hengstenberg *On the Lord's-day*, p. 62.

And again—"As for the Sabbath or Sunday, there is no necessity for its observance; and if we do so, the reason ought to be, not because Moses commanded it, but because Nature likewise teaches us to give ourselves, from time to time, a day's rest, in order that man and beast may recruit their strength, and that we may go and hear the Word of God preached."—*Werke*, 11, 16: quoted in Hazlitt's translation of Michelet's *Life of Luther*, p. 271. Lond., 1846.

Calvin.—Commenting on Galatians iv. 10, "Ye observe days, and months, and years," he remarks. "When certain days are represented as holy in themselves, when one day is distinguished from another on religious grounds, when holy days are reckoned a part of divine worship, then days are improperly observed. The Jewish Sabbath, new moons, and other festivals, were earnestly pressed by the false apostles, because they had been appointed by the law. When we, in the present age, make a distinction of days, we do not represent them as necessary, and thus lay a snare for the conscience; we do not reckon one day to be more holy than another; we do not make days to be the same thing with religion and the worship of God; but merely attend to the preservation of order and harmony. The observance of days among us is a free service, and void of all superstition." And again—"It was not, however, without a reason that the early Christians substituted what we call the Lord's-day for the Sabbath. The resurrection of our Lord being the end and accomplishment of that true rest which the ancient Sabbath typified, this day, by which types were abolished, serves to warn Christians against adhering to a shadowy ceremony. I do not cling so to the

number seven as to bring the Church under bondage to it, nor do I condemn Churches for holding their meetings on other solemn days, provided they guard against superstition. This they will do if they employ those days merely for the observance of discipline and regular order."

Confession of Augsburg, 1530.—"What then is to be thought of the Lord's-day, and the like formalities of public worship? To this it is replied, that bishops or ministers have liberty to appoint forms of proceeding, that everything may go on regularly in the Church; not that by means of them we may merit the remission of our sins, or give satisfaction therefor, or that our consciences may be bound to regard them as necessary acts of worship, and the neglect of them as sinful, when others are not thereby made to stumble. Thus Paul ordains that in the congregation women shall cover their heads, that interpreters be heard in succession in church, and so on. Such regulations it is expedient, for the sake of love and peace, that churches observe so far, that no man may be a stumbling-block to another, and to the end that all things may be done in order and without disturbance in churches; yet so that men's consciences may not be burdened with the notion that these are things necessary to salvation, and that the neglect of them without offence to others is sinful—as nobody will say that a woman sins if, without offence to any, she goes about publicly with her head uncovered. Of this nature is the observation of the Lord's-day, of Easter, Whitsuntide, and the like holidays and ceremonies. For those who think that the observance of the Lord's-day has been appointed by the authority of the Church instead of the Sabbath, as a thing necessary, greatly err. The Scripture allows that we are not bound to keep the Sabbath; for it teaches, that the ceremonies of the law of Moses are not necessary after the revelation of the Gospel. And yet, because it was requisite to appoint a certain day, that the people might know when to assemble together, it appears that the Church appointed for this purpose the Lord's-day, which for this reason also seemed to have pleased the more, that men might have an example of Christian liberty, and might know that the observance, neither of the Sabbath, nor of any other day, is necessary."—*Art. De Potestate Ecclesiastica*, p. 156, Oxford Ed., 1827.

Beza.—"We declare it superstitious," says he, "to believe that one day is more holy than another, and that resting from daily labours is in itself pleasing to God. Nevertheless we keep holy one day in seven, as the Lord has commanded; that is, we devote it entirely to the holding of assemblies and hearing the word of God, but without any Jewish ceremony or foolish superstition; on which account also we follow the custom of the ancient Church, in choosing for that purpose, not the Sabbath, but the Lord's-day."—*Confessio Christianæ Fidei*, cap. v., § 41. And again—"Therefore, the religious assemblies of the Lord's-day are of apostolical and truly divine tradition, yet so that a Judaical rest from all work is by no means to be observed; since this were plainly not to abolish Judaism, but only to change what respected the day. Afterwards, however, cessation from labour was introduced by the Emperor Constantine, as appears from Eusebius and the laws of the emperor in the Code, and was more and more strictly enforced by the succeeding emperors; until at last, what was at first instituted for a good purpose, and is still deservedly retained—namely, that the mind, freed from daily labours, should give itself wholly up to the hearing of the Word of God—came to degenerate into mere Judaism, or rather, the vainest will-worship, innumerable other holy-days having been added to it."—*Note on Rev. i. 10.*

Archbishop Cranmer.—"And here note, good children, that the Jews in the Old Testament were commanded to keep the Sabbath-day; and they observed it every seventh-day, called the Sabbath or Saturday. But we Christian men in the New Testament are not bound to such commandments of Moses' law concerning differences of times, days, and meats, but have liberty and freedom to use other days for our sabbath-days, therein to hear the Word of God, and to keep a holy rest."—*A short Instruction into Christian Religion, being a Catechism set forth by Archbishop Cranmer, in 1558*, p. 40. Oxford, 1829.

John Knox.—"We confess and acknowledge, that God has given to man his holy law, in which not only are forbidden all such works which offend and displease his Godly Majesty, but also are commanded all such as please him, and as he hath promised to reward. And these works be of two sorts: the one are done to the honour of God, the other to the profit of our neighbours, and both have the revealed will of God for their assurance. To have one God; to worship and honour him; to call upon him in all our troubles; to reverence his holy name; to hear his Word; to believe the same; to communicate with his holy sacraments;—are the works of the First Table. To honour father, mother, princes, rulers, and superior powers; to love them; to support them, yea, to obey their charges (not repugning to the commandment of God); to save the lives of innocents; to repress tyranny; to defend the oppressed; to keep our bodies clean and holy; to live in sobriety and temperance; to deal justly with all men, both in word and in deed; and finally, to repress all appetite of our neighbour's hurt;—are the good works of the Second Table, which are most pleasing and acceptable unto God, as those works that are commanded by himself."—*First Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland*, A.D. 1560, chap. 16.—*Knox's Works*, ii., p. 107. (Edin., 1848.) I quote this for the remarkable omission of anything bearing on the Fourth Commandment, except the duty of hearing the word and communicating.

Grotius, 1645.—"Referring to Eusebius for proof, that Constantine, besides suspending labour on Sunday, enacted that the people should not be brought before the tribunals on Saturday, which was long observed by the primitive Christians for religious meetings." He adds, that this "refutes those who think that the Lord's-day was substituted for the Sabbath—a thing nowhere mentioned either by Christ or his apostles. And the Apostle, when he says that Christians are not to be judged in respect of Sabbaths or New Moons (Col. ii. 16,) shews them to be free from the law of resting from labour; which freedom would be none at all if the law remained in force, with merely a change of the day."—*Opera omnia*, 1679, vol. i. p. 45.

Jeremy Taylor.—"The primitive Church kept both the Sabbath and the Lord's-day till the time of the Laodicean Council, about three hundred years after Christ's nativity, and almost in every thing made them equal; and, therefore, did not esteem the Lord's-day to be substituted in the place of the obliterated Sabbath, but a feast celebrated by great reason and perpetual consent, without precept or necessary Divine injunction. But the liberty of the Church was great: they found themselves disobliged from that strict and necessary rest which was one great part of the Sabbatic rites; only they were glad of the occasion to meet often for offices of religion, and the day served well for the gaining and facilitating the conversion of the Jews, and for the honourable sepulture of the synagogue, it being kept so long, like the forty days' mourning of Israel for the death of their father Jacob."—*Life of Jesus*, ii. 12, Disc. 10. And again—"The Jewish Sabbath being abrogated, the Christian liberty, like the sun after the dispersion of the clouds, appeared in its full splendour: and then the division of days ceased, and one day was not more holy than another, as St. Paul disputes in his Epistle to the Galatians (Gal. iv. 10), and from him St. Jerome (*in hunc locum*;) and when St. Paul reproved the Corinthians for going to law before the unbelievers, who kept their court-days upon the first day of the week, he would not have omitted to reprove them by so great and weighty a circumstance as the profaning the Lord's-day, in case it had been then a holy day, either of Divine or apostolical institution; for when, afterwards, it grew into an ecclesiastical law, and either by law or custom was observed together with the Jewish Sabbath, Constantine (*apud Euseb.*) made a favourable edict, that the Christian should not be impleaded on those two festivals. Of which I only make use to this purpose, that among the Gentiles these were law-days; and therefore the Corinthians must needs have been profaners of that day by their law suits, and therefore have been, upon that account, obnoxious to the apostolical rod, if the day had then, in any sense of authority, been esteemed holy."—*Ductor Dubitantium*, ii., ch. 2, Rule 6, § 54.

John Bunyan.—"From all this, therefore, I conclude that there is a difference to be put between the morality of the law, and the ministration of it upon Sinai. The law, as to its morality, was before; but as to *this* ministration, it was not till the Church was with Moses, and he with the angels on Mount Sinai in the wilderness. Now in the law, as moral, we conclude a time propounded, but no seventh-day Sabbath enjoined. But in that law, as thus ministered,—which ministration is already out of doors,—we find a seventh day; that seventh day on which God rested, on which God rested from all His works, enjoined. What is it then? Why the whole ministration as written and engraven in stones being removed, the seventh-

day Sabbath must also be removed; for that the *time*, nor yet the *day*, was as to our holy Sabbath, or rest, moral; but imposed with that whole ministration, as such, upon the Church, until the time of reformation: which time being come, this ministration, as I said, as such, ceaseth; and the whole law, as to the morality of it, is delivered into the hand of Christ, who imposes it now also; but not as a law of works, nor as that ministration written and engraven in stones, but as a rule of life to those that have believed in Him. (1 Co. ix. 21.) So then, that law is still moral, and still supposes, since it teaches that there is a God, that time must be set apart for His Church to worship Him in, according to that will of His that He had revealed in His word. But though by that law *time* is required, yet by that, as moral, the time never was prefixed. The time, then, of old was appointed by such a ministration of that law as we have been now discoursing of; and when that ministration ceaseth, that time did also vanish with it. And now by our new lawgiver, the Son of God, He being 'Lord also of the Sabbath-day,' we have a time prefixed, as the law of nature requireth, a *new day*, by him who is the Lord of it; I say, appointed, wherein we may worship, not in the oldness of that letter written and engraven in stones, but according to, and most agreeing with, His New and Holy Testament."—*Questions on the Seventh-day Sabbath, ut supra*, pp. 337-8.

Dr. Isaac Barrow.—"Seeing, therefore, the observation of the Sabbath is expressed to have a peculiar respect to the children of Israel, as a sign of the covenant made with them when He led them out of Egypt; seeing, in its own nature, it differeth from the rest of the 'Ten Laws,' the obligation thereto being not, discernibly to natural light, grounded in the reason of the thing, we can nowise be assured that an universal and perpetual obligation thereto was intended, or that its obligation did extend further than to the Jews, to whom it was as a formal law delivered, and upon special considerations severely inculcated; to whose humour, condition, and circumstances, it might also perhaps be particularly suited: Justin Martyr was of opinion that this law, as many others, was given to the Jews 'for their iniquity and hardness of heart,' by way of concession and indulgence. . . . However, that this law (as to its circumstantial parts) was not intended to oblige generally and perpetually, we have a most forcible ground to suppose; St. Paul himself, his express discharging Christians from the observation thereof; yea, his earnest reprehension of some persons for rigorously insisting thereon, deeming it themselves, and urging it upon others, as a necessary duty to observe it; his conjoining it with other ceremonial observances, whose nature was merely symbolical, and whose design was to continue no longer than till the real substance of that which they represented came into full force and practice."—*A Brief Exposition of the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue.*—Works, vol. iii. Edin. 1847. And after commenting on the passages in Col. ii. 16-17, and Galat. iv. 10, he goes on:—"Again, in the 14th to the Romans, the same great patron and champion of Christian liberty not obscurely declareth his mind, that Christians of strength in judgment did regard no day above another, but esteemed all days (he excepteth none) alike, as to any special obligation, grounded upon divine law and right; in subordination to which doctrine we may add, that this appears with great evidence to have been the common opinion of the wisest and most orthodox Christians in the Primitive Church, the most constant and strict adherents to Catholic tradition (who from the Apostles' instruction best understood the purport and limits of the liberty purchased by Christ), that this law, as it was not known or practised before Moses, so it ceased to oblige after Christ; being one of the shadows which the evangelical light dispelled, one of the burdens which this law of liberty did take off us. Now, although upon these accounts we cannot press the strict observation of this law in all its parts, according to its literal and direct intention, yet we may learn much of our duty, much of God's will from it."—*Ib.*

Archdeacon Jortin.—"It appears from some passages in the New Testament, and from other ancient writings, that the disciples and their converts agreed to set apart for public worship the first day of the week, the day of Christ's resurrection, which was also the day on which He sent down the Holy Ghost upon His Apostles. By setting aside the Lord's-day for the solemn worship of God, they observed all that was moral in the Fourth Commandment—namely, a stated time for religious exercises; and they thought it proper to retain the same portion of time, one day in seven."—*Sermons.* London, 1772: vol. v., p. 93.

Archdeacon Paley.—"We admit that none of these reasons shew why Sunday should be preferred to any other day in the week, or one day in seven to one day in six or eight; but these points, which in their nature are of arbitrary determination, being established to our hands, our obligation applies to the subsisting establishment, so long as we confess that some such institution is necessary, and are

neither able, nor attempt to substitute any other in its place.”—*Moral Philosophy*, chap. 6. And again—“The conclusion from the whole inquiry (for it is our business to follow the arguments to whatever probability they conduct us), is this: The *assembling* upon the first day of the week for the purpose of public worship and religious instruction, is a law of Christianity, of Divine appointment; the *resting* on that day from our employments longer than we are detained from them by attendance upon these assemblies, is, to Christians, an ordinance of human institution—binding, nevertheless, upon the conscience of every individual of a country in which a weekly Sabbath is established, for the sake of the beneficial purposes which the public and regular observance of it promotes, and recommended perhaps, in some degree, to the Divine approbation, by the resemblance it bears to what God was pleased to make a solemn part of the law which He delivered to the people of Israel, and by its subserviency to many of the same uses.”—*Ib.*, chap. vii.

Dr. George Cook, Professor of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews, speaking of the author of the *Homily De Tempore*, attributed by some to St. Augustine, says:—“It is evident that the object of this distinguished theologian was to rest the Lord’s-day upon a positive Divine appointment; he endeavours to shew that this may be deduced from the events which Scripture records as having taken place upon it; but not trusting altogether to such an inference, he introduces the doctors of the Church as having decided that the only change made by the Christian dispensation upon the Fourth Commandment was to transfer the rest which it enjoins from the seventh day of the week to the first. Assuming this, he immediately holds it forth, or considers it as a matter of Divine appointment, that the Lord’s-day was to be observed in all respects as the Jewish Sabbath had been. This is certainly proceeding much further than the New Testament seems to warrant, or even, if we may judge from their works, than is warranted by the earliest writers of the Church: and it is difficult to conceive, that when the apostles rank the Sabbath as amongst the Jewish rites abolished by Christianity, they should not have given even the most distant intimation, that all which they meant by this assertion was, that, on account of the resurrection of Christ, God was to be worshipped on the first day of the week instead of the seventh.”—*General and Historical View of Christianity*, ii., 301. And again—“The amount of this whole disquisition is, that the observance of the first day of the week, as a day of worship, is founded upon the law of nature, conjoined with the fact, that it is plain, from Scripture, that this particular day was set apart for that purpose by the apostles, and that in so far it may be considered of Divine appointment; but that it is not enforced, as was the Jewish Sabbath, to which, in primitive times, it was uniformly set in opposition; and that it is left very much to the discretion of particular Churches, or to the consciences of individuals, to determine how large a portion of the day should be devoted to religious services, and in what manner the remainder of it is to be occupied.”—*Ib.*, p. 319.

Dr. Arnold.—“I believe that it is generally agreed amongst Christians, that the Jewish Law, so far as it was Jewish and not moral, is at an end; and it is assuming the whole point at issue to assume that the Ten Commandments are all moral. If that were so, it seems to me quite certain that the Sabbath would have been kept on its own proper day; for if the Commandments were still binding, I do not see where would be the power to make any alteration in its enactments. But it is also true, no doubt, that the Lord’s-day was kept from time immemorial in the Church as a day of festival; and, connected with the notion of festival, the abstinence from worldly business naturally followed. A weekly religious festival, in which worldly business was suspended, bore such a resemblance to the Sabbath, that the analogy of the Jewish Law was often urged as a reason for its observance; but as it was not considered to be the Sabbath, but only a day in some respects like it, so the manner of its observance varied from time to time, and was made more or less strict on grounds of religious expediency, without reference, in either case, to the authority of the Fourth Commandment. . . . And the clear language of this Statute, (5 and 6 Edward VI., cap. 3.) together with the total omission of the duty of keeping the Sabbath in the Catechism, although it professes to collect our duty towards God from the four first commandments, proves to my mind, that in using the Fourth Commandment in the Church service, the Reformers meant it to be understood as an enforcing to us simply the duty of worshipping God, and devoting some portion of time to His honour; the particular portion so devoted, and the manner of observing it, being points to be fixed by the Church. It is on these grounds that I should prefer greatly diminishing public travelling on the Sunday to stopping it altogether; as this seems to me to corres-

pond better with the Christian observance of the Lord's-day, which, while most properly making rest from ordinary occupation the general rule, yet does not regard it as a thing of absolute necessity, but to be waived on weighty grounds. And surely many very weighty reasons for occasionally moving from place to place on a Sunday are occurring constantly. But if the only alternative be between stopping the trains on our railways altogether, or having them go frequently, as on other days, I cannot hesitate for an instant which side to take, and I will send you my proxy without a moment's hesitation."—*Life*, vol. ii., p. 207-9.

Dr. Alford, Dean of Canterbury, and author of the *Greek Testament, with a Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, who adopts the same view with Dr. Hook, in commenting on Romans xiv. 5, writes thus:—"It is an interesting question, what indication is here found of the observance or non-observance of a day of obligation in the apostolic times. The Apostle *decides nothing*; leaving *every man's own mind* to guide him in the point. He classes the observance or non-observance of particular days with the eating or abstaining from particular meats. In both cases he is concerned with things which he evidently treats as of *absolute indifference in themselves*. Now the question is, supposing the Divine obligation of one day in seven to have been recognized by him *in any form*, could he have thus spoken? The obvious inference from his strain of arguing is, that he *knew of no such obligation*, but believed *all times and days to be*, to the Christian strong in faith, ALIKE. I do not see how the passage can be otherwise understood. If any one day in the week were invested with the sacred character of the Sabbath, it would have been *wholly impossible* for the Apostle to commend or uphold the man who judged all days worthy of equal honour, who, as in verse 6, paid *no regard* to the (any) day. He must have visited him with his strongest disapprobation, as violating a command of God. I therefore infer, that *Sabbatical obligation to keep any day, whether seventh or first, was not recognized in apostolic times*. It must be carefully remembered, that this inference does not concern the question of the observance of the *Lord's-day as an institution of the Christian Church, analogous to the ancient Sabbath, binding on us from considerations of humanity and religious expediency, and by the rules of that branch of the Church in which Providence has placed us*, but not in any way inheriting the divinely-appointed obligation of the other, or the strict prohibitions by which its sanctity was defended. The reply commonly furnished to these considerations, viz., that the Apostle was speaking here only of *Jewish festivals*, and therefore cannot refer to Christian ones, is a quibble of the poorest kind; its assertors themselves distinctly maintaining the obligation of one such Jewish festival on Christians. What I maintain is, that had the Apostle believed as they do, he could not by any possibility have written thus. Besides, in the face of *πᾶσαν ἡμέραν* ['every day'] the assertion is altogether unfounded." And again, commenting on Colossians ii. 16, 17, he writes:—"We may observe, that if the ordinance of the Sabbath had been, *in any form*, of lasting obligation on the Christian Church, it would have been quite impossible for the Apostle to have spoken thus. The fact of an obligatory rest of one day, whether the seventh or the first, would have been directly in the teeth of his assertion here: the holding of such would have been still to retain the shadow, while we possess the substance. And no answer can be given to this by the transparent special pleading, that he was speaking only of that which was *Jewish* in such observance: the whole argument being general, and the axiom of verse 17 universally applicable."

Dr. John Eadie, Professor of Biblical Literature, United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow.—In his *Commentary on the Colossians*, he remarks on chapter ii., verse 16:—"Let no man therefore judge you . . . in the particular of Sabbath days.' Some, indeed, such as Neumann, suppose the allusion to be to the grand Sabbatic periods of the seventh day, the seventh year, and the fiftieth year. But there is no warrant or necessity for such a reference here, though the Apostle says, to the Galatians, 'Ye observe days and months, and times and years,' (Rom. xiv. 5. 6.) The term *σάββατον* often occurs in a plural form in the New Testament, as if, as Winer supposes, the Syro-Chaldaic form had been transferred into the Greek tongue. Matt. xii. 1; Luke iv. 16; Acts xiii. 14; xvi. 13. Allusions to these feasts, collectively, will be found in 1 Chron. xxiii. 31; 2 Chron. ii. 4; xxxi. 3. The observances of the Jewish rubric, whether in its original form or with the multiplied and ascetic additions which it presented in those days, laid believers no longer under obligation. They belonged to an obsolete system, which had 'decayed and waxed old.' Christianity inculcated no such periodical holidays. For it did not bid men meet thrice a-year to feast themselves, but each day to 'eat their bread with gladness and singleness of heart.' It did not summon them to

any tumultuous demonstration with 'trumpets at new moon,' since every division of the month was a testimony of Divine goodness, and the whole kalendar was marked by Divine benefactions—every day alike a season of prayer and joy. Nor were they to hallow the 'sabbaths,' for these had served their purpose, and the Lord's-day was now to be a season of loftier joy, as it commemorates a more august event than either the creation of the universe or the exodus from Egypt. Every period is sanctified—'day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night teacheth knowledge.' Sensations of spiritual joy are not to be restricted to holy days, for they thrill the spirit every moment, and need not wait for expression till there be a solemn gathering, for every instant awakes to the claims and the raptures of religion. The new religion is too free and exuberant to be trained down to 'times and seasons,' like its tame and rudimental predecessor. Its feast is daily, for every day is holy; its moon never wanes, and its serene tranquillity is an unbroken Sabbath. The Jewish Sabbath was kept, however, by the early Christians along with their own Lord's-day for a considerable period; till, at length, in 364, A.D., the Council of Laodicea condemned the practice as Judaizing."

Looking back on the various opinions expressed in the passages cited above and in the previous articles of this Appendix, may not one's thoughts find a fitting expression in the words of Dr. Watts, who, while he himself adhered to what it is now the fashion to call the orthodox opinion on this much debated question, yet thus wrote (The Holiness of Times, Places, and People under the Jewish and Christian Dispensations considered and compared—*Works*, ii., 501, Lond., 1810):—"Since all Jewish festivals, New Moons, and Sabbaths, are abolished by St. Paul's authority, in such express and unlimited language as may lead many sincere Christians to believe that all manner of distinction of days whatsoever, whether Jewish or Patriarchal, is finished; since the religious observation of days, in the 14th chapter to the Romans, in general, is represented as a matter of doubtful disputation; since the observation of the Lord's-day is not built upon any express and plain institution by Christ or His Apostles in the New Testament, but rather on examples and probable inferences, and on the reasons and relations of things, I can never pronounce anything hard or severe upon any fellow-Christian who maintains real piety in heart and life, though his opinion may be very different from mine on this subject. Nor does any man, who is humbly and sincerely studious of truth and duty, and desirous to find it, deserve any reproach or censure upon the account of different opinions about meats and days; unless he assume such haughty airs of assurance as arise far beyond all his evidence and proof, or indulge a persecuting spirit, and reproach his brethren who differ from him."—Pp. 69, 70.

U.—PAGE 36.

"But this leads me to consider a little further what has been said by preceding speakers regarding the Lord's-day being the old Sabbath revived."

This point has been already illustrated in this Appendix. The following letter furnishes a striking illustration of the view that I have maintained:—

"DEAR DR. MACLEOD,

"86 Bath Street, 22^d Nov., 1865.

"I agree with you that it is hardly possible to bring forward anything new on the Sabbath question; but there is one argument of great force, which, though not new, is much less known than it deserves to be. In all the Romance languages the word for Sunday means the Lord's-day—thus: Italian, *Domenica*; Spanish, *Domingo*; Provençal, *Dimenge*; French, *Dimanche*. On the other hand, the words for Saturday, in the same languages, are all derived from Sabbath—as: Italian, *Sabato*; Spanish, *Sabado*; Provençal, *Dissapte*. Even the French *Samedi*, though more corrupted, is from the same root, being derived from *Sabbati dies*, as the Provençal form from *dies Sabbati*. (See *Diez, Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, sub voce *Samedi*.) The same phenomenon meets us in modern Greek still more decisively, as the ancient words *Κυριακή* (Rev. i. 10) and *Σάββατον* are still retained. When we consider the extraordinary persistence of words of this class—our own forms are of pre-Christian origin—this almost amounts to a proof that, in the opinion of the early Latin and Greek speaking Christians, the Lord's-day was not the Sabbath; and that the modern theory of a transference of the Sabbath from the seventh day to the first, for which no tittle of evidence has ever been produced, is a mere baseless fiction.—I am, yours truly,

JOHN D. CAMPBELL."

V.—PAGE 43.

Sessional Churches.

The only reason why I speak at all of the Sessional Church recently opened by me, is, that from some experience it appears calculated to meet the wants of the working-classes in large cities. A few brief statements regarding some of its more leading objects may afford *hints* and save trouble to other labourers in the same field, and who long with me to make the Lord's-day a delight to those who have not known the Lord. The church is seated for 900; its cost, with site, has been about £3,000. Upwards of two thousand of the working-classes subscribed for the church. A free site was given by Mr. Stirling Crawford. Friends subscribed for "ornament," as distinct from their subscriptions for building, to enable me to add to its beauty by stained-glass windows, &c. One friend (Mrs. Black) has herself added a memorial window, executed at Dresden,—the object of all such ornament being to treat the working-classes *with respect*, by making the useful beautiful also, in their House of Prayer.

Among our rules for working the church are the following:—

1. It is superintended by a Licentiate of the Church, but who is not ordained. His minimum salary is £100. He is appointed or removed by the kirk-session.

2. There is a Committee of Management, consisting of elders and deacons, who manage the ordinary affairs of the church, and report to the monthly meeting of kirk-session.

3. There are two services on the Lord's-day—one in the evening at seven o'clock, to which those only are admitted who come in their ordinary working clothes. No seats are allocated at those "evangelistic services." The *day* meeting is at 2.30, so that working-men can attend, in their ordinary clothes, if they have no better, without being noticed by the well-dressed going to worship at the usual church hour (two o'clock); but no distinction is made as to dress at the usual day service. *Seats are allocated* for this service to those in communion with the church, or to any others wishing to attend. *No seat rents, though allocated, are charged.*

4. The Sacraments are dispensed in the church, as in the Parish Church, by the parish minister. The Lord's Supper is dispensed three times a-year, in the evening.

5. The attendance of persons at the meetings held on the Lord's-day in any part of the parish by the Missionaries duly appointed by the session, is recognized as attending "church." Those found qualified for communion by the Missionaries receive it in the Mission Church; and they also receive Baptism for their children. To prevent sectarian proselytism, no one in communion with any other church is admitted to church membership.

6. The forenoons of the Lord's-day are occupied by giving catechetical instruction to adults at one hour, and the children of the church members at another hour.

7. Elders or laymen, approved of by the parish minister, are permitted to address the evening meeting.

The church has hitherto succeeded. It is always full at night; well attended during the day; and 150 persons in their working clothes sat down at the first communion. The collections average about £1 10s. each Lord's-day.

Missionaries, both male and female, are in connection with the church.

The Licentiate visits the communicants, and also a fixed district near the church.

A Penny Savings Bank, Clothing Society, Lecture Hall, &c., are connected with it.

The parish minister preaches as frequently as possible in the evenings.

An organ is used to lead the singing, in which all heartily join.

Week-day evening classes are held in a Sessional School, situated in the district, for adults above sixteen, and for juniors below this age (meeting in a different room), superintended by six certificated Government teachers, afford education to men and women at the rate of 3s. a-quarter. These schools are attended by about 180, and have been most successful—the pupils varying from ten to fifty years of age.

Such Sessional Churches, with the Mission and educational organization connected with them, are more economical, and far more easily adapted to meet the wants of poor localities, than ill paid chapels, allowed to sink or swim as they best can. I strongly advocate the extension of Sessional Churches in connection with, and as parts of, the Parish Church.

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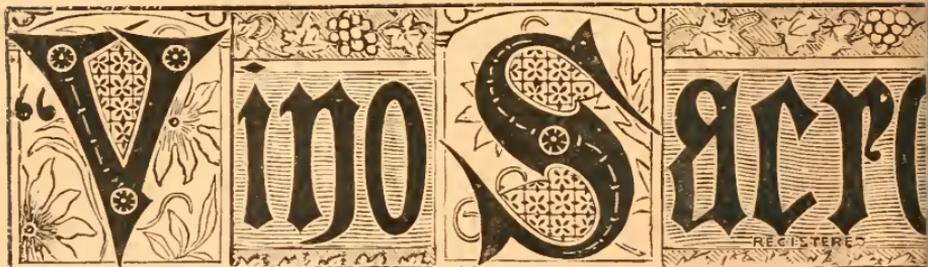
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THE STORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND:

SHEWING

ITS BIRTH, ITS PROGRESS, AND ITS WORK
FOR THE PEOPLE.

A SKETCH IN THREE CHAPTERS.

- I. FROM EARLIEST DAYS TO REFORMATION TIMES.
- II. THE STORY OF THE RE-FORMATION.
- III. FROM REFORMATION TIMES TO OUR OWN DAY.

BY

G. H. F. NYE,

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1890.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

HIS "Story of the Church of England"—only a brief outline of historical facts—has been compiled for the benefit of those who have a desire to know something of the true history and work of the oldest and grandest institution of this country, and yet have little or no opportunity to consult and condense the necessary authorities bearing upon the question. Each of the three chapters may be used as a lecture; and for the purpose of illustrated lectures (the popularity of which is so largely due to the efforts of the Rev. C. Arthur Lane, and other Lecturers of the Church Defence Institution) photographic slides can be obtained, to illustrate the "points," from Messrs. Newton & Co., 3, Fleet Street, London, who possess a most extensive and interesting series of slides on this subject. Any further information concerning this matter will gladly be given on application to the writer.

PALACE CHAMBERS,
WESTMINSTER, S.W.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

THE fact that a Third Edition is demanded within six weeks of the first appearance of this little work is a healthy sign in more ways than one, and the writer gladly takes this opportunity of heartily thanking his numerous correspondents, who have interested themselves in making the book known in various parts of the country, and for the more than kind expressions accompanying many of the letters. One sample will suffice. A well-known and widely-respected Clergyman in the North writes:—"To show my appreciation of your wonderful little book, I have distributed forty copies, and, if I could, I would gladly do more. When so much trash is scattered among the multitude, a book like yours should be circulated by hundreds and thousands." This issue contains several additional notes and some new matter.

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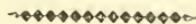
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THE STORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.



CHAPTER I.

FROM EARLIEST DAYS TO REFORMATION TIMES.



THE "Church of England." How often do we use the phrase without a thought as to what the Church really is ; how or when it came into existence ; to what extent it justifies its name or its position, or with any knowledge—but the barest—of its work for and amongst the people of England.

What misrepresentations concerning the Church abound. When one enquires the date of its birth, he is answered [by Liberationists] *temp.* Henry VIII.,* he is told that it owes its origin to an Act of Parliament, [no date is ever assigned to the Act,] that it is the Church of the wealthy classes,†

* "This Church was founded by Act of Parliament in the reign of Henry VIII."—Lib. Soc. Leaflet, *It isn't respectable.*

† "The Established Church of this country is the Church of the rich and powerful."—Lib. Soc. Leaflet, *Modern Persecution.* "It has generally taken the side of the rich against the poor."—Lib. Soc. Leaflet, *A Word to Electors.*

and that the clergy are paid by the State,* and that, does the enquirer wish "for a reduction in taxation"† (and who does not?), "then bear in mind that the State Church in England and Wales alone holds property worth several millions a year. This belongs to the Nation, not to the Church."‡ Furthermore, he is instructed that "Both ancient and modern buildings, as well as all endowments now appropriated to the use of the National Church, must be regarded as National property."§ Lastly, he is informed that the Church has always been opposed to the welfare of the people.||

How far these answers, or any of them, are true, will be seen by following the course of this "Story of the Church of England."

THE BIRTHDAY OF THE CHURCH.

The words "Parliament" and "Monarchy" were unknown in England when the Church of this country was, and had been for centuries previous, a flourishing institution. Long before monarchy existed the Church was here. Ages before Parliament was thought of, the Church was the greatest living force in the country. It is the oldest institution by far in England, and, taking it altogether, the most powerful agency for good the world has ever seen.

* "The truth is, the Church is mainly supported by public property, which was set aside for its use in ancient times by the State. It receives from that property some six millions of money every year, and that is really what the Church costs the nation."—Lib. Soc. Leaflet, *Not a Penny*.

† "The Established Church . . . is the only Church that taxes the poor for services."—Lib. Soc. Leaflet, *The Poor Man's Church*.

‡ Lib. Soc. Leaflet, *A question which concerns everybody*.

§ See *Practical Suggestions*, for the disendowment of the Church. Liberation Society, 2, Serjeant's Inn.

|| "The Established Church and clergy have uniformly been so opposed to the interests of the people, and have always set themselves against every social, political, and ecclesiastical reform."—Lib. Soc. Leaflet. "It is a Church whose history has been an almost continued history of oppression."—Lib. Soc. Leaflet, *It isn't respectable*.

Not, then, in the reign of the Tudors must we look for the founding of the Church, not even when Augustine with his devoted followers crossed the sea from Rome to evangelise the Kingdom of Kent; but far, far back to the very days of the Apostles themselves. Take your Bible, turn to the chapter* where it is recorded that the Holy Spirit descended upon those who had assembled "with one accord, in one place," and you will find that the day of Pentecost, and none other, is the birthday of our National Church.

Let us clearly understand what is meant by the phrase "the Church of England." Briefly the answer is this, that

the term "Church" may be regarded in a
THE TERM twofold aspect: First as a spiritual body,
"CHURCH OF and secondly as an external corporation.
ENGLAND." In the former sense, the Church is the One

mystical body of Christ of which Churchmen are members by baptism, and nourished by the appointed means of grace. These means of grace are dispensed by properly ordained officers of the Church, who receive their authority from the Bishops, who are the direct successors of the Apostles of old. Our blessed Lord's life was spent in founding a Church. He appointed twelve Apostles to be foundation stones of that Church, of which He Himself was the chief corner stone. Amongst other things which the Apostles were commanded to do were to teach and to baptise.

How the Apostles did their appointed work may be gathered from the Epistles. In the year A.D. 33, St. Peter, in impassioned tones, addressed a multitude of persons, three thousand of whom declared for the Church and were forthwith baptised. In A.D. 34, St. Paul became a convert to the faith, and most zealous as we know in the Master's service. St. Paul was a great traveller; he visited Arabia

* Acts ii., 1.

Asia Minor, Italy, Spain and Gaul; but early writers disagree as to whether he came to Britain or not. Most probably he did, for the purpose of helping to establish some of our early Christian Churches.*

In the year A.D. 46, we hear of the ordination of the priests, or elders (or presbyters: so called from the Greek word *presbuteros*, an elder;) and still earlier, of deacons. "Seven men of honest report" were chosen and presented to the Apostles, who ordained them, by
ORDINATION OF imposition of hands, to minister to the
PRIESTS bodily wants of the poor and aged. The
AND DEACONS. word "deacon" is from a Greek word signifying a ministering attendant.

The Book of the Acts is silent regarding the ordination of Bishops;† but St. Paul, in his Epistle to Titus, gives authority to him to ordain others to carry on the Apostolic
work, and reminds us that the Apostles
ORDINATION OF did ordain others to carry on their work,
BISHOPS. and before the death of St. John in the year A.D. 100, government by Bishops, and the orders of "priests" and "deacons" had become the recognised orders in the Church.‡

THREEFOLD This threefold order of the ministry, "the
ORDER historic backbone of the Church,"§ has
OF MINISTRY. ever been the same order of the Church

* "The Church is believed with good reason to owe its foundation to the Apostle St. Paul, who probably came to this country after his first imprisonment at Rome."—J. H. Blunt, *Ancient Church History*, p. 73.

† The word "Bishop" is from the Greek word *Episcopos*, signifying "overseer."

‡ "Unless we have recourse to a sweeping condemnation of received documents, it seems vain to deny that early in the second century the episcopal office was firmly and widely established. Thus during the last three decades of the first century, and consequently during the lifetime of the latest surviving Apostle, this change must have been brought about."—Bishop of Durham, *Christian Ministry*, 1868.

§ Bishop of Durham (motto in *The National Church*, September, 1889).

in this country, both in the early British as in our own National Church.*

Not a hundred years elapsed from the time when the last Apostle was taken away, before the Church began to rise above the crumbling ruins of that Empire which it was shortly to succeed. The PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH. Christians boasted, "We are but of yesterday, and we have filled your whole realm, your cities, islands, fortresses, municipalities, your councils, your very camps, your assemblies, your forum."

THE ROMAN INVASION.

We must bear in mind the state of Britain in the early days of its Christianity. Before A.D. 50, the island was a Roman Dependency. In the year A.D. 43, LANDING OF CLAUDIUS CÆSAR. Claudius Cæsar, with a fleet of 800 vessels, landed at Ebsfleet in Kent, and there commenced his fierce conflict with the Britons, which lasted for forty years, and terminated in an occupation of the island for three centuries.

In those days the islanders followed the faith of the Druids. Cæsar has left on record a history THE DRUIDS. of the rites followed by these open air worshippers, whose priests or philosophers exercised great power over their followers, and were reputed the wisest men of the age. "No one," says an old adage, "knows, but God and the holy Druid." They were supreme judges of the land, and had charge of the education of the young. The worship of the Druids was always conducted in the open air, groves or valleys surrounded by trees, especially oak trees, being generally selected.

* St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch in the latter days of St. John, speaks of Bishops, priests and deacons, adding "Where these orders are not found there can be no Church." See also Prayer Book, Preface to Ordination Service.

An earlier mode of worship still is traced by some, in the stones set up in mystic circles, such as we find at Stonehenge, at Avebury in Wiltshire, at Carnac in Brittany, and other places.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE BRITONS. The language of the Britons was Keltic, which agrees with the dialects known as Erse in Ireland, Gaelic in Scotland, and Cymry in Wales. The Gauls spoke the same language, and to this day the Prince of Wales is called, in French, *Prince de Galles*.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE INVADERS. The Roman invaders spoke Latin. After them came the German or Anglo-Saxon invaders, then followed the Danes, whose Kings, Sweyn and Canute, spoke the Norse, and it is from the five languages, Keltic, Latin, Anglo-Saxon, Norse and French, we get our English.*

THE CHURCH IN BRITAIN.

The foundation of the Church in this country can be traced to three sources :—

- (1.) The Ancient British Church ;
- (2.) To the Mission of Augustine, who evangelised the Pagans south of the Thames (principally in Kent) ;
- (3.) To the efforts of Irish and Scottish missionaries, who converted the Northern and Midland Counties.

“ When was the Christian Faith first preached in Britain ? is a question,” writes Professor Bright,† “ which it is impossible to answer.” “ We see,” says the historian Fuller, “ the light of the word shined here, but see not who kindled it.” Some language of Theodoret, which associates St. Paul with the other Apostles, speaks of them as having evangelised the Britons ; and though it is possible that St. Paul himself,

* See on this and other matters a pamphlet by Canon Trevor, *Our Parish* (1889). A capital history of a most interesting parish.

† Bright's *Early Church History*, p. 1.

as already stated, visited our shores, there is really no proof of his coming. In the ancient Welsh Triads,* Bran, the Blessed, the father of Caractacus, is said to have brought the faith to Britain. Old chroniclers point out Avalon, or Glastonbury, as the spot where the first Christian rites were performed by Joseph of Arimathea and his twelve companions, who there planted Joseph's staff in the ground, which grew into the Holy Thorn.†

Not only do we not know the exact date of the introduction of Christianity into Britain, but the spot on which the first Christian Church was built has yet
GLASTONBURY. to be discovered. Old records show that a church was erected at Glastonbury in very early days, it is believed before the year A.D. 300, but whether this site fixes the first Christian settlement in Britain cannot with certainty be alleged.

A charter granted by Henry II., in A.D. 1185, for rebuilding the Abbey of St. Joseph, Glastonbury, after it had been destroyed by fire, speaks of the Church as that which was anciently styled "the Mother of the Saints."‡

The Britons were no great hands at building. Before the Roman occupation the uses of brick and stone were altogether
EARLY BRITISH unknown in Britain. Naturally most of the
SANCTUARIES. early British edifices were erected of timber, which everywhere grew in abundance; the roof thatched or boarded, the walls composed of mud, the openings for light covered with cloth for want of glass. Such would be the general appearance of an early British sanctuary.

* The Triads are historical poems of very ancient date, in which the facts are grouped by threes.

† The legend, like many others of early days, is one of great interest, but, according to the historian Soames, was unknown until Norman times.

‡ An old historian tells us that Aristobulus was the first Bishop of Glastonbury, that he died A.D. 99, and that his death was commemorated on March 15, for many years afterwards.

The writings of this early period of the Church's life are necessarily scarce and obscure, but the early Christian Fathers agree that long before the year A.D. 200 the inhabitants of Britain were "subdued to Christianity," indeed it is averred by old chroniclers that there was a Bishop of London as early as the year A.D. 180, and the Western Church, then rapidly growing, rejoiced over the news that pagan Britain was gradually becoming Christianised. The earliest missionaries almost certainly came from Gaul, certainly not as far as we can judge directly from the East.* In the year A.D. 363 St. Athanasius reckons the Britons among those who were loyal to the faith.

Tertullian, who flourished in the reigns of Severus and Antonius Carracalla, between the years A.D. 193-216, says: "Christ is preached among the barbarians. He reigns among people whom the Roman arms have never yet subdued, in the furthest extremities of Spain, and Gaul and Britain."

In the beginning of the fourth century, during the reign of the Emperor Diocletian, the British Church in common with the Church in other countries, suffered the longest and bloodiest persecution it had yet encountered. Men, women, and striplings were called upon to renounce the faith, or suffer execution.

During this period Aaron and Julius, two British Christians, suffered death at the hands of the Romans at Caerleon-upon-Usk, in Monmouthshire. But the chief place as first martyr of the British Church is always given to Alban, a Roman of noble birth, who suffered death at Verulamium, the Roman name of the present town of St. Albans. Standing on the bridge which crosses the River

* Canon Bright. *Early Church History*, p. 5.

Ver and parts the English from the Roman town, we are surrounded, says Professor Bonney,* by memorials of full nineteen centuries of our history.

Alban had sheltered a priest who was flying from his persecutors. The sight of the good man's life so deeply impressed him that Alban became a convert to the faith. The whereabouts of the priest becoming known, Alban, by changing dresses, enabled his guest to escape, and surrendered himself in his place. Being brought before the judge, Alban was ordered to sacrifice to the Roman gods, and on his declaring himself a Christian was condemned to instant execution. The place of execution was a grassy knoll just beyond the city walls. The people crowded round to witness the martyrdom, but the soldier appointed to execute his prisoner, struck with the firmness displayed by Alban, declared himself unable to perform his appointed office, and throwing down his sword he too suffered martyrdom with his prisoner on the same spot.

In happier days, under Constantine, a Church was erected on the site, and this was followed, in the year A.D. 793, by the erection of a monastery, founded by King Offa, and later still—in the twelfth century—the noble abbey which crowns the hill, and which is now raised to cathedral dignity was commenced. This abbey is now in course of restoration mainly owing to the munificence of one Churchman,† who has devoted many thousands a year to this purpose.

Inside the cathedral one of the most interesting monuments is a shrine dedicated to the Saint, the materials of which were carefully hidden away by the monks in days when trouble overtook the Church. These fragments

* *Cathedrals*, p. 431.

† Lord Grimthorpe.

were discovered, during the restoration now proceeding, behind a false wall, and the shrine has now been made as nearly as possible to agree with its former magnificence. Overlooking the shrine is a watching gallery, where the priests in earlier days offered prayers for the repose of the soul of St. Alban. St. Alban's Day is June 22nd; the year of the martyrdom is supposed to be A.D. 304.

Ten years later, A.D. 314, we have evidence of a Church settled in Britain, having its appointed officers, and there is little doubt but that at this early date the Imperial Cities of York, London, and Caerleon were seats of the Episcopate.

Records exist which shew that, at a Church EARLY BRITISH BISHOPS. council summoned by Constantine, at Arles in France, in this year, three Bishops from Britain attended and took part in the deliberations. Their very names are preserved to us, they were Eborius, Bishop of York; Restitutus, Bishop of London, and Adelphius, supposed by Bishop Stubbs, and by Mr. Haddan, to have been Bishop of Caerleon-on-Usk. Each of these three Bishops were attended by a priest, and a deacon, so we find the threefold order of the ministry existing in this country in the year A.D. 314. British Bishops were also present at Church Councils held at Sardica, A.D. 347, and at Ariminium, A.D. 359.

Crowning the chalk cliffs at Dover, inside the walls of its famous Castle, stands a rugged structure, OLDEST ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDING. octagonal in form, with massive walls of stone bonded with the hard well-known Roman tile. This is the "Pharos," a Roman landmark or lighthouse. A few steps eastward bring us to a church which is of striking antiquity, and which is perhaps the oldest ecclesiastical structure in this country—nay, in the world; it is the Church of St. Mary-le-Castro, Dover Castle. This Church was built in the fourth century, not, as is generally supposed, by the Romans, but

as experts believe, and its present rector, Canon Puckle,* who has taken the greatest pains to discover the truth affirms, by some of the earliest of British converts. Plain and almost humble as is its architecture, "We cannot," says a recent writer,† "gaze unmoved on this venerable relic, which bids fair to remain for centuries to come a memorial of the older periods of our National history."

At the beginning of the fifth century the Romans abandoned the occupation of Britain, and the
ROMANS ABAN- Saxons, a fierce heathen race,‡ being in-
DON BRITAIN. vited by the Britons to assist them against
ARRIVAL OF their foes, settled here first as colonists, and
THE SAXONS. afterwards as conquerors. One of the re-
sults of this invasion was, that such of the
Christians as escaped from the sword of the Saxons fled to the most inaccessible parts of the country, many taking up their abode in the mountain fastnesses of Wales and Cornwall, and so we find the records of the religious life of these days are chiefly confined to these portions of Britain.

On the sands of the Cornish coast, not far from St. Ives, in the year 1835, was accidentally dis-
THE CHURCH covered the remains of a little church,
OF ST. PIRIAN erected as a monument to St. Pirian (friend
IN CORNWALL. and contemporary of St. Patrick), a Cornish
missionary, who was buried within its walls
certainly before the year A.D. 500. At some time or other—we know not when—the sand and shingle gradually covered the walls of this church (which consisted of a nave and chancel, having an altar of stone), and thus preserved them from decay. The building was found to measure 29 feet in length, 16½ feet in width, and 19 feet from the floor

* See his excellent little book, *Church and Fortress of Dover Castle.*

† Professor Bonney. *Cathedrals*, p. 431.

‡ The Saxons, barbarians of the E. and S.E. Coasts of the North Sea, landed at different parts of Britain, and formed seven or eight separate kingdoms.

to the roof. Its walls were about two feet in thickness. Near by there stands a cross of stone, similar to many found in other parts of England and Ireland.

THE CHURCH IN WALES.

And here let us consider the state of the religious life as it existed in the Principality at the time we are speaking of. In Wales there were, about the year A.D. 500, seven ecclesiastical provinces, which in later times became merged into four, which still remain. These are Llandaff, Bangor, St. Asaph, and St. David's.

Llandaff is the episcopal seat of one of the earliest bishoprics founded in Wales. Dubritius
 LLANDAFF. (who, as tradition affirms, crowned King Arthur) was Bishop of Llandaff in the year A.D. 500. But before this date we have recorded the names of eleven Bishops who occupied the throne of Llandaff previous to Dubritius.*

Since the year A.D. 512, when Dubritius resigned, down to the present time, there have been ninety-eight Bishops of Llandaff, whose names and dates of appointment are preserved in the Diocesan Registry.

Bangor Cathedral was founded in the year A.D. 516.

The founder was Deniol, or Daniel, and a
 BANGOR. great Monastery College was associated with the See.

St. Asaph Cathedral was founded in A.D. 560 by St.

Kentigern, better known as St. Mungo, who
 ST. ASAPH. also founded the See of Galloway. In the Monastery associated with this See it is said nearly 1,000 brethren were at one time located.

The See of St. David's, the area of which is far larger than that of any other diocese either in England or Wales, its

* Willis' *Survey of Llandaff Cathedral.*

aereage now being 2,360,000, was founded about A.D. 540, and is named after its celebrated missionary ST. DAVID'S. Bishop, David, who trained and sent missionaries to Ireland and other parts.

It is often argued that the Church in Wales materially differs from the Church of England. It is called by some an alien Church, but this is untrue, for its descent can easily be traced from the historical British Church. The old Church in Wales is as much a part of the Church of England as is the Church in Cornwall, Yorkshire, or any other English county.* The four Welsh Dioceses are under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and notwithstanding its peculiar difficulties—not the least being its large parishes—often cut in two by some huge mountain, or range of hills—its Welsh and English-speaking population, and its poverty, the Church is making enormous strides in all parts of the Principality in a way never known before. So much is it winning its way into the hearts of the Welsh-speaking population, that Welsh Nonconformists are coming back to the Church in numbers and in a way never before experienced.† At the same time (on their own shewing) the

* "There is a complete ecclesiastical, constitutional, legal, and I may add—for every practical purpose—historical identity between the Church in Wales and the rest of the Church of England." Mr. Gladstone in reply to Mr. Watkin Williams' resolution in the House of Commons, May 24, 1870.

† A Baptist minister of Dowlas wrote in the *Seren Cymra* (the organ of the Baptists) in May, 1888, "No one can help observing that the Church (in Wales) is gaining ground." The *Cambrian News* (Radical paper), of January, 1887, says: "The time has fully come when Nonconformity should bestir itself in more ways than one, if it is to hold its own. The Church of England is very much alive, and the work the clergy are doing was certainly left undone." Lord Aberdare, a Liberal, addressing the members of the Liberal Club at Aberdare, on February 1st, 1888, testifies to the fact that "almost everywhere in Wales the Church is making healthy progress," and adds that the Church, in its renewed spirit of life and energy, is "attracting the interest of large numbers of educated Nonconformists," many of whom are coming to the Bishops for admission to the Church. A remarkable confirmation was held at St. Lleurwg's Church, Hirwain,

Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, and the Baptists are declining in numbers,* whilst their chapel debts are increasing.†

Though the agitation for the disendowment of the Church in Wales is largely supported through the efforts of Welsh political Nonconformist ministers, especially those connected with the Radical Welsh press,‡ it is pleasant to reflect that the fathers of Welsh Nonconformity were loyal supporters of Mother Church; for instance, Dr. Calamy, the famous Welsh Nonconformist historian, is described by his biographer as a “loyal person, excellent preacher, and a zealous man for the Church of England”; whilst Howell Harries, father of the great Methodist revival in Wales, speaks thus of himself in 1763: “As the late revival of religion began in the Established Church, we think it not necessary or prudent to separate ourselves from it; but our duty to abide in it, and to go to our Parish Church every Sunday.” This good and saintly man lies buried in Talgarth Churchyard, and fifteen clergy of the Church of England were present when his body was laid to rest. His tombstone records that “He was a faithful member of the Church unto his end.”

on December 3rd, 1888, by the Bishop of Llandaff. The list of candidates included twenty men, of whom five were Wesleyans, aged respectively 27, 58, 21, 44, 30, one being a local preacher, and two others “members”; two were Baptists, aged 28 and 12, the first being a “member”; two were Independents, aged 62 and 30, both “members”; two were Calvinistic Methodists, aged 32 and 21; of the remainder, one Churchman was aged 69, another 52, and a third 50. Nineteen women were confirmed, and of these three were Wesleyans, aged 32, 57, and 25, all “members”; seven were Independents. Twenty-two boys and girls were confirmed, of whom two were Roman Catholics, two Wesleyans, and one a Methodist. See *The National Church* (Monthly, 1d.) for this and similar facts.

* In 1884 there were 10,655 communicants added to the Calvinistic Methodists; in 1885, 7,723; in 1886, 6,401; a decrease in two years of 4,254. In the last three years the Baptists have decreased in numbers by 592, and their pastors by 56.

† Debt on Welsh Calvinistic chapels in 1878, £246,926; in 1881, £311,294; in 1886, £323,118; an increase in debt of £76,192 in eight years.

‡ For quotations translated into English, see *The National Church*, volumes 1888, 1889, and current monthly issues, price 1d.

THE EARLY MISSIONARIES TO BRITAIN.

In a sketch, such as this, it is impossible to chronicle the names of all the great missionaries to Britain; but the work of certain of the most notable is mentioned; and the reader will observe that our country owes its conversion to Christianity, not altogether to Rome, as is so often alleged, but in great measure to missionaries who came from Ireland, Scotland, and other parts.*

One of the most celebrated missionaries to Britain was

St. Columba, an Irishman, who was brought

ST. COLUMBA. up in the Monastery of Clonard in Ireland.

On the eve of Whitsunday, A.D. 564 Columba landed in the Island of Iona, where he founded a monastery which became one of the most renowned in Europe. For generations both Irish and Scottish kings came hither to be crowned by Columba and his successors, and the "Tombs of the Kings" witness to the fact that the bones of many such were laid here to rest. The actual stone on which the kings were crowned may be seen to-day in the Abbey of Westminster, resting as it should beneath the Coronation chair at the back of the altar.

THE COMING OF AUGUSTINE.†

We now arrive at an important epoch in our story. Gregory the Great, afterwards Bishop of Rome (he whom the British Christians afterwards affectionately called "Our Father who sent us baptism") was walking one day, in

* "It was not by the action of Rome that the whole of England was converted. . . . A very large portion of England was converted not by the action of the Roman missionaries, but from the North."—Mr. W. E. Gladstone, speech in House of Commons, May 24, 1870.

† The late Bishop of Lincoln states that the mission of Augustine "was comparatively sterile in England, whether we regard extent of space, or duration of time. Truth requires us to declare that Augustino ought not to be called the Apostle of England, . . . but the title ought to be given to St. Columba, and his followers."—*Lectures on Irish Church.*

the year A.D. 575, in the Forum, when he observed some boys put up for sale "of a white body and fair complexion, and with hair of remarkable beauty." He inquired from whence they came. The slave owner, probably a Jew, answered: "From Britain." "Are they heathens or Christians?" The answer was "Heathens." "How do you call their nation?" said Gregory. "Angles." "'Tis well," said Gregory, "they have the faces of Angels. What is their province?" "Deira." "They must be saved," said Gregory, "*de ira Dei.*" Years passed, and though we may be sure Gregory often thought of those bright faces in the Roman Forum, yet no active step was taken in the way of converting the "heathens" in Britain. In the year A.D. 596, however, Gregory resolved upon a mission to Britain, and for its head he chose Augustine.

The missionaries, in number about forty, after many misgivings, which we can well sympathize with, seeing that they knew no word of the Saxon tongue, and were coming to a country whose inhabitants were reported to be as fierce as they were ignorant, landed at Ebsfleet,* the traditional landing place of Hengist, in Kent, in the year A.D. 597, and sought an interview with the heathen king of that country, Ethelbert, who was married to a Christian, Bertha, the daughter of a Frankish King, Charibert of Paris. Augustine explained his mission: they had come with the best of all messages, and asked the King's protection in their proposed work. The King received him cautiously but kindly, and an interview was arranged on the understanding that it should be in the open air.

The missionaries headed by Augustine, whose majestic person towered above his companions, accordingly presented themselves before the King. Let us try to recall the scene. We are told that they came in procession, one carrying aloft a silver cross, and beside this a board on which was painted

* Dean Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 29.

the figure of the Crucified. As they walked they chanted a Litany, entreating the Lord for their salvation. The King, who received them sitting under the over-spreading branches of an oak tree, bade his visitors sit down, and by the assistance of a Gallic interpreter, Augustine, as the historian Bede simply puts it, "preached to them the word of life."

At the close of the interview the King signified his consent to Augustine's carrying on his missionary work, but declined to take active part in it himself.

On the chalk downs overlooking the valley of the Stour close by Canterbury, there stood a little ST. MARTIN'S, church, which has now borne the name of ST. CANTERBURY. Martin of Tours near upon thirteen centuries. In that church Bertha worshipped, and here the missionaries began their labours. That church, or at least one bearing traces of Roman workmanship, if boasting little architectural beauty, yet second to none in historic interest, remains to this day, and Dean Stanley has well said that the view from the slope on which it stands is "one of the most inspiring that can be found in all the world."*

At Canterbury, at which place they soon settled, the missionaries gave themselves to frequent prayer, preaching to all within reach, disregarding all worldly matters, living in accordance with their teaching, and many who thus saw and heard them "believed, and were baptised."

But the most important conversion of all was that of the heathen king, Ethelbert himself. Whether KING the date, Whitsun Eve, next following the ETHELBERT'S entrance to Canterbury, be right or not, CONVERSION. certain it is that the King after much consideration, and not without first consulting his colleagues, was baptised, and his example was followed by a

* According to Bede this building, which had been assigned by the King for the use of Bertha, had been a church prior to the Saxon invasion.

large number of his followers. [It was about this time (on June 7, A.D. 597) that "the noblest missionary career ever accomplished in Britain"* came to its end by the death of St. Columba, who, however, left disciples to carry on the work he had so nobly begun.]

The next important step was the consecration of Augustine. At Gregory's direction he proceeded to Gaul, where he was consecrated, by Archbishop Vergilius, as Archbishop of the English, and by the Christmas following we read that more than 10,000 Kentish men had been baptised. Established at Canterbury, Augustine received from Ethelbert the gift of a palace, and on the spot where an old church
 CANTERBURY then stood, he laid the foundations of Can-
 CATHEDRAL. terbury Cathedral. This was the beginning
 of our original and Metropolitan Christ
 Church, "the Mother Church of English Christianity."†
 Augustine also planned, near to the cathedral, the monastery which still bears his name. Having reported to Gregory what he had done, Augustine inquires "How am I to deal with the Bishops of Britain?" Gregory answers they are all committed to the care and authority of Augustine.

But here arose a difficulty; the British Bishops positively refused to admit the supremacy of Rome.
 CONFERENCE At a conference held in A.D. 602 or 603, at a
 WITH BRITISH place still called Augustine's Oak, at Austeliffe,
 BISHOPS. on the south bank of the Severn, Augustine
 met certain of the British Bishops with a
 view of winning them over. The chief points of difference were as to the mode of reckoning Easter, and the due performance of the ministry of baptism. The result of the conference was disappointing to the Roman; for Dunod, one of the Bishops of South Wales, closed it by saying that they

* Canon Bright, *Early Church History*, p. 51.

† Canon Bright, *Early Church History*, p. 53.

would not do as Augustine required, nor would they own him as their "Archbishop."

Augustine returned to Gaul. Gregory had planned (on paper) a scheme for twelve bishoprics under Augustine, and twelve more under a Bishop to be sent to York. The plan failed, the Augustinian mission never succeeded in planting more than two bishoprics, and its efforts were mainly confined to the Kingdom of Kent.

It will have been remembered that Augustine came from Rome. True. But we must never forget the difference between the Roman Church of Augustine's time, and the Roman Catholicism of to-day.

Everybody, of course, knows the difference between the term Roman Catholic, and Catholic; they are two very different forms of expression, possessing totally distinct meanings, but they are sometimes sadly confounded.

First take the word "Catholic." It is derived from a Greek word signifying "universal," meaning "diffused throughout the world." It is not to be found in the Bible. It never once occurs in the Greek Old Testament, or in the New. The first appearance of the word by a Christian writer is very early. It is in the Epistle of St.

THE WORD Ignatius to the Church of Smyrna, and there "CATHOLIC." it means the Universal Church, as distinguished from any local portion of it; in which same sense it is used just after by the Church of Smyrna itself, three times, in its Letter on the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp. These examples belong to the second century. In that same century, later on, St. Justin Martyr speaks of the "Catholic—*i.e.*, general—Resurrection." Finally the word came to signifying (1) the Church of the whole world, as distinguished from any portion or portions thereof; (2) this same Church, as distinguished from the sects; (3) the teaching of this Church, as containing the whole of the Divine revelation and precepts, instead of choosing only por-

tions thereof ; and (4) as applicable to all sorts and conditions of men. This is the fourfold sense in which the word is used by St. Cyril of Jerusalem and by St. Augustine.*

Now to refer for a moment to the very common mistake, that of supposing that the Church of Rome was always the same in matters of doctrine as she is to-day. It must be remembered that Romish corruptions, and the errors of the Papacy, which we call Popery, are of comparative recent date, and had no existence in the Roman Church for at least 1,000 years after Christ.

For instance, only to mention two, the claim of the Bishop of Rome to be Universal Bishop, was entirely unheard of for eight hundred years after Christ. It was vehemently denied by Gregory the Great and was first made by Nicholas, A.D. 853.

The claim of Papal infallibility was not made until the present generation, when the Council of the Vatican accepted the declaration. The difficulty which this declaration involves the Romanists in may be inferred from the fact that Pope Honorius (A.D. 625-638) was unanimously condemned as a heretic by the Sixth Council, and for hundreds of years afterwards succeeding Popes had to pronounce an anathema against him, consequently he, or his successors, could not have been regarded as infallible.

Without going into minute details, it may be briefly said that the most obvious and broad marks of distinction between Roman Catholics and Anglicans in the present day are these:—

ROMAN CATHOLIC TEACHING. Roman Catholics hold (1) that the Pope is, by Divine charter, sovereign ruler of the whole Church, supreme judge of the faithful, bishop of every

* Dr. Littledale, *Words for Truth*, p. 17.

see, and infallible in deciding matters of faith and morals ; (2) that the Blessed Virgin Mary and other saints are to be invoked in prayer, and solicited for the bestowal of grace and favour ; (3) that the Blessed Virgin was immaculately conceived ; (4) that images and pictures may receive secondary worship and homage, in honour of the personages they represent ; (5) that the laity must never partake of the cup in Holy Communion. There are many other points of difference, but it must be conceded on all hands that a communion which did not accept or practise any of these would certainly not be Roman Catholic, whatever else it might be.

But that is precisely the case of St. Gregory the Great and the Roman Church in his days. We have his own direct and express testimony on 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 against modern Roman Catholic doctrines.*

From the time of Augustine, A.D. 597, to the day when Edward White Benson was translated in 1883, there has been a regular succession of Archbishops of Canterbury, 92 in number, and their names, dates of appointment and removal, have been carefully preserved.

Augustine's next work was connected with London itself. The King of the East Saxons, Sigebert I. (or Sabert), was settled in London, and to him came one of the
 BISHOP Roman missionaries, Mellitus by name, who
 MELLITUS. after the king's conversion, became Bishop
 of London, A.D. 604.† It is said that on the
 site now occupied by St. Paul's Cathedral‡ there stood in

* See Dr. Littledale's *Words for Truth*, p. 35.

† Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii., p. 3.

‡ The present St. Paul's was opened in 1697, but not then completed. It is often alleged that the building was paid for out of the taxes, but this is a mistake ; only a portion of the money was raised by an impost on coals imported into the City. The Great Fire of 1666 destroyed old St. Paul's and eighty-six City Churches, only fifty-one of which have been rebuilt. Much of the ground on which the old churches stood was transferred to the City authorities.

these days a pagan temple dedicated to Diana. An altar of Diana discovered near the spot not many years ago,* gives a colour⁷ to the statement. Sigebert and the Bishop commenced to erect a cathedral on the spot, and the king is likewise credited with being the founder of the Monastery dedicated to St. Peter, called the "West Minster," on which stands the glorious pile, Westminster Abbey; there his tomb may still be seen, on the south side of the altar.

Curiously enough we are told that in no part of Britain was there such tenacity of heathenism, so much resistance to the new faith, as in London, which was a famous city in these early days.† The mission to London was a failure.

On the banks of the Medway stood a little town called Durobrivæ, or Swift river, more familiarly known to us as Rochester. Here Ethelbert built a Church, dedicated to St. Andrew, and Justus, another of the little Roman band of missionaries, became its first Bishop. To this Church Ethelbert gave grants of land. He also assembled his Council of Wise Men, the Witenagemôt it was called, and made certain laws to protect that which had been given to the Church, "inasmuch as his intention was to afford protection to those persons whose teaching he had accepted." Here we have proof of the recognition of Christianity by the "Parliament," as it were, "of the first English Christian King."

Augustine died in A.D. 604 or 605, and was buried outside the yet unfinished Church of his new monastery.‡ He had revived Christianity in Britain. He had converted multitudes

* Dean Milman, *Annals of St. Paul's*, p. 5.

† "The commercial fame of London dates from the early days of Roman dominion."—Freeman, iv., 279.

‡ Bede, ii., p. 3.

in Kent, had planted Churches in London and Rochester, and secured a formal and public acceptance of the Church as an organised institution,* and his noble work on earth was finished.

But his coming gave a great impetus to Church life in Britain. Godly men from Ireland, like the great Irish-born Abbot and Missionary, St. Columba; and from Scotland, like St. Chad of Melrose; like Paulinus of Kent; and above all, like the saintly Aidan, were to come in their regular order to evangelise afresh the people of other kingdoms in Britain; for outside of Kent, under Augustine, not a single kingdom had been secured for Christianity, and one had been lost.

Turning to the north of Britain, first in order comes

Paulinus, one of the Kentish missionaries,
PAULINUS. who converted Edwin of Northumbria.

There is a beautiful story connected with this conversion which we must recall. The King before being baptised, assembled his wise men and asked them what they thought of the new faith. One of them answered, "I will tell you, O King, what methinks man's life is like. Sometimes when your hall is lit up for supper on a wild winter's evening, and warmed by a fire in the midst, a sparrow flies in by one door, takes shelter for a moment in the warmth, and then flies out again by another door, and is lost in the darkness. No one in the hall sees the bird before it enters, nor after it has gone, it is only seen whilst it hovers by the fire. Even so I ween is it as to this brief span of our life in this world. What has gone before it, what will come after it, of this we know nothing. If the strange teacher can tell us, by all means let him be heard."†

Paulinus explained his mission, and on Easter Eve,

* Bright, *Early Church Hist.*, p. 95.

† Bright, *Early Church History*, p. 110.

April 11, A.D. 627, the king, and many of his Pagan followers were baptised, in a little wooden chapel erected at York, upon the spot now covered by the glorious York Minster. Among those converted was Hilda, the grand niece of Edwin, the founder of Whitby Abbey. It was the birth-day of the Northumbrian Church. The important realm of Edwin stretched northwards from the Humber to the Forth, including "Edwin's Burgh." His overlordship extended to all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, save Kent, and included the Isle of Man, and Mona, or Anglesey, as we now call it. He established Paulinus as Bishop of York, and laid the foundations of a large church in stone surrounding the old wooden one where he had kept his first Easter; and we read that the people crowded eagerly to hear the Bishop and gladly received the rite of baptism, whilst his royal convert was actively engaged in extending Christianity beyond the Northumbrian border.

There now arrived at Canterbury from Burgundy a Bishop named Felix, who took up his position at Dunwich, then a city on the Suffolk coast,* where for seventeen years—and with much success—he pursued his missionary work amongst the people of East Anglia.

But, whilst the Church was thus being built up, a fierce heathen king, Penda the "Strenuous," King of Mercia, attacked Edwin and slew him at the Battle of Hatfield, in Yorkshire, on October 12, A.D. 633. Edwin's whole army was destroyed, and Northumbria was laid waste. Paulinus fled, taking the widowed queen, Ethelburga—and with them a large golden cross and chalice

* Now annihilated by the ocean; once it possessed fifty churches, and 236 burgesses.

long shown at Canterbury—to the south. Paulinus became Bishop of Rochester, and Queen Ethelburga settled at Lyminge, where she founded a convent, the attractive ruins of which are still to be seen, and where she lies buried.

The Northumbrian Christians were cast down but not destroyed. They had lost their Bishop it

JAMES THE is true, but there remained behind one

DEACON. James “the Deacon,” whose courage, zeal, and never-failing constancy will be re-

membered so long as the story of the Church continues to be written.

The next King of Northumbria was Oswald, justly styled “Saint” Oswald, the ideal of Christian loyalty,* who earnestly desired to restore the National

ST. OSWALD. Christianity so rudely shaken by Penda.

To him, in the summer of A.D. 635 came Aidan, from Lindisfarne, a saint who, though he neither sought for or obtained sanction from Rome, yet Rome gladly acknowledges as a canonised Bishop. He is described by Bede as “a man of the utmost gentleness, piety, and moderation,” most earnest in promoting peace and charity, a conspicuous example of entire unworldliness. He formed a school for boys, amongst whom was the famous St. Chad, and was happy indeed in having Oswald for king; for, in the early days of his episcopate, Oswald would sit by the Bishop, and interpret the message of salvation to the people assembled to hear; the Bishop himself being at first ignorant of the language of the Northumbrians. The king, moreover, bestowed land on which wooden churches were erected (a solitary example of such buildings may yet be seen at Greensted in Essex, one of the most interesting ecclesiastical buildings in England), and so the work of conversion went steadily on throughout all Northumbria.

* Canon Bright, *Early Church History*, p. 132.

Another field of labour was ready in that part of England now known as Oxfordshire, then called
 CONVERSION OF Wessex. This country was inhabited by
 WESSEX. the West Saxons, to whom came, in A.D.
 BISHOP BIRINUS. 634, Bishop Birinus, who soon won as a royal
 convert, Kynegils, the King. Dorchester, where the venerable Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul stands, became the seat of the episcopate of Birinus, and from this proceeded the Sees of Winchester, Lincoln, and Oxford, in all of which districts Birinus established Churches.

In A.D. 653, four priests, named Cedd, Adda, and Betti, who were Northumbrians, and Diuna, an Irishman, formed a mission to Mercia, now known as the Midlands, from which sprang Lichfield Cathedral, the mother church of the Midland Counties. Diuna, consecrated next year, A.D. 656, began a monastery at Medeshamstede, or St. Peter's Borough, near the spot where the glorious Cathedral now stands, and, dying, was succeeded in his episcopate by a Scottish priest, by name Cellach.

On November 15th, A.D. 655, a great battle was fought at Winwidfield,* between Oswy, King of
 BATTLE OF Bernicia, a Christian, and the fierce heathen
 WINWIDFIELD. King, Penda, who, now an old man, was still the inveterate foe of the Christians. The battle was forced upon Oswy much against his will, and he vowed that if victorious he would dedicate his daughter Elfred, a babe of one year old, to the monastic life. Penda fell, and with him fell paganism. Since the Battle of Winwidfield, no secular power in Britain has formally disowned Christ.†

On the road from Dryburgh to Melrose stands all that remains of the once-famous Melrose Abbey, immortalised by Scott. Here in A.D. 661 holy men prayed and taught,

* Near the River Went.

† Canon Bright, *Early Church History*, p. 177.

and amongst them was one, a priest of "great virtues," named Cuthbert, who, on the day of Aidan's death, was admitted to the brotherhood of Melrose, and

ST. CUTHBERT. who, whilst associated with this monastery, undertook many missionary enterprises.

The great popular saint of Northern England, as he is termed, whose name is still a household word in the North, lies buried at Durham; where in 1887 thousands visited his "shrine" in order to celebrate his twelve hundredth anniversary!

Cuthbert went to Ripon, where the King had given "forty hydes of land" to build a monastery, and after labouring amongst the people with his hands—for he exceeded all his brethren in manual as well as head labour—retired to Melrose. The beautiful life of St. Cuthbert was brought to a close, "without a groan," on March 20, A.D. 687. His body was buried first at Lindisfarne, there to remain until the terror of the Northmen's invasion impelled the monks in A.D. 875, to take his bones and wander with them from place to place, until at last they found a home (A.D. 999) in Durham:—

"Where his cathedral, huge and vast,
Looks down upon the Wear."

One more missionary, and a noble one, we must mention before bringing this part of our story to a close.

In the year A.D. 634 was born Wilfrid, son of a Northumbrian thane, who, entering the priesthood, preferred ordination by a successor of St. Peter, rather than

ST. WILFRID. seek it at the hands of the authorities at Lindisfarne. A companion of Wilfrid, a great promoter of religious art and a founder of monasteries, was Benedict Biscop.* The two companions set out for

* At Jarrow he built a monastery, and enriched it with lamps, glass and lead, and stored it with rare MSS. and relics, and here, born in A.D. 673, the Venerable Bede, the first Church historian, a most holy man and notable

Rome in A.D. 653, Wilfrid, a winning lad of nineteen, "with a face of unclouded cheerfulness," and Biscop, one of the brightest ornaments of his age. In due time Wilfrid returned to the North, and settled at Ripon, "the place he loved better than any other," in the house vacated by Cuthbert, and there eventually he was laid to rest. Wilfrid, however, was first to educate his native Church, to refine and enrich it, by contact with the culture and stateliness of Canterbury, Lyons, and of majestic Rome.*

At a conference, held in A.D. 664, at Hilda's new monastery on the seaward heights of Whitby, the ruins of which are still highly attractive, Wilfrid, with greater zeal than discretion, perhaps, alleged that Scotie ways were now too rude and narrow for the Church, and claimed for it "Catholic" rights. He established the "Catholic" Easter, and so far persuaded King Oswy that his opinions were correct, that he was led to adopt the "foreign customs" in preference to the old usages of Lindisfarne.

And so the old Scotie Church of Northumbria passed away, not, however, before it had accomplished its mission by bringing religion straight home to men's hearts by sheer power of love and self-sacrifice.

Wilfrid, in A.D. 664, was chosen Bishop of York, and consecrated in Gaul; but he absented himself so long from his diocese that the people prevailed on Oswy to give them another Bishop.† This was Chad, abbot of Lastingham, who was duly elected Bishop in Wilfrid's place in A.D. 666, and Wilfrid retired to

scholar, lived for fifty-four years, dying on the eve of Ascension Day, May 25, A.D. 735. At Wearmouth there still stands an imposing church of great length, built by Biscop, in A.D. 671.

* Canon Bright, *Early English Church*, p. 192.

† Wihtried, King of Kent, A.D. 692, in a grant of privileges, given in the *Saxon Chronicle*, disclaims all right of appointment of Bishops, "the Archbishop ought to choose and appoint."

his house at Ripon. In A.D. 669 St. Chad, deposed from York by Theodore, became Bishop of the Midland Counties, settled at Lichfield, and founded a Church dedicated to St. Mary on the site of the now magnificent Lichfield Cathedral.

In 668, Canterbury becoming vacant, Theodore of Tarsus was chosen Archbishop. It is curious to observe that Dean Hook refers to him on account of his age (66), as the "Grand Old Man." So the term as associated with a certain great statesman of our time, is not wholly new. Theodore was a wonderful ruler and organiser, and he brought an amount of "spiritual benefit to the Churches of the English, such as they had never before received."* His coming was received as a public blessing by Kings and people, for he was "the first Archbishop to whom all England submitted."

Wilfrid, in A.D. 669, returned to York, where, finding the Cathedral decaying, he repaired the roofs, covering them with lead, now first used in England for such purpose, and glazed the windows. At his beloved Ripon he reared a basilica of polished stone, towering to a great height, with pillars and vaults and winding cloisters. At Hexham nothing is worthier of more attention than a small crypt of Roman masonry with Roman inscriptions on the wall, the only remaining portion of a once magnificent stone Church, which "had no equal this side of the Alps," and surpassed all the nine monasteries of which Wilfrid was, at once, father and patron.

Thus it was that through the efforts of individual saints, and after many years, the kingdoms of the Heptarchy gradually became converted to Christianity. But up to this time (A.D. 650), though nearly all the kingdoms had become converted to the faith, there was not one organised Church for the whole country. This was to be the work of Archbishop Theodore.

* Bede, v., 8.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE CHURCH.

Theodore called a Synod or meeting of Archbishops at Hertford, on September 24th, A.D. 673, at which nine resolutions were passed affecting the welfare and government of the Church, and to which each Bishop present signed his name.*

Theodore† began by dividing the kingdoms into ecclesiastical portions of more manageable size,‡ and induced the Bishops to unite under the leadership of Canterbury.

This memorable assembly, while it gave expression and consolidation to the idea of ecclesiastical unity, was also the first of all National gatherings for such legislation as should affect the whole land of the English; the pattern and precursor of our own National Parliament,§ and thus we see how the Church, thus early, was helping to make England rather than England's Parliament the Church. We should always remember this when we are told that Parliament created the Church of England.

Amongst other divisions, York was cut into three parts. This, it seems, gave offence to the high-spirited Bishop Wilfrid,|| who first protested, and then appealed to Rome, and the appeal is memorable as the first recorded ecclesias-

* Canon Bright, *Early Church History*, p. 248.

† Theodore died September 19th, A.D. 690.

‡ In Theodore's time there were 16 dioceses in England, viz.:—1. Canterbury; 2. London; 3. Rochester; 4. York; 5. Dunwich; 6. Linnisfarne; 7. Dorchester (or Winchester); 8. Lichfield; 9. Elmham; 10. Hereford; 11. Hexham; 12. Sidnaester; 13. Worcester; 14. Leicester; 15. Sherborne; 16. Selsey.

§ Green's *History of the English People*, p. 30; also Haddan and Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, i., 163.

|| In the National Anglo-Saxon Synod of Osterfield, A.D. 701, Wilfrid reproached the members with having "openly opposed the Pope's authority for twenty-two years together."

tical appeal to the Pope. Proceeding to Rome Wilfrid had audience of the Pope, and a Council, consisting of fifty Bishops, was called to consider the matter. The Council decided that Wilfrid was acting within his rights as a Bishop, and ordered that he should be reinstated in his original diocese as it stood before the division.

Wilfrid returned home armed with a Papal Bull,* which he laid before Egfrid, son of Oswy, now King of Northumbria, who had, with Theodore's sanction, filled up the vacancies caused by Wilfrid's absence, and who assembled his nobles. They at once utterly refused to pay any attention to the writing, and, to the amazement of Wilfrid, believing he had obtained it by fraud, condemned him to imprisonment for nine months! He was incarcerated in a dungeon, "seldom lit by sunshine," from which artificial light was rigorously excluded. So ended the first appeal to Rome, and it shows if nothing else that, up to this time, the Church of England was independent of the Pope of Rome.

The next we hear of Wilfrid is the brightest chapter in his life. After his release, he, with five
 WILFRID IN priests, migrated to Sussex, one of the
 SUSSEX. oldest of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy,
 but at that time one of the most insignificant. Irish zeal, which had done much for other parts of England, fell flat in Sussex, whose inhabitants were wholly ignorant of the Divine name, when Wilfrid found refuge within its borders. So barbaric were the people, and notwithstanding that a famine at this time swept the country, though the seas and rivers abounded with fish, they were actually ignorant of the way to secure

* From the Latin *Bulla*, a seal. A parchment, issued in solemn form by the Pope, sealed with a large leaden seal. William I. forbade the promulgation of any Bull without his permission, and by 25 Henry VIII., c. 21, and confirmed by a subsequent Act in 1536, no further Papal Bulls could run in England.

them. Wilfrid's versatility was equal to the occasion. Collecting some eel nets, he and his companions cast them into the sea, and the fish he secured he divided into three parts, for the poor, for the lenders of the nets, and for themselves. The people soon came to love him, and his work of conversion went on with great rapidity. He founded a Church at Selsey, about a mile eastward of the present Church,* on a spot long since submerged in the Channel, and began his episcopate with an act of Christian charity, which will ever be remembered in connection with his name. The

King of Sussex, Ethelwalch, gave him
 FREES THE eighty-seven hydes of land, the two hundred
 SLAVES. and fifty men and women living upon it
 being included in the gift as "bondsmen and
 bondswomen." Every one of these he immediately freed, and
 afterwards baptised.

Wilfrid, after forty-five years of episcopal life, died A.D. 709, and with him comes to a close the most brilliant period of our ancient Ecclesiastical history. He is buried, as already noted, in his dearly beloved Ripon. After his death a generation of lesser men succeed, and no striking character appears on the scene until Egbert established and adorned the northern Archbishopric. The monasteries which dotted the land here, there and everywhere, on ground given by the several kings and nobles of the country—to such an extent that Bede complains of the want of desirable places for the erection of new sees—at first centres of spiritual life and civilization, were already becoming corrupt, religious fervour was dying or dead, and the lofty soul of Bede mourns over a people relapsing into indifference.

And yet we are proud to remember that in no part of the world did Christianity make its way in a more honourable manner.† England became known to Christendom as a

* Murray's *Kent and Sussex*, p. 327.

† Freeman, i., 58.

fountain of light.* In no country of the world has Christianity made a more lasting or deeper impression than in our own land.

THE DANISH AND NORMAN INVASIONS.

The invasion by the Danes not only stopped the further development of our Church, but, in places, swept away all traces of it.

In A.D. 855, the Danes first wintered in the island, and for fifteen years devastated the country, burning and plundering churches and monasteries wherever and whenever the opportunity occurred, and killing without mercy the bishops and clergy. At last, in A.D. 871, Alfred succeeded to the throne, and after a succession of victories

ALFRED THE (notably one at Ethandune in A.D. 878)
GREAT. eventually made terms with the Northmen, the Danes settling down alongside with the English, learning religion and civilisation at the same time.

Alfred began the restoration; Dunstan (Bishop of Worcester, A.D. 958) followed on the same lines, and endeavoured to restore discipline in such of the monasteries as were not destroyed, everywhere encouraging education. A fresh series of Danish invasions followed, which the English were not strong enough to resist, but religious influences prevailed with

one of the boldest of the invaders, Canute—
CANUTE. the remains of whose palace, now a cowshed, may yet be seen at Southampton—and peace at last was restored, Canute eventually becoming sole King of England.

In A.D. 1042 Edward the Confessor, who succeeded to the throne, and whose magnificent tomb in
EDWARD THE Westminster Abbey is one of the greatest
CONFESSOR. attractions in that venerable pile, while he

* Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, i., 220.

did much to elevate the condition of his people, favoured the introduction of foreigners into the Church, but was happily restrained in some measure by the famous Earl Godwin.

In A.D. 1066 William the Norman invaded England, and having obtained a signal victory over the English at Senlac, near Hastings (though the final defeat of WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR. the English took place at Ely), was crowned King of England. The Pope at once urged the Conqueror to pay homage to the Church of Rome. His reply to the Pope's ambassador is historical, "Homage to thee I have not chosen, nor do I choose to do. I never made a promise to that effect; neither do I find that it was ever performed by my predecessors to thine"; an answer which shews that, up to the time of the Norman invasion the Pope had no jurisdiction over the Church or Crown of England.

THE GROWTH OF PAPAL SUPREMACY.

And now we enter on a new state of things in regard to the Church. Up to this time, whilst in full communion with the Western Church, the Church of this country was wholly independent of Rome. In its ecclesiastical constitution the Church was grouped under two provinces—Canterbury and York—the Archbishop of Canterbury being then, as now, Primate of All England, having no ecclesiastical superior.

But now the Bishops of Rome were extending their pretensions, and the foreign prelates, favoured GROWING INFLUENCE OF ROME. by the Confessor, and established and protected by William, greatly assisted the efforts of Rome to bring the Church under its control. Thus it was that the door was opened to encroachments of the Papacy upon the hitherto independent rights of the Church and Crown of England.

The repudiation of these will be dealt with in the next chapter.

The Normans gave a new impulse to the monastic system in England, and this led to a great revival of learning. The King and his nobles founded many religious houses on the land acquired from the English; and for a century after the Conquest this form of religious zeal showed itself at the expense of the Saxon endowments of parishes, which in many cases were thus diverted to swell the revenues of monks and nuns. The Normans were also great builders. They introduced a new and grand style of architecture, and the land became filled with great monasteries and stately churches, far surpassing in elegance the ruder architecture of the Saxon times.

William's reign reminds us of the "Doomsday Book," in which the lands and wealth of England were enrolled. In it will be found, amongst other things, a description of some of the possessions of the See of Canterbury, and the lands belonging to the churches in various counties. For instance, in Norfolk the possessions of 243 parish churches are entered; in Suffolk the possessions of 364 churches. Such entries prove that the property of these churches has belonged to them for upwards of 800 years, this being probably a more ancient title than can be adduced by the owners of any other property in England.

A quarrel between Henry II. and Archbishop Becket concerning the exemption claimed by the clergy from the jurisdiction of foreign courts, and some hasty words of the King, led to the murder of that prelate, an event which created such an outburst of feeling that the King was forced to yield, and the Church retained the privileges in dispute.

In the next generation the Pope succeeded in inducing King John to surrender the English Crown to Rome*; and the occasion is a remarkable one in Church as well as in English history; for Stephen Langton, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, prevailed upon the Barons to oppose the weakness of the King, and wrung from him, on June 15, A.D. 1215, that memorable charter of our English liberties, the Magna Charta,† which, amongst other things, expressly secures the freedom of the Church of England.‡ In all its struggles for the liberties of the people the Church was ever to the front.

The so-called Mediæval period embraces the history of the organic relationship of the Church of England to the See of Rome. There was no such relationship before the Norman conquest. It reached its height in the reigns of John and Henry II., but when the Roman See encroached upon the liberties of the Church and State it was resisted by the Edwards, and protested against by the Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire.

* The instrument by which this was effected was an Imperial Bull sealed with a golden seal.

† Magna Charta was signed fifty years before there was a fully constituted Parliament in England. The first National Parliament met in A.D. 1265, and for nearly 350 years it sat in the existing Chapter-House of Westminster Abbey, where the clergy had met in Convocation from A.D. 673. Verily the Church is the "cradle of the State."

‡ "The Church of England"—i.e., *Ecclesia Anglicana*, not the Church of Rome—"shall be free": *vide* Magna Charta, official translation.





CHAPTER II.

THE STORY OF "THE REFORMATION."

IF one were asked to prove the Church of this Nation to be of divine origin, he could scarcely do better than follow those pages of its history which cover the period commonly known as the Reformation Period; for surely no merely human institution, no Church save one of God's appointment, could by any possibility have withstood the shocks it then was subjected to, nor survived the many difficulties and dangers which then surrounded and opposed it, without being crushed out of existence. The story of the Reformation has been variously told. It comprises not one, but many events, extending over a long period of the Church's history; and, whether considered either in relation to politics or religion, its influence must be regarded as both powerful and remarkable. Those events have, to suit divers purposes, been frequently grossly misrepresented. Our purpose is to give, as far as possible, a plain statement of facts connected with what is called the Reformation period; to show what really happened, and to record the results of these important events as bearing upon the history of our Church.

First, let us glance for a moment at some of the fallacies connected with this part of our subject.

SOME FALLACIES. For instance, a popular notion is that our Church was established—the liberationists theory is that it was—after the Reformation. Some people seem to think that Henry VIII. or Edward VI. established a new Church. They appear to

imagine that a new form of religion was set up and endowed, and, by way of balance, subject to the control of the State. Nothing of the sort ever happened. Again, there is a sort of idea in the minds of some that before the Reformation, the Church of this country was Roman Catholic, and was then turned out by the party in power.* Nothing of this sort happened. The Church of this country was never at any time a part of the Church of Rome. The Popes did their best to secure it to themselves, but they never altogether succeeded. They claimed all sort of power over this Church, and they enforced their claims very often by the connivance of the kings and bishops of England; but this power was always, and properly, regarded by the Church as usurped. No property was taken from the Church of Rome at or before the Reformation; and that Church was not then turned out, simply because it was not here.

These are the words of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone:

“I can find no trace of that opinion which MR. GLADSTONE’S is now common in the mouths of unthinking TESTIMONY. persons, that the Roman Catholic Church was abolished in England at the period of the Reformation, and that a Protestant Church was put in its place: nor does there appear to have been so much as a doubt in the mind of any one of them (the Reformers) whether this Church legally established in England after the Reformation, was the same institution with the Church legally established in England before the Reformation.”†

Again, the historian, Freeman, tells us: “It is certain that no English ruler, no English Parliament, thought of setting up a new Church, but simply of reforming the existing

* Though this statement is constantly made on Liberationist platforms and the Press, it may be interesting to know that enquiries made in November, 1889, at the office of the Liberation Society, prove that nothing is now published by that Society to substantiate this statement. The enquirer was directed to apply to a Society of Roman Catholics.

† *The State in its Relations to the Church*, 1841.

English Church. Nothing was further from the mind of Henry VIII. or of Elizabeth, than the thought that either of them was doing anything new. Neither of them ever thought for a moment of establishing a new Church or of establishing anything at all. In their own eyes they were not establishing, but reforming: they were not pulling down or setting up, but putting to rights." Again, "If there was no one particular moment when, as many people fancy, the State endowed the Church by a deliberate act, still less was there any moment when the State, as many people fancy, took Church property from one religious body and gave it to another. The whole argument must assume—because the facts of history compel us to assume—the absolute identity of the Church of England after the Reformation, with the Church of England before the Reformation."*

PROFESSOR
FREEMAN'S
TESTIMONY.

Lastly, another great mistake is to suppose that the Reformation was largely due to the passions of a voluptuous king. It is quite true that Henry VIII. was a prominent factor in it; but any one who has studied the history of our Church in pre-Reformation times will discover that the desire for Reformation existed long before Henry's time; and that it proceeded from within the Church quite as much as from without. Let us glance at what happened before the period known as the "Reformation period" arrived.

Between the first assembling of the National Parliament in the year 1265, fifty years after Magna Charta was sealed—(which Parliament the Church, as already stated, nursed for the first 350 years of its existence—in its own cradle, *i.e.*, in the Chapter House at Westminster Abbey)—and the reign of Henry VIII., many Acts of Parliament were passed against the growing encroachment of the Papacy. All through

* Freeman: *Disestablishment and Disendowment*.

the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries these Acts of Parliament may be traced, until in the reign of Henry VIII. the Pope's supremacy was once and for all repudiated, in the year 1531.

In the year 1350—180 years before Reformation times—the Parliament of Edward III. passed an Act which declared that the “Holy Church of England (*Scinte Eglise d'Engleterre*) was founded within the realm of England by the King's ancestors, and the earls, barons, and other nobles of the realm, to inform all the people of the law of God.” The Papal encroachments, which that statute was passed to restrain, were described as tending to the “annullation of the estate of the Holy Church of England.” This was followed by the Statutes of Præmunire, which were all aimed at the unauthorised and unconstitutional assumptions of the Church of Rome, the jurisdiction of which was always repudiated by the law of the land. There is nothing in all these early statutes to show that the Church of Rome, or indeed any other Church whatsoever, at any time before the Reformation, was in possession in this country. As Lord Selborne says: “It was the Church, not of Rome, but of England” (*Ecclesia Anglicana*), of which the “rights and liberties” were declared inviolable by King John's Great Charter, confirmed by Henry III. [9 Hen. III. c. I].* On the contrary, the Church of pre-Reformation times was identically the same grand old historical Church of this country as she is in our own day.

The Popes of Rome of the time we are speaking of were powerful factors in the world and in this realm, and by such power they naturally attempted to acquire dominion over, and to enjoy the property of, our National Church; but it must ever be borne in mind that the Church of England before the Reformation, whatever else it may have been, was never Roman Catholic.

* *Defence of the Church of England*, p. 9.

At the time of the Norman Conquest, Pope Gregory VII. devoted his energies to extend the powers of the Papacy

First he set to work upon the Eastern
GROWTH OF Church ; but that Church resisted, and to
PAPAL POWER. this day the Eastern and Western branches
of the Catholic Church hold no communion
with each other. Perhaps he saw in the Conqueror's victory
over England an opportunity for advancing the claims of
Rome such as he could not resist, and though the Conqueror
would not submit, succeeding kings were, or seemed to be
too frequently the slaves of succeeding Popes.

Henceforward, to the reign of Henry VII., there was a
continued development of Papal power in England. The
Conqueror himself, though he refused to pay homage to the
Pope, allowed the Pope's dues to be collected, and the
Conqueror's followers naturally helped on the Papal claims
whenever the opportunity occurred.

As affording a specimen of Papal power in England, it may
be remarked that in the year A.D. 1210 the Pope laid this
country under an interdict, which meant
A PAPAL that all churches and all churchyards were
INTERDICT. closed ; that divine service ceased ; that the
dead were buried in waysides and in ditches ;
and not an atom of Church life stirred until that interdict
was removed.

Shortly before the death of Henry III. the Pope claimed
to present to all benefices, and he did in fact frequently
present English Sees and other Church preferments to
foreigners.* Frequently the Pope bestowed a valuable living
upon one of his supporters long before it became vacant ; even
boys of twelve years of age had livings given to them which
they had never seen in their lives, and enjoyed the incomes

* "Forty stalls in York Minster were enjoyed by Cardinals of Rome, who never set foot in England or knew a word of its language."—Canon Trevor, *Our Parish* (1889), p. 34.

arising from them, paying a miserable sum to some hireling curate to perform the work.

Again, Appeals to Rome* brought in very large sums to the Papal coffers. The Pope claimed the right to hear appeals, and, of course, claimed the fees. The Pope had agents in all parts of the country, collecting taxes which he claimed; in fact those were the golden days of the Papacy, as regards this country. England's Church was considered a gold mine, and the Pope extracted all he possibly could from it. In the reign of Henry III. the Pope drew something like £200,000 a year as taxes, fees, and "first fruits"—that is, the first year's income of every bishopric and benefice—so it was well worth the Pope's while to do his very best to keep the Church of England under his thumb.

All of this came about by gradual encroachment. Every step and every advance was an infringement of constitutional rights in Church and State. But the progress of Papal influence was so insidious, and so parallel with continental conditions, that, though there was often angry protest, determined resistance was delayed till the yoke became too intolerable to be borne any longer.

At last the people became so angry at the state of things the Pope had reduced their Church to, that a society was formed to expel the foreign intruders, death they said being preferable to the burden laid upon the backs of the Churchmen in England. Complaints to Parliament were followed

* Appeals came in under King Stephen. They were unknown for above 500 years after Augustine's time. During this period as we read in the Constitutions of Clarendon, agreed and sworn to in A.D. 1164, Appeals were to be from Archdeacon to Bishop, and from Bishop to Archbishop, and from the Archbishop to the King "according to whose commandment the cause should be finally determined in the Archbishop's Court, without any further process, unless by the King's leave" (see Wilkin's *Concilia*, Vol. i, p. 453). In King John's time, under Pope Innocent III., appeals to Rome became common, "but they formed no part of the essential law, or original constitution of the Church of England."—Lord Selborne, *Defence of the Church*, p. 16

by the passing of the various Acts already referred to, limiting the Papal encroachments. Still things grew worse. This will afford some little idea of the impoverished state of the Church previous to Reformation times.

In the reign of Henry III. the Pope sent into England a number of friars, who were commonly known as the "Pope's militia." This was done at the instigation of St. Francis, a man of great personal holiness, who obtained permission from the Pope to allow him to go as a preacher to the poor and outcast.

The introduction of these friars into England was simply this:—The first of the Order were nine in number. They arrived at Dover, in the year A.D. 1224 (being

THE ORDER OF the eighth year of the reign of King Henry
ST. FRANCIS. III.). Five of them, being priests, remained

at Canterbury, and the other four, being laymen, came to London and lodged at Holborn. They hired a house in Cornhill of John Trevor, Sheriff of London, and shortly afterwards the devotion of citizens to them, was such, and the number of friars was so increased, that they were compelled to remove to a place in St. Nicholas Shambles, given by Jno. Ewen, mercer, for the use of the Order. In the chapel of the Grey Friars Monastery, where the friars worshipped, a building which has long since passed out of remembrance, there were nine tombs of alabaster and marble, including some beautiful ironwork in the choir, and these tombs were, in later times, all pulled down, with seven score of gravestones of marble, and sold for £50, to Sir Martin Bowles, goldsmith and alderman of London. These friars were called Mendicant Friars, because they took vows of poverty. They lived for a while good and holy lives, but their followers sadly degenerated, until they brought upon themselves the hatred and contempt of their fellow-men. All this, and much more, paved the way for the Re-formation of the Church of England.

Coming now to the period commonly known as the Refor-

mation period, let us first take the word itself. Re-formation
—what does it mean? Very much indeed.

THE WORD It tells of something which had an existence
RE-FORMATION. at the time it was reformed. One cannot
reform that which is non-existent. There
must, therefore, have been a Church, and there must have
been also a Church of England, or else it would have been
impossible to re-form it. For instance, to cite, an oft-quoted
example, a drunken man sometimes takes the pledge, or a
vicious man becomes an honest citizen. 'Tis said, "These
men have reformed." Quite right. But the fact does not
alter their identity. If John Jones was a drunken man and
becomes sober, he does not become Thomas Brown or William
Smith; he is still John Jones, although he might be a much
better man than he was before. So it was with the Church—
before and after the Reformation—the same Church, only, as
some say, and as all do not fully agree, better, and purified,
after Reformation times.

The effects of the Reformation were shortly these: (a) the
final, effective and complete repudiation of
EFFECTS OF THE the assumed supremacy of the Pope, and
REFORMATION. the consequent power of the Church to
purge herself of Papal errors and abuses;
by which absolute rejection of the Pope's supremacy, Papal
errors and abuses were relegated from our Church; (b) the
suppression of the monasteries, by which the Church lost
a very large portion of its revenues, though there was no
interference with the parochial churches; (c) the issue of an
English Prayer Book in place of the service books then used
in the Latin tongue; and, above all, (d) the gift of the Bible
to the people in the English language.

The "Morning Star," as he is not inaptly called, of the
Reformation in England—for there were
JOHN WYCLIFFE. reformations in other countries besides our
own—was John Wycliffe, born in the very

north of Yorkshire, where the Tees divides that country from Durham, and where the village bears his name to this day. Like many others who afterwards became famous, we know little or nothing of his early days. We do not know exactly when he was born, but we have reason to think it was in 1324. We know that he went to Oxford, and that he became one of the foremost men of his day.

The early Roman Catholics professed, as we have seen, a religion which was quite different from the Roman Catholicism of to-day—both Gregory and Augustine taught the religion of Jesus Christ; but in the days of Wycliffe, the Papacy had become utterly degraded. The Popes of Rome

had been for a long time notoriously evil
THE PAPACY livers, and their followers naturally copied
DEGRADED. the bad examples continually set before
 them. The Papacy of Wycliffe's day, as for
many years before, was nothing to be proud of. In point of

fact there was then two rival Popes, one at
TWO RIVAL Rome, and the other at Avignon, in France.
POPES. Each excommunicated the other, each took

up arms against the other, raising an army
in order to overthrow his fellow Pope. That will give an
idea of what was going on in Rome. In the year 1366 Pope
Urban demanded payment from the then King of England
of tribute money, which King John—that man of many
promises—had agreed to pay to the Pope. The Pope
claimed arrears for thirty years—whether he claimed com-
pound interest is not stated, but the claim in itself was a very
serious one. Wycliffe took the King's side, and called atten-
tion to the doings of the friars sent from Rome. In order to
oppose the friars, Wycliffe instructed certain poor priests,
who went all about the country preaching and urging the
people to stir up feelings against Romanism. The monks
came to Wycliffe when he was sick, and begged him to recant.
He refused, and said that as long as he lived he would declaim

against their worldliness and hypocrisy. It is true that he was the founder of the sect called the Lollards, who committed excesses in after times, and of whom Dr. Hook says, "when we speak of them as martyrs we ought to regard them as political martyrs rather than religious," as "their actions tended to a revolution in the State as well as in the Church."* But we must not blame good old John Wycliffe for that. At this time most of the books were written in Latin, and printing was yet an art unknown; so that, excepting the clergy and the few persons who were educated, there were not many who could read. John Wycliffe began writing in English, and his opinions thus became widely known to the people. Perhaps it was this fact which led him to project the translation of the Bible into the people's tongue. The Romanists did their very best, of course, to prevent that, for they had good cause to know that, once the people were as wise as themselves in matters of religion, their power over them was for ever broken.

Wycliffe, assisted by several poor priests, set to work in the rectory of Lutterworth, and there began TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE. to translate the Bible into English. It must not be supposed that up to this time our Church was indifferent to the translation of Holy Writ. We have it on the authority of Sir Thomas More that long before Wycliffe's day godly men had translated the Scriptures into the English tongue; and we know that the Venerable Bede, and, to mention no other, Alfred the Great, made translations of portions of the Bible into the language of their day. But for a long time there had been no complete translation of the Bible into the language of the country.† It took Wycliffe and his copyists ten

* Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. iii., p. 94.

† In the preface (written by Cranmer) to the *Authorised Bible* of 1540 it is stated that the Bible was translated and read in the Saxon tongue—"whereof there remaineth yet divers copies found in old abbeyes."

months to prepare one copy, and when it was done it cost a sum equal to £40 of our money. Compare that with to-day. Now an ordinary printer of Bibles can produce 120 copies in an hour—two a minute—and the Bible Society, since the year 1800, have circulated no less than 113 millions of Bibles in 279 different languages and dialects; moreover they have issued a capital New Testament for one penny.

Wycliffe's Bible was largely read by the people, and the Pope summoned him to appear at Rome to answer for his actions. But he excused himself and did

WYCLIFFE not go. The Archbishop of Canterbury, CITED TO ROME. urged on no doubt by his bishops—against some of whom Wycliffe had been very outspoken on account of their great revenues, their rich meals, their fine clothes, their extravagance, and their intolerance, all of which charges he brought against some of the bishops—summoned him to appear at

AND TO St. Paul's, in 1377, but he came in such good ST. PAUL'S. company, with staunch John O'Gaunt and Lord Henry Percy on each side of him, that the Council broke up in some confusion, and, fortunately for Wycliffe, he escaped and nothing was done.

In an age of Papal intolerance, it is a wonder indeed, that John Wycliffe died on his bed, yet such is the fact, and it was not until after his death that the storm broke. Thirty years later, John Huss and Jerome of Prague were sent to the stake, and because the Romanists could not burn Wycliffe, the great reformer, alive, seeing that he had already returned to his Maker, it was ordered that his bones should be taken up and burned, and the dust thrown into the River Swift. From thence it was carried by the Swift to the Avon, and from the Avon to the sea. "These ashes of Wycliffe," says old Fuller, "are emblematical of his teaching, which," he adds, "is now known all over the civilised world."

Now an important event—the most important perhaps that ever happened in this or in any other country—occurred. The invention of printing now became first known. To William Caxton we are indebted for the introduction of the art into England. Caxton was an English boy, but spent some time in Germany acquiring a knowledge of printing from wooden letters. The invention was known rather earlier in Germany. The first printed Bible is known as the Mazarine Bible,* and it is in such great request that a copy has been sold in England for nearly £3,000. The printers rapidly increased in number in this country, so that in a few years 350 printing presses were hard at work in England. With printing, the desire for knowledge naturally arose, and here we find the Church instrumental in founding some of our great schools and colleges. We have been told sometimes that the Church has stood in the way of advancement of learning, but the statement is wholly without foundation; for instance, in Stowe's *Survey of London* we read of three schools belonging to the Church in the reign of King Stephen, in the year 1140. At the close of the fourteenth century, William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, founded Winchester School, and for the higher education of his scholars, in later days, New College, Oxford, was built by the same munificent patron. Others followed his example, and so we find that Eton College was founded by Henry VI. Long before this time four beneficed clergy of the City of London applied to the Government for permission to open schools for the boys of their parishes. The incident is mentioned only to shew that the Church was foremost in the educational movement.

During the reigns of the Tudors, though the Church encountered many dangers and difficulties, it never once

* The first German printed Bible bears the arms of Frederick III., and was issued at Mentz, in 1462. Of another version, issued in 1466, two copies are still preserved in the Senatorial Library at Leipsic.

lost its identity. The Pope's authority was rejected once and for ever, the Church was robbed of
THE TUDORS. much of its lawful property, the monasteries were desolated, the King's favourites were enriched out of the proceeds—moneys given to the Church by former benefactors;—but throughout all it remained—as it still remains—the same Church of England.

Henry VII. had two sons. The elder, Arthur, was married to Princess Catherine of Aragon, but died soon after the event. The second son, Henry, afterwards Henry VIII., was then only a boy, but his father, in order to secure the worldly possessions of the lady, united him in marriage with Catherine. The marriage was irregular, and a special dispensation from the Pope was necessary to its performance. Several children were born of the marriage, but all died save one, and that one—a girl—Princess Mary.

The King, who was much younger than his wife, was greatly disappointed at having no son to
HENRY VIII.'S succeed him, and he therefore declared that
MARRIAGE. his marriage with his brother's wife was an illegal act. There was another lady attached to the court who expressed herself ready to marry the young King if she could only do so legally, thereupon the King asked the Pope to release him from his marriage-tie. The Pope could not do it, because the ceremony had been blessed by a former occupier of the See, and it was a delicate matter for His Holiness to interfere with. So he tried to put the King off and Henry's messengers came back with various excuses. The clergy, and people, groaning under papal intolerance, threw their influence on the King's side, and eventually the King proposed that the clergy should acknowledge him to be "the protector and only supreme head of the Church and clergy of England next to Christ." This was agreed to in the Convocation of Canterbury in 1531, with the following clause "as far as is allowed by the law of Christ," which was

afterwards embodied in the Act called "The Submission of the Clergy." Later on the "Act of Supremacy" and the "Statute of Appeals" were passed—utterly abolishing every vestige of Roman supremacy and jurisdiction—always previously illegal and unconstitutional—and thus the old constitutional position of the King was restored, and freedom obtained for the Church to enter on her own work of reformation. The Pope's usurped authority was then declared to be at an end, and Henry claimed to be the supreme head of the Church.*

Such, in a very few words, was the part played by King Henry VIII. in the great drama of the Reformation. Wolsey at this time was the King's chief councillor.

WOLSEY. Wolsey was Archbishop of York. He held also many other preferments, and he became one of the richest and most luxurious of men, but he was also one of the foremost men of his time to see the need for higher education. Christ Church, Oxford, was one of the great educational centres founded by Wolsey. He added many professorships to the University of Oxford, and, had he lived, beyond doubt, he would have been the greatest founder of schools and colleges in this country. With his accumulated wealth and power he, perhaps not unnaturally, became a most arrogant man, and his enormous wealth, and his large retinue of 400 servants, attracted the envy of a king, who, though by no means so bad a monarch as is often represented, was a vicious, unprincipled man. The next thing we hear of is the King's resentment to his previous trusted friend, and the dismissal of the Cardinal, primarily because he would not consent to the King's divorce unless the Pope agreed. Wolsey, degraded and dismissed from court, his enormous wealth

* "When the separation actually took place the seceders, who obeyed the order of the Pope, were (as they have ever been since in England) few and insignificant in comparison with the mass of the clergy and lay people who still remained in the English Church."—Lord Selborne, *Defence of the Church*, pp. 28-9.

confiscated to the King, retired to York; but no peace was allowed him, and he was summoned to appear in London on a charge of treason. On the way he rested at Leicester Abbey, and there he died.

The King's Supremacy is a point which is often misunderstood and purposely made very much of, but
 THE KING'S it means practically very little. This claim
 SUPREMACY was not a new one in any sense. It was
 NOT NEW. simply the restoration to the Crown of the
 supremacy which once belonged to it before
 the Popes usurped the right. Both Coke and Blackstone assert, that power was restored to the King which had been conferred on former monarchs, but then in abeyance.* The action of declaring it by Henry VIII. was the practical restoration of a principle as old as the monarchy and constitution, and dating back to Anglo-Saxon times; the Act of 25 Henry VIII. c. 21, declares it to be an ancient constitutional principle; Canons I. and II. affirm it. If you will turn to your Prayer Book, in the 37th Article, you will read, "The Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this realm† of England, and other her dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction." "Where we attribute to the Queen's Majesty the chief Government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended, we give not to our princes the ministering either of God's word or of the Sacraments," which shews that the monarch is properly the head of all ecclesiastical and

* The Act which gave the title "Supreme Head" was repealed in Mary's time, and not revived by Queen Elizabeth.

† A common mistake is to suppose that the "Three Estates of the Realm" are the Queen, Lords, and Commons. The Three Estates are:—1. The Clergy or Spirituality (as represented by Convocation), or as we say the Lords Spiritual; 2. The Lords Temporal; 3. The Commons. The Monarch being the Head.

civil corporations ; but that Jesus Christ is the spiritual head of the Church* of England.

Sir Thomas More and the Bishop of Rochester (Fisher) refused to take the new oath of allegiance required by the altered state of things, and both were in consequence put to death ; but the general body of the clergy recognised the right of the King, by taking the oath, to which was added the words, “ so far as the law of Christ allows.”

One of the chief agents in the dissolution of the monasteries was Thomas—not Oliver—Cromwell, a man whom—whilst some regard him as having acted throughout conscientiously—we, if we have read his life rightly, must consider as one of the most cruel, cold-blooded creatures ever associated with this or any other country. This person acquired enormous power over the mind of the King, and suggested a ready means of replenishing an almost ever failing exchequer. Why not secure some of the possessions of the Church ? The monasteries were rich beyond the dreams of avarice, and the King had but to command his all too-willing agents. Henry, unable to resist the reasoning of Cromwell, thereupon invested him with power as vicar-general, first to visit the monasteries, and to report on their condition, especially as to the value of their possessions.

There were two distinct classes of monasteries at this time—the National and the Foreign monasteries.

THE MONASTERIES SUPPRESSED. The National orders were composed of the Benedictines, and the Augustinians. The Foreign orders consisted of the Cistercians and the Carthusians. The National monasteries submitted to the control of the Bishops, but the

* “ As to spiritual things, for as much as they be no earthly or temporal things, they have no worldly or temporal head, but only Christ, who did institute them, by whose ordinance they be ministered here by mortal men, elect, chosen and ordained, as God hath willed for the purpose.”—Joyce's *Acts of the Church*, p. 68.

Foreign orders recognised no authority except that of the Pope or his emissaries. In their best days both classes of monasteries had largely contributed to the learning and culture of the times. They had been the centres of life, light, and influence, and to their inmates the people had long been accustomed to look, both for spiritual and temporal advice and assistance. But now things were different. The times had changed, and both Foreign as well as National orders had outlived their day. From being centres of religious life, they were too often centres of worldliness and hypocrisy. As a body they were very rich, and owned about one-half of the property belonging to the Church. Their income was perhaps £1,500,000 a year (in present value of money); their magnificent buildings were dotted all over the country, as picturesque ruins testify to this day. At the time of Richard II. 900 houses of monks and friars had been founded, and some 300 existed before that time. The power given to Cromwell was soon further enlarged by a commission, under which monasteries were suppressed, and the monastic clergy treated as rebels, when and where they resisted. The first Act of Suppression was passed in 1535, and it dealt with the smaller houses, in number about 376, whose income was about £32,000. The King then, without any similar Act, attacked the larger establishments, and by false accusations and otherwise, obtained their forfeiture and surrender. The penalty of death was frequently inflicted on those who resisted; the good old Abbot of Glastonbury, eighty years of age, known far and wide for his liberality, who refused to admit the King's Commissioners, was thereupon taken and beheaded, his head stuck over his own gateway, and his members quartered and placed in other parts of the town. In 1540 a second Act of Suppression was passed, and a third in 1541. The Order of St. John of Jerusalem was suppressed in 1545, and the endowments of some of the Universities, of colleges, and charities, placed at

the mercy of the King. The King's death, however, arrested this last act of spoliation ; but when Edward VI. ascended the throne he continued the work of despoiling the Church, and, in addition to money, appropriated jewels, lead, glass, brass, and other things, as the King's share of the plunder.

Now what became of all the spoil? It was to a great extent shared by the King amongst his courtiers, into the laps of whom he flung half the property of the Church.* In Hallam's *Constitutional History* we read of families, whose descendants find an honourable place in the peerage, who then acquired no small portion of their estates from property thus ruthlessly torn from the Church.

Whilst the action of the King involved the entire rejection of Papal power in England and the re-establishment of the supremacy of the Crown over the Church, it must be borne in mind that no ecclesiastical corporations (with the exception of the monasteries), neither archbishopric or bishopric, neither rectory nor vicarage, were interfered with. The ecclesiastical charters which existed before the Reformation remained untouched by the King's action, and no endowments of any vicarage or rectory were in any degree interfered with. Professor Freeman, as previously mentioned, distinctly says that there was no moment when the State took the Church's property from one religious body and gave it to another, and that what many people believed happened in the reign of Henry VIII. simply never happened at all.† The Reformation, whilst destroying the monastic system, did not uproot the Church ; that was never contemplated by Henry or his immediate successors. The Bishops continued to sit in the House of Lords, the same officers performed the same duties in all religious affairs, and only 80 clergy lost their livings for refusing to submit to the new laws which were then

* *Vide Green's History of the English People—Reformation Period.*

† *Disestablishment and Disendowment*, pp. 21-23.

passed. The Convocations continued to sit all through these troublous times, and very often they anticipated the action of Parliament in measures affecting the welfare of the Church.

In such portions of the monasteries as were not dismantled, worship was still carried on as before; for instance in the nave of St. Alban's Abbey—which on account of its historical associations was left untouched, and where for ages the parishioners had assembled for worship (as they do to-day)—services continued to be conducted as usual. Malmesbury Abbey affords another example of the same kind.

Naturally the foreign orders of monks were much exasperated at Henry's conduct, and they
"PILGRIMAGE formed themselves into bands, with crosses
OF GRACE." and banners, and paraded the streets.

The agitation, which was known as the "Pilgrimage of Grace," was chiefly confined to Yorkshire and some parts of Lincolnshire. The monks went about stirring up the people, saying they were sent by God to rid this nation of evil counsellors. The agitation received a certain amount of support, and it was deemed advisable to explain matters to the people. This was done by the King's heralds, who proclaimed that the King had done nothing but that which the clergy of Canterbury and York had determined to be conformable to God's holy will and testament. The agitation died, and some of the ringleaders were put to death. In 1542 Convocation appointed a committee to consider the issue of the Prayer Book in English, instead of in Latin; and this Prayer Book, now translated into the people's tongue, was printed and ordered to be first used on Whit-Sunday, 1549.

It was hardly to be expected that all the property so rudely taken from the Church should be dissipated amongst the King's favourites, so we find that a portion of it was applied to the creation of five new bishoprics, viz., Gloucester, Chester, Oxford, Peterborough and Bristol. These

were the first bishoprics created since the days of Henry I., at which time Carlisle was founded. When the monasteries were suppressed, some of the inmates were offered and accepted positions in the cathedrals. Thus John Wake-
 NEW BISHOPRICS. man, who was the last Abbot of Tewkesbury, became the first Bishop of Gloucester Cathedral, while at Peterborough the abbot was made the first Bishop, the prior the dean, and the monks were made canons and choristers. So that things went on very much as before. Another result of the dissolution of the monasteries was the establishing of schools and colleges; for instance, Trinity College, Cambridge, was largely founded out of the monastic revenues.*

In 1535 Convocation determined upon the issue of an authorised translation of the Bible, the one in use not having received the official sanction of the Church. It was five years before the authorised translation was issued, but in 1539 appeared what was known as the "Great" Bible, and it was ordered to be set up in churches under a penalty of £2. Bibles in those days were very precious, and they were chained to the walls, as may be seen in some quaint old churches even at this day.

In 1547 Edward VI. succeeded to the throne, and, as already stated, the work of spoliation continued.

In 1549 Convocation issued the first English Prayer Book. It was compiled from the "Great" Bible, and the various Service Books then in daily use, and though the names of those who served on the Prayer Book Committee are well known, it is impossible to identify the Book of Common Prayer with any one person. Not one of the original Collects, which were then inserted in the Book, can be traced back to its author, so that we may say with truth that the

* *Vide* Rev. C. A. Lane's *Illustrated Notes on English Church History*. (2 vols., S.P.C.K., price 1s. each.) A valuable and concise book of reference.

Prayer Book is the production of no single individual, but the work of the Church of England.*

In 1552 the "Second" Prayer Book of Edward VI. was issued, but this was abolished in the first year of Queen Mary, and never revived.

In some old churches one sometimes comes across what is known as a chantry chapel, a little CHANTRY chapel usually erected by persons for the CHAPELS. interment of themselves and friends, and frequently large sums of money were bequeathed to the clergy in order that these chapels might be kept in repair. These chantry revenues were kept distinct from other endowments of the Church, and when they were confiscated to the Crown no part was given back to the Church of England, but with a part the late King's debts were paid, and with some portion schools were founded.

At the death of Edward VI. Princess Mary became Queen of England, and the new Queen being associated with those who favoured the opinions of Rome, a stern re-action naturally followed. Soon began a fierce persecution, and many persons were burned at the stake at Smithfield, and other places. Passing over the ghastly details of those dark days, it will be sufficient to say that in three years, from 1555-8, no less than 284 men, women, aye, and little children also, were burned at Smithfield. The recently erected Martyr's Memorial at Oxford commemorates the burning of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley in 1555. Cranmer put his offending right arm into the flames, and never withdrew it until he fell a lifeless mass; whilst Latimer told Ridley to play the man, "As they would kindle in England a flame which should never be put out."

With the accession of Elizabeth an altogether different state of things occurred. The clergy, driven into exile by

* Cranmer offered to prove that this Prayer Book was the same in effect as those which had been in use in the Church for "fifteen hundred years past."

the Marian persecution, came back, and were reinstated in their livings. Such of the Bishops and Clergy as refused to conform to the Act of Uniformity which was then passed, were deprived of their sees and livings, and the vacancies were filled up.

As the continuity of Episcopal orders during Elizabeth's reign has sometimes been challenged by the CONSECRATION OF ARCHBISHOP PARKER. Roman Catholics, it is well to call attention to an event which took place in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, on December 17, 1559.

This was the consecration of Archbishop Parker, one of those events which Romanists are always ready to say never took place. It so happens that a picture has been painted which is composed from historical records discovered in the library at Lambeth Palace. These records undoubtedly prove the fact of Parker's consecration. From them we gather that a sufficient number of duly consecrated Bishops were there assembled, everyone present on the occasion is mentioned by name, their vestments are described, and even the colour of the carpet in the Chapel is not omitted, so that there is no room left to doubt the due consecration of Archbishop Parker.

In the year 1563 Pope Pius IV. sent over to England, making conciliatory overtures, and is said to have offered to sanction the liturgical changes, the issue of the Bible, and the ecclesiastical appointments, if only his supremacy might be admitted. But the English people had for too long a time groaned under the burden of the Papal hand, and they were only too glad to get rid of the power of the Pope. So no answer was returned to the message of peace which came from Rome. Finding that no answer came, the Pope not only excommunicated Elizabeth, but took measures to consider how this country might again be brought under the yoke of Rome by the force of arms.

He therefore sanctioned the invasion of England by Philip of Spain, with results known to every schoolboy.

With the defeat of the Spanish Armada the power of Rome was virtually broken. There were 132 ships of war with 30,000 men on board, who sailed across the seas to invade England. Only one-half of those ever returned to their own country, and the great white banner which the Pope specially blessed upon the shores of Spain, before the fleet sailed, for many a year lay in the dust of the Tower of London.* From that fatal day no one has again dared to attempt to bring the Church of England under the control of the Pope of Rome.†

It will therefore be seen that the "Reformation" did not involve the substitution of a new Church for an old one, but the reform of the old historic Church. This Reformation was not a single act, but a succession of acts extending over 130 years. It did not invalidate the continuity of the Church. It left the Church of England what it found it, a true branch of the Catholic Church of Christ. It purified, but did not change it. The work of Reformation was concurred in by Church and State. It was a truly National work. It was the pledge of the future freedom of both Church and State from outside ecclesiastical domination. It gave the people their Bible and their Liturgy; and it set free the religious conscience, with the religious intellect. Though there are many who regret the way in which the Reformation was carried out, there can be no doubt that it has conferred priceless blessings on the whole British race.

* At least this is so stated by Maitland in his *History of London*, but the keeper of the Armoury informs me that it is no longer in his custody. It would be interesting to know into whose hands it has fallen.—[G.H.F.N.]

† But it would appear that the Roman Catholics still live in hope, if the following words of the *Tablet* (May 14, 1859), a Roman Catholic organ, are to be taken seriously, "What we of course aim at is to be, as we have once been, the *Dominant Church of England*."



CHAPTER III.

FROM REFORMATION TIMES TO OUR OWN DAY.

WHEN the Church was re-settled by the Act of Uniformity, passed in Elizabeth's reign, some of the clergy holding Puritan opinions left the Church, and about the year 1564 set up dissenting congregations of their own, whilst others who continued in the Church, taught similar opinions from the pulpit, many of the Bishops sympathising with such opinions. The Puritan incumbents, assisted by the laity, who also took occasion to put forward similar views, took every opportunity to show their disregard for the Prayer Book, and thus the way was gradually being prepared for the overthrow of the Constitution in Church and State which took place in 1648.

THE ORIGIN OF NONCONFORMITY.*

The Puritans for the most part derived their religious views from the followers of Zwingli and Calvin, at Zurich and Geneva, where they found a refuge during the Marian persecution. In days when less toleration existed than now towards those who did not conform to the worship of the Church, it is not surprising to find that many had to abandon the one or the other—their home or their

* From official returns it is shown that at the present time about 72 per cent. of the population belong to the Church of England. It is hoped that when the approaching census is taken, provision will be made for ascertaining the religious professions of the people.

religion. One result of the persecution of the early Dissenters, which drove men and women away from our shores was the formation of the New England Colonies of America.

The first important dissenting body which came into existence (about the year 1590) in England
PRESBYTERIANS. was that whose members styled themselves Presbyterians. Their leading principle is the assertion that by Divine appointment the discipline of the Church lies with the Presbyters, not with the Bishops. Their leader was Cartwright, a Cambridge Professor, who established several Presbyterian associations at this period. (Between 1645-1654 this form of dissent was at the height of its popularity; it declined in power during the Commonwealth, and has never exercised any influence on religion in England since.)

Next came the Independents, or Congregationalists, as they are now called, founded by Robert
THE CONGREGATIONALISTS. Brownne in 1570. The guiding principle of this body is the right of each congregation to settle its doctrine, ritual, and discipline; so the Congregationalists are a series of separate societies, each having the power of self-government. This was the religious persuasion of the Pilgrim Fathers, the first new English Colonists. It was the form of religion professed by the army of Cromwell, nearly all of whose soldiers belonged to it. During the Commonwealth—1653-1658—it became a powerful factor in this country, and for years the Independents were bitter foes to the Church of England. Time has happily softened this feeling of hostility to the Church on the part of the more religious minded of the Independents; and it is pleasant to call to mind that, at the first meeting of a Nonconformist Association held at Preston in Lancashire, in 1889, when a proposal to disestablish and disendow the Church of England

was discussed, four Dissenting ministers (who strongly condemned the resolutions) withdrew from the Association.

The Baptists were founded on September 12th, 1633 (Mr. J. Spilsbury being the first minister), by
 THE BAPTISTS. those who could support neither the Church, nor the newly-founded sect—the Independents—to which they belonged. Certain of the Independents, who denied the right of baptism to all who had not become of full age, therefore separated from that body, and formed a new sect, who administered the baptismal rite by immersion. Few sects have perhaps suffered so much by internal divisions as the Baptists; very soon they split into two parts under the name of General and Particular Baptists. The Particular Baptists are subdivided into Free Communionists and Close Communionists; whilst the General Baptists, again splitting up in 1770, formed a “New Connexion.”

Lastly there were the Quakers, or Society of Friends, founded in 1646 by James Naylor, Richard
 THE QUAKERS. Farnworth and George Fox, the latter the most important of the three. The leading idea of their system was that of personal illumination of the Holy Spirit. The Society has numbered in its ranks the names of many highly esteemed citizens. It is now but a small, gradually decreasing sect, in 1886 its members only numbering 15,000.

From these sects have sprung many other bodies of Dissenters, until in 1889 there appeared the names of no less than 237 different dissenting communities on the Registrar-General’s Book.*†

* “England alone is reported to contain some seven hundred sects.”—*The Times*, January 13th, 1885.

† It is urged by some dissenters, that the Church ought to be free from control by the State, but dissenters are themselves under State control. They are bound to the conditions of their several Trust Deeds, to which the law keeps them. Between 1840 and 1869, concerning these Dissenting Trust Deeds, no less than 23 law suits were heard. Commenting on one of these trials, which was argued in February, 1881, before Vice-Chancellor Hall (the

Upon the accession of James I. the Puritans, expecting much from him, presented a petition known as the "Millenary" petition, asking the King to use his authority to initiate certain changes in the ecclesiastical system in their favour. The King thereupon appointed a conference, which met at Hampton Court. The ablest representative Churchmen and Nonconformists assembled, and the King listened to both sides; but it soon appeared that the Prayer Book was the Puritan stumbling-block. On the third day the King abruptly broke up the Conference as not likely to lead to profitable results to either party, though the Bishops in Convocation made a few unimportant alterations in the Prayer Book, but not such as the Puritans hoped for. The spirit of the period is shewn by the fact that a petition was presented next year from the Diocese of Lincoln, asking the King to abolish the Prayer Book altogether. Exception was also taken by the Puritans to some portions of Scripture (as it appeared in the Great Bible version), and the King expressed himself in favour of a new version.

Forty-seven most learned scholars of the day were thereupon chosen for the task of revising the Scriptures, which was accomplished in two years and nine months; the result being the "Authorised Version," issued in 1611. This work was performed in the Jerusalem Chamber, at Westminister, whence also the "Revised" version of the New Testament was issued in 1881, and the "Revised" Old Testament in 1885.

The Parliament of this time was largely composed of

case of *Jones v. Stannard*, known as the Huddersfield Chapel case), a writer in the *Christian World* (Congregational) says, "We may shout as we like that we are Jews, and never were in bondage, but Pilate is in the Judgment Hall all the same. One good effect, it is to be hoped, will follow from this trial: that we shall see less popular clamour about our imaginary freedom, and less ravings against the trammels of the State Church. Dwellers in glass houses should not throw stones."

Puritans, who were anxious to reform the ecclesiastical system in accordance with their own views; but the support of the Crown emboldened the Bishops to endeavour to repress the Puritan demands. The Act of Elizabeth, sanctioning the Thirty-nine Articles, compelled ministers to subscribe only to those concerning Faith and the Sacraments; but in 1604 Convocation issued Canons requiring subscriptions to the articles touching rites and ceremonies, and as a consequence three hundred of the Puritan Clergy, who refused to comply, were ejected from their livings.

In 1633 Laud was Archbishop of Canterbury, and justly regarded by the Puritans as the greatest obstacle to the attainment of their wishes. His enemies describe him as cold, pedantic and superstitious, but he undoubtedly possessed great powers of administration, and great capacity for business. His one object was to raise the Church of England to its proper position as a branch of the great Catholic Church. He protested alike against the errors of Rome, and the innovations of the Calvinists, and he rightly regarded episcopal succession as the essence of a Church. His great influence was soon manifest in the Church. The Puritans, largely represented in the Parliament, stoutly condemned the action of Laud and his followers, and as a result of non-obedience to the directions of the Archbishop, several of the clergy, holding Puritan opinions (in the diocese of Norwich as many as thirty), were expelled from their livings.

James I. had long wished to introduce the Prayer Book into Scotland, and Charles I., his successor, willingly assisted Laud in his endeavours to force the book upon the Scottish people. In 1637 (some Scottish divines assisting in the compilation) the Scottish Prayer Book was issued, and the King ordered it to be used by the Scottish Clergy. To enforce it meant revolution. A protest read at

Edinburgh was followed by a renewal of the "Covenant with God," which had been drawn up when Mary was on the throne. "We promise and swear," it began, "by the great name of the Lord our God, to continue in the profession and obedience of the said religion, and that we shall defend the same." It was signed in a tumult of enthusiasm; many subscribed it with tears on the cheeks, others drew blood from their arms, using it instead of ink. The attitude of the Scotch resulted in establishing the Presbyterian system in Scotland more firmly than ever, and whilst the King, aided by Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, strongly urged war against Scotland, the English Parliament firmly refused to endorse his action.

The next chapter in this drama opens with a new Parliament, which at once impeached Strafford and imprisoned Laud. A Committee of Religion was appointed, and the Commons passed a Bill to remove the Bishops from the House of Lords. Laud was tried in November, 1643, but not beheaded until 1645, and then notwithstanding that the King had granted him pardon under the Great Seal.

Driven from one refuge to another King Charles found himself in May, 1646, in the hands of the Scotch, who negotiated for his surrender (in the January following) on receiving £400,000. In 1649 he was tried in Westminster Hall, and condemned on January 30th. He was executed outside Whitehall. Thus died King Charles the Martyr.* Six weeks afterwards the Parliament formally abolished Monarchy, and two months later established a Commonwealth. A period of civil and religious anarchy followed. Between 1640 and 1658 Puritanism was supreme. The Clergy were prosecuted, betrayed, fined, beaten and even slain. They were ejected and exiled to the number of about seven thousand, and their places seized upon by Puritan

* For whom a Special Service was appended to the Prayer Book, until it was removed so late as the year 1859. He is there spoken of as "King Charles, the Martyr."

ministers. Axes and hammers were wielded by frantic hands until every adornment of our Cathedrals and parish churches lay crushed beneath the feet of the fanatics of those days. The utmost confusion in both Church and State followed.* John Evelyn, living at this time, enters in his diary on October 11th, 1649: "The Army turned out the Parliament. No Government. All in confusion. No magistrates, owned or pretended, but the soldiers, and they not agreed. God Almighty have mercy on us."† Who can tell with what joy the famous chronicler could write, on September 3rd, 1658: "Died that arch-rebel Cromwell, called Protector! Buried like a King, but the joyfullest funeral I ever saw"!

The Restoration, which brought Charles II. to Whitehall, changed the whole face of England. The Bishops, the oldest occupants of seats in the House of Lords, were reinstated, and prayer was again offered in both Houses of the Legislature. Some alterations were made in the Book of Common Prayer, and some of the clergy who had been

* A notable Puritan of the Commonwealth was William Dowsing. This worthy was a member of a family of Suffolk yeomen. By a warrant, dated December 19, 1634, he was appointed visitor of the Suffolk churches, and zealously he discharged his duties. A hundred and fifty places were visited in less than fifty days. In one day at Ipswich eleven churches were "purified" of "idolatrous" symbols. The following extracts from his journal illustrates the spirit of the times:—"Haverhill, Jan. the 6th,—We broke about a hundred superstitious pictures, and seven Fryars hugging a Nun, and the picture of God and Christ, and divers others very superstitious, and 200 had been broke down before I came. We took away two Popish inscriptions with *ora pro nobis*; and we beat down a great stoning cross on the top of the church." On the same day, at Clare:—"We broke down 100 pictures superstitious; I broke down 200; 3 of God the Father, and 3 of Christ and the Holy Lamb, and 3 of the Holy Ghost like a dove with wings; and the twelve Apostles were carved in wood on the top of the roof, which we gave orders to take down, and 20 cherubims to be taken down."

† The Prayer Book was forbidden to be read under a penalty of £5 for the first offence, £100 for the second, and conviction for felony for a third.

ejected by order of the Puritans were restored to their livings.

The newly-revised Prayer Book gave offence to the Puritans, who were now obliged, by an Act of Uniformity, to receive ordination from the Bishops or vacate their livings. About fifteen hundred refused compliance, and were obliged to give up their livings. Much has been made of the ejection of the Puritans, but Dr. Calamy, an eminent Dissenter, admits that full allowance was made for tender consciences, and in many cases the law of ejection was not put into force at all.

For a season the Church made great progress, but with the accession of James II. (1685), who favoured the Roman Catholics, fresh trouble was in store for it. The King thrust upon the Universities, Roman Catholic Presidents and Deans, and the highest offices of the State became gradually filled with the King's favourites. But the King's

boldest effort was a "Declaration of Indulgence," which he ordered (on April 27th, 1688) the Bishops and clergy to read. He hoped by this to gain the Protestant Dissenters to his side, but in this he was disappointed. The Bishops assembled and, headed by Archbishop Sancroft and Bishop Ken, petitioned the King against reading the Declaration, whereupon seven of the Bishops were arrested, and sent to the Tower.

Their acquittal by a Middlesex jury was hailed with unbounded delight by the assembled multitudes, and very soon overtures were made to the Prince of Orange, asking him to bring an army into England, and secure the liberties of the people. The result we know was the flight of the King; and in the confusion which necessarily followed, the peers placed Archbishop Sancroft at the head of the Council table, from whence

was issued a declaration that they would support William of Orange, and that his coming was hailed with satisfaction by the whole nation.*

During the reign of Queen Anne the Church rose in influence and position, and the services were well attended. Many Dissenters returned to the fold, amongst them Archbishop Secker and the great Bishop Butler.

The reign of this Queen reminds us of "Queen Anne's Bounty," the origin of which is frequently misunderstood.

Queen Anne did not give of her own to the QUEEN ANNE'S Church, but she restored money belonging BOUNTY. to the Church, which her predecessors for two hundred years past had appropriated. The Pope, before the Reformation, had demanded from the richer clergy a certain portion of their first year's income when they were appointed to a living. These portions were called "first fruits," or "annates." When in the time of Henry VIII. the Church for ever threw off the Papal yoke, the King claimed also, and received, these "first fruits," which had been paid to the Pope; as did all his successors, until the reign of Queen Anne. But when Queen Anne came to the throne she, acting under the advice of Bishop Burnet, refused to accept them. The clergy, however, still continued to pay them, but the fund thus produced, instead of going to the Crown, was devoted to the increase of poor benefices, and to other purposes by which the Church might be made more useful.†

* As the Constitution now stands, the Sovereign must be a member of the Church of England. Should he become Roman Catholic, the Crown would pass to the next heir. The monarch cannot make laws for the Church.

† These "first fruits" average about £15,000 a-year, but various sums are being continually placed in the hands of the Board of "Queen Anne's Bounty" by pious Churchmen from year to year, and the fund now administered produces something like £160,000 per annum. But, with the exception of certain Parliamentary grants made between the years 1809-

To this period we owe the foundation of two of our great Church societies. In the year 1699, Dr. Bray and a few others, founded the now great and flourishing educational institution, of which Churchmen are justly proud, the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a society which has done more for the promotion of Church principles, the encouragement of Church history, and the spread of the Gospel, than any other institution in the world.

About the year 1700 the state of Maryland, having become Anglican, invited the Bishop of London to send over a Commissary to govern them. Dr. Bray with some missionaries started for America, and observing on his arrival the vast field of labour waiting for the workers, he returned, and procured from King William III., on June 16th, 1701, a Royal Charter for the incorporation of a new Society, for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; in consequence of which Mr. Talbot, writing in 1703, could say, "in America Churches are going up amain where none had been before."

The accession of the Hanoverian dynasty had a most disastrous influence on the Church. The religious apathy which set in with the coming of the Georges is "one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of religion."* The Church, groaning under a persecuting and despotic Government, for a while put on one side its true mission, and what little zeal there was was expended in theological and political controversy. But the Church was only slumbering; soon it was to be awakened by a remark-

1820, amounting in all to £1,100,000, the money has entirely been provided by Churchmen for the use of the Church.

* Overton, *Evangelical Revival*, p. 1.

able revival which has left its effects upon its life to this day.

A REMARKABLE REVIVAL.

In 1727 there were at Oxford, two sons of the Rev. Samuel Wesley, Rector of Epworth, Lincolnshire. John, the elder, became Fellow of Lincoln; Charles was a Student of Christ Church. The brothers formed a society amongst themselves of students, some twenty-seven in number. Each night they met to review what they had done in the day, and to arrange plans for to-morrow; and whilst endeavouring to persuade others of their companions to lead better lives, they undertook the relief of impoverished families, and the care of certain poor schools, whilst some ministered in the parish workhouse. They attended weekly Communion, a custom unknown in those days, and their good associations procured for them the name of the "Godly Club," or "Methodists."

Wesley went, in 1736, to the newly-formed colony of Georgia, with the intention of converting the Red Indians; but the enterprise not turning out so well as he expected he returned home, his place there being taken by the celebrated preacher, George Whitefield. On Wesley's return he at once set about preaching with intense earnestness, and frequently in the open air. The times were most debased. The people sought amusement in bull-baiting, cock-fighting, drunkenness and brutality, and it required no small amount of moral courage to stand up and publicly condemn the savage mobs which often assembled to hear the preacher. It should never be forgotten that Wesley was to the last a staunch upholder of the Church. He frequently urged his followers never to depart from the teaching of the Church; and at the early meetings of the Methodists, held in the Foundry Chapel, resolutions were

passed by which the Wesleyans promised to “uphold and defend the Church, both by their preaching and living.”*

The outbursts of zeal and conversions due to the work of the Wesleys, and Whitefield, stirred up other clergy to emulate their example. At Clapham the Rev. John Venn, a preacher of great power, attracted to his work wealthy laymen such as John Thornton, the banker, and the great orator Wilberforce, and the tide of infidelity began to ebb. In 1799, Mr. Venn in the chair, at
CHURCH a meeting consisting of sixteen clergy and
MISSIONARY nine laymen, held at the Falcon Inn in
SOCIETY. Bishopgate Street, it was agreed to
found a society for sending missionaries to
heathen lands, and this was the first meeting of the now
great and flourishing Church Missionary Society.

In 1679 there was not a single church in the New England settlements, and only four episcopal clergymen in the whole Continent of America.† Compared with the present state of things the contrast is indeed remarkable.

In 1804 was founded the British and Foreign Bible Society, for printing cheap editions of the Scriptures in the English and foreign tongues, and for conveying the translated Scriptures to every part of the
BIBLE SOCIETY. world. How the Society has justified its
existence may be seen from the fact that
through its noble exertions there is scarcely a language or dialect into which the Bible has not been translated. The Society has issued millions of Bibles and Testaments, and at prices within the reach of the humblest peasant.

* Amongst Wesley's correspondence are several allusions to the Church—which Church he never ceased to praise during his life—and in one of his letters he expresses his belief that the Church of England is nearer to the Scriptural plan than any Church in Europe. He died March 2, 1791, aged 88. In the year previous (1790) he thus wrote in the *Arminian Magazine*, “I hold all the doctrines of the Church of England.”

† Hawkins' *Historical Notes*, p. 14.

The Christian Knowledge Society had established and supported many schools for the poor, in London and other towns, but for the most part the education, such as it was in the hands of illiterate dames, whose "teaching" was necessarily limited, and of the most imperfect kind. In 1810, the Bishop of Norwich publicly stated that nearly two-thirds of the children of the labouring poor in this kingdom had little or no education;* and here we find the Church coming forward as the pioneer of the new educational movement of Dr. Andrew Bell, whose system of teaching children by classes, instead of individually, kindled a fresh spirit of emulation in the children. This method of teaching was adopted by Mr. Lancaster, a Quaker schoolmaster who advocated a National system of education on "general Christian principles."

Thereupon the British and Foreign School Society came into existence, and for a moment it seemed as if the "Lancasterian" movement would prevail. But the Church determined to carry on the work the Christian Knowledge Society had so well begun, and the result was the formation—very largely due to the exertions of Mr. Joshua Watson, a city merchant, who spent his whole life and immense wealth in the promotion of Church work—of the National Society for the Education of the Poor; and when, in 1833, the first Government grant was made towards education it was discovered that whilst the British and Foreign Society had erected 160 schools, the National Society could boast of 690.†

But the labours of Joshua Watson were not confined to furthering education. He observed the little progress

* Sermon at St. Paul's.

† See—for further particulars concerning education—*The Church and Education*, by Rev. C. A. Wells (Church Defence Institution), price 6d.

CHURCH fact, since the days of Queen Anne scarcely
 BUILDING a church had been built;* and thus it was
 SOCIETY. that in 1818 he, in conjunction with Mr.

John Bowdler and other eminent Church men, established the Church Building Society,† and Dr. Wordsworth, then Rector of Lambeth, at once projected the building of four new churches. The Government, on being appealed to, appointed a Commission, and made a grant of one million towards the building of new churches. This was supplemented, in 1824, by another grant of half a million (part of which was expended in Scotland), and these two sums, with £100,000 a year, for eleven years, made by Government to Queen Anne's Bounty, represents all the money given by Parliament to the Church of England. [The total of all the Government grants to the Church is £3,026,000, against which we must put the sum confiscated by Henry VIII. at the Reformation, representing about a million and a half, per annum, of our money.] To the unceasing attacks of infidelity we owe also that now prosperous institution, King's College, London, founded in 1829 as a college for instruction in the doctrines and duties of Christianity, as taught by the Church of England, combined with other branches of useful education.

A NEW REVIVAL OF CHURCH LIFE.

The year 1833 witnessed a fresh revival of Church life. The movement was initiated by J. H. Newman, John Keble,

* During the first seven years of the present century only 24 churches were built or rebuilt; between 1801-1820, 96; whilst between 1821-1830 308 new churches were built.

† The Church Building Society has already made grants to the extent of £4,805 during the year 1889. Since 1818, 7,788 districts in England and Wales have received grants from this Society, amounting in all to £948,323, besides grants made for mission buildings, amounting to £16,000.

the author of the *Christian Year*, and other well-known Oxford men. The professed object of this revival was the restoration to the Church of primitive doctrine, which since the Restoration had been almost lost sight of.

The common room of Oriel College was the scene of their labours, and the publication of a series of "Tracts for the Times," extending over eight years, influenced public opinion in a remarkable way. The last and most

TRACT "90." famous Tract, "No. 90," was issued in 1841.

The earlier Tracts dealt chiefly with matters concerning primitive teaching, Apostolic succession, baptism, &c., but Tract "No. 90," from the pen of Mr. Newman, was written to show that the Thirty-nine Articles were capable of being interpreted in a sense quite different to that which the bulk of Churchmen at that time commonly understood them to mean.

The Tract, which met with much opposition, was condemned by four Oxford Tutors, as "having a tendency to mitigate the differences between Roman and Anglican Doctrine," and in the excitement which then prevailed several secessions to Rome followed, amongst them being men of great eminence, such, for instance, as Newman, Manning, and Robert Wilberforce. It was thought that many would follow the example of these men, but, as a matter of fact, the secessions to Rome since 1841 have been but few.

The sub-division of large parishes into manageable districts, which has marked the progress of the Church in our own day, has been largely due to the creation of ECCLESIASTICAL a body known as the Ecclesiastical Commis-

COMMISSIONERS. sioners, whose headquarters is at Whitehall. By an Act of Parliament (6 and 7 William IV., c. 77) a re-arrangement of existing dioceses and a more equitable division of episcopal revenues was effected, and the Commissioners were appointed to carry out these arrange-

ments. The Commissioners have accomplished a wonderful work in promoting church extension and church building throughout the country. Since 1857 they have been able to make large annual grants in augmentation of poor benefices in poor districts, the condition being that Churchmen should provide an equivalent amount. The sum thus voluntarily contributed has averaged £141,000 a year for the last five years, and amounts in the whole to some millions of money. It should be noted that all property belonging to the Church whether given in our own day or centuries ago, was given for the purposes of the Church with the intention of thereby benefiting the people, and the State has no right, claim or title to take it away.*

Should Parliament ever confiscate the endowments of the Church it would require an annual sum of four millions to enable each of the 20,000 clergy to receive say, £200 a year each. Where would the money come from ?

GROWTH OF THE CHURCH IN THE LAST FIFTY YEARS.

We now come to the accession of Queen Victoria (1837), and briefly review the remarkable progress INCREASE OF the Church has made during Her Majesty's CHURCHES IN reign. First in importance let us take LONDON. London. In 1837 there were in the diocese of London, exclusive of the City churches, but 260 places of worship, of which only 170 were parish churches, the rest being chapels and mission rooms. In 1887, the number had increased to 720, nearly all having

* By the Act of 1844, twenty-five years' undisputed possession secures to Dissenters the enjoyment of their chapel property. The Church has held some of its property for nearly a thousand years. It is interesting to recall the following words of one of the witnesses (a Nonconformist) before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to enquire into the Law of Church Rates, on February 16th, 1860. He said: "So far is the State from at present supporting the Church of England, that every parish church in England was founded, not by the State, but by individual donations in ages past."—Toulmin Smith, Barrister-at-Law.

legally assigned parishes, and supplying accommodation for upwards of four millions. Within the last fifty years 480 new Churches have been erected in London alone, to which must be added 120 temporary places of worship, now being gradually replaced by permanent structures. Assuming an average cost of £7,000 for each site and for cost of erection, we get an expenditure of three and a quarter millions sterling, *not one penny of which was provided by the State.*

As an illustration of the growth of the Church in the country, take the important town of Leeds. In 1837 there were, beside the parish church, 14 district churches. In one every pew was private property, and conferred a 40s. freehold vote, and there were but three schools. When Dr. Hook left the town in 1859, he left 36 churches, 30 flourishing schools, and, instead of six clergy houses, there were then 29.* In Manchester, between 1860 and 1886, 46 new churches were built. Referring to the recent consecration of St. Thomas', Heigham, by the Bishop of Norwich, a Norfolk paper says that a more eloquent protest against disestablishment and disendowment could not be adduced than the following summary of the Church work performed in Heigham, where the population in 25 years has doubled, and now reaches 26,000:—Two new churches built and one enlarged at a cost of £17,135; one temporary church built at a cost of £800; three parish rooms built at a cost of £3,100; two mission rooms built at a cost of £1,100; three parsonages built at a cost of £4,500; three new schools built at a cost of £2,528; two schools enlarged at a cost of £780; and an increase of five in the number of clergy.

A glance at any Diocesan map† will shew how completely the Church provides a centre of religious worship in every part and parish of the kingdom. During the past fifty years

* For such and similar instances of the growth of the Church, see *Church Year Book*, 1889, and previous years.

† There are now 34 dioceses in England and Wales.

nearly 5,000 Churches have been built in various parts of England and Wales. Whence comes all the money for the erection and endowment of these Churches? The answer is from Churchmen themselves: not a penny has been contributed by the State, with the exception of the grants mentioned on page 79.

By a Parliamentary Return,* presented to the House of Lords, on the motion of Lord Hampton, and which is easily obtainable, it is shewn that in thirty-four years, from 1840 to 1874, Churchmen spent twenty-five millions sterling on Church building and restoration. As this return only takes notice of sums of £500 and upwards, if we add to this the smaller sums which have been contributed from the same source, it will be found that her sons and daughters have, during the last fifty years, expended not less than fifty millions of money upon advancing the cause of the Church of England.

Since 1837, eight new Sees have been erected, and, to provide them, Churchmen have voluntarily contributed £500,000. These Sees, like the Churches, have not cost the State a penny.

This is not the place to record the progress and development of the Church abroad, but it may be interesting to note that whereas at the accession of Queen Victoria there were but seven Colonial Bishops, and only 172 Colonial clergy, there are now 147 Colonial and American Bishops, 7,000 clergy, and three millions of lay agents at work.

Nor ought we to omit mention of those famous gatherings of Bishops at Lambeth, known as the Lambeth Conferences. To the first invitation of the Archbishops to meet together in Lambeth Palace on September 24th, 1867, 76 Bishops from our Colonies, from America, and other

* Printed in 1875.

parts assembled together for the first time, and solemnly discussed matters of paramount importance to the welfare of both Church and country.

On June 29th, 1878, Archbishop Tait presided over the Second Lambeth Conference, at which 100 Bishops from all parts were present, who recorded their convictions, that they went back to their homes more impressed than before of the power of the one great National Church which has its roots firm in the soil of England, but its branches in every civilized, and in many an uncivilized, country of the world. A Third Lambeth Conference met under the presidency of the present Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Benson, on July 3rd, 1888, when the growth and development of the Church was plainly seen from the fact that 145 Bishops out of the 209 invited, responded to the invitation. The retired Colonial Bishops were not present. May the words of one of the many resolutions passed at this Conference bear fruit in God's own time. Testifying to the "real religious work carried on by bodies not of our Communion," the resolution adds, "Competent observers indeed assert that not in England only, but in all parts of the Christian world, there is a real yearning for unity—that men's hearts are moved more than heretofore towards Christian fellowship. May the Spirit of Love move on the troubled waters of religious differences."

There were in 1841 only 5,776 beneficed clergy. There are now nearly 14,000. Who pays the clergy? Liberationists say that the clergy are State paid. We distinctly affirm that the clergy are *not* paid by the State, nor are they supported by taxation in any form whatever. If the clergy were paid by the State, the Government of the day would have to account to the people for the money so expended; but whilst we read of sums voted every year for the Army, the Navy, Police, and other matters, who ever heard of an

THE CLERGY
NOT STATE
PAID.

HOW THE
CLERGY ARE
SUPPORTED.

annual Parliamentary vote to the Church? The total income of the parochial clergy is about three millions and a quarter,* which is chiefly derived from tithes.† But tithes are not taxes; they were never given by the State to the Church nor created by an Act of Parliament.‡ Tithes represent the gifts to the Church by Churchmen, and they are as much the property of the Church as any kind of property belonging to the Baptists, or Wesleyans, or other dissenting bodies.§

The learned Dissenter, John Selden, when arguing against the divine origin of tithes, admits (page 1209), “Afterwards, when devotion grew firmer, and most laymen of fair estate desired the residence of some Chaplain, &c., oratories and chapels began to be built for them also, and, being hallowed (or consecrated) by the Bishop, were *endowed with private maintenance by the founders*, for the Incumbents that should there reside.”

Soames (p. 164) shows that Athelstan, one of the most powerful of the Anglo-Saxon princes, granted the rank of Thane, or Lord, to such proprietors as provided Churches, properly endowed, for their tenants. And Mr. Horace Mann|| says that, “upon the erection of a Church, it became the custom, probably in imitation of a practice which appears to

* Which gives an average of £3 10s. per week for each clergyman!

† Tithes are still paid in Ireland, but instead of being paid to the parson, they are collected by the tax gatherers.

‡ If this is denied, ask for the production of the Act.

§ It should not be forgotten that Dissenters, as well as Churchmen, have received grants from the State. Between 1722 and 1850 Government grants, amounting to £216,660, were made to Nonconformists in England. Grants of much larger amount were also made to Dissenters in Ireland, and were commuted in 1871 for £700,000. In 1825 the grant to Irish Nonconformists was £13,894; in 1835, £25,400; in 1840, £33,661. See *The National Church* (1a. monthly) for 1884, pp. 83-109, for this and all information concerning the history and progress of the Church, also Parliamentary Returns called for by Lord Ashley, 1840, and Mr. W. Williams, 1845.

|| *Census of Religious Worship in Great Britain*, p. 24.

have prevailed in nearly every age and country of the world, for a founder to devote a tenth of all his property to the purposes of religion and charity. Tithes thus appear to have had their origin in voluntary payments."

The Liberation Society (formerly known as the Anti-State Church Association), in a tract entitled "Church Patronage," make a full admission that much wealth was given to the Church by voluntary gifts—that such "free gifts were much augmented in course of time; since it can be proved from documentary evidence that in the third century, houses, lands, gardens, sacred edifices, together with other property, already encumbered the spouse of Christ:"—that, "in process of time, there crept in the endowment of Parochial Churches, which was not done (says the learned author of the *Origines Ecclesiasticae*) in all places, and at the same time, in one and the same way; but it seems to have had its rise from particular founders of Churches, who settled manse and glebe upon them, and upon that score were allowed a right of patronage to present their own clerk, and invest him with the revenue of the Church wherewith they had endowed it." Thus on the testimony of our opponents, we prove the very fact which they try to deny. But Parliament, it is argued, can do anything; no doubt it can disendow the Church. Equally so can it confiscate the property of merchants or of landed proprietors, as well as the chapels and endowments of Dissenters; but might is not right.

Churchmen, when once they know the truth on this matter, will never sanction the spoliation of their Church, but reject with righteous indignation the gross misstatements and insidious schemes of Liberationists.

Who is it that so largely contributes to alleviate the sufferings of our poorer brothers and sisters?

HOSPITAL The answer is, the Church of England.
SUNDAY FUND. Independent of the many charitable institutions, initiated, organised, and supported by

Churchmen in every part of the country, we have in London that valuable institution, the Hospital Sunday Fund. An analysis of its yearly lists of contributors reveals the fact that, whereas the contributions of Roman Catholics, Jews and Dissenters of all sorts, up to December, 1888, had amounted but to £115,000, the contributions of Churchmen exceeded the sum of £350,000.

Who educates the children of the poor? is a question that is often asked, and to which one may reply, Who indeed if not the Church of England? The competition of School

Boards often presses hardy on the Church
EDUCATION OF Schools, as all school managers can testify;
THE POOR. and yet, notwithstanding this fact, it was found that in the year 1887 the Church of England educated 431,255 *more* children than the School Boards,* at a much less cost, whilst Churchmen contributed voluntarily during that year £580,000 towards the support of their schools. Since the National Society was founded Churchmen have contributed *thirty-two millions* of money for educational purposes. How much more is expended by Churchmen than others in the cause of the education of the poor may be gathered from the fact that, since the Education Act was passed in 1870, to 1878, the amount contributed by Churchmen for voluntary schools was £9,606,668, against £2,541,959 contributed for British, Wesleyan and Roman Catholic schools.

We are tempted to go on, but there are limits to the patience of the reader, who would perhaps tire of hearing of the great work the Church has done, especially in our

* The average cost of a scholar in the Board School is £2 4s. 7½d.; in the Voluntary School, £1 16s. 4d., thus saving 8s. 3½d. on each child educated in the Voluntary School, which means a saving of more than £927,000 on the 2,236,961 children in average attendance in our Voluntary Schools, or a saving to the ratepayers of nearly a million a year.—See *Official Report of Council on Education*, issued August, 1889.

own time, in various places, and in divers ways, for the good of the people, far and beyond that chronicled in these pages.

But enough has been said to show what has been the share of the Church in the past in making England what it is, and how closely identified it is with all that ministers to the welfare of the people of to-day. Think for a moment what would become of the history of this country if the Church had played no part in it. "Take," said one of England's greatest living orators, "the Church of England out of the history of England, and the history of England becomes a chaos, without order, without life, without meaning." And he added that the Church "has not only been a part of the history of this country; but a part so vital, entering so profoundly into the entire life and action of the country, that the severing of the two would leave nothing but a bleeding and lacerated mass."*

The munificence of its adherents has covered the land with temples dedicated to the service of God, not one of which has cost the ratepayer a penny. The Church alone provides a place of worship in every parish, where rich and poor alike may meet to honour and praise God. It provides also a resident clergyman in each parish, available at all times to marry, baptise, and bury, and to visit the sick and needy, whilst its enormous influence affords the best police protection in the world. Those of us who dwell in large towns seldom realise the fact that in many country parishes, but for the Church of England, there would be no provision whatever for proper religious observances. Though every village has its Church, it has not always its chapel. As an instance, we may record the fact that an inquiry was lately made in the county of Somerset into the accommodation for public worship, when it was found that out of 520 parishes

* Mr. Gladstone. Speech in the House of Commons, May 16th, 1873.

195 had no place of worship whatever, except that provided by the Church of England, and that in 400 of such parishes no resident minister of any sort existed save the parish clergyman.

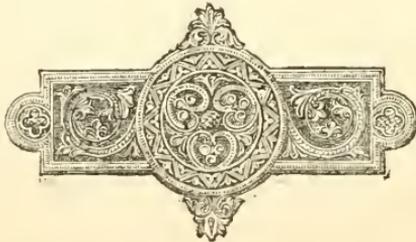
A venerable theologian, Dr. Döllinger, well acquainted with the religious condition of this country, wrote these words: "It may still be said with truth that no Church is so national, so deeply rooted in popular affection, so bound up with the institutions and manners of the country, or so powerful in its influence on national character as the Church of England. . . . What has been accomplished during the last thirty years by the energy and generosity of religious Englishmen, set in motion and guided by the Church, in the way of popular education and church building, far exceeds what has been done in any other country."*

With its roots deep down in the history of the past, its branches intertwining with every part and fibre of the higher national life, the Church of England has grown—not by sudden leaps and bounds, but surely and steadily—with the nation's growth, it has "broadened slowly down from precedent to precedent." It is a glorious heritage of which we may be justly proud, an institution which has enshrined itself in inimitable buildings, has expressed itself in the noblest literature, and is hallowed by the many saintly lives who adorn its pages of history. "Never," says the Bishop of Peterborough, "was there a time when the Church displayed more vigour, more zeal, more spiritual life and activity than at the present." Foremost in every good work, it has, in the words of one of England's most brilliant writers (a Liberal in politics), ever been "the Church of the poor. It opens its doors and its ministrations to all who care to avail themselves of them. During the last fifty years it has covered the land with hundreds of new churches, and has rebuilt or enlarged many hundreds

* Quoted by Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons, May 16th, 1873.

more, and all from the voluntary contributions of its devoted members. . . . It took up the cause of popular education when no political party would have cared to do anything to educate the poor, and it supplied the vast majority of country parishes with excellent schools, which it supported for years and is supporting still. It is the most liberal, and tolerant, and national of all existing national Churches. Its cathedrals are the delight and the despair of Churches that are less ancient and less historical. Its chief dignitaries have been, many of them, among the men of whom England is most proud, and who have made England what it is. It has been the nursing mother and the mainstay of hundreds of charitable organisations and institutions. The parsonage of the country clergyman has, in the vast majority of cases, long been the centre of nearly all the good that has been done in the country parish—the day school, the night school, the coal club, the clothing club, the lending library, the penny savings bank, the allotment ground, the coffee tavern, the temperance movement—and the parson himself, in a like majority of cases, has been the friend, the helper, and the adviser, in things temporal as well as things spiritual, of every inhabitant of his parish, most of all of the poor, the widow, the orphan, the infirm, and the afflicted. Never, in a word, in the whole course of history, has the Church of England shown more exuberant evidence of energy and vitality than it is doing at this day.”*

* Mr. R. Bosworth Smith, Letter to *The Times*, October 13th, 1885.



1873 1862 1851 **MEDALS** 1851 1862 1873

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The BISHOP OF BEDFORD: "The missionaries are still looked upon with hatred and suspicion, but not the clergy who go among them with the sanction of the parochial system."

The REV. W. H. LANGRISH: "This Fund has found the missing link between the priest of the parish and his Jewish parishioners. The Fund is doing a good, useful, and grand work."

CHURCH COLLECTIONS, ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, and DONATIONS will be thankfully received COLLECTING BOXES for A. C. S., P. M. J., and I. S. Funds (for which application should be made to the Secretary) will be supplied through the local Clergy to those who will kindly undertake to collect.

JOHN GEORGE DEED, M.A., Secretary.

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ORDINATION CANDIDATES' EXHIBITION FUND.

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THE REV. CANON GREGORY.

Honorary Secretary—

THE REV. JOHN GEORGE DEED.

OBJECT.—To assist in Supplying the necessary education to suitable candidates for Holy Orders, who would otherwise be unable to obtain it.

METHOD.—It aims at attaining this object by granting Exhibitions tenable at the Universities.

"Since 1854, the system of competitive examinations at the Universities has transferred their endowments almost universally to the sons of wealthy parents who can pay for good schools and private tutors. Against these advantages genius itself, if poor, has but a sorry chance; and the Church must expect to derive, in future years, comparatively few advantages from revenues which, whether before or since the Reformation, were mainly intended to supply the ranks of her Ministry."—*Extract from letter of REV. CANON LIDDON, D.D., to 'The Guardian.'*

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND INCUMBENTS' SUSTENTATION FUND.

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HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

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The Fund may more aptly be called a 'Poor Benefice Fund'; its object being to increase to 200*l.* a-year the incomes derivable from very poor Benefices of less than that amount.

There are 1,800 Livings under 200*l.* a-year, and of these 1,400 are under 100*l.* a-year.

Funds are very urgently needed to enable the Council of the Fund to make Grants to a large number of hard-working but poor clergy, who are doing the Church's work in these parishes.

The Poor Clergy Relief Corporation.

ESTABLISHED 1856. INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER 1867.

36, SOUTHAMPTON STREET, STRAND, LONDON, W.C.

THIS CORPORATION gives immediate assistance in money and clothing to the poorer Clergy of England, Wales, Ireland, and the Colonies, their Widows and Orphans, in times of sickness, bereavement, or other temporary distress.

The Committee meet the second and fourth Tuesday in each month, to consider the cases brought before them, and to make grants. They are guided solely in their decision by the WANT and WORTH of the Applicant.

The Corporation has, to May, 1889, aided 10,331 cases of clerical distress with grants ranging from £5 to £25.

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