



RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH

Letters and Memorials

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RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH

ARCHBISHOP

LETTERS AND MEMORIALS



Richard C. Dublin

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RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH

ARCHBISHOP

LETTERS AND MEMORIALS

EDITED BY THE AUTHOR OF
"CHARLES LOWDER"

"Let gentleness my strong enforcement be"

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.



LONDON

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH & CO., 1, PATERNOSTER SQUARE

1888

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RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH: LETTERS AND MEMORIALS.



CHAPTER I.

1864.

“ For I was thankful now
. that thus I was
Compelled, as by a gentle violence,
Not in the pages of dead books alone,
Nor merely in the fair page nature shows,
But in the living page of human life
To look and learn—not merely left to spin
Fine webs and woofs around me like the worm,
Till in mine own coil I had hid myself,
And quite shut out the light of common day,
And common air by which men breathe and live—
That being in a world of sin and woe,
Of woe that might in some part be assuaged,
Of sin that might be lessened in some part,
Heaven in its mercy did not suffer me
To live and dwell wholly apart from these.”

R. C. T., *Anti-Gnosticus.*

ON New Year's Day, the Feast of the Circumcision, 1864, in Christ Church Cathedral, Richard Chenevix Trench was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin, in the presence of an immense congregation, by the Primate of Ireland, Archbishop Beresford.

The writer (unknown to the editor of these Letters) of a little book, called “One Moment,” dated January 1, 1885,

privately printed just after Archbishop Trench's resignation, will forgive the publication of the following extract :—

“On the 1st of January, 1864, I was one of a crowded congregation, assembled in Christ Church Cathedral, to take part in the service for the consecration of Dean Trench, Archbishop-Elect of Dublin.

“The name of Dean Trench had long been familiar to me. I had been introduced to his prose writings by one dearly loved and, at that time, not ‘lost,’ but ‘gone before.’ I had read many of his poems. His writings had quickened my intellectual powers, had poured floods of light on my reading of God's Word, had deeply impressed my imagination ; and he had brought with him to Ireland a prestige, theological, intellectual, and personal, which might well excuse a great longing and an earnest desire to see himself. And so, as I said, I found myself one of the large congregation assembled that day within the walls of Christ Church Cathedral—Christ Church as it was in 1864, very unlike in its interior arrangements, as in all else, from what it is in 1885. And I am afraid that, if I tell the whole truth, my feelings that morning partook more of expectation and curiosity than of devotion.

“I was in a front pew longitudinally parallel with the aisle, and, therefore, perfectly well placed for seeing the procession as it passed slowly onwards to the chancel.

“I saw the Archbishop-Elect most distinctly, and yet how can I describe what I saw ?

“I can recall it perfectly. Bidden and unbidden, it rises constantly before me ; yet I feel wholly powerless to convey to others the impression that his countenance as I saw it during that one passing moment has left for ever both on memory and heart. His personality passed me by almost unheeded. I knew not if he were tall or short, of goodly presence or the reverse. I was only conscious of seeing a figure unrobed, when all around were robed in white, and carrying in his hand what I supposed to be a small Prayer-book ; not out of harmony with his surroundings—far from it—but, as it were, apart from them, moving, as it seemed to me, upon a higher level. -

“But what impressed me so deeply during that one moment was the countenance itself, its utter un-self-consciousness, its deep humility, its intense devotion, its almost divine spirituality.*

“It was as if those beautiful words had been realized to the full, ‘Before they call, I will answer; and while they are yet speaking, I will hear;’ and that the Spirit, invoked soon after in the ‘Veni Creator,’ had already descended upon him in all His fulness; and, as he passed on, the thought flashed through my heart, ‘What, save the power of a true, living, personal God, *could* so illuminate the countenance of any mortal?’ I felt as if in very truth I had seen the sevenfold Spirit of God resting upon him—the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and ghostly strength, the Spirit of knowledge and true godliness, the Spirit of holy fear;” and from that one moment all things, eternal and unseen, seemed invested for me with a depth of reality they had never had before.

“Since then I have passed through many experiences of spirit and of heart. I have had flashes of doubt. Who, in these days of, perhaps, too great mental activity, has escaped them? I have had days and hours of sorrow and of joy. I have had hopes and fears. But I can truly say that the countenance of Archbishop Trench as I saw it during that one moment of my life, expressing, as it did, the deepest devotion and the most perfect realization of the Unseen, and rising, as it does, entirely unbidden before my mental vision, has dispelled doubts, soothed sorrows, sanctified joys, strengthened hope, and calmed fear, by leading me to realize for myself, as nothing else has ever done, the personal existence of that living God, whose power and Spirit were so vividly portrayed before me in that one moment of my life.

“I cannot, and do not, doubt that there were many others

* “There were many, I believe, praying,” he wrote the same day to Bishop Wilberforce, “and quite conscious of the significance of the act which was being done, quite irrespective of the insignificance of him on whom it was being done. The Primate went through the service with a solemn grandeur for which I was not at all prepared.”

present on that day who can look back, as I do, upon one of its moments as *the one moment* of their life. If this be so, and if its undying memory bring to them, even in some small measure, the help and strength and comfort it has so largely brought to me, surely they must add this, as one more, to the countless reasons which we, members of the Irish Church, have to bless, honour, and revere Archbishop Trench's ministry amongst us."

To his Wife.

Dublin,

January 1, 1864.

I write to you the first few lines after that great change has passed upon me which will assuredly cause that I shall be either a better, or a worse if not better, man than I have been. All outwardly went on very well. The arrangements were very good, and the Primate went through the service very solemnly, and even grandly. If only there have been communications of grace and strength, not merely felt at the moment, but to be found in after-years, all will have been well.

There was a great gathering of relations, and in the best places.

From the BISHOP OF OXFORD.

MY DEAREST ARCHBISHOP,

January 6, 1864.

Many thanks for your few loving lines after your consecration. I had been as earnestly as I could interceding for you, that it may be the opening of a glorious Archiepiscopate, leaving cause for our children's children to bless the name which is so dear to me. I wish I could have come last night according to your bidding. But it was impossible. I go down to-night with the Lord Chief Baron Pollock, to come up to-morrow morning for your wedding.* I suppose, as you have not named it, you escape a *breakfast*.

To the BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Westminster,

January 8, 1864.

I enclose a letter from Dr. Lee, which I think will interest you. Of course, I knew that, sooner or later, I must say things and do

* The marriage, on January 7, of the Archbishop's eldest daughter, Melesina, to Cholmeley Austen Leigh.

things which will not please these people ; but one can only be thankful for such favourable prepossessions.

From the first I saw too plainly that Dr. Todd's case was nearly hopeless.* To have one vote in twenty-four is a very false position for the Archbishop himself. Seeing how matters stood, and counting it very undesirable that I should be largely outvoted by my own clergy, I announced that I should not vote.

Harold Browne seems to me the fittest man whom Cambridge possesses for the vacant bishopric of Ely.

To the Same.

The Athenæum,

January 11, 1864.

I have been considering a good deal a proposal to be named on the Royal Commission, about which, no doubt, Sir George Grey has communicated with you, to consider and revise the oaths and declarations made by the clergy.

I do not like the begging of the question that such revision is desirable, but have come to the conclusion that one would best serve the Church by accepting the invitation to serve.

The Commission seems fairly selected, with a preponderance of good Churchmen—that is, if all invited consent to serve ; and I cannot think it would be our wisdom to stand alone. I have found this the opinion of others, and I should greatly rejoice if it was yours, as your presence upon it, I am sure, would be invaluable. I should like to have talked with you before giving a final reply, but have promised it to-morrow. The three other Archbishops have consented to act.

From REV. DR. NEALE.

Sackville College,

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP, *Conversion of St. Paul, 1864.*

I will send the collection of Sequences to Macmillans by the same post, all well, by which I send this letter. You were kind enough to promise me the loan of "The Parable of the Ten Virgins." Your Grace spoke of intending to translate it. May I ask whether you have entirely given up the idea? For, if not, by your own account of it, I feel disposed to undertake the task myself.

* The Archbishop had earnestly wished that Dr. Todd might be elected Dean of St. Patrick's.

May I say one thing more? I cannot help once more telling you that English ears do hear, do catch, do enjoy, the assonances in your translation of Calderon. I tried the experiment the other day by reading to a lady, in the first place, twenty lines of "Hiawatha," then as many of your Calderon—a lady of cultivated tastes in other respects, but who had never given her attention to metrical or rhythmical questions. Without telling her why, I then asked her, "Which of those two seems now to your ear the most melodious?" She answered at once, "The last. But why was it?" I think this is some small proof that your translation was not, even to common ears, without its effect.

To REV. FRANCIS TRENCH.

Westminster,

January 25, 1864.

Very many thanks for your kind words of caution. We easily get to overweight one side of the truth; and I will fully consider whether I have not been so doing. Not that I can believe that I have said too *much* on that side, but I may very easily have said too *little* on the other. As the number of those who will tell us our mistakes, or what they think our mistakes, diminishes, we prize the more those who in this way are faithful to us still.

Our dearest M——, with her husband, are leaving us this evening, and we now seem parting from them indeed; but all, we trust and believe, will be well.

To-morrow night I, with the three youngest girls, pass over to Ireland.

We have enough of things on the surface of life, and of things in its deepest recesses, to exercise us just at this present.

To the BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Westminster,

January 26, 1864.

I must not wait to thank you and my dear fellow-workers in your diocese, till that very precious gift of yours and theirs has actually come to hand.* I am leaving in a few hours, and would not leave with this memorial of your love unacknowledged.

It will often, very often remind me of those whose faith, labour,

* An episcopal ring, given to the Archbishop by Bishop Wilberforce, Archdeacon Randall, and Archdeacon Clerke.

and love, at however remote a distance, I would desire to follow. I am ever, my dearest Bishop, yours and theirs in those bonds of Christian affection which can never be broken,

RICHARD C. DUBLIN.

To the Same.

Westminster,

January 26, 1864.

Very many thanks for your earnest words on the importance of choosing the fittest man for the vacant archdeaconry, and all that depends upon it.

My dearest child left this for her own little domicile in Green Street yesterday, and I leave the Deanery, where I have known so many joys and so many sorrows, to-night. I had heard speak of, but I little knew, the anguish of parting with a beloved daughter, even when committing her into hands so tender and loving and true as those to which we have entrusted our M——.*

I kissed hands yesterday at Windsor. The Queen was very gracious, and I had a quarter of an hour's pleasant conversation.

That all truest blessings may be ever yours is the earnest prayer of your very faithful and affectionate

RICHARD C. DUBLIN.

I am very thankful for Harold Browne's appointment.

To the Same.

Dublin,

January 31, 1864.

Could you refer me to the Act, or clause of the Act, which enabled you to exchange some of your country livings with the Lord Chancellor's in the towns? It will evidently be a serious drawback to me that, with the exception of St. Peter's and the churches dependent on it, I have almost no patronage in the city. I find all here very kind, and as if God had disposed their hearts to receive me with confidence and goodwill. I trust our Lent lectures may be quickening to many, and may at the same time accustom our clergy to work together.

I have just had to refuse the invitation to the Lord Mayor's (a

* "I almost think," he says in another letter, "what I have sometimes heard, but never before at all believed, a daughter's departure from home is a greater trial to a father than a mother. You women have the pre-eminence of love, and therefore of sorrow, in so many things, that you could bear to believe this true, if indeed it is so."

Romanist) dinner. This is the first time that an Archbishop of Dublin has refused, but it is also the first time when it was intended to omit drinking his health—a fact which I obtained from his own office. The dinner comes off in a few days, and the refusal will make something of a row here ; but I am glad to find that Lord Carlisle (who will be present) and Sir R. Peel think I am quite right, and of course the high Protestants, whom I shall have to displease in many things, will be pleased about this.

I expect my dear wife in a few days, and we shall gradually gather together in a country house four miles from Dublin, which I have taken for six months—all, that is, except that dear one who has now cast her own roots, herself to become, if God will, a mother in Israel.

To his Wife.

Dublin,

February 1, 1864.

The Drawing-room last night was really a very brilliant show, and enormously improved by taking place by candle-light, which is the light for all spectacles and shows. I saw a good many persons I already knew, and, of course, a good deal enlarged my acquaintance, but, having no ladies, stayed little more than an hour. I dine at the Castle to-day. I think 'Thatcher's' * notion of an archbishop must be a succession of ceremonials, shows, spectacles, and feasts in a succession of different dresses.

To REV. FRANCIS TRENCH.

Marlay, Rathfarnham,

February 12, 1864.

We are beginning to find ourselves a little settled, at least for the present, in this house, which we have taken for the next six months. It is about five miles from Dublin, just where the Wicklow Hills begin, in large and pleasant grounds, itself big and straggling, with some very cheerful rooms ; and, as the spring advances, we shall all enjoy—the children above all—the beauty of the neighbourhood, the pleasant walks and rides which it affords in abundance. I find, as you may suppose, much to do—more, as it sometimes seems, than I shall be able to manage, or bring into any order. Nothing, however, can be kinder than the welcome which I have found from all the clergy.

* His servant's.

I have instituted some Wednesday and Friday lectures during Lent at the principal church in Dublin, myself taking the first, and claiming the help of all the foremost clergy for the others. The day before yesterday there must have been quite two thousand people, and it was pleasant to see the Lord Lieutenant putting himself out, and coming to an eight o'clock evening service, not to speak of all the general eagerness to hear the Word. There are many difficulties ahead; the chief, perhaps, those connected with the education question. Yet there seems on the whole a greater spirit of moderation in the Irish clergy upon this matter than I had expected, and I trust that I may have grace and wisdom to see what course should be taken. At present, and with my imperfect knowledge, I decline to take any steps that would commit me on either side. I feared that in this way I should offend all; but, on the contrary, all seem to approve of this course. What I grudge most is the time absorbed in writing of letters; it is the "serving of tables" of the nineteenth century.

To the BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Marlay, Rathfarnham,

February 23, 1864.

I know you have been in the habit of getting a great deal of work out of your rural deans, and making them an important element in your diocesan organization. I am anxious to turn mine, who, on the whole, have been well selected, and have, I think, a good deal of latent work in them, to profit too; but should be very much obliged if you would tell me, in briefest, what kind of work you put them to. The kindness of all here does not at all abate. The clergy of the extreme *Church Education Society* seem quite content that *I* do not put *them* under ban, which Whately did, both socially and ecclesiastically, without at all expecting that *I* shall swear to *their* watchwords.

To his Wife.

London,

April 20, 1864.

Mrs. Gladstone had a vacancy in her table to-day of the party to meet Garibaldi, and has most kindly asked me. I called to reply, found her in the hall, and got an invitation for two more in the evening. Mary is coming and M——. She especially named the last. It is *very* kind of her, as the pressure to get there is enormous,

to-day being Garibaldi's last day in London. The real reason that his visit to the great northern cities is set aside is the anticipation of riots at Liverpool and Manchester, should he carry out his announced visits to them. At Liverpool there are one hundred and fifty thousand Irish Roman Catholics, most of them furious anti-Garibaldians.

To the Same.

London,

April 21, 1864.

The dinner at the Gladstones', of which you will see some account in the *Times*, with the party afterwards, was most interesting. I was, of course, presented to Garibaldi, and after dinner had two or three minutes' talk with him. He is very noble and simple, and altogether without affectation, and has a grand self-repose about him. Mary and M—— were delighted with their evening.

To the Same.

London,

April 29, 1864.

I was last night at Lady Stanley of Alderley's, and saw many old friends, or rather old acquaintances—all, however, kind, and seeming glad to see one.

It is, I believe, quite true that Louis Napoleon said all those fine things to Lord Clarendon about Garibaldi's reception in England, "*que c'est beau*," and the like, which he dutifully reported here; but when Lord C—— was taking final leave, he added, "When will that scaramouch be off?"

The present report is that —— was making such love to him that it was necessary to get him away. Some one observed that nothing could come of this, as poor Garibaldi had a wife already. "Oh," said another, "Gladstone shall get up and *explain her away*." Rather a fine piece of irony on his power of speech in any cause whatsoever.

To the Same.

London,

May 4, 1864.

We had a huge party at Miss Coutts's last night. Fifty sat down to dinner; "*C'est une affaire de Lord Mayor*," as the Turkish ambassadress, whom I had to take out, rather cleverly said to me. Of course, there were a great many whom I knew—the Argylls, the Cowpers, Sir Robert and Lady Peel (the last of whom seems a very charming person), the Bishop of Oxford, and others. It was on the

whole livelier than those great parties usually are. Lord Palmerston's gout continues, and, though not dangerous, creates a vast amount of speculation as to the political future. It is generally felt that he is very different in strength this year from last, and that, anyhow, matters cannot go on very long without a change.

From REV. DR. NEALE.

*St. Margaret's Home, East Grinstead,
Sunday after Ascension, 1864.*

I was unwilling to take up your time by thanking you for the "Mystery of the Ten Virgins;" and, to say the truth, I had hoped before now to send you a translation of it.

I write, however, now (as I so often have before) to ask a favour from you. I hope to be in Dublin about the middle of June, partly for the sake of seeing what mediæval liturgies and rituals the University library may possess.

If your Grace would kindly help me in getting to see the manuscripts and the like, both there and, if there are any (as I have been told there are), at Armagh, I should indeed be very grateful to you.

That "Mystery" is, indeed, most noble. It is a great pity that the editor was not better up with the quotations, by the first two or three words of the Antiphons.

If you have not seen it, I think you will be glad that I should recommend to you the "Life of Gregory V.," just published at Athens: that patriarch who was seized at the altar on Easter Day, 1821, and hung, a very old man, in his episcopal robes, before the door of the church. It is by his nephew, George Angelopoulos.

To the BISHOP OF OXFORD.

*Marlay, Rathfarnham,
May 14, 1864.*

I deeply regret Gladstone's Reform speech, which certainly has altered his whole future—may alter the whole future of England. No man but one endowed with his genius and his virtues could effectually mischief the institutions of England, but he may do it.

To his Wife.

*Ballyfree, Glencaly,
June 23, 1864.*

The Wicklow young women who present themselves for Confirmation are remarkably nice-looking, modest, intelligent, and often very

pretty. I walked yesterday after Confirmation to the Devil's Glen, a very magnificent ravine. I saw Broomfield, mentioned in my mother's "Remains;" and where she spent so much of her youth, and again, if I mistake not, of her early widowhood. I was much interested by it.

Before the end of the year the Archbishop had purchased Broomfield, and determined to build there. It became his summer home for twenty years—the brightest and happiest of homes (until illness, which was the beginning of the end)—filled during summer months with kinsfolk and friends, many of the latter from England.

In August the Archbishop went abroad for a holiday tour with two of his children—Charles, now Colonel in the Royal Artillery, and his second daughter, the only one grown up of the home group.

To his Wife.

The Archduke Charles, Linz,

August 24, 1864.

The dear son and daughter went off this morning by the steamer to Vienna; I staying behind them for a few hours and hoping to join them late this evening by rail, that in the mean time I might do what good Samaritan offices I could to a poor lady at this hotel. We arrived here late last night, at 11.30. It was a little after twelve, and I was not in bed, when I heard violent and continuous ringing of a bell, and then cries and shrieks from a room only divided by one from my own. I supposed some one was on fire, but knowing that dear Edith's room was in a different direction, was saved from the terror of that fear. Going to the room and opening the door at once, I found a lady with, as I afterwards learned him to be, her husband dead in her arms, and shrieking "Er ist todt." He had been somewhat unwell before, but a sudden heart spasm or cramp had carried him off in two or three minutes. We were able to be of some use, for when the doctor arrived and announced, as was, indeed, plain from the first, that the man was dead, the wretch of an hotel-keeper declared that it would hurt his business to have a corpse in the house, and that it must *instantly* be taken away. It was now past one, and he only quailed before a declaration that he should appear in all the German and English papers, and in Murray, if he attempted any

outrage of the kind. The poor lady (she was German-Italian, and her husband had some semi-military office in the Austrian service) was so desolate that I could not leave her till at least I knew that the telegrams which she sent off in the middle of the night in several directions had reached their destination, and that some of her kin were coming. So Charlie and Edith took boat by themselves. They had not left three-quarters of an hour before a brother-officer of the dead and his wife, resident near, who had learned what had happened, came and carried away the poor widow to their own home ; which, of course, released me.

I thought you would like to hear all this, which has woven a thread of solemn seriousness into the woof of our holiday-making.

To the Same.

Venice,

September 2, 1864.

Our weather is still the most glorious that can be conceived, and the delight of my dear fellow-travellers with Venice, its gondolas, its watery streets, its magnificent Piazza, and all its sights of wonder and beauty, is excessive.

How clear there rises up before me, as I walk the Piazza, a day some nine and twenty years ago, when that dear child who is now with his God was playing with and feeding the pigeons which haunted and still haunt that spot ; and another—she, too, now with God—was with us ; and then follows the thought of all which these nine and twenty years have given, and all which they have taken away, of the mercies which still, despite of the pruning-hook which more than once has cut us so very closely, cluster round us so thick and so many. May our hearts be filled with thankfulness and praise for those whom we still have, and those whom we venture to hope that God has in a safer keeping than ours.

To the Same.

Hospenthal on St. Gothard's Pass,

September 8, 1864.

We are now making our way rapidly home, hoping to sleep to-morrow night at Bâle, and the next at Paris. This pass, with all its austere and rugged grandeur, has, I confess, thus far a little disappointed me on the whole ; at least, I was a good deal more struck with Mont Cenis when I passed three years ago over it. That, to be sure, was in the earliest spring, and the sparkling mountains of drifted

snow lent to it a peculiar beauty which now in the late autumn is absent from this altogether. Our journey has been singularly free from, not the greater merely, but the lesser *contre-temps* of travelling, which one seldom escapes altogether, and, on the other hand, has been rich in pleasures and interests of the most various kinds. May we have thankful hearts for these, no less than the greater mercies of our lives. I do not think we had seen the caves of Adelsberg when I wrote. They are wonderful subterranean palaces, of an intricacy, variety, and extent of which no one, who has not seen them, can form the least conception.

From REV. DR. NEALE.

Sackville College,

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,

October 12, 1864.

I hope you will not think it very intruding on your time that I have asked the publisher to send your Grace the revise of my new translation of Hildebert's "Extra Portam." There are few days, or nights, in the last month that I have not worked at the rough bits, and I am afraid I cannot make it better. If you will put out anything that strikes you as especially bad, I shall try once more, and if you will kindly look especially at the following passages, I shall be more grateful than I can well say.

To the BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Dublin,

MY DEAREST BISHOP,

November 8, 1864.

Have you any experience in the ordaining of schoolmasters (I mean gentlemen and graduates of the University) who, being heads of a high-class school, and engaged during the week, wish to take Sunday duty? Unless one could thoroughly trust them, they very much escape one's after-control; but, on the other hand, a few such supernumeraries, if of the right stamp, may be very valuable.

Many thanks for your answer about our irregular preaching here, which has ceased on my remonstrance without needing to push matters to legal extremities.

As I think of all your letters, I grudge to give you the trouble of answering this, but know that you will not grudge it.

Have you read "The Northern Farmer" in Tennyson's last volume? Every clergyman ought to study it. It is a wonderful revelation of the heathenism still in the land, and quite the most valuable thing in the book.

From REV. DR. NEALE.

Sackville College,

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,

December 17, 1864.

I thank you most sincerely, first for Mohnike, and still more for your criticisms. To show you that I have endeavoured to profit by the latter, I enclose the alteration of *In intrare me non sinas*. Have you seen the "Lyra Mystica"? There is a Sequence there for the Transfiguration, written by Gerard Moultrie, which is, to my mind, the finest objective hymn in the English language, and on a par with any of Adam's, except the five or six unapproachable ones.

I remain, my dear Lord Archbishop, your Grace's ever obliged and faithful servant,

J. M. NEALE.

In intrare.

"Let me not, my one Salvation,
Taste the dungeons of damnation;
Where is anguish unavailing,
Where are stench, and woe, and wailing,
And the ever damned, confounded:
And deep things of darkness, sounded:
Where the Torturer, ever-lashing;
Worms still gnawing, teeth still gnashing;
Where the doom is fixed for ever,
For Gehenna's death dies never."

Cujus claves.

"Oped by Peter's brave confession,
Joyous burghers in possession."

Vetus hostes.

"Me the Foe's old malice urges;
Casts in fire, in water merges."

Norunt isti.

"What the streams of bliss that well there?
Ah! they know, they know, who dwell there."

"I had a most pleasant, and, I hope, not for myself an unprofitable, two hours with F— among the poor of her district this morning," the Archbishop writes on January 16, 1865. The winter months were not allowed to pass without personal visiting of the poorest of his flock in the back slums of Dublin.

CHAPTER II.

“ And all I know of glad philosophy—
And all I know of life’s home poesy—
And all I know of calm and healthful thought,
And all of better wisdom Heaven hath taught—

.
And all that I have known of cheering glow
That glares not, but lights up our hearth below—
And all I have of friends more dear than life,
Calming with gentler wisdom this world’s strife,
(So it hath pleased Heaven who gave the same,)
These all to me are link’d with thy dear name.”

ISAAC WILLIAMS.

THE first few years of Archbishop Trench’s rule over his diocese were probably amongst the happiest in his life, in spite of removal into a mental atmosphere which could not be so congenial to him as that which surrounded him at Westminster, and severance from the friends and familiar habitations of his whole life. This severance was, however, less in fact than in anticipation; as, during his attendance in the House of Lords for part of the session, his position brought him, still more than formerly, into contact with all that he cared most for in English society and intellectual activity. Nor was his Irish home less pleasant to him—full of sweet sounds of children’s voices, and of others whom he delighted to gather around him, and frequently visited by his most valued English friends. The eldest of his younger band of daughters was but just grown up when he came to Ireland; the other three were still in the schoolroom, so that, with two boys at Eton, the child element, in which the Archbishop delighted, was still kept up in his house. Nor could a far

colder heart than his fail to be touched and brightened by the universal welcome with which he was received throughout his diocese, and by his kinsfolk far and near. All seemed to feel that a great gift had been made to them, that a great presence was amongst them, in which they rejoiced.

If this were a Life of Archbishop Trench, there would be much to tell of those bright days before they were clouded by troubles in the field of the Church committed to his care. And she, at whose desire the task of editing these letters has been undertaken, has expressed her wish that an attempt should be made to preserve for his descendants some faint picture of what he was at this time, when he had been called to the highest place in the Church, and lived henceforth in the fierce light which strikes upon spiritual as well as temporal thrones, especially in times such as those which were near at hand, of manifold troubles, anxieties, and perplexities. "I should like you to say what you thought of him," were her words to the writer. Her wishes are sacred; but, though love must ever keep undimmed the familiar lines of a noble portrait, it is a hard task to draw them for others, and is only attempted in the hope that they will be recognized as true by many with whom his presence amongst us is a still fresh and living memory.

In recalling what his home was, and his influence over all who came within his inner circle, or who were in any way brought into communication with him, humility, love, and generosity stand out as the three special qualities which gave to that influence its benignity and unconscious power. These qualities were indeed his by nature, and, when sanctified by grace and by his deep response to it, they became so entirely a part of his being that, to those most intimate with him, the memory of his words and ways is steeped in their fragrance. "How beautiful his humility is!" was Dr. Pusey's exclamation, after a long conversation with him. He was too great not to be humble, for he was ever measuring himself by the vision of perfection and beauty which long before it was revealed to him he had dimly felt after. But in one who

must have been conscious of his own insight into the heart of things, his respect and consideration for the opinion of others was very remarkable indeed. He was absolutely free from self-assertion, and had, possibly, even too little self-confidence.

Of that strong, tender, faithful lovingkindness by which he drew to himself devoted and unalterable affection, it is difficult for any one whom he loved to speak.

“Where thou hast touched, O wondrous Death!
Where thou hast come between,
Lo! there for ever perisheth
The common and the mean,”

are his own words; but when we saw, in the light of the tomb, what his love for us had been, we knew that in it at least there was nothing common or mean to perish, “no little flaw or trivial speck” to be effaced by the touch of the angel of death. Probably this purity and crystalline brightness in his love for others was owing in great measure to the entire absence in himself of any littleness; he either did not perceive little flaws or trivial specks in others, or else, perceiving them, they were so dim in the light of his loving gaze as to be insignificant to him, and thus his own love remained undimmed. They who lived in its light and warmth know how it drew out and gave life to whatever seeds of good were in them. He made much possible by taking its existence for granted. Never did any man so entirely, though unconsciously, act upon Dr. Arnold’s principle with his boys, “Believe a boy is honest, and he will be so.” Everything that was poor, and unworthy, and ignoble seemed to wither up in his presence, in one glance from those calm, deep eyes. His love, and his faith in those he loved, inspired and fostered that which in a meaner atmosphere would not have had vigour enough to come to any ripeness.

This influence was the more powerful, because not consciously exerted; he lived in a region of high and loving thought himself, and lifted others into it, though it might be but for a moment. Nor was this tender thought for others

only concerning great things ; his thought in small things for their happiness was unusual : he could not bear that they should feel mortified or lack brightness in their lives, if he could prevent it. *Vinum non habent*, sang the first sweet voice heard by the poet in that circle of the Purgatorio where envy and unlove were purged away, recalling the example of the Virgin-Mother, watchful to prevent mortification to others, even where there was no absolute need. And, to one at least, her spontaneous action at the marriage feast was often recalled by the Archbishop's ways.

Love expresses itself in generosity ; and he must have been singularly generous in thought, of whom those most intimate with him cannot remember an ungenerous word or action. Generous of his time—alas ! too much so, since the hours given to others were redeemed by night study, which sapped health and strength. Generous in largest hospitality, esteeming a visit from those he loved a favour, thanking them for it, and welcoming his friends' friends, even when the pressure of excessive occupation and cares might well have made the presence of any outside his own household a burden. No one, loving his books as the Archbishop did, could have been more generous of them than he was, offering them freely, for long loans, to any whom he thought they might benefit—generous in coveting praise and recognition of merit for others, while careless of it for himself. Many will remember his keen interest in reading reviews of the works of a friend, and his genuine disappointment and vexation if he did not think it accorded sufficient commendation.

Above all, he was generous of his friends, excelling where even liberal souls sometimes are niggardly. He may have owed this, as so much besides, to his mother. There is a remarkable little bit in a letter from her, beginning : " I am a little angry with the lady who might have introduced me to your friends at Bath." After speaking of " a strange dislike " which some people have " to introducing their friends to each other," she adds, "*All this is pitiful*. How different is my dear

Mrs. Leadbeater, who is uneasy till all her friends know and like each other." The same might have been said of Archbishop Trench. "Who can we get to meet — that he or she will like?" was his continual question. Knowing that friendship, or even acquaintance, with those really worth knowing is the most valuable of possessions, he seemed to have no greater pleasure than to bestow it upon others. He loved to make his own most esteemed friends known to those whose only passport to their notice was his affection and belief in a capacity to profit by such intercourse; and after an introduction which said plainly to the greater of the less, "I bring you something I care much for," it was his wont to stand aside, and watch with pleasure from a distance the progress of acquaintance and mutual interest. It was a well-known saying of Mr. Hurrell Froude, that he thought he had done one good thing in his life, and that was bringing Newman and Keble to understand each other. Many such good actions must have been performed by the Archbishop; and if, in the land where their works follow them, it be permitted to the blessed to behold the results of that which they did from the simple promptings of love, it must surely be a joy to him to know what some of us know and see here — the far-reaching happiness and blessing, and that in the highest things, which continue to flow from his unconscious but loving generosity.

He was generous as to his interests, caring for sympathy in them. Intolerant of anything approaching blue-stocking ways, he refused, as he has himself said, to believe the antithesis of bonnets and brains to be a just one,* and his tender chivalry towards women made him rather respect and gild what he thought their intuitive perceptions, than contemplate their ignorance. He educated his daughters by sharing with them his interests on the highest and most important matters. While there were, of course, necessary reserves, though these were most rare, there were in his house no petty ones, no needless mysteries. As with his friends, so with

* See preface to "Mediæval Church History."

interesting and instructive letters from men worth knowing, his first thought seemed to be to share them with those he trusted and loved.

How they now long in vain for the few words which lit up every subject, for the clear insight, the "imaginative love of truth, as not merely true, but beautiful," which in books, as well as in everyday matters, at once separated the worthy from the unworthy. His very look was often an Ithuriel's spear. "Do not praise it," he said to one of "All Sorts and Conditions of Men;" "it is unworthy of you to praise so shallow a book. Imagine healing the hurt of the people in that way." On the other hand, "There is always in Hood's poems something deep, besides the comedy," he said, unwilling that his hearer should miss this deeper element.

It was, perhaps, the union in him of poetical and tender feeling with learning which made all intercourse with him so delightful. "What others deal with only as divines, he also saw as a poet," was said with as much truth as beauty. Yet the capacity for imparting pleasure and profit would have availed little without the generous habit of sharing his best with others, which has been dwelt upon, and which made his home what it was, and is amongst the best gifts which his children have inherited. "It was, I feel, a great privilege," a friend wrote to the editor on the day after his death, "to have known not only the Archbishop, but the family circle. There was such a transparent and restful atmosphere, one so free from the little petty whirlwinds and stinging breezes that are common to this life; and yet there was nothing enervating or commonplace. One always felt life to be nobler and more sacred after a visit to them. Grace, mercy, and truth found their embodiment there, and most perfectly in the calm dignity of the Archbishop."

One more desire of her at whose wish the above has been written remains to be fulfilled: to preserve some of the sayings written down at the time they were uttered, which will not be without interest for many.

Perhaps his chance sayings about history were, next to

those touching on poetry, the most striking. He seemed always to work back from events to the inner heart of things, and to speak of famous men of old as of familiar acquaintances. "Hildebrand made all the clergy give up their wives," he once said. "They were not quite sure that they were in the right, and he was quite sure *he* was, so there was not much doubt who would win."

Other sayings are given almost at random. "One has to make Augustine of Canterbury out a very commonplace character. He *was* very commonplace, very *domnish*. Gregory, who sent him, was very grand."

"I believe not in education, but in *race*. I reckon our Angevin kings to have been a sort of demoniac race, culminating in John."

He was wont to say that "The way to teach history is to leap from mountain-top to mountain-top," and to instance Gibbon as a great example of wise and large omission.

"The Anglo-Saxon women seem to have been grander than the men. However, they produced a great king, a great poet, and a great scholar—Alfred, Cædmon, and Bede. What a grand poet Cædmon must have been! Nearly all the Anglo-Saxon royalties ended their days in the cloister; thirty kings and queens, besides numbers of princes and princesses. The story of Harold Hardrada is about the grandest story in the world—the battle of Stamford Bridge, etc."

"St. Anselm was, on the whole, the conqueror in the struggle about the investiture. The question about which Mr. Green * is contending is exactly the same as that of the investiture in old times; it is the modern form of it."

"The six greatest men, meaning by that the men who most shaped the course of the world, have been (1) Alexander the Great; (2) Julius Cæsar; (3) Mahomet; (4) Buddha; (5) Cyrus; (6) Alfred the Great."

"Gibbon makes a great deal too much of Julian the Apostate. He *was* a very interesting person, certainly. How little he makes of Constantine! I can't say he interests me

* At the time of Rev. Sidney Faithorne Green's imprisonment.

much ; he was rather a political Christian—saw that Christianity was the *coming thing*.”

“Nero was an imperial *gamin*. He would have been very ridiculous if he had not been so powerful.”

“I wonder whether the Papacy could have existed if those words had not been spoken, ‘Upon this rock I will build My Church’? It is difficult to see how it could.”

“The history of St. Cyril of Alexandria is very short ; a violent man, who was in the main in the right in the quarrel with the Nestorians. His way of carrying on the fight was not by any means what one would desire in a Christian bishop, but he was on the right side.”

“St. Bernard was certainly one of the most beautiful characters the world has ever seen.”

“Who did most to ruin France? So many did all they could. Henry IV. did a great deal ; Louis XIV., both the Napoleons, Voltaire, Robespierre, all did all they could ; Gambetta is trying to keep one foot in with the Extreme Democrats, and one foot with those who wish, at any rate, to go slowly. It may go on for a time, but not for long.”

“I saw somewhere a Protestant picture of Luther finding a Bible, and his surprise at reading it for the first time. It shows such profound ignorance, as though the people as a mass were kept ignorant of it ; yet a sermon of St. Anselm or St. Bernard is penetrated through and through with allusions to Scripture, far more than a sermon of the present day.”

“When the Jesuits won back Germany to Romanism, which they did mainly by their schools, they used always to put the ablest teacher to take the youngest class.”

“The interest in the Old Catholic movement is entirely historical and theological ; there is nothing about it to take hold of the people. We have not yet seen any southern nation cast off the Pope without casting off faith. I trust we may ; but as yet only the Teutonic nations have done so.”

“How the *Saturday Review* will trample on Gladstone this week ! In his speech about the Queen’s title he talks of the Emperor of Germany. He should say Emperor of the

West. It certainly is very confusing, but *he* should know better; the Emperor received his crown from the Pope. The present Emperor is not Emperor of Germany at all, but *the German Emperor.*"

"Is Ireland irreconcilable? I should say that it was not so in itself, but it is by any measures that we are likely to apply to it. Ireland is made a job of by English parties. If there were an Irish Parliament, there would be a civil war in six months; the oppressed Irish Protestants would call England to their help. Ireland is the greatest recorded failure."

"A man who has made a distinct avowal of his antagonism to Christianity is in a different position to any other man in the House who *may* be a sceptic. We are not searchers of hearts, and we are not to judge; but Bradlaugh has announced what he is, and what his aims are."

The Archbishop's chance sayings of remarkable men of our time were generally interesting. "I think one ought to read Carlyle," he said, "in the light of once having heard him talk; it is a great help to the understanding of him. How he admires every one who has 'done execution,' as he calls it—Bismarck, for instance. I think, on the whole, his conversation was better than his books."

"Emerson is a particularly nice fellow. I did not know till I met him how much greater a man Carlyle was. The first thing which struck one of Carlyle's writings was a long article on German things; it was let into one of the magazines; and there was his 'Life of Schiller.' One did not quite think he was to be the great prophet. At the Grange he used to be so fierce against the luxury of the upper classes, one used to think, 'Suppose St. John had done it in *Herod's palace!*' Rogers used to be at the Grange a good deal, and was accustomed to lead the conversation there; but he hadn't a chance when Carlyle was present. He was completely effaced, and used to keep up a low, running commentary of dissatisfaction, not always very good-natured, to Lady Ashburton. Carlyle could not hear any one speak of Keats with patience. He saw only the weak side of

his character, and it had a *very* weak side. One of Carlyle's favourite theories was that no man was *mendable*, so that, if a man is a scoundrel, the only way is to put him into a hole in a bog with a hurdle over him in the old German fashion! He told me that when he had got halfway through his 'Frederick the Great' he found he was not great—that he was a great disappointment. Carlyle must always remain one of the great forces of the century. The difference between him and Froude is that between a creator and an imitator."

"Was Thackeray brilliant? No; he was always collecting materials for his books. I remember one night at the Deanery, Bishop Wilberforce was dining with us, and was at his best, coruscating every moment. Thackeray turned to me, and said, 'I couldn't *spend* at that rate.'"

"Bunsen was a grand fellow. He had a very Catholic mind, and he thought that to have a Bishop of Jerusalem, with the appointment of him turn about between the Queen and the King of Prussia, would be a bond of union between them! I remember meeting Bishop Gobat, and some one asked him a question about Greek liturgies. He seemed to know and care *nothing* about them."

"Wordsworth used to talk a great deal of himself and his own poems, but that was because he was so used to people always trying to make him do so. When I saw him, it was at the time he was dreadfully hampered by want of money. The Edinburgh reviewers effectually stopped the sale of his books. He had a grand confidence that they would one day be admired. He read *very* little, I always thought he would have been a greater poet if he had read more; the number of books he *really* knew was very small. He became very fastidious in later years—used to change lines over and over again: 'the fervent harper' into 'th' impassioned minstrel.'"

"Vaughan's lines beginning—

'Happy those early days when I
Shined in my angel infancy,'

contain all the germ of Wordsworth's 'Ode to Immortality.'"

“I met Landor once or twice. John Sterling and he had an argument on some matters of taste, and though he had been a man of war from his youth, yet Sterling had entirely the best of it. There was a great want of moral earnestness about Landor; he was a great *stylist*, like De Quincy. He wrote ‘Rose Aylmer;’ that was better than many an epic. Charles Lamb said he lived on it for a fortnight! Most of his poetry had no *claws*. There was a Spanish play much admired, but nothing took much hold upon people. How little his poems are read now!”

“Ward was one of the ablest of those who went in the great Newman secession over to Rome. The first thing he did when he went over was to marry. It made the Roman Catholics very angry, as they wanted him to be a Roman Catholic priest. He and Bishop Wilberforce had some very lively sparring one day when I dined at Dean Goulburn’s. Ward was always laughing at the Romans, saying how miserably they preached, etc.; that to a very poor congregation in a country parish the preacher would begin, ‘Ha! thou painted butterfly!’”

“In ‘Torquato Tasso’ you get a great insight into Goethe’s mind; he admires the other man, the practical one. Lewes makes a sort of god of Goethe, and there certainly is very little divine about him. The huge selfishness of the man! His ‘Iphigenia’ is like a great, cold statue; there are fine things in it, though. He joined the Duke of Brunswick’s army, and marched into France, thinking they were going to put down the Revolution. They were most dreadfully eaten. After one battle, Jemappes or Fleurus, the officers were sitting disconsolately together, and Goethe said, ‘Well, gentlemen, at any rate you have assisted at one of the turning-points in the world’s history.’ Failed to console them.”

“Napoleon had a great genius for war; Wellington, great military talent.”

“The Archduke Charles, brother to the Emperor, had a great genius for war. The reason why he was always beaten

was that he got the cannon fever in a battle, and was no more use than any common soldier. The duke said he could not hold a candle to him.”

“Nothing can hinder Gladstone from being the most remarkable man of the age.”

“Archbishop Whately had a common sense which often rose to genius.”

“Nor, I trust, shall I be found fault with,” Archbishop Trench writes in the preface to “A Household Book of English Poetry,” “that I have sometimes taken upon me to indicate what seemed worthy of special admiration ; or sought in other ways to plant the reader at that point of view from which the merits of some poem might be most deeply felt and best understood.” Some such “notes of admiration,” as they are called in the same preface, are amongst the following sayings on poetry, on books, on words and language, and proverbs :—

“The Middle Ages worshipped Virgil ; that is why the quotations from him are so numerous. Turnus is a grand hero, not like Æneas, for whom it is impossible to have an enthusiasm ; superstitious and treacherous, and always excusing his treachery by saying it was the command of a god. It always seems very mean of Æneas and the others to go about in invulnerable armour.”

“There is so much very good poetry in the world that rather good things have not a chance. We all read the good things so much too little. Who reads Wordsworth much ? The ‘Cuckoo’ was one of the things the *Quarterly Review* brought up to turn into utter ridicule and contempt.”

“A very interesting essay might be written on the *rise of the fame of Shakespear*. A hundred years ago he used to be spoken of in the same breath as Beaumont and Fletcher ! I wonder if a hundred years hence we shall be thought as behindhand in our appreciation of him as we think they were a hundred years ago ? ‘Shakespeare, the myriad-minded,’ as Coleridge calls him. Voltaire called him ‘that foolish madman.’ It is a great chance that we have any of his plays ; he

never cared in the least about preserving them. Couldn't you have a tableau at the end of a Shakespeare reading? Cleopatra dying in her robes would make a grand one, and Charmian and Iras decking her? I remember, in a picture lately in the Royal Academy, Cleopatra was given African features—a great mistake; she was purely a Greek, one of the families of the Ptolemies. It is curious to see the way in which Shakespeare works up Plutarch's 'Lives' in 'Antony and Cleopatra;' he has sometimes the very same words, as in Charmian's answer, 'It is well done, and fitting for a princess,' etc. And what a beautiful scene that is where Antony tells Eros to kill him, and then kills himself. There must have been something about Antony. He was one of Charles Kean's greatest characters, and I always thought there were points of resemblance between them. Coleridge used to say that 'Antony and Cleopatra' gave him a greater sense of power than any other creation of Shakespeare's. The whole break-up at the end is so striking."

"The most remarkable thing about Shakespeare is the way his characters form themselves; other people introduce you to their characters already formed, but *his* characters gradually *form themselves*, and get better or worse. Queen Margaret appears first as a flirt, then as a doubtful sort of wife, then at last as a cursing hag. Falconbridge, on the other hand, is an example of the strengthening of a character by the discipline of life. All the barons grow worse and worse."

"We miss a great deal of the tragic element in 'King Lear' if we fail to see Cordelia's *temper* in the first act. What wonderful touches there are in Shakespeare! Goodman Dull in 'Love's Labour's Lost'—he does not speak above a dozen words, and yet one has such a complete picture of what he is. There is an early edition of 'As You Like It,' and of 'Romeo and Juliet,' so immeasurably inferior—a great lesson to those who think poetry comes of itself."

"After Hamlet, which should you say was the most enigmatical of Shakespeare's characters? I should say Macbeth,

—a grand character stung by remorse. Richard the Third has a *genius* for wickedness brought out by Shakespeare. Are there any other characters utterly and hopelessly bad? Iago, Regan, and Goneril. Caliban? No, not Caliban; one could have got on very well with him.”

“Malvolio is not to be made a contemptible person at all; he had his mistress’s fullest confidence and affection.”

“I wonder why Cæsar is made such a puffy, fussy sort of person in ‘Julius Cæsar’? I suppose it is to bring out the greatness of Brutus.”

“What do you think of Falstaff—that he was a coward, or only pretended to be one? What a lesson his character is, of how a man may be excellent company, full of wit, and yet utterly worthless. But there is nothing so striking as his death-bed. I do not know whether the terribly serious and the grotesque are not too closely mingled. Do you remember Mrs. Quickly—‘He began to talk of God, and I told him he need not think of God just yet’? And the Christian element in Shakespeare, how great it is!”

“Isabella is grand, but rather rigid and stern; Desdemona is very beautiful, but *a little* soft and silly.”

“Dryden was essentially a low-minded man. None but a low-minded man could have written those lines in the ‘Ode for St. Cecilia’s Day.’ He was immensely able and clever.”

“Considering that Milton only wrote about fifteen sonnets, and that they are the best in the English language, I think you might be acquainted with them! Nothing can equal the unparalleled magnificence of the two first books of ‘Paradise Lost;’ it is a great pity that the end is so much poorer than the beginning.”

“‘Kubla Khan,’ by Coleridge, contains some of the most musical lines ever written—

‘For she on honey dew hath fed,
And drunk the milk of Paradise.’”

“In ‘Faust,’ *Wagner* is the Philistine, the man without the

divine idea." How beautiful the lines are where *Faust* watches the sunset—the lines I have translated."

"I suppose that the three volumes of Carlyle's 'French Revolution' are the greatest poem of modern times."

"I have got Arnold's 'Wordsworth.' What curious names he gives to the poems! 'Poems akin to the antique.' They are not that in the least. The pathos of Wordsworth in poems like 'Matthew' cannot be surpassed, yet he was not a man of great tenderness. If Mrs. Wordsworth had spoken truly, I think she would have said so."

"Tennyson is the only poet who has been a creative power for fifty years, more than fifty years. He says he is the only person who can write hexameters. He has done one poem in them: the most successful thing in them that I know is Kingsley's 'Perseus and Andromeda.' I wonder if Tennyson will be thought a great *mannerist* by-and-by; not in his lyrics—they are safe—but in his blank verse? What a perfect thing that is in 'In Memoriam,' beginning—

'Calm is the morn, without a sound'!

'Thornaby Waste,' a terrible poem. What an insight it gives into the heathenism which prevails in a Christian country! Oh, it is too true! He fails in constructiveness; he has written no long poem. I wonder whether his exquisite finish and virtuosity of language will live. 'In Memoriam,' for instance. It reminds one of Virgil, the unexpectedness of language."

"Do you know Shelley's 'Crown of Life'? He never finished it, but it was one of his very grandest; the opening lines are so fine. Byron makes a fierce attack upon Shelley, and says there is not a word in his poetry which shows any sympathy with his fellow-men. Such a contrast to Shelley; it is the agitating principle of his poems. Do you remember, in 'Julian and Maddalo' he says he is

'A nerve o'er which do creep
The else unfelt oppressions of this earth.'

"'The West Wind' is about the most characteristic thing of Shelley's."

“‘Hyperion’ was killed by the *Spectator*. You know, it is not nearly finished—a mere fragment. It was weak of Keats to take it so much to heart. Leigh Hunt and others got round him, and did their best to spoil him. I dare say there are plenty of things to find fault with; you can’t read thirty lines of ‘Endymion’ without coming on an absurdity, but ‘Hyperion’ is all beautiful. What a magnificent poem Keats’ ‘Hymn to the Moon’ is!—the chorus of Bacchantes at the end. It was read to Wordsworth when it was in manuscript, and all he said was, ‘A *very* pretty piece of paganism.’”

“Byron knew nothing. It was like grinding wild fire.”

“Longfellow had only great talent in doing over again what others had done before him.”

“It is difficult to forgive Mrs. Browning her bad rhymes, her slovenly writing, her want of concentration, going on and on without coming to a point; but there is no woman writer except George Eliot to compare with her.”

“A great part of ‘Aurora Leigh’ is so hard to understand. One has no right to complain of poetry being hard if it is no harder than necessary, but ‘Aurora Leigh’ is hard where it might have been easy. The hardness comes from imperfect workmanship. It is worth while spending any amount of toil and time to make a poem as nearly perfect as it can be made; and those are the poems that will live.”

Of the immense power of mind in Browning’s poetry, the Archbishop spoke with great admiration, saying there was so much *ore* in his poems. He observed that *rats* were poetically treated by him. To a friend who remarked on the want of tenderness in Browning’s writings, the Archbishop replied “Not entirely.” “The Blot on the Scutcheon” he especially admired.

Of a picture of Herodias’ daughter he remarked, “It is a fundamental mistake in art to take for a subject a shallow, profligate girl, with whom one could have no possible sympathies.” On looking over a collection of Hogarth’s pictures: ‘He seems to have been thoroughly acquainted with the degradation of sin; it would be interesting to know he had

any experience in himself of the feelings he so wonderfully portrayed."

"I suppose George Eliot, in the 'Song of Jubal,' is trying to prove that death, instead of being a curse, is the greatest of all blessings. It is very difficult to imagine what the world would have been without the Fall. Life would be an idyll instead of a struggle. I suppose 'Armgart' was meant to show the inherent and unconscious selfishness of genius. Walpurga seems a little hard on her, but I suppose it is right."

"Clough was only forty-four when he died. He and I were joint examiners for some time for English Literature for Woolwich. I suppose Arnold was the *marrer* of his life; he unsettled him. He was not able to take what was good and leave the rest. I have been reading Matthew Arnold's *Thyrsis* on the death of Clough. There are very beautiful stanzas in it, but it is too long. The allusions to the Scholar Gipsy are rather obscure. On the whole, I am rather disappointed with his small volume."

"Charles Wesley wrote about the grandest hymn in the English language, *Jacob wrestling*, 'Come, O thou Traveller unknown.'"

Some chance sayings of prose books are also interesting:—

"The second part of 'Don Quixote' is better than the first—an exception to the general rule in authors of this kind, the first part being most commonly the best."

"How wonderfully well Plutarch tells a story! He knows what is worth telling. Do you remember his story of the reply made by a man who had won a victor's wreath in the games? Some one said to him, 'What is it worth? It will perish very soon. What do you gain by it?' 'I gain this, that I shall fight near my king.' If you transfer that into a higher region!"

"There are some inimitable sketches of character in Law's 'Serious Call.' It is curious to see the very minute rules he gives for the practice of meditation."

“Oh, what poor stuff Mant is! It is what we used to be fed upon when we wanted to plunge deeper into Scripture—Mant and D'Oyley!”

“Freeman is the only man who could write a Universal History in one small volume. It is a most useful framework. His interest is entirely in *political* history. His scorn and contempt for other people's history is rather amusing. Grote's interest in history was purely political, like Freeman's. There is a good deal of suppressed enthusiasm in Thirlwall's History.”

“You don't often find such grand descriptions as in Napier's ‘Peninsular War.’ The two sieges of Saragossa:—I was living in Spain with a Spaniard, who told me that the general who is made the hero of it was never under fire the whole time, but was drinking and doing all manner of evil in a bomb-proof place underground! I wonder if it was true. There was a regular reign of terror; the Spaniards were made to fight, and if they refused, they were hung on gallows which were ready at the rear. How fine the account of Sir John Moore's advance and retreat is, and of Albuera!”

“Whether Stanley's ‘Life of Arnold’ is interesting or not, it was, at all events, an *epoch-making* book. It is entirely owing to him that the great change in the schoolmaster came about.”

“I do not greatly admire Stanley's third volume (‘Sinai and Palestine’). The style is rather finical, too much of bravura passages and fine writing. A man ought never to make you feel he thinks he has written a fine passage. What confirmations of liberal opinions he finds all through! The Samaritans are hardly treated by the Jews, he makes out—just as the Nonconformists are treated! I always thought the Jews were perfectly in the right.”

“I object to the fundamental idea of the book (Farrar's ‘Life of Christ’), *i.e.* the bringing out the *human* so much more than the Divine side of our Lord, and then the ‘high-falutin,’ as the Americans call it, *e.g.* the storm on the Lake of Galilee.”

“Newman’s sermons seem to have held people enchained, and yet there was no passion in them.”

“Stopford Brooke’s book on English literature contains a little of everything, and enough of nothing.”

“I think you would find Delitzsch of use (on the Psalms), only he goes into Hebrew and Greek so much. Neale is very fanciful, and difficult to learn much from. One wants to know the conditions under which a Psalm grew up—the historical conditions. St. Augustine used to believe that David wrote them all; and that *he* said, ‘By the waters of Babylon,’ meaning, ‘By the waters of this world.’”

“Hawthorne is almost the only man of real genius America has produced. ‘The Scarlet Letter,’ ‘The House with Seven Gables,’ are works of a man of genius.

“‘Redgauntlet’ contains the finest thing Scott ever wrote, ‘The Piper’s Tale.’”

“Colenso denied the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, the Atonement in any real sense, the Divinity of our Lord, by saying that prayers ought not to be offered up to Him.”

“E——’s account of the effect the ‘Calvary’ had on the Basutos shows what a mistake it is to play the Puritan with the heathen.* They could not understand an essay on Christianity.”

“The Pearsall Smith theory really approaches nearer to Rome than to anything else. It teaches you to look to what Christ has done *in* you, instead of what He has done *for* you. That was the great struggle at the time of the Reformation. Reformers said, ‘Look to what has been done on the Cross for you.’ ——’s religion rests entirely on certain internal facts within herself.”

(Speaking of “undogmatic Christians”) “Mrs. —— takes all the Christian love that she has got, and hangs it on the barren thorns of philanthropy, and thinks that it grew there. The trial of that system of philanthropy is not in this

* Alluding to a letter from South Africa describing the Basutos sitting gazing tearfully before a carved crucifix, etc., the women weeping, pointing to the spear-wound, and saying, “Assegai! assegai!”

generation, because those who hold it have been brought up in the Christian faith; but it will have its trial in the next generation."

"Dutch is very much German, with the poetical element taken out."

"If you take all the bones of Spanish away, you get Portuguese; it is much softer."

"To 'carp' used to mean simply to talk, but talk was always so malicious that it came to have the meaning it now bears."

"Lord Chatham used to have the dictionary read aloud to him once a year. He said so many noble and useful words fell out of use."

"It is a great pity not to learn Italian. German is too like English; and though German is the key to so much more, yet I suppose the most important thing about a language is the language."

"The Catalans have a proverb, 'Whither wilt thou go where thou shalt not have to labour?'"

"There is a German saying, rather tragic, I think, 'Daughters are a transient good.'"

"I wish you would preach on Proverbs—the teaching of them, the beauty, and the dignity."

"'It takes a long spoon to eat kail with the devil.' 'When you have shipped the devil, you must carry him over the water;' *i.e.* it is impossible to break off a course of evil at any moment."

"'Do no good, and thou shalt find no evil,' is an Egyptian proverb very characteristic of the Egyptian government. Some proverbs are sublime, such as, 'The blessings of the evil genii are curses.'"

"'If your name is up, you may lie in bed till noon,' is a good proverb. 'Half is better than the whole,' is a Greek proverb, true of some married couples."

"I think good sense has a great deal to do with good spirits; people accept the conditions of their life and make the best of them, if they have good sense."

“People certainly are to a great extent born good, *i.e.* with much greater predispositions to good and evil; and all that is taken into account.”

“I think the British Museum is rather a sad place; to see all the kingdoms that have had their day and have passed away—the Assyrian, the Babylonian, and the Etruscan; and the feeling that one might spend one’s whole life there, and never get to know more than a very little corner of it. Happily, however, it does not require to *know* things to do one’s part in life.”

“To say that a person is perfectly simple is, to my mind the highest praise you can give.”

“The good of a thing often is that you cannot see its exact worth and use, *e.g.* the North-West Passage by land. Quite right that such enterprises should be made.”*

“How wonderful the way a man’s whole career depends on a moment.”

“— *could* not be a saint and a practical woman. A saint is a *glorified failure*, you know.”

“Those invisible wounds which men give themselves are very real ones.”

“We ought not to find people uninteresting. You know, every human face has in it a history and a prophecy. But to think of all the people who are not wicked; who have not the dignity of wickedness; but are simply *Philistine*.”

(In the British Museum looking at a statue of Demeter)
“It is difficult to think that is the final outcome of an ape.”

“I think we ought to fight the Darwinists more from the human face divine. Imagine a sublimated ape being one of the faces one sometimes sees.”

“How can you expect a person who is always walking upon the battlements of heaven to carve!” †

“What a mistake it is to say that ignorance is the mother of wonder! Knowledge is really the mother of wonder.”

* “*J’aime cette noble inutilité*” (Corinne).

† In answer to its being said of one engaged in mission work that she could not carve.

“What is the difference between wit and humour? Wit is fireworks, humour sunshine. Humour is much the higher of the two, often intensely tragic; whereas wit never could be that.”

(Speaking of burning savage villages to punish treachery)
“There are two things which Christianity has to teach—righteousness and mercy; and where people are on a very low level, righteousness often has to be taught first.”

CHAPTER III.

1865-1868.

“Dark shadows of approaching ill
Fall thick upon life’s forward track ;
But on its past they stream not back,
What once was bright abides so still.”

R. C. T., *Elegiac Poems.*

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

London,

April 27, 1865.

I can imagine no event more disastrous for the whole civilized world than Lincoln’s murder. No one can at present in the least guess with what results it may be fraught ; but no doubt it is worst of all for the South, though fearful also for the North. It has rendered reconciliation almost, if not quite, hopeless.

From REV. DR. NEALE.

St. Margaret’s Home, East Grinstead,

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,

May 17, 1865.

I hope you received, some time since, the hymns about paradise. In that wonderful poem of Hildebert, you will see that I only made one of the alterations that I promised ; namely, the recasting that terrible passage about Gehenna. The reason was that, by a mistake either of the publisher or of myself, the sheet was struck off previously, and that one correction was a cancel. However, it is the less matter, as the edition is almost out. I asked the publisher to send your Grace a copy of the second edition of my Greek hymns, for this reason. There are six or seven of them, such as “Fierce was the wild billow,” “Christian, dost Thou see them?” etc., that are making their way into hymnals. Would you mind casting your

eye over these short ones, and suggesting anything that might be proper to correct?

I have been asked to write an article on the *autos* of Calderon for a Quarterly. Now, would your Grace tell me this—do you think that it would be too far a departure from the great rule to omit the assonances, and in those trochaic dimeters simply to employ the measure of “Hiawatha.” I confess that I myself cannot hear assonances in English; and I *can* see the intense work it must have given you, to preserve them in your translations from Calderon. At the same time, this is rather curious. I read to my third child, a rather clever girl of seventeen, first a bit of your Calderon, and then a bit of “Hiawatha,” and asked her if it was the same measure? Her answer was, “Yes, it is the same measure; but somehow one seems to me more like rhyme than the other.” This rather struck me, as showing that there must be a certain something even in English assonances.

Dr. Neale alludes in the above letter to the Archbishop’s opinion that English ears would need training to perceive the melody of assonant rhymes. In one of the introductory chapters to “Calderon, his Life and Genius,” the Archbishop says—

The main staple and woof of the dialogue is the trochaic line of seven or eight syllables, in which the Spanish romances are written, and which may be called pre-eminently the national metre. This is constructed on a scheme altogether strange to our ears. One rhyme will run through the whole of a Spanish romance, or through some hundred lines of a Spanish play, recurring in every alternate line. But, then, this rhyme is not a full one, like ours, where consonants and vowels must rhyme alike; but so long as the vowels rhyme, the consonants are free. Thus the *assonants*, as in Spanish they are called, to distinguish them from full or *consonant* rhymes, such as *cruzan, juntas, una*, would be considered to rhyme with one another for the sake of the vowels *u—a* recurring in each word. It is as though we should allow “raiment,” “angel,” “greater,” to rhyme on the ground of the recurring *a—e*; or “fire,” “mine,” “right” (for the rhymes are not always double), for the sake of the long *i* in each.

For one who is deeply convinced of the intimate coherence between a poem’s form and its spirit, and that one cannot be altered without at the same time most seriously affecting the other, the

metrical form of a great poem being not the garment which it wears, and which as a garment may be exchanged for another of a somewhat different pattern, but the flesh and blood which the inner soul of it has woven for itself, and which is a part of its own life for ever—for him there is no choice left in translating Calderon, but to endeavour to render the Spanish trochaic assonants into English lines of exactly the same construction. No English translator has hitherto attempted this. Yet, seeming as it does to me one of the necessary conditions of a successful fulfilling of the task which he undertakes, I have not shrunk from the attempt. But, unfortunately, when the task is accomplished, at least with any such skill as I could command, the assonant, however it may sound in the Spanish, makes in English no satisfying music or melody to the ear.

No doubt the verses are better for this ghost and shadow of a rhyme than they would have been without it; and in the long run, and in the total impression which a passage leaves behind it, the assonant certainly makes itself felt. Still there is a poverty about the English vowel rhyme to the English ear, which has not been trained to watch for it, and which for a long while fails to detect it. Still it must be done in this metre, or not at all; and because it is so difficult to do it in this so as sufficiently to gratify the ear, therefore I believe the attempt to render any Spanish drama in English can never be more than partially successful.

To REV. DR. NEALE

7A, Chandos Street,

MY DEAR DR. NEALE,

May 20, 1865.

The little volume of Greek hymns I found in Ireland on a very hurried visit there a few days back. I had no time to make myself acquainted with it, but will gladly do so as soon as ever I return there. I was much obliged for the deeply interesting little volume of the "Hymns concerning Paradise." Do you know Rückert's version of the legend of Seth going for the fruit of the Tree of Life to the gates of Paradise, that he might revive with this his dying father? I am just republishing all my verses in a single volume, and I have there a translation of it. I will have the pleasure of sending it to you in a few days, also a lecture on Gustavus Adolphus, with which I dare say you will only in part agree.

I do not think *much* is gained by the preservation of the assonants in the rendering of Calderon. I think in an *analysis* of some of

these, and for this only an article in a review would give room, it would be wise mainly to select specimens in which the full consonant rhymes are employed. These are generally the most beautiful parts of the plays, though of course examples also of the other would have to be given. I have not my Calderon here; but his "Divine Orpheus," "Painter of his own Dishonour," "Belshazzar's Feast," and "Tree of the Best Fruit," I seem to remember as among the most beautiful and profoundly Christian, as distinguished from Roman, among them.

The Archbishop was in London for three months this summer, during the session of Parliament. The latter part of the time he was in much anxiety on account of the dangerous illness at Eton of his youngest son, Herbert Francis, from inflammation of the lungs. He writes to his wife at Eton, being himself laid up by illness:—

London,

Saturday [July 15, 1865].

I had just obtained Mr. Headland's somewhat reluctant leave to go down to Windsor for the day, when kind Mr. Marriott brought us those comfortable words of hope which Dr. Burrows had enabled him to speak.

Blessed be God who has given us this light in our darkness, and may He yet, if it be His good pleasure, bring it to perfect day! I had thought almost to have looked my last on that dear boy to-day, but now that God has given us a better hope, shall not leave my bed to-day.

I suffer little or no pain.

London,

Tuesday night, 1865.

Your letter filled me with a great sadness, and I could not but think of all the lonely, anxious hours which must be yours. It was a great disappointment to hear no better report of that dear boy, and that he was still very ill; but God's will be done. Half of our sons (may we venture to hope it?) are now with Him, and with these also which remain He will only do what is good. May God's grace and strength be with you and with my dear F——.

From HENRY DE BUNSEN.

Lilleshall, Newport, Shropshire,

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,

July 30, 1865.

It was only on Friday last that I could sit down quietly and read your most interesting little book on Gustavus Adolphus. I left London on July 1, and brought it down with me, but owing to my duties as Diocesan School Inspector, which have taken up my time ever since, I had not a moment to devote to it before this last week.

And now allow me to thank you for your kind thought of me in sending me your book, and for the gift itself, which is a most valuable contribution to the history of that terrible time, and which appears to me to set before the English reader, in a clear and masterly manner, not only the real greatness of the hero, but also the awful nature of that deadly war, carried on for thirty years, and its effects, traceable to this day in several parts of Germany. Your sketch of the Protestant ministers of that day, and of their self-denying labours, as well as your insertion of the hymns which owe their origin to that fearful time of visitation, remind me of my dear father's remarks on that Thirty Years' War. For he used to say that he thought that the beautiful hymns and spiritual songs of Germany were *the* means under God of preserving religious feeling in Germany. If it had not been for them, familiar as household words, he thought all religious feeling would well-nigh have been extinguished in Germany. They seem to have been to the people as books and ministers, teaching them "the Way, the Truth, and the Life," and stirring them up to a closer walk with God. This reminds me of the beautiful hymn, composed by "Johann Peter Titz," born in Silesia, A.D. 1619, afterwards Professor of Poetry at Leipzig, and beginning—

"Willst du in der Hille singen," etc. ?

Perhaps you may never have come across it. My father gives it in his first edition of the "Gesang und Gebetbuch" (Hamburg, 1833), and I will copy it for you on a separate sheet. It is No. 934 in the first edition.

With renewed thanks for your great kindness, and with kindest regards to Mrs. Trench, believe me, my dear Lord Archbishop, yours most faithfully,

H. G. DE BUNSEN.

To REV. DR. NEALE.

Dublin,

August 17, 1865.

The "Prickke of Conscience" is reprinted by the Early English Text Society, an offshoot of the Philological.

I should doubt the expediency of touching the "Jerusalem" *now*. Some would accept, some would reject your "second cares" bestowed on the poem, and thus there would be two recensions of it, which is very undesirable.

I quite agree with your estimate of "Belshazzar's Feast," and yet there are others, if I remember rightly, as the "Divine Orpheus" and "The Painter of his own Dishonour," which are quite worthy to stand beside it.

To the Same.

Dublin,

August 21, 1865.

MY DEAR DR. NEALE,

I am preparing for the press a third edition of my "Commentary on the Epistles to the Seven Churches." I remember your telling me some years ago that you had some hints at my command, whenever the time of such a new edition had arrived. I would gladly claim them from you now, if, without too much trouble, they are recoverable by you.

Have you seen Worsley's translations of some of the Latin hymns? It was he who rendered the "Odyssey" so admirably into the Spenserian stanza. I could only look at them very hastily, but they seemed to me excellently well done.

To the Same.

Dublin,

August 25, 1865.

Many thanks for your hints. They may perhaps some day provoke one or two further questions. I fancy a new edition of the "Latin Poetry" is a long way off, though it has sold very fairly. I will remember, if ever the day arrives, to claim that large help towards bettering the book which you can give me.

I have thought it best to send you by post my copy of the "Prickke of Conscience," which pray keep as long as you please. As a "Summa Theologia Medii Ævi," it is a very extraordinary book, and the writer was unquestionably a poet.*

* Dr. Neale has given twenty lines from this book, a poem of the fifteenth

I saw lately, on a blank page of Sepp's "Leben Jesu," an advertisement of a new German volume on Calderon, or generally on Spanish authors. As it seemed to me promising, I bade Williams and Nörgate to send you the title, which I trust they have done.

To the BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Palace, Kilkenny,

September 28, 1865.

I am now on my Visitation of the *Province**—an ecclesiastical arrangement which perished in England at the Reformation, though I observe in Strype that Cranmer made some attempts to maintain it, but has been kept up here. I was much indisposed to it, as contrary to the true idea of the episcopate; but, so far as my experience goes, it does not here work ill. It is too much a recognized part of the system for any jealousy to be felt about it; on the contrary, the Bishops seem glad to turn me to use in the way of saying to their clergy things which they count would come better from me than from themselves, or noticing abuses which they have suffered too long to allow them to speak very strongly about them. I have had a laborious and anxious month preparing my Charge. May God grant that I have spoken nothing for the harm, and something for the good, of our poor Church.

If one looks at Fenianism from a military point of view, it is as contemptible as can be imagined; but as a sign and symptom of a wide-spread and deep-seated disloyalty it is very far indeed from this. All the sympathies of the lower orders, even when themselves non-Fenians, are with the conspirators, and this they show in a thousand ways.

century, in his "Hymns on the Joys of Glories of Paradise." "Uncouth" he calls them, but "showing the knowledge that the writer possessed of the heavenly home-sickness."

* Before the disestablishment of the Irish Church there was a triennial Visitation by the two Primates of their suffragan bishops. On these occasions, from the moment the Archbishop entered a diocese, the authority of the Bishop ceased, and was merged in that of the Archbishop until his Visitation of the See was concluded. If a living in the gift of the Bishop became vacant during this Visitation, the gift of it fell to the Archbishop.

TO FRANCES CHENEVIX TRENCH.*

The Deanery, Cashel,

DEAREST CHILD,

October 1, 1865.

This place is called Cashel *of the Kings*, but being nothing but rather a big village, hardly seems to justify its name. It used to be an archbishopric when there were four such in Ireland, and as the Dean, with whom we are staying, lives in the old palace, you may suppose we are well lodged. There is a grand rock just over the city, which I see out of my window, with a group of the finest ecclesiastical ruins and remains in Ireland—a round tower in perfect preservation, a cathedral of which much still remains, a palace, and an old Irish church with a stone roof, far the most interesting I have ever seen in Ireland. It was this cathedral which one of the famous Irish chieftains attempted to burn, and, being brought up before the Privy Council, defended himself with the plea that he thought the Archbishop was in it.

I long very much to be with all my dear ones again.

TO REV. FRANCIS TRENCH.

*Dublin,**October 24, 1865.*

They will have a grand and solemn day at Westminster on Friday. During my six years there I buried several great men, Macaulay, and Outram, and Lord Canning, and others, but none in the world's eye so great as him † who will be laid beside them.

FROM THOMAS CARLYLE.

Chelsea,

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,

November 24, 1865.

Your kind little memento is very welcome to me, not on the philological side alone.

“The Grange” is gone—alas! yes; now that bright bit of earth, with all the sunny figures in it, noble some of them like few, has vanished from us, like the baseless fabric of a vision; melted into air for ever! For those of us who still remain in this world, it is sad we should never meet. But you come to town now and then—perhaps this very winter you are coming? Have the charity to call

* His fourth daughter.

† Lord Palmerston.

on me, at any rate, or give me some notice, and I will find you out. I am now idle enough, with little prospect but that of continuing so for the remainder of my appointed days.

With many kind regards to madam, if she will accept them, and with all manner of good wishes to you both, in your new and eminent sphere of activity. I remain, yours sincerely always,

T. CARLYLE.

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

Athenæum, London,

February 9, 1866.

The ultra-ritualistic movement seems to me *very* threatening for the future peace and prosperity of the Church, and the nearer it is looked at, the more threatening it seems. A fierce Puritan reaction may bring into peril all which has been won through thirty painful years; but this is too large a subject for the close of a letter.

To the Same.

Broomfield,

July 6, 1866.

There seems a good hope that this terrible war will be brought to a speedy close, but one does not like to think of Louis Napoleon as the Grand Pacificator of the World; above all, as he will no doubt claim his own fee.

“It seems a very solemn thing to get into a new house, when one thinks of all which may happen, indeed of all that must happen there,” the Archbishop wrote from Broomfield, on settling there for the summer in the first days of July. Of a book of family prayers in a Nurses’ Training Institution, begun this year under his patronage and fostering care, he writes on the 23rd of July:—

I think the prayers are very good, very much to the point, and I do not see one word out of which the most watchful mischief-maker (if such persons there are) could make any mischief.

I have added in one place *hinder* after *mar*, because many faults in us, which do not mar work altogether, may yet hinder it. I should also object to “Redeemer of all *believers*” as an intense piece of

Calvinism, of which I did not believe you capable. Acceptable as it would be at Mr. ——'s and Mr. ——'s chapel, I must yet ask that *believers* may be altered into *men*.

I hope to be in Dublin in the middle of next week, and hope that you may then be able to show us the Nursing Home. I do not think, if you cannot, that my wife's impatience will endure longer.

We are enjoying the great beauty of this place greatly, I hope also thankfully.

To the BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Broomfield, Ashford, Co. Wicklow,

MY DEAREST BISHOP,

July 16, 1866.

The Bishop of Meath died to-day, so that our new Lord Lieutenant will have a bishopric at once to fill up. I do not know him, or I think I should venture to write and put before him the claims and merits of the Dean of Cork.* He is certainly our best preacher and speaker in the Irish Church—a good Churchman, while at the same time he has brought with him, from the Evangelical school in which he was trained, so much of the best of theirs that his appointment, I am confident, would be popular with all. You know Lord Abercorn. Could you speak a word or two to him on the subject? It is vital to our poor Irish Church that it should get its best men *to the front*.

The Alexandra College was also this year established and opened under his auspices. It was on the lines of Queen's College, London, and was begun in order to give a really sound education to girls, and has been eminently successful and prosperous. The Archbishop gave much thought, labour, and time to its constitution, never ceasing to take deep interest in its well-being. Often he walked across St. Stephen's Green early in the morning to read the daily prayers for the girls with which the college was opened. "If —— wants to make them care for poetry," he said of some girl-student, "she ought to begin with *lyrics*. It takes a great deal of training to be up to 'Hamlet;' but 'Hohenlinden,' etc., would by degrees bring them up to care for Shakespeare. It is a great thing to introduce a soul to a new world."

* Now Bishop of Peterborough.

To his Wife.

Dublin,

October 10, 1866.

I hear the entrances at the Alexandra College, though not very numerous as yet, are first-class of their kind. I open the College to-morrow with prayers and a very short address. Lady visitors, professors, etc., are to be asked. I wish my dearest wife was there to help with prayers and counsel the work which is beginning.*

To REV. FRANCIS TRENCH.

Dublin,

October 26, 1866.

The cholera is still severe in Dublin, and deaths are taking place very near us. We have an efficient relief fund, in the details of which I take a good share, and for the first time have come in personal contact with Roman priests. We get on very well together. You see that we are to have another new bishop. Butcher's was an excellent appointment. I fancy the new one will be either the Dean of Emly or of Cork. Either would be good.

To the Same.

Dublin,

November 10, 1866.

A row is to be attempted at St. Mark's, and afterwards at St. Jude's, at both of which churches I preach to-morrow; for the purpose, no doubt, of showing that there is no "appetite for outrage" in a Dublin Orange mob. Printed papers have been circulated for the last day or two, summoning them to attend.†

* "October 11, Thursday.—Opening of Alexandra College.—A large number meet there, Dr. Butcher, Archdeacon Lee, Dr. Stokes, Croker, lady visitors, parents, and pupils, at ten. The Archbishop of Dublin opened the College with prayers and a beautiful address."—From Diary of Rev. R. P. Graves, first Vice-Principal of Alexandra College.

† The attempt was made in consequence of the Archbishop's refusal to order the incumbent of St. Bride's, Mr. Carroll, to discontinue a half-choral service. It only resulted, on November 11, in a certain number of men leaving the church when the Archbishop appeared in the pulpit. The mob, however, gathered, and attempted intimidation on the next Sunday at Grangegorman Church, where the consequences might have been serious but for the iron firmness, courage, and wisdom of the late Dr. Maturin, by which the gathering storm was completely subdued.

To the BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Dublin,

December 3, 1866.

Have I authority to *forbid* the practice of Evening Communion? A worthy clergyman in this diocese has just announced his intention of having such. I believe I shall not find much difficulty in persuading him to renounce them; but it is always well to know what reserves of power one has if compelled to fall back upon them.

The demonstration the other day at St. Mark's on the part of "Gregg's Lambs," as they are called here, was a very contemptible matter, though they contrive to make it look somewhat bigger in the papers. It is certainly not an easy time. May God grant us wisdom for all.

To the Same.

Dublin,

March 16, 1867.

There seems no doubt that a Bill will pass this Parliament enabling a Roman Catholic to hold the office of Lord Chancellor in Ireland. I enclose for convenience sake a copy of the Bill, and also of some observations upon it by Dr. Ball, one of our chief ecclesiastical lawyers in Ireland, *and also our Primate's right-hand man*. I have no doubt these express his views; indeed, he has told me as much.

I am rather in a strait as to how to act, or whether to act at all. Our Court of Delegates is an intolerable ecclesiastical tribunal, and the present would certainly be a favourable opportunity for getting rid of it; but then the only way of getting rid of it seems to be by the transfer of the jurisdiction which it now possesses, as proposed in this paper, to the English Privy Council, a better Court of Appeal but itself also to a Churchman a *most* unsatisfactory one. You have given much thought to the subject. Do you see even what we ought to strive after?—for besides these two courses, either of letting things alone or asking such a transfer as Mr. Ball proposes, neither of which at all commends itself to me, I do not see a third. The Archbishop of Armagh no doubt looks forward, in case of such a transfer, to the placing of the two Irish Archbishops on the *English* Privy Council.

To his Wife.

Maurigy's,

May 27, 1867.

We were last evening at the Abbey, the Bishop of Oxford preaching. The sermon was on Jacob's ladder, and it was on the whole the most beautiful one which I ever heard him preach. We went afterwards for half an hour to the Deanery, and all there seemed to share in the sense of its surpassing excellence.

I rejoice to have learned, half an hour ago, from Lord Derby that Burke is not to be hanged; the sentence was commuted last night. I was so deeply impressed with the *impolicy*, not the *injustice*, of the step, and the moral revolt and recoil which would have followed upon it, that I went to him, stating to him that I should feel obliged to-night in the House of Lords to say as much, and to ask whether even now the sentence might not be commuted. I am profoundly thankful to be saved from the necessity of so doing. It would have been a profoundly unpopular step with the Protestants of Ireland, and I have no great amount of popularity with them to throw away. Lord —, whom I met at the Club just as I was going in, could not speak with patience on the subject,—was quite furious at the notion of a possible commutation. Having seen his spirit and temper, I can quite understand what Lord Derby said of the extreme difficulty in which the Government found itself on the question.

To the Same.

Maurigy's,

June 8, 1867.

Lord Russell has given notice of a motion about the Irish Church, which, very much to my regret, will bring me back here within ten or twelve days. I do not expect on that occasion to be detained here more than two or three days.

I am reprinting the "Studies,"* of the first edition of which very few copies now remain. I also send to you by this post two copies of my Cambridge Sermons.†

Please keep the *Guardian* of Wednesday. There is in it a remarkable review of a very remarkable book which is creating a very considerable sensation just now, "Ecce Homo." I have only

* "Studies in the Gospels," published early in this year.

† "Shipwrecks of Faith. Three Sermons." 1867.

glanced at the book, but seem to find more questionable matter in it than the reviewer has done.

To REV. R. TRAVERS SMITH.

Broomfield, Wicklow,

MY DEAR MR. SMITH,

June 17, 1867.

I cannot say with what deep concern I learned, on my return to Ireland last week, of that sorrow which it has just pleased a Heavenly Father should be your portion.* Those who have known sorrow, but have never known this sorrow, hardly dare speak of it to those who have; so much does it seem to them to surpass every other sorrow; so much more than any other to empty life of its joy. And yet I feel quite sure that you, who have so often known how to comfort others, will not fail yourself to find those comforts of the Holy Ghost, of which the heart of the Church was full, just at that moment when you were called to enter into the dark cloud. Nor can I doubt that the drinking of this cup and the being baptized with the baptism will bring you, and through you will bring many more, into a nearer fellowship with the Lord. It is indeed hard to praise Him for the steps of pain and suffering by which He bids us to mount up to a greater nearness to Himself, but we shall do so at the last.

Believe me, with truest sympathy, in which my wife begs to be allowed to join, most sincerely yours,

R. C. DUBLIN.

To REV. FRANCIS TRENCH.

June, 1867.

I quite agree with you in the seriousness of the present crisis, and the rocks and quicksands which are round about us, and from which nothing but the good hand of God, overruling the counsels of men, can enable us to escape.

By the way, what a tragedy is that which has just been concluded, the murder of the Emperor of Mexico; taking it all in all, the deepest tragedy of our times. I do not think I have ever read anything more deeply affecting than the account in the *Times* of yesterday of his last hours. How imperially he died!

Archbishop Trench writes playfully to a friend on

* The death of his wife.

January 2, 1868, after sending thanks for a "most delicately and exquisitely wrought" Irish cross:—

When I first saw it, I assumed that it was the subtle gift of some Irish Protestant, and of the same character as the male dress which the Bishop of Beauvois caused to be placed in Joan of Arc's dungeon; that putting it up in my room I might be convicted without more ado of being a satellite of Cullen's,* which is the commonest charge at the present hour.

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

Dublin,

February 21, 1868.

It would be a great thing if you could persuade Sir William Heathcote to be present at our Congress. All at present looks promising, and the invitation to the Bishop of Oxford, as it now is, was better than a victory, which would have been looked at as a party triumph, and better, too, than a defeat, which would have probably been the issue of pushing the matter to a vote.† Our Lord Lieutenant's dinner went off yesterday, and I think on the whole very prosperously. There were at least thirty police outside the house, and it was singular to see his Excellency pass to his carriage between a double row of these, who allowed no one to come too near. The report of the Church Congress about the preachers was unanimously adopted. Some alterations in the subjects, not very serious, but most of them for the worse, were also made.

To REV. WILLIAM MATURIN, D.D.

Palace,

February 24, 1868.

Will you let me have one line to say how it is faring with yours? It was with true and very deep concern that I heard in London of the heavy sorrow which had lighted so suddenly on your home;‡ and again, on my return, that this was not all, but that others were

* Cardinal Cullen.

† The question was whether Bishop Wilberforce should be asked to preach the sermon in St. Patrick's Cathedral at the opening of the Congress. This was resisted by some. He was asked to preach on the following Sunday, which he promised to do.

‡ The death of his son Arthur, from scarlatina.]

threatening still. Many whom you have strengthened and comforted in their times of trial, and not these alone, will have been asking that you and yours may be strengthened and comforted in these hours of sorrow, and I would very thankfully hear, if you are able to tell me as much, that your other sick, by God's good grace, are doing well. Four times that terrible visitant, scarlet fever, entered our household, once sweeping away a beautiful child in a few hours, so that we can enter into your and Mrs. Maturin's present trials; but, as we had mercy as well as judgment to tell of, I trust it will not be otherwise with you.

CHAPTER IV.

1868, 1869.

“ A counsellor well fitted to advise
In daily life, and at whose lips no less
Men may inquire or nations, when distress
Of sudden doubtful danger may arise,
Who, though his head be hidden in the skies,
Plants his firm foot upon our common earth,
Dealing with thoughts which everywhere have birth,—
This is the poet, true of heart and wise :
No dweller in a baseless world of dream,
Which is not earth nor heaven.”

R. C. T.

IN a sermon at the opening, after its restoration, of St. Peter's parish church, Dublin, on All Saints' Day, 1867, the Archbishop had expressed his opinion that, while there were some who would “ bid us put our house in order,” being sure that disestablishment was at hand, there was nothing of the kind to fear in the near future ; although he took occasion from such prophecies to press home the warning as to the need of continually setting our spiritual house in order. Now, however, the storm was close on the ship which he, chiefly, must guide through it, and from the time he realized this, his anticipations were of the gloomiest.

To his Wife.

Dublin,

April 8, 1868.

The Dean of Cork, who is fresh from England, says that the general feeling there is that *Establishment* is certainly gone ; but that our friends are strong enough, with good management, to save a

considerable amount of *Endowment*. Whiteside writes that Bright is less bitter than Gladstone.

The first part of the following letter has been given in Bishop Wilberforce's Life ; but as the whole is of interest and importance, it seems best to give it here, and not to separate the latter part from what precedes.

To the BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Palace,

April 18, 1868.

MY DEAREST BISHOP,

I write in the midst of every possible interruption on this day of the installation tumult,* but shall probably have no time after it is over to write.

There is no word of truth in the report, first started in a Roman Catholic paper here, that we were transacting for a smaller episcopate, and had made any proposal to sacrifice six of our number. I think I may say with confidence that on one thing we are agreed—not, that is, to accept what will evidently be Disraeli's proposal, namely, a starved and cut down Establishment, which will leave all causes of irritation existing still ; which will entail on us all the weaknesses of an Establishment, while giving us none of the compensating advantages ; and which, being a compromise resting on no intelligible principle, will inevitably cease to exist after a few years of weakness, poverty, and discredit. If you ask the policy which recommends itself here to the best and most earnest Churchmen, it is, first, to fight for everything which we possess, as believing it rightfully ours ; recognizing, of course, the right of Parliament to redistribute, *within the Church*, its revenues according to the changed necessities of the present time. If this battle is lost, then, totally rejecting the process of a gradual starvation to which Disraeli would submit us, to go in for instant death at the hands of Gladstone, that death being one out of which a new life might spring, and, God helping us, will spring ; our efforts being in this case directed to rescuing for the Church as much of her own as may be, and taking all care that, whatever this be, it be secured to the Church of Ireland *in communion with the Church of England*, and not to a new Church which shall have purged the Prayer-book of the Popish leaven which taints it still !!!

* The installation of the Prince of Wales as a Knight of St. Patrick. The Archbishop was Chancellor of the Order.

which some already announce that they will have. I touch in these last words the danger of all dangers which is before us.

I believe that what I have written presents the outlines of the policy which commends itself most to thoughtful Churchmen here. There are infinite secondary matters, but these two of immense importance, on which I would willingly write or talk to you, but I must reserve them, at least for the present. By the end of the month I hope that we shall be in London, and that we shall remain there for several weeks. The Bishops meet here for consultation on Monday next. If anything grows out of the meeting which it is desirable to communicate, I will not fail to write again. Many thanks for all the counsel, help, sympathy, and prayers, some of which we know, and the rest of which we are sure are not wanting to us at this trying time.

The preparation of a "Household Book of English Poetry," with notes, published this year, had for many months interested the Archbishop, and occupied his hours of recreation.

From SIR FRANCIS PALGRAVE.

5, York Gate, Regent's Park, N.W.,

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,

June 5, 1868.

I am much obliged to your Grace for your kindness in sending me the volume of "Household Poetry," and I am much pleased to find that you think favourably of the little attempt which I have made in the same direction. There is room for many selections of this kind, our flower garden is so rich and varied; and even if the same flowers perpetually reappear, yet they often gain a new charm by re-arrangement and annotation. Some things in the book are new to me, and others, which had been outvoted for the "Golden Treasury," now seem to gain new merit when removed by selection from more ordinary matter.

I should much like to know whether the fine Cavalier song, printed from a manuscript annotation to Lovelace, has been printed before, and whether any reasonable conjecture can be formed as to its authorship. It seems to me far too good for any but a practical hand, and it is tolerably free from the bouncing tone of bravado which (poetically) spoils most of its class.

I see the omission of one stanza in Lovelace's ode to Lucasta is not noticed in your notes.

The epithalamium of (I think) Hymen and Eucharis in Marlowe's "Hero and Leander" I have often thought worthy to be brought out of its present obscurity. It is one of the Chiswick reprints.

Doyle's poem reads very well. J. H. Newman has an elegy on a sister in his recent volume, of singular tenderness and simplicity. But, in truth, the last thirty years alone would supply a volume or two well worth selection.

With renewed thanks, believe me, your Grace's obedient servant,
FRANCIS PALGRAVE.

Amongst letters preserved by the Archbishop is one from Cardinal Newman, dated June 3, thanking him for sending him the "beautiful volume," and for giving him "a place in such high company." Mr. Frank Millson writes in answer to some questions of the Archbishop concerning editions of Vaughan's poems:—

Southport, Albert Road,

July 25, 1868.

MY LORD,

Your reply to my note was sent to me to Arran, where I was staying. Since my return, I have compared the two copies of Vaughan's poems. I think that your supposition that the 1655 edition is the same book as the one of 1650, with a new title-page and additions, can hardly be correct, though I know that Lyte, the editor of Pickering's reprint, thinks as you do. The *preface* to the 1655 edition is dated September 30, 1654, and contains this passage, which seems to me to refer to the fact of a new edition.

A comparison of my two copies shows that the 1650 edition consists of half a sheet, title and dedication, and 110 pages. The second edition has title, preface, dedication, motto, the 110 pages of the first edition, with eighty-four pages of new matter, and a table of first lines. A noticeable thing in the arrangement is that the sheets do not begin with new printer's marks, as they might be expected to do, if the second part were simply new matter added to the first volume, but begin with A, the last sheet of the former volume having ended with G.

I am sorry to trouble you with these trifling details; but, as Vaughan has long been a favourite author of mine, they have an interest for me, and, if they help to show that he was not neglected by readers of his own time, I shall be glad.

I may venture to say, that I would not have troubled you with

my note, if I had not noticed in the notes to your selection an accuracy of statement which is very rare in works of the kind.

The notes in the volume of "Household Poetry" are only too few, and most valuable to those who would fain be led by a poet through a treasure-house of poetry, especially by one so unerring as the Archbishop in his discernment of true poetic merit.* "I return the *jeu d'esprit* on Lord Houghton, which is very happy, also four verses," he writes to a friend in 1863; "the last are feeling and good, but, as you ask me, do not seem to me to pass that line, so real, yet so hard to trace, which separates graceful verses from poetry."

To the BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Broomfield, Wicklow,

August 27, 1868.

I think your presence,† above all in the present condition of things, of very high importance indeed. Your absence would be a loss to us in many ways greater than I can say; else, knowing all which is always on your hands to do, I would not so press you to come.

Judge Berwick and his sister, two of our oldest and most honoured friends in Ireland, for whom I was in fear when I last wrote, perished in that Welsh horror.‡ Few could have been better prepared for their great change. We have lost no others who were in any way near to ourselves, but friends and acquaintances have been stricken on every

* In a note to his translation of part of St. Hildebert's "Extra Portam," Dr. Neale says, after expressing his inability to agree with Archbishop Trench in his interpretation of a word in the poem ("worthy of St. Hildebert though such an interpretation be"), "At the same time, any one who differs on such a point from such a critic, must feel that he does it at his peril."

† At the Church Congress in Dublin.

‡ The collision of the Irish down mail, near Abergele, with a train containing barrels of paraffin, by which several carriages in the mail were in a few moments burnt up. There is a beautiful sonnet of the Archbishop's on the death of this brother and sister, beginning—

"Men said, who saw the tender love they bore
Each to the other,"

and ending—

"He Who loved them best of all,
Mightier than we life's mysteries to solve,
In one fire-chariot bore them both away."

side. What terrible issues from this life God often gives, even to His own !

To his Wife.

Palace,

September 4, 1868.

I believe the Charge has given satisfaction, and I hope, which is very much more to the point, that it said what was right and true. It will certainly be a comfort if there is not a row as after the last Charge,* though one must bear that, as well as graver evils, if it comes.

The following extract from this Charge is given, as the events of the last twenty years add to its interest :—

When our Establishment is denounced as a badge of conquest, what is this but the saying, in a way which it is meant should irritate some portion of the Irish people, that the past has bequeathed its results to the present? But so it has done everywhere, and in ten thousand ways. In the historic life of nations there is no escaping the dominion of the past. If it be attempted to ignore its verdicts, to reverse its decisions, to undo what it has done, a far larger task will have to be taken in hand than merely the overthrow of our Establishment. The possession by Protestant landlords of seven-eighths of the soil of Ireland—is not that a badge of conquest far more impressive, and with social and political results immeasurably more significant, than any which we can offer? Must that also cease? Might not the whole present framework of things, the Viceroyalty, nay, the Royalty itself, which is behind the Viceroyalty, by the same right, or by a better, be termed badges of conquest ; and, if all which keeps record of the great decisions of the past must needs be abolished, the removal of these on the same plea be demanded? Where is a movement like this to stop? This much is certain, that, if once allowed, it will not stop exactly where those desire and intend who have set it a-going, any more than the rock which has been detached from the mountain-top will pause upon its side exactly where he who first impelled it may desire.

* In the Charge of 1866 the Archbishop had spoken with admiration of the firm front opposed to a Puritan mob by Dr. Maturin, and also, very strongly, against attempts to crush the liberty allowed by the Prayer-book, or to change its laws ; counselling “ a steady resistance upon our part to any proposal to alter or to ‘ revise ’ it, as they speak who would urge such alterations upon us.” See “ A Charge,” etc., 1866, p. 10.

The seeds of the future are wrapped up in the present, and wise men may read to what these seeds will grow; nor need they any eminent gift of prophecy to discern what the course of events in the next half-century is likely to be—how this new ascendancy will grow and grow, how one thing after another will be yielded to it, still in the hope that this last boon will satisfy, how its claims in the end will become impossible to grant. And then, at last, a day will arrive when the democracy of England, moved in part by the sufferings of the Protestants, from which they will have long wilfully hid their eyes, but far more by the determination to maintain, at all costs, the unity of the Empire, and angry and fierce as only a democracy can be, will turn and stand at bay; and, having shrunk long from the struggle, yet will not shrink from it to the end. What the issue of a conflict between the strength of England and the weakness of Ireland will be, it is easy to foretell; but in the course of that struggle what an Iliad of woes will have been poured out on Ireland; and that day will be one to fill the most hopeful with despair, when, perhaps, some new Cromwell stands amid the smoking ruins of the civilization and prosperity of this land, to begin once more a work which is ever beginning, but which is never brought to a successful end.

To his Wife.

Palace,

Sunday, September, 1868.

There is a furious attack on me and my Charge in the *Freeman* [the Roman Catholic paper], warning me that if I go on so I shall get no compensation for my vested rights, whoever else may. I am quite unable to guess *what* in it has made them so angry, as they specify nothing. I see it is given at considerable length in the *Times*. Thomas's pamphlet is out.* It is well written, and in a high tone, although the policy of it, namely, a seeking to come to terms at once with our spoilers, I cannot assent to.

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

Kilkenny,

September 7, 1868.

I found your pamphlet in Dublin, and read it with very great interest. To the policy there advocated, as you know, I do not

* "Some Thoughts upon the Present and Future of the Irish Church." By an Irish Lay Patron. Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Foster. 1868.

altogether consent. Indeed, I do not see how we, who are the trustees and guardians of the prerogatives and property of the Irish Church, could accept defeat, and all the consequences of defeat, before this had actually arrived ; but the high tone which breathes in every page must be of very great value indeed, inspiring others, as I am sure it will do ; and in this way not less valuable the practical suggestions, should that which you think inevitable, and I think so probable, actually arrive.

To his Wife.

September 11, 1868.

If you desired an article in the *Times* on the Charge, I trust you are satisfied now. I do not think people would be so angry about it, unless there was something in it.

From SIR WALTER FARQUHAR.

Polesden Lacey, Dorking,

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP, *November 8, 1868.*

Before leaving town for Scotland your Grace's Charge was not published. I only returned last night. To-day I have read your eloquent, pathetic, and unanswerable appeal for the Irish Church with the deepest interest. You will permit me to express the thankfulness I feel that all those thoughts were in your heart, and that you have been able so ably to express them. As this letter needs no reply, it is a satisfaction to myself to say how deeply I sympathize in your great trials in the sister kingdom, and how great is my grief that our dear friend Gladstone, the only man who could have done this deed, should feel it to be his sad duty to suggest a policy so terrible and so fatal. I mourn for him every day ; not loving him a whit less, but feeling deeply thankful for my own insignificance while one so good and so talented advocates a policy to which I would not give my adhesion for a thousand worlds.

My trust is in the Lord our God, and in the power of prayer ; for if He has not utterly cast us off on account of our sins, He will not desert His Church in its great extremity.

I remain, with deep respect, your Grace's affectionate and devoted servant,

WALTER FARQUHAR.

To the BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Palace, Dublin,

November 21, 1868.

It is quite plain, as you say, that the battle of the elections has gone altogether, and we are, to a great extent, in the hands of our adversaries ; at the same time, I am obliged to dissent from the sketch of a compromise which you trace, and on the ground that, one or two points excepted, and of which presently, it is simply an accepting as a compromise that which our adversaries propose even now to leave us, and that which, so far as I see, there is no danger of their seeking to withdraw from us, even if we struggle to the very last, and are hopelessly and utterly beaten in the details, as well as in the larger issues of the struggle. Let me go through the details of what you suggest. Glebe houses and churches I consider in any event safe ; so, too, smaller glebes ; and I believe we may make a successful fight, and shall find helpers in the opposite camp, for the larger glebes, given *since the Reformation* ; and there are few others which are of much value. Gladstone, starting on the principle of respecting all private interests, *must* give the value of the advowsons to the patrons. These may hand it over to the Church. Many will ; some will not ; but it is altogether a matter outside of the sphere of a compromise between us and him. The same may be said of the capitalizing the life interests of the clergy. It would be a noble thing if there were a willingness on the part of the whole body of the clergy to carry out such a scheme ; but it would be a distinct violation of Gladstone's pledges, and one which certainly he will not commit, if it were attempted to force this upon them. Neither do I see, after long reflection, how in any other way the scheme could be carried out. In a body of fourteen hundred clergy there are not a few heroic souls prepared for any sacrifice, but also not a few who rise to no very high pitch of self-sacrifice, not to say that there are many to whom the sacrifice would be absolutely impossible. To me, or to one in my position, to have £4000 instead of £7000 would entail a certain serious amount of inconvenience, but that is all ; but for many a poor clergyman to change £300 for £170 for the rest of his life, would be as near starvation as things well could go. Doubtless a time will come which will call for large offerings on the part of all the richer members of our Church, and we, the wealthier clergy, will have to show the way and to set the keynote to the giving of others ; but a *forcible* capitalizing of life interests is both unjust, and would be repudiated by those who have power in their hands, while a

voluntary one, which shall embrace the whole, or nearly the whole, body of the clergy, is out of the question, not to say that, unless met by a corresponding effort on the part of the laity, it would be most unjust. Let me here say one word about myself, by the way. One never knows what one would do till one is tempted; but it is my deepest conviction that *nothing* would, as I am sure nothing ought to, induce me to leave my post here. When the ship is in among the breakers—and it will be so for many a long day; that is, if it does not break up—nothing should induce a chief officer to quit it. I do not say this as supposing that I can be of much help in our coming time of trouble, but I feel that my place is here; and, if in times past I have studied too much a literary ease, nothing is juster than that in these latter years of my life, when I might be looking for some quiet, there should be before me all which only too plainly I see. But of this enough.

You will ask perhaps, if I do not accept your suggestions, what I propose instead. I should answer, At the present nothing. We cannot, I am persuaded, at the worst come to worse than the terms suggested. Establishment I regard as hopelessly and irrecoverably gone; but in the matter of endowments, I should certainly for the present say, Wait. Let Gladstone show his hand. Let us see what friends we have in his camp, who, although they will vote with him on the second reading of the Bill, will in many details in committee be with us. Let him taste something of the immense difficulties of the job which he has to carry through; let him see the germs of dissension and quarrel among his own followers, and he will be willing to offer us terms less intolerable than those which he now would impose upon us. This is my conviction, and that any other policy would be a "*ne moriari mori.*"

Many thanks for all your most kind and helpful interest in us; and if you entirely dissent from what I have written, will you please let me know?

To the Same.

Dublin,

November 23, 1868.

There appears some danger that the present ministry may go out without granting us licence to meet in Convocation. They have held out strong hopes, but hitherto no permission has come. Whether Gladstone would grant it is uncertain, and at all events it is most desirable that we should not be left to his tender mercies. It is most

needful that we should be put into the condition of preparing ourselves for the worst, and that with the least possible delay. Already illegal, or rather unlegal, organizations are being formed among us, and, as things now are, seem almost necessary evils.

Could you give an impulse to Gathorne Hardy, or to whoever else it may be that may have to decide on this matter ?

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

Dublin,

December 10, 1868.

How shall we answer Gladstone, if he should object to our request to have a capitalized sum paid over to certain Church Commissioners for them to make the best of it that they can? "You make this request on the very ground that you can do better with the money than if it remained with us, and you were only paid one by one your annual income; but what security has the State that you shall not make rash or unfortunate investments, and that some twenty or thirty years hence the whole fund shall be exhausted, and that there shall be nothing for the annuitants who may still survive. These will then come upon the State; for, remember, it will be impossible to obtain, on the part of some two thousand clergy, the acceptance of the security which the Church Commissioners can offer, in lieu of that of the State; and the State, unless it breaks faith, will have to pay over again the annuities which still remain." I do not know what we should answer to this, and if we are engaged to keep the money in the Funds, this would at once deprive us of the largest part of the gain which we hoped to make by the transaction.

But even this would not give to the State all the security which it would have a right to demand. Gladstone might object further, You propose to buy out some of the clergy, and to make a further gain thereby. But who will come and deal with you, and seek a capital sum in hand, instead of a life annuity? Will it not in the main be those who are conscious that their lives are not likely to be greatly prolonged, while those of strong vital energies will prefer to remain as annuitants; and suppose there is a constant set in these two directions, the weak-lived seeking a sum in hand, the strong-lived remaining chargeable on the Fund, may it not in all likelihood seriously disturb all your calculations, so as not merely to leave you without the advantage which you promise to yourselves, but bring the very Fund itself to grief?

I do not know how we should answer these objections. The keystone of the Canadian arrangement—at least, that which rendered it possible for the State to consent to it—was the acceptance, on the part of the whole body of the annuitants, of the security which the Church offered, instead of the security of the State. But who can believe for a moment that there would be this willingness on the part of the two thousand Irish clergy? It would be easy enough for us, as many as are past fifty or sixty, to accept this security, for the Fund would certainly last out our time—that is, unless we dealt in Spanish or Pennsylvanian, or such-like stock; but I, for one, should feel considerable misgivings whether it might not all be gone before some of our younger brethren had received their latest instalment.

Will you give me your thoughts—perhaps you can give me also Sir W. Heathcote's—in reply to these difficulties of mine?

From RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

Hatfield,

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,

December 14, 1868.

The General Election, and its consequence in the speedy resignation of the Government, have now been followed by the definitive constitution of a new administration. And matters have thus reached a point at which I think it becomes me to remember that, during the first stage of the struggle in relation to the Irish Established Church—I mean in the course of last spring—your Grace showed no desire to discontinue personal relations with me, but even the reverse. I therefore think I cannot be wrong at this latter period in troubling your Grace with this note, in which, however, I desire to notice only one or two points, and that briefly and simply.

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

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

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

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

I must not assume anything, yet I cannot exclude from view the possibility that the time may come, if it has not arrived, when the authorities of the Irish Church may desire to consider not so much whether the transition is to be effected, as the manner and conditions of it, and the point of arrival for which we are to make. A perusal of your Grace's Charge makes me sensible that these subjects have not been absent from your mind.

I have a strong impression that *when* such a time has come, it would be just and wise that any facilities dependent upon the Crown should be given to the Irish Established Church for the purpose of considering its position, and of making, or planning, provision for the future.

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

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

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

W. E. GLADSTONE.

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

To the BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Dublin,

MY DEAREST BISHOP,

December 28, 1868.

Lord Dufferin called on me the other day as he was passing through Dublin, and I had a long conversation with him on Irish Church matters. You know that he is one *against* us so far as Disestablishment reaches, but professing, and I believe feeling, an

earnest interest in the future of our Church—if indeed a Church, and not merely the shattered fragments of a Church, shall survive the shock which is before us. He is, I suppose, more or less in the secrets of the Government; and he seemed to anticipate that Gladstone will propose (1) to deal singly and separately with the clergy; (2) to give to each a capital sum, such a sum, of course, as would enable them to buy a Government annuity of the value of their recognized life interest, etc.; (3), as the necessary concomitant of (2), not to require of them any further performance of the duties to which they have hitherto been bound, as the condition of their receiving this compensation.

Now, put (1) aside for the present. I can imagine no more frightful temptation than will thus be put in the way of our clergy. Knowing them as I do, I know that multitudes—very far the larger number, as I believe—will resist it; but some, and, when they are put all together—those who break down at the first and those who break down in after years; for the temptation will run parallel to their whole life—they will be too many, will break down under it. They will take their money, and, under one plea or another—ill health, or advancing years, or their first quarrel with their Bishop, or as desiring to find a wider sphere elsewhere—forsake their work, and forget the vows by which they are bound. What a spectacle to the world with only a few examples of this kind we should make; not to say that even where there was not this moral breakdown, and the men stood to their posts to the last, yet many of them are so poor, so embarrassed, so little used to have money at command, that in a very few years it would for many be all gone, and we should have them as paupers on an impoverished Church, and needing to be paid over again out of its scanty resources for services which had been once paid for already.

Now, whatever our adversaries are prepared to do, I think they ought to spare us a demoralization such as that which threatens us from such a measure as this. Doubtless the arrangement is simpler than any other that could be proposed, and would save the Government a vast deal of trouble; yet I cannot but think that there are some amongst those in whose hands we are, to whom this would not be a sufficient motive for adopting it. There is no necessity that the recognition of vested interests should take this form of a capital sum paid down. The clergy cannot now claim their income except as year by year it accrues. It is clear, then, that they cannot claim as a right to receive it paid to them in a lump. Then, too, they can

only receive it now as payment for work done; why should they receive it, then, quite independently of that work? I quite recognize the difficulty which meets us here of determining who shall say whether the work continues to be done by them, or some other work allowed by the Church as equivalent to that which they have left; but these are only specimens of the immense difficulties which beset the whole subject; and if others can be overcome, these as well.

It will scarcely, I should imagine, be urged—not, at least, by a Churchman like Mr. Gladstone—in defence of this scheme, that the Irish Church of the future will be so different from the Irish Church of the past, that Disestablishment and Disendowment will have so altered it as to have destroyed its identity, and that men cannot in fairness be required to recognize obligations entered into with it, as it now is, as binding upon them in regard of the Church which hereafter shall be; and yet moral justification for the proposal I can conceive no other.

If you agree with me, pray use any influence which you may have to avert from us a temptation which cannot without great guilt be put in our way; and which, even if a very few of us give way to, it will be a dishonour almost worse than death.

Believe me, my dearest Bishop, very affectionately yours,

R. C. DUBLIN.

Of this letter the Archdeacon of Dublin, Venerable J. G. Scott, writes:—

“I asked Dr. ——— whether he was at all aware of the Archbishop’s early remonstrance against the idea of a simple personal compensation in money to each ecclesiastical person for the loss of his life income. Dr. ——— remembered well discussions on the subject in 1869, but was not aware at all that the Archbishop had anticipated by so considerable an interval the general discussion.

“The plan sketched by Lord Dufferin would have reduced the whole body politic of the Church to a mere aggregate of individuals, bound to no fixed duty, subject to no defined authority, suddenly thrown into the possession of very unequal, but in many cases very considerable, sums of ready money; and free either to neglect all spiritual work, or to transfer their interests to England or the colonies, or to any of the

more agreeable parts of Ireland, without any of the steady influences of pecuniary sacrifices involved in change of residence. The plan also involved very serious danger to the families of men, most of whom had never been possessors of capital, or educated in the knowledge of safe modes of investment. The probable result would have been wholesale delusion by crafty speculators, and practical gambling on a very large scale.

“The Archbishop’s letter shows that he was so much alive to the facts of the case, and so prompt in discerning the consequences likely to result from the plan suggested, that he at once objected, and represented the importance to the Church of securing time for thought before action, by giving to the clergy annual income instead of capital, and making that income dependent on their continuance in the performance of the duties which they had undertaken.

“The suggestions of the Archbishop may or may not have been the original source of the plan which was afterwards embodied in the Irish Church Act; but at all events his letter is the earliest intimation, that I have seen, of the value to the Church of the consolidation of the material resources left to the Church by the Act, and also of the reservation to the Church of her claim to the continued services of the clergy—a claim which the Duke of Argyll described in the House of Lords in language something like the following words:—

“‘It is alleged that we are stripping the Irish Church of all her possessions. It is forgotten that we are endowing her with the free gift of the life services of an entire generation of clergy.’

“Nor was this pecuniary relief in the time of first difficulty the only result from the alteration which Archbishop Trench urged. For the annuities, coupled with obligation to service, gave to the Church a body of clergy bound to duty under their former condition of law and of *doctrine and ritual*, and bound *only to the old conditions*, and not to any altered conditions. And this fact had a most valuable restraining influence upon wild theories and projects of uninstructed laymen. For

they found that if they were to change the constitution of the Church, or the laws of ritual and doctrine, they would thereby set the clergy free to refuse to do duties to which they were not bound ; so that they would be obliged to seek new men, and to pay the new men out of their own pockets, and would be in danger of finding that no liberality on their part would induce men to accept office in a new-fangled institution."

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

Palace,

January 4, 1869.

I am very much obliged to Sir William for allowing me to see Gladstone's letter, and I trust that I have not done wrong in taking a copy. It is certainly plain and menacing enough, and to my mind shows very little nobleness in the attempt to throw beforehand the responsibility of a catastrophe, if a catastrophe should occur, on the leaders of the Irish Church who have not come forward to make his task easier, and to avert from him a great part of the invidiousness of it by offering terms of surrender. Doubtless this would be very convenient and pleasant for him ; but, in the first place, what authority have we, the prelates, to offer terms of compromise on behalf of the whole Church ? The preparation of terms of compromise would not have been open to discussion, and, if made on our authority, even supposing the whole Bench to be unanimous, how certain it is that they would be disowned and repudiated, whatever they were, by the great body of our clergy and laity ; and we should enter on the great crisis which must follow, discredited and suspected by those whose hearty confidence we needed the most. We have again asked leave to meet in Convocation. Then there might be some voice by which the Church could utter itself ; at present there is none. But, apart from this, and supposing that there were some person or persons competent to treat on our behalf, I very much doubt that more would be gotten by treating now than by holding off for a while. That Gladstone is very angry with us for not coming forward with our terms of capitulation is evident from the whole tone of his letter, from the *va victis* which breathes out in every line. But the anger of an adversary at the course which we have taken is not always the sign that it is the worst course for ourselves. I cannot but think that such an arrangement as the capitalizing of the compensation, and paying it in bulk to the Church, if only it commends itself to English-

men in general, we shall get quite as certainly whether it is contained in Gladstone's measure as first brought forward or not.

I return his letter. It has greatly altered my feeling about him; though that should not prevent me from saying that we should enter into negotiations with him, if I thought that the time was yet come.

The letter mentioned in this letter is given here, by Mr. Gladstone's permission.

From RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE to RIGHT HON. SIR
WILLIAM HEATHCOTE.

Hagley,

MY DEAR HEATHCOTE,

December 31, 1868.

Pray thank Mr. Trench very sincerely for his pamphlet,* which I have *again* perused. I had read it with much pleasure on its first appearance, and, without reference to this or that special point, had felt that the principles and spirit of the work, especially considering its date, were singularly honourable to the writer.

The arguments which should lead others to a similar course have now acquired a great additional strength, and the prelates and leaders of the Irish Church have at present a great and probably a last opportunity of acting effectually upon the manner of proposals we shall have to make in the points that have not been publicly and authoritatively defined. Words used by me to invite conciliation must depend greatly, as to the possibility of giving them effect, on the manner in which they are met from the other side. It will be a great mistake if these words of an individual are assumed to indicate a point from which there may be advances, but from which there can be no recession. A garrison does not commonly, even if it may in rare cases, mend its terms by prolonging resistance when the end is, humanly speaking, certain.

For my part, I have no fear of what is to follow the carrying of the measure. I am not so absolutely free from apprehension as to what, in given contingencies, may attend the process itself.

Affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

* "Some Thoughts upon the Present and Future of the Irish Church."

To the BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Palace, Dublin,

January 11, 1869.

MY DEAREST BISHOP,

I should exceedingly deprecate the publication of your letter. After fullest consideration of the very important arguments which it contains for an immediate transaction with Gladstone, we have made up our minds that we have no power to enter into negotiations with him, and that it would be unadvisable at the present moment to do so, even if we had. The announcement from so able and so hearty a friend of ours as yourself that you thought our course quite wrong, and that you had advised us in altogether a different direction, could only weaken and do us harm; nor does it seem to me that such a publication is at all necessary to justify and explain the course you will adopt in Parliament. That course, as I take it, will be—to give no support to useless and vexatious opposition, but to obtain the best terms for the Irish Church which you can. This is exactly the course which we propose for ourselves. The only difference between us is that you think these terms will best be obtained by present negotiations with Gladstone; we believe that, in the first place, we are incompetent to enter into them, and that the attempt so to do would be regarded by the whole body of Irish Churchmen as a betrayal of their interests; and, in the second place, that we shall gain more for our Church by refusing to be active agents and accomplices in its overthrow, by accepting with dignity, but at the hands of Parliament, the decisions at which it may arrive, and if those decisions are unfavourable to us, seeking to obtain from it, rather than from him, who first roused, and now leads the assault, against us, such terms as justice and equity will dictate. The publication of your letter would be merely an announcement (to us a most injurious one) that you think our policy to be altogether a mistake. I have a letter of Gladstone's before me, not written to myself, but which I believe it was intended that I should see, in which he says that our willingness to aid in the settlement of the question "would act not only on the form, but *in certain respects possibly* on the substance of the Bill, *subject, of course, to the principles which have been laid down and generally accepted by the promoters.* The underlining is mine, but certainly there is poor encouragement here for abandoning our present position, not to say that since I have learned, as I have from his letter to Sir W. Heathcote, that Church interests are so entirely subordinated by him to the exigencies of party, and that

terms of arrangement which he once held out he feels entirely at liberty to retract again, I have less desire than ever to treat with him ; though of course I would not allow this feeling to stand in the way if I believed that the fit time for this had arrived.

Believe me, my dearest Bishop, very affectionately yours,

R. C. DUBLIN.

From RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

Hawarden, Chester,

January 14, 1869.

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN,

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

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

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

It is, of course, an altogether distinct question what view they might take, if the intention of the leading prelates were defined in the sense of endeavouring to lead the assembly to the consideration, under whatever reservation or general protest, of the conditions under which a new state of things was to be established, and of the mode of regulating the transition.

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

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

I have the honour to be, with much respect, your Grace's very sincerely and faithfully,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

I have spoken of "the leading prelates," because anything beyond this would really be outside of the scope of the present letter.

On receiving the above letter, the Archbishop at once expressed his opinion that it was out of the question for a moment even to consider the possibility of Convocation meeting fettered by any conditions, or otherwise than entirely free. In this opinion the Primate entirely coincided.

To the LORD PRIMATE.

Dublin,

January 15, 1869.

MY DEAR LORD,

I enclose another very important letter of Gladstone's, received this morning. When one reads between the lines, or indeed it hardly needs to do this, the upshot of it is, that if we wish for a Convocation for the purpose of organizing our resistance we shall not have it. But that if we will give a pledge that it shall occupy itself with devising the best means for carrying out his scheme of disestablishment and disendowment (under protest if we please), then in all likelihood the Queen shall be advised to permit our assembling. We cannot give such a pledge; and if we could, we would not. It is evident from the last paragraph of his letter, that *in this case* he invited no discussion—almost deprecates a reply. Still, I think it would be rude to leave his letter altogether unanswered. What would you say to such a reply as this?

"DEAR MR. G——,

"I am unwilling to leave your letter of the 14th altogether unacknowledged; but with the resolutions at which we have arrived, I shall best comply with the desire expressed in its last paragraph by confining myself to a simple acknowledgment of it.

"Very faithfully yours,

"R. C. D."

It is quite clear that he does not want any opinion of ours (I should like to give him mine) on his monstrous proposal that we may meet to do *his* work, but shall not meet if we intend to do our own.

Very faithfully yours,

R. C. DUBLIN.

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

Dublin,

February 3, 1869.

I am much obliged for Sir William's letter, which I return.

I think he a little misunderstands my position in regard of Gladstone. My opinion of the latter is greatly altered by his two letters, one to Sir William, the other to myself, but our external relations are as friendly as ever. I have offered myself to Sir William on Saturday, and intend to send him in the mean time a copy of the whole correspondence which has passed between Gladstone and myself, which I am sure will modify his view in respect to the position which I have taken.

P.S.—I have sent to Sir William the only copy of Gladstone's first which I have, but I send you a copy of my reply, by the which you will see I did not harshly or rudely repel his advances.

To his Wife.

Athenæum,

February 6, 1869.

I reached Sussex Gardens safely last night, after a very rough and disagreeable water passage, and a beautiful journey through England. All the old haunts, Penmaenmaur, Llanfairfechan, and the rest, lay steeped in rich sunshine and shade; and all "the days that are no more" came back upon me. I am going in about an hour to start for Hursley Park, and propose to return from thence on Monday.

To the Same.

Hursley Park, Winchester,

February 8, 1869.

I met Lord Carnarvon here, and we have had—he, Sir William, and myself—several very long talks on the Irish Church, its present policy, its future prospects. Sir William received also while we were here some interesting letters from Lord Salisbury. Our English friends are prepared to fight, and to fight heartily, up to a certain point, and for certain things: for the future Church's freedom, for the retention of certain portions of her possessions; but the main battle they certainly consider as lost, and have no disposition to fight it over again. They assure us that we deceive ourselves if we think

there is *much* fight in the Lords. I shall know more after the meeting of Bishops at Lambeth to-morrow.

The following letter is given by Lord Selborne's permission, as it is an important link in the negotiations carried on at this time :—

From RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM HEATHCOTE *to* SIR
ROUNDELL PALMER.

Hursley Park.

MY DEAR PALMER,

February 8, 1869.

The Archbishop of Dublin has been here for two days, having come with short notice to confer upon the Irish Church. I was fortunately able to get Carnarvon to meet him. Salisbury, who was prevented from coming, has given me his thoughts in writing. But in my opinion no one can give such help in this crisis as you can.

Under any circumstances this might easily be true, but under the special circumstances in which you are placed you are qualified as no other man is, not only to advise upon the merits of the case itself, but to mediate between the combatants, and to clear up misunderstandings of each other which I see are rapidly gathering so as to aggravate the real differences between them.

In a letter which I received myself from Gladstone about a month ago, there was an irritability with reference to the Irish prelates, and a hard and threatening tone on the whole subject, which I did not fully understand.

Now that I have seen a correspondence between him and the Archbishop of Dublin, I have no doubt that he was angry with the Archbishop for declining to suggest terms of capitulation. The Archbishop *did* offer a respectful consideration of any proposals which Gladstone himself might make.

The Archbishop's view of his own position is, as I understand him, something like this : That neither he, nor all the Irish Bishops together, are authorized in fact, or in reason, to answer for the Irish clergy and laity ; and Gladstone refuses to allow their Convocation to be held, in which they might have been authorized by the clergy at least.

That if the prelates, without authority, opened such negotiations on the basis, as it would seem, of admitting that the main question

must be conceded before it has been debated in Parliament, there would be an immediate loss of confidence, and, in fact, such a disruption as would produce an evil far worse than the facts of disestablishment and disendowment, viz. the loss of all power to organize or to maintain in unity a free Anglican Church.

That the organization of such a Church, *really free* and really Anglican, is, under existing circumstances, the chief point on which to concentrate thought; and next to that, and in subordination to it, the preservation to that free Anglican Church of so much of the endowment as can be saved.

Now, wholly agreeing in the objects at which to aim, I will not say that I *wholly* agree in this view. I should have thought that private and confidential communications, admitted on both sides to be without prejudice, might have done good. But it is now too late even for this, and especially since the Irish Bishops have published their resolutions, and the Archbishop of Dublin feels that he cannot enter into private negotiations with Gladstone, directly or indirectly.

But you may find opportunities for doing good in the way which I have indicated in the beginning of this letter, and in which a knowledge of the Archbishop's mind on the whole subject will be of great use to you, while your advice will be of great use to him.

Let me entreat you to see him and Carnarvon without delay. I must not offer to go to London myself.

I am most sincerely yours,

WILLIAM HEATHCOTE.*

* In a letter of February 10, to another friend, Sir W. Heathcote writes :—

“I could see nothing in the Archbishop's letter to Gladstone which amounted to a *positive* refusal to enter into a consideration of terms, if Gladstone would offer them, but only a refusal to offer any himself. On the other hand, I could see nothing offensive in *tone* in Gladstone's letter—at any rate, not till a later point arose, viz. the question about Convocation, and even then it was rather hard measure in fact, than offensive treatment in manner.

“I could see nothing like his letter to me, which was not intended by the writer for the Archbishop's eye.

“No doubt the correspondence has been unfortunate, both parties leaving off with a misunderstanding of each other's meaning, and with a barrier to intercourse interposed; the removal of which misunderstanding is now the only thing to aim at, and you will see presently how I have attempted it. But the barrier to intercourse between the two men appears to be irremovable.

“To my great surprise, I found, when the Archbishop arrived, that this point, the very one on which I had thought he came to consult me, was disposed of by certain resolutions of the Irish prelates (clumsily worded, I think), and that the

To EDITH TRENCH.*

Lambeth Palace,

February 9, 1869.

I hope you all read the article in the *Times* about the Bishops' Resolution.† How very angry and how very spiteful it was! and at the same time, what a very impotent piece of rage! I fancy that I

Archbishop felt himself bound in honour not to enter into negotiations with Gladstone, directly or indirectly.

"All this has been managed awkwardly and *unhandily*."

"I agree with the Archbishop that to have entered into a formal negotiation with Gladstone as to terms, implying thereby a surrender of the principle, would have been a great mistake. In the first place, it would have strengthened Gladstone's hands in the Parliamentary encounter against resistance to his whole scheme, and probably have strengthened the hands of the more violent of his supporters against himself, when he could no longer plead the necessity of conciliating opponents in order to get the main part of his Bill passed; and in the next place there would be the Archbishop's great objection, viz. that such a step would have produced such a disruption among Irish Churchmen as to render almost hopeless the solution of this great problem before them, viz. the organization of the Church of the future in Ireland, so as to be *really* FREE and *really* ANGLICAN."

"Had personal communication been possible, Gladstone would have discovered," Sir William adds, "the real state of the Archbishop's mind, and that, instead of being (as we will now suppose) engaged in raising the cry of 'no surrender,' he is really so absorbed in the spiritual view of the case, that his chief fear of a treaty is lest he should, by shocking the feelings of the Irish Churchmen, land the Church in hopeless schism; and that his main object is to secure, as I said before, a Church, *free* and ANGLICAN, and second, and subordinate to that, to save as much as may be of the endowment; and that of the *establishment* part of the question he really thinks nothing."

* His second daughter.

† "The Irish Bishops are wise men in awakening to a sense of their situation. But it is not easy to be wise in all things all at once, and as soon as the Irish Bishops had arrived at the sound conclusion that from open foe or unsteady friend they must meet their fate, they followed up their prudent counsel by a foolish act. 'We are going to be disestablished,' they said to each other, 'and to be disendowed; how shall we flee this wrath to come? Let us pray that Convocation may be revived.' And they proceeded to draw up a petition to Her Majesty, asking that the Irish Branch of the United Church should have the same liberty of meeting as that enjoyed by the English Provinces. We would not be hard upon men called upon for the first time to consider collectively how to meet an imminent peril; but it is scarcely conceivable that any set of practical persons, with the experience of the Province of Canterbury before their eyes, should dream that safety lay in taking this rusty old weapon out of the armoury of disused things. The Government answered through the Home Secretary that, after mature consideration, they did not feel justified in advising Her Majesty to accede to the prayer of the episcopal memorial, and public opinion will confirm the prudence of this reply."—The *Times*, Thursday, February 4, 1869.

could have written a much severer article against us. That one, in fact, missed all the real points, on some of which we were certainly open to attack, and was altogether a barking up the wrong tree.

In the English Whig and Radical papers there is a whole deluge of bilge-water poured upon our heads, but I do not feel much the worse for this.

Sir William Heathcote took me over the new hospital at Winchester. It is beautiful in the perfection of its arrangements, and it is quite affecting to think of all the thought and tender care which had been bestowed upon it. I spent a delightful hour there. It would have been very sad if Sir William had not lived to see, as was so nearly the case, this fruit of all his toil.

It is something sad to come here, and to miss the kind and gracious old man who filled the chief place of honour in this house.

The Irish Church is just coming on, and I expect every moment to be asked, What is your policy? to which I have no answer to give except this, that my policy is not to be robbed at all, or, if I am to be robbed, not to be absolutely stripped. But I must bring my letter to an end.

Your ever loving father,
R. C. DUBLIN.

To his Wife.

London,
Ash Wednesday [February 10], 1869.

I hope you are having some profitable services in Dublin this day, and that we all may make some holy purposes this day, and also may have grace to keep them, that this Lent shall bring us something more of spiritual profit than, alas! too many of our Lents have done.

We had on the whole a satisfactory meeting of the Bishops yesterday, satisfactory, at least, in this, that they all, with perhaps one exception, having had our position explained to them, gave us perfect right in regard of the attitude which we had assumed, and that any negotiations with Gladstone would have been a mistake. They will all, too, make the best fight for us in the Lords that they can, and think that, in secondary details, much may be done to redress flagrant injustices in Gladstone's Bill, even in the Commons.

The extreme difficulty of our (the Bishops') position was very fully recognized.

I dine with Sir R. Palmer to-morrow, and am to meet Lord Carnarvon there.

Gladstone brings on his Bill on the 1st of next month. Happily, I do not think it necessary to wait till then; and some time in the middle of next week I much hope to be where I love best to be once more.

To the Same.

There does not seem the slightest willingness on the part of our enemies to yield anything to us. If we obtain anything, it will have been extorted by force and by nothing else.

*To MARIA TRENCH.**

Athenæum, London,

February 12, 1869.

You will be glad to hear that we had, on the whole, a very satisfactory meeting with the English Bishops. With one exception, they were all very hearty, and gave us far more right in what we had done than some of our Irish friends are disposed to do.

Lord Selborne kindly allows the publication of the following memorandum, made by him at this time:—

Mem., February 12, 1869.

[The Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Carnarvon dined with me yesterday; and, in consequence of what then passed, I drew up the following memorandum, and placed a copy of it in Gladstone's hands at an interview this day.]

It is not to be expected that any leading Churchmen in Ireland will acquiesce, otherwise than under protest, in the disestablishment of their Church, upon any terms. But it may make a very important difference, with regard to the prospect of carrying the Government measure without a dangerous struggle, and permanent evil consequences, whether the measure is such as the leading members of the Irish Church may be able to advise their people generally to acquiesce in, and not actively oppose, or one of a different nature.

The suggestions which follow are offered in the belief, entertained not without some good grounds (though they cannot at this moment be explained), that, if the Government would propose a measure consistent with them, an important and influential part of the Irish Episcopal Bench, and other leading persons in that Church, would

* Daughter of his first cousin, Thomas Trench, of Millecent.

probably take the responsibility of advising their people to acquiesce in it, to avoid worse evils ; and that, if the Government, before introducing a measure embodying these terms into Parliament, thought it proper to require some guarantees to this effect, such guarantees might be obtained.

1. It was stated last year that the leading advocates of disestablishment would recommend the reservation to the Disestablished Church of their Churches and Residence-houses, with whatever property appertains to them, and also all modern endowments of private gift. It is assumed that this will be done.

2. It is thought to be no more than a moderate and reasonable expectation, that, in addition to these (whatever may be done with the episcopal and capitular endowments, and the parochial endowments anterior in date to the Reformation), the *parochial* endowments generally, which have been granted to the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland *since* the Reformation, will be preserved to that Church when disestablished.

3. It is assumed that the life interests of present incumbents, generally, will be saved. But it is thought to be of importance that this should be done, not so as to discharge them from the conditions of spiritual duty, on which their tenure of their emoluments now depends ; but so as to preserve those conditions of tenure (*mutatis mutandis*) in the Disestablished Church ; allowing any substitution or modification of duties which may take place, with their own consent, under the system of the Disestablished Church ; but providing, of course, against any assumption of a power, by the authorities of the Disestablished Church, to introduce, as against the vested interests of these persons, new conditions of tenure without their own consent.

4. It is assumed that some reasonable interval of time will be allowed before the measure comes into full operation, for the organization of a system of Church government and discipline, upon the voluntary principle, by some constituent assembly, to which the necessary power and freedom shall, during that interval, be given by Parliament.

5. It is assumed that (unless Parliament shall itself undertake the task of determining how a constituent assembly of the Church shall be convened and constituted) the Church will be left free, for this purpose, to assemble in a National Synod, or in any other mode which may be practicable, according to its existing constitution ; and that, in order to give that security which the State may reasonably require for the proper administration of the endowments, etc., to be

retained, before they are vested in trustees, or otherwise, for the Disestablished Church, it will be a condition that due provision shall be made, in the new system of government and discipline to be agreed upon by the organizing assembly, for the future representation of the laity in Church assemblies; and that the reserved endowments, etc., shall not vest, according to the new system, till the resolutions of the constituent assembly have been approved by the Queen in Council.

6. It is assumed that, while the new system will be founded upon the adoption of the present doctrinal standards of the Church, it will be allowed to be constituted upon the principle of as complete freedom from State control or interference hereafter, in all respects (the judiciary included), as is conceded by the law of the land to other unestablished churches.

R. P.

To RIGHT HON. SIR W. HEATHCOTE.

Botley Hill,

MY DEAR SIR WILLIAM,

February 13, 1869.

Though there is not much to tell, indeed hardly anything, you will still like to hear from me after the opportunity of talking over our Irish Church matters with Sir Roundell Palmer, which you so kindly procured for me. I think he recognized to the full the immense difficulty of the position of the Irish Bishops, and did not, on the whole, seem to think that we could have done otherwise than we have done. I told him what was in my heart—the terms of compromise for which alone I should be willing to renounce the chances which prolonged resistance might afford, and undertake the enormous responsibility of attempting to procure the adhesion of Irish Churchmen. They were as nearly as possible those at which we had arrived with one consent at Hursley.

There was one feature of novelty which the conversation brought out. It was suggested that our English friends and allies, *if they could see any hope of these terms being obtained*, should address us, the Bishops and other Irish Churchmen, telling us that they were as good as they thought could be got; that they were prepared to fight for these, but saw no reasonable expectation of obtaining more; that even these in the struggle might be lost in part; and that they advised us to express our readiness on these terms to bring the conflict to an end. Of course, before committing themselves or us so far, it would be necessary, with whatever caution, to make some previous explora-

tions which would enable them to judge on the one hand whether such terms were likely to be obtained ; on the other, whether there was any chance of their being accepted as an end of strife. These being granted, it is possible that something might come of such a movement, and so Sir Roundell Palmer seemed to think ; but he took no authority from me to take any action whatever, nor did I suggest or even hint a desire that he should make any communication with anybody ; and this he perfectly understood.

I return to London on Monday, and on Wednesday or Thursday next propose to return to Ireland, where at present one is more wanted than here.

I shall always entertain a deep sense of your sympathies with our poor suffering Church, and am truly thankful to God that in this time of its trouble it has so wise and faithful a counsellor and friend.

Believe me, my dear Sir William, very faithfully yours,

R. C. DUBLIN.

To SIR ROUNDELL PALMER, M.P.

5, *Sussex Gardens,*

MY DEAR SIR ROUNDELL PALMER, *February 17, 1869.*

I am much obliged for your memorandum, which could not have been more carefully or judiciously worded.

It is, of course, to be recognized as possible that something may come of it ; and as we all probably have had painful experience how easily understandings even among honourable men issue in *mis*-understandings during the course of some long and complex transaction, I should like to express myself on one or two points, about which, if ever the matter advanced another stage, it would be well to be in the clear.

Acceptance of a compromise on the part of any considerable body of Irish Churchmen, having weight through their position and character, would no doubt take out the heart of the opposition to Mr. Gladstone's measure ; but there would certainly—at least, so I anticipate—be a residue who would still oppose. The accepters of the compromise would, of course, be bound in honour in no way to encourage or support these, and distinctly to separate themselves from them by word and deed ; but they would not be expected to take an active part against them ; as, for instance, I should not be expected to vote against them, if they drove some matter to a division, but simply to abstain from voting.

Again, acceptance of the compromise ought not to preclude from criticism of the minor details of the measure. Of course, it must be a criticism in honour—not to delay the measure, not to make the proposers of it unpopular in Ireland, not to introduce new and more advantageous terms than those on which the compromise originally rested; but with a *bona fide* intention to improve the Bill, within such limits as this had traced out.

There is one subject more on which I am anxious to say something. I was breakfasting this morning, at his wish, with the Archbishop of Canterbury. Gladstone has requested to see him, and he sees him either to-day or to-morrow. I found the Archbishop had traced out for himself the *sine quâ non* of a possible amicable adjustment, very much as they had been laid before you, and as they had commended themselves to you; but with one important variation. Instead of claiming *some* of the post-Reformation endowments, and drawing a distinction between capitular and episcopal on one side and parochial on the other, he would claim them all; and as this would be the carrying out of an intelligible principle, thinks that all would be almost as easily gotten as a part. I do not think so, and count that Gladstone, *if disposed to yield at all*, will fall back on you, and on your outline of a possible transaction. I observe that your memorandum is on this point worded with remarkable caution; at the same time, I would gladly know how far in your judgment it, and any words of explanation with which it was accompanied, honourably bind those whose views of the terms of a possible compromise you were reporting to Mr. Gladstone—that is, myself—not to attempt any more, if those are yielded. Your communication with him, though not made at my request, was yet made so perfectly with my knowledge that it might be made, and all I said was said with so distinct an anticipation that it might reach him, that nothing but the thought that perhaps you were less explicit than I was myself, suggests to me that it might be still possible for me to “go in” for the Archbishop’s proposals, if there was the least prospect of obtaining them. But on this matter I should receive absolutely and without reserve your decision, who know best what passed between Gladstone and yourself, and, if you considered that the ground was then so taken that it ought not to be shifted, would do my very best to procure the adhesion of Irish Churchmen to the conditions traced out the other night, if once I knew that the adversary were ready to acquiesce in them.

I am sorry to give you the trouble of reading these ten pages;

but trust that the answer will not cost you more than twice as many words.

Believe me, your very faithful and obliged,

R. C. DUBLIN.

P.S.—I ought to add that, not thinking it right to say anything which should in the least limit any just claims for the Irish Church which the Archbishop of Canterbury was disposed to make, I said nothing to him of any communication on your part with the Premier.

I return to Dublin to-night.

To the Same.

Palace, Dublin,

MY DEAR SIR ROUNDELL PALMER,

February 18, 1869.

I am very anxious that Mr. Gladstone should not at the present moment give any answer, either good or bad, to your memorandum; and for this reason, namely, lest it should ever seem that we—we, namely, of the Irish Church—had been moving him to show his hand, while at the same time we were unable, on our part, to fulfil the conditions under which he was implicitly invited so to do. And my experience of to-day leaves me quite uncertain whether we could fulfil the conditions under which alone he would do it. I have spoken with some of the ablest and calmest of our Irish Churchmen, and of greatest influence. They think, with me, that the terms, *as propounded by you*, are as good as we shall ever get; but they think, also, that there is no chance of rallying at the present moment such a body of Irish Churchmen heartily to accept them as would take the heart out of the opposition to Gladstone's measure, and so fulfil the implied conditions under which alone he would have offered them. I shall know more in a day or two; but am at present most anxious that he should not even seem to be lured forward to say something, we having nothing to say in return.

Believe me, most truly yours,

R. C. DUBLIN.

To the BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Dublin,

February 18, 1869.

Can you at all tell what is the mind of the *political* leaders of the opposition in respect of our Church? Do they intend to "flog the dead horse" of the Royal Commission, dead before it was foaled, and

try to get any work out of this? Or do they desire to fight their political battle on the *terrain* of the Irish Church, thinking this would yield them more positions of vantage than any other? Or would they be honestly glad to help us in making the best terms we could; and if these could be made without a battle, even politically glad to avoid a conflict, in which, whatever secondary triumphs they might win, and however much they might annoy their adversaries, they yet must see that in the main conflict they would be defeated?

It would be of great consequence to us that we should know something of the minds of Lord Cairns, of Hardy, and (for it is impossible to leave him out) of Disraeli. Would any of them, for instance, join such a recommendation to us as that which has been sketched out, recommending, if certain definite favourable terms were offered to us, that we should accept them? It is very desirable that we should know something of a subject on which we actually know nothing.

To SIR ROUNDELL PALMER, M.P.

Dublin,

MY DEAR SIR ROUNDELL PALMER,

February 20, 1869.

I do not think it necessary to withdraw anything which you have said, but in case you should receive any communication from Mr. Gladstone, I do not think it should be imparted to us, until and unless I have been able to say that we were in a position to make to it that response, in the expectation of which alone that communication would have been made; and he of course would be informed why it remained with you, and was not transmitted further.

Believe me, very truly yours,

R. C. DUBLIN.

[Mem. by Sir Roundell Palmer.]

Nothing ever came of this matter; unless, indeed, my memorandum may have had some influence upon the settlement of those provisions of the Bill (as afterwards introduced by the Government), which proved to be substantially in accordance with the points numbered 3, 4, 5, 6.

When I placed it in Gladstone's hands, on the 12th of February, he promised to give it all due consideration, but did not speak encouragingly as to the important point numbered 2. I mentioned

to him no name, and committed nobody. I heard afterwards that the paper had been circulated among the members of the Cabinet, or some of them: but I received no further communication on the subject from Gladstone; and, in consequence of the two last letters from the Archbishop of Dublin, I did not myself press for any reply.

Gladstone had himself privately asked my opinion on certain points, including point 5 of this memorandum, before the memorandum was drawn up, and the Bill was framed agreeably to the views which, as to those matters, I had expressed to him; and which, I presume, were also his own.—R. P., *June*, 1869.

To RIGHT HON. SIR W. HEATHCOTE.

Palace, Dublin,

February 24, 1869.

Very many thanks for your letter. If I come to England, I must drop a great many threads here, which others perhaps may take up, but which also may grow into a very tangled skein. I will yield, however, to the judgment of those who in this, not to speak of other matters, must be far wiser than myself, and far more capable of judging. I propose to cross over on Monday morning; and will, when in England, at once put myself in communication with Lord Salisbury, now that he so kindly invites me to do so.

To EDITH TRENCH.

Athenæum,

Friday [1869].

I dare say we shall very soon split up, a very sorrowful prospect indeed; but if, in addition to Establishment, Church itself seems to go, still Christ remains and cannot go, we must comfort and establish ourselves with that thought. I had a very pleasant dinner at Lord Salisbury's last night—nobody but themselves and Lord Carnarvon; that is, it would have been very pleasant, if we had not had to spice it with much anxious discussion on the policy of the next three months. The amount of responsibility which I see will devolve on me is sometimes quite overwhelming to think of; but we must seek the more earnestly the wisdom from above.

To his Wife.

Athenæum,

March 3, 1869.

There is a general impression that Gladstone has done his work very well for himself, and, of course, as ill for us. Most of the pitfalls into which one hoped he would fall, he has very skilfully avoided, and, by the mere act of making his Bill so thorough, made it much simpler and easier. If you cut off a man's head, you are saved from the necessity of taking thought what he shall eat or drink or put on.

Altogether our friends are very low; but I do not despair that something more may be gotten than he offers us, though perhaps not very much. I will write more when I know more; but these are my present impressions.

To the Same.

London,

March 4, 1869.

I went yesterday to Court, where, however, one felt rather like a ghost about presently to vanish away. It was a brilliant sight, and I wish that you and dear E—— had been there. The Queen was very gracious, and spoke a few words to me as I passed, which I do not remember that she has done before. I was near Mrs. Gladstone as we were going in, and I exchanged with her a few friendly words; *him* I saw at a distance.

Lord Salisbury has asked me to dine with him, and, as this is to me an opportunity for talking over Church matters, I have no choice but to go. I have already had one long talk with Lord Salisbury this morning. It was on the whole satisfactory. He says that there is no doubt that we can throw out Gladstone's Bill in the Lords *this year*, and, unless serious modifications of it in our favour take place, he seems quite prepared so to do. I see Roundell Palmer this evening. It is, alas! very uncertain when I can get back—not to dear Ireland, but to my dear ones there. Lord Salisbury tells me that Lord Grey is about to raise the whole question in the Lords before the debate comes on in the Commons. If so, I must remain; if otherwise, I had hoped to be at home toward the end of next week.

To the Same.

London,

March 6, 1869.

I very much hope to be with you on Thursday evening, or Friday morning at latest. I shall then have seen and consulted with our best

friends here, imparted to them my own views and learned theirs ; and there will not be anything more that I can do here till after Easter, when I shall be kept very close to my work until the end of the session.

Do not worry yourself, dearest, about the little external dignities which will go. If they grieve us much in the going, it will show that we clung to them too much, and prized them too highly ; and the discipline will have been salutary which bids us to resign them ; and perhaps, if we use that discipline aright, there may be more for us of the honour which comes from God.

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

The Athenæum,

March 7, 1869.

I am not altogether as well pleased as you are with the manner of our decapitation, even while I acknowledge its neatness, and the desire manifested by the headsman—at least, manifested in parts of the process—not to give us unnecessary pain. I believe he thinks that it is so gracefully done, that we rather like it than otherwise. The one great merit which the scheme possesses, and I acknowledge it a very great one, is that it will not now require acts of ours to put us in communion in doctrine and discipline with the Church of England, and with our own Church and the past ; but that, on the contrary, it will require distinct acts of ours to put us out of fellowship with that Church, and to break our connection and continuity with our own part.

This very considerably diminishes our greatest danger, though it leaves it a danger still. As I never for an instant apprehended that there would be any attempt to retain a hold upon us by the State, and was sure that, even if the attempt had been made, Gladstone's own followers would defeat it, I cannot accept as any great boon, or feel any considerable pleasure, at the announcement that we are to be free.

But when we turn from the ecclesiastical to the secular aspect of the Bill, it swarms now with hugest injustices, and then presently with pettiest meannesses.

Moreover, in requiring the clergy in every case to be the first movers in the transfer of their claims from the nation to the Church ; he has taken the keystone from our capitalization scheme—that is, from our one hope of making a purse against the coming day of necessity ; and we shall derive from it a very small advantage indeed.

But it would be very long to write on all upon which I would gladly have conversation with you. I have seen and had a good deal of discussion with almost all our chief persons here : with Lord Cairns, Lord Carnarvon, Lord Salisbury, Roundell Palmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury. The last of these and myself are to see Disraeli to-morrow. He is a very "dark horse," and will let us see very little of his hand, and I shall be careful in nothing to commit myself to him ; but it would not have been meet to have seen everybody else and to have kept aloof from him. My present impression is that the Lords, if only they keep their present mind, are perfectly prepared to commit themselves with the House of Commons, and to let Gladstone do his worst, *not* on the yes or no of his Bill, but on the claims of the Church to far more liberal terms than he has meted out. This is very distinctly Lord Salisbury's present intention, and, unless I very much mistake the man, he is not one whose courage will ooze away as the danger comes nearer.

He does not hesitate to avow that he would much sooner see the House of Lords disappear than exist merely to register the decisions of the Commons ; and he is not at all terrorized by Gladstone, as — is, who believes him, if in a temper, capable of anything, and that he would not hesitate to create eighty peers, if necessary to pass his Bill.

Please make for me as many memoranda on the Bill as you can.

In all secondary details R. Palmer will help us, and is willing to take a brief from me in the Commons, which I wish to have ready as soon as possible.

To the EARL OF COURTOWN.

Broomfield, Wicklow,

April 8, 1869.

I quite agree with you that it will be absolutely necessary to *recognize* the far larger Church population which is in some dioceses than in others ; at the same time, I do not think this recognition should be pushed to its extreme arithmetical results, ending as it thus would in the practical extinction of five dioceses, which all together would have less than half the votes possessed by the diocese of Down. We must begin, I think, by ascribing to every diocese, as such, a distinct value, quite apart from the number of Church-people in it.

I would give to every diocese, whatever the Church population, say ten representatives. This would still leave a hundred (according

to your scheme) to be distributed among the other dioceses, according to their several claims.

But while justice seems to me to demand such a modification of the distribution of the lay members of any future synod, it does not follow that there should be any corresponding disturbance of the clerical representation ; for that turns, not on the number of Church-people in a diocese, but on the number of clergy ; and, provided that the balance between laity and clergy be preserved in the bulk, there is no need that it should be preserved in every diocese—that because, for instance, Down will send most laity, it should *therefore* send a corresponding number of clerical representatives.

The scheme which you have traced out suggests some twenty-one more laity than clergy in the synod. I think this is a pity ; for, although you have fully guarded the rights of the clergy by claiming that the vote shall be by orders, I would gladly see this of voting by orders as only an alternative to be appealed to where one order seemed disposed to encroach on the rights of another ; and that in ordinary cases laity and clergy should fuse into one body ; discuss as one, and vote as one. Nothing, I believe would tell more for the dissipation of jealousies, and bringing about of an harmonious working between them ; but if there were a decided numerical superiority on the part of either body, the other would be tempted to draw apart, to discuss apart, and to vote apart on every occasion ; all which, it appears to me, is very much to be deprecated. I am very glad to see our principal laity beginning to come to the fore.

Probably, as they advance, the empty and mischief-making fools may disappear.

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

House of Lords,

April 20, 1869.

All here is going as badly as it well can, and Gladstone doing his work, not as one would expect, with at least some show of pity, reluctance, and remorse, but refusing to abate in the smallest matter from the severity of his first terms. However, this sort of thing always brings with it its own Nemesis, and will not fail to do so for him. I think I see the break up of his Government in the Land Bill which he must bring on as soon as ever the Irish Church is despatched.

One little matter I trust you will be pleased with, as assuredly I am greatly pleased with it, namely, that I am not to be an annuitant

of his, or of his commissioners, but that all my see property is to remain in my hands during my life, with exactly the same rights as if the Bill had not passed.

This was settled last night.

To the Same.

113, *Park Street, London,*

May 21, 1869.

I was very sorry to miss you when you passed through London, as I should greatly have liked to talk with you on many things, though most of them dismal enough. Archdeacon Lee writes the most discouraging accounts of all which is going forward in Dublin—the committee of Conference fighting within itself, and a portion of it furiously anxious to have the Conference itself at once summoned, that they may fight on a larger theatre, and call to account all who have differed with them. I do not know what may be the Primate's mind, but, for myself, I am quite resolved to have nothing to do with recalling it at the present into activity.

I am more and more convinced that any *compulsory* commutation scheme will be most unpopular among the clergy. As the one sure foundation of such a scheme (for the fourteen years seem to me assumed without a tittle of evidence that they are a good bargain for the Church), I have sought to obtain through the Bishops the actual age of every clergyman in their several dioceses. Some of the clergy absolutely refuse to help on even the consideration of such a scheme, by refusing to make the return which has been asked for of their age.

It is evident that many are greatly afraid of coming into the power of the future Church body, composed in great part of laymen, and fear, that is, once they are dependent on this for payment, undue pressure in one shape or another will be put upon them. I cannot altogether wonder at their fears.

To the Same.

113, *Park Street,*

May 28, 1869.

Thanks for the paper on Commutation. There was a long discussion at the Church Conference here, mainly moved by Dr. Ball, on the Commutation Scheme.

Suffering him to speak as inspired (perhaps a strange kind of inspiration) by Disraeli and Lord Cairns, I gathered from what he said and did not say, that Lord Cairns declines to propose anew

Disraeli's scheme, which was defeated in the Commons, in the fear that, if carried in the Lords, it will put the two Houses at issue; his dilemma being, either it is not a seriously gainful arrangement, or, if it is, Gladstone will never consent to it, but will say as he did before, that it is a new endowing of the Church, and against the principle of his Bill.

The others present were mainly the hot Orangemen, who have come over to force the House of Lords to do its duty, and who did not care to discuss any details of the Bill, as such a discussion might seem to imply a possibility that the Bill would be carried; so that much did not come of the discussion except a partial showing of Lord Cairns' hand, and even in this I may possibly be mistaken.

If he drops the matter, I certainly shall not take it up in the face of a decidedly objecting clergy. They have a full right to have their incomes secured to them in whatever may seem to them the safest form. I hope by Monday next to have the actual age of every incumbent in at least four dioceses, and to be able to put these, with the other documents, into the hands of the President of the Society of Actuaries, that we may so have some firm ground to go on, if it should be advisable to go at all. I think the laity will put to wholesome shame all those who have ever thought a hard thought about them.

To the Same.

113, *Park Street,*

July 3, 1869.

You will see that about the time when you were writing, the scheme for a *general* commutation, contingent, however, on the consent of the Church, passed the Lords. I will answer your letter, however, on the supposition that this does not ultimately pass, and that individual commutation is alone open to us.

I should certainly feel it my duty to commute, if any clear gain, pecuniary or other, could be made to the Church, provided a reasonable fiscal management was developed by the new body, and provided also that in matters and doctrine there were not manifested such a spirit as would render it undesirable to give to the new body so much greater a hold over one, as they would possess after one had commuted, than before. I have much the same answer to give if Lord Carnarvon's amendment stands. I should think it right to further the demand on the part of a Church for a general commutation, if matters were going reasonably well, but I would not willingly embark my all in a

crazy ship, or one whose crew would in all likelihood presently entangle it among rocks and shallows, or perhaps make shipwreck of it altogether.

To EARL CAIRNS.

DEAR LORD CAIRNS,

London,
July 9, 1869.

The House of Lords having removed from the Irish Church Bill the clause which deprived existing Irish Bishops of their seats in Parliament, and the Government having acquiesced in this amendment, we think it right to make to your lordship the communication which follows.

We desire to place these seats, so far as this lies in us, unreservedly at the disposal of the friends who have hitherto fought so earnestly the battle of our Church; and if at any time it should seem to you and to them that these seats have any exchangeable value, that ought to be gotten for our poor suffering Church by our renouncing of them, or that an ultimate arrangement, supposing such to be in view, could in any degree be favourably affected by such a renunciation, we are at once prepared to make it; and highly as we must esteem the honour of a seat in the most illustrious assembly in the world, we beg to give your lordship full authority to act on, or to make other such use of, this communication as you may please.

We feel quite sure that in writing this we are speaking the sentiments of the entire Irish Bench.

We have the honour to be, dear Lord Cairns, very faithfully yours,
M. G. ARMAGH.
R. C. DUBLIN.

To the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

DEAR LORD SALISBURY,

113, *Park Street,*
July 12, 1869.

I think it well to repeat in writing a statement which I made to you on Thursday last, and which the Primate and myself repeated the next day to Lord Cairns, namely, that, so far as we have the power to do so, we place at the absolute disposal of the friends who are fighting the battle of the Irish Church the seats in Parliament which the House of Lords has seemed disposed to leave us.

If the defence of these embarrasses the defence of more important posts, if in the giving and taking of an ultimate settlement the renunciation of them on our parts could in the slightest degree favourably

affect that settlement, or obtain any substantial boon for our poor suffering Church, we shall be delighted to see them so expended.

In saying this we are speaking the sentiments of all the Irish prelates whom we have had the opportunity of consulting, and, as we do not for an instant doubt, of the whole Bench.

I remain very faithfully yours,

R. C. DUBLIN.

On July 12, Lord Devon moved that the clause in the Irish Church Bill, providing that the existing prelates of the Irish Church should have the right of sitting in the House of Lords after the passing of the Bill, should be struck out. The motion was carried by 108 to 25.

From EARL CAIRNS *to the* LORD PRIMATE OF IRELAND.

5, *Cromwell Houses,*

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,

July 13, 1869.

The result of the division on Lord Devon's motion last night, and, indeed, the course taken by his lordship in bringing his motion forward at this time, have caused me very deep regret. The letter which I received from your Grace and the Archbishop of Dublin on the 9th inst., placing unreservedly at the disposal of the leaders of the party who were fighting the battle of the Irish Church the interests of a personal character of both your Graces and of the other Irish prelates in the question of seats in the House of Lords, if by a concession on that score any better terms might be obtained for the Church, had encouraged me to think that in the progress of events such a concession might be made to contribute to the object which you had at heart; while it would, coming at a later juncture, have shown, what I know has been the case, namely, that you have never regarded the tenure of your seats in any selfish view, or otherwise than as a trust to be used in the way most advantageous for the Church. Lord Devon's move, made without communication with me, and strongly deprecated when I knew of it, has defeated the disinterested object which you had proposed, and has uselessly thrown away a point of value in our position, but I cannot the less express my admiration of the high-minded attitude which your Graces have throughout this trying crisis maintained.

Believe me, my dear Lord Archbishop, yours faithfully,

CAIRNS.

From the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

MY DEAR LORD,

July 13, 1869.

The very unexpected division of last night has unfortunately made it superfluous for me to do more than thank you for the kindness of your letter. I had so little anticipated any danger from what I regarded as a mere protest from Lord Devon, that I had gone away for half an hour, and when I came back the division was over. I was very sorry then for my absence. Not that one vote would have made any difference.

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

London,

July 14, 1869.

There was a miserable muddle made in the matter of our seats in Parliament last Monday. We had placed these without reserve in the hands of Lord Cairns and Lord Salisbury, to use them whenever it seemed good to them for the getting of some little boon for our Church in exchange. When Lord Devon's motion came on I was very desirous to say that we did not wish to retain these barren honours any more, now that even the defenders of them placed the matter on personal grounds rather than on the privileges of the House; but Lord Cairns entreated us—and we were too easily persuaded—not to throw a card away which might be played here after to the benefit of the Church, and assured us, five minutes before the division, that Lord Devon's motion would be certainly defeated. He managed the matter very badly indeed, and we lost an opportunity that never will recur; and we did so in perfect loyalty to the Church, and not in any selfish clinging to poor private interests of our own; so that I hope to get over the annoyance of it before long.

To ARCHDEACON LEE.

London,

July 17, 1869.

All which we had been laboriously seeking to win for our poor Church has, in the two last nights, been ruthlessly swept away. I can hardly conceive the Lords accepting this result. If they do, they will certainly deserve to be themselves the next which follows.

Lord Salisbury, I understand, is firm, and, if so, will, I think, be able to carry the House with him.

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

113, *Park Street, London,*
July 20, 1869.

I *suppose* we are to throw out the Bill to-night.

In this case we shall return to Ireland on Friday night.

Whether we throw out the Bill or pass it, all in Ireland seems as dark as can be, and this morning's *Times* announces another attempted assassination.

On July 20, the Government was defeated on the Irish Church Bill in the House of Lords by a majority of 78; 173 votes being recorded for the Lords' amendments to the preamble, and 95 against it.

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

July 21, 1869.

I do not know whether we killed the snake last night, at least for the session, or only scotched it, but I do not see any hope of being in Ireland till Monday night.

I send you copies of our letters to Lord Cairns and Lord Salisbury, that you may have the whole correspondence before you, or have the power to show it to others.

On July 21, the Commons rejected the amendments carried in the House of Lords, and on July 22 the Lords gave way along the whole line of battle, Lord Cairns accepting a compromise proposed by Lord Granville. All the amendments for which the Lords had fought were disposed of in accordance with the terms of the compromise, and a division took place upon the twenty-seventh clause, on the motion for assenting to the Commons' reason for rejecting the Lords' amendments. The motion was carried by 47 against 17, and the Bill was ordered to be reported amid cheers from the Ministerial benches. Before the division, Archbishop Tait, Lord Carnarvon, and Lord Salisbury spoke, laying down their arms, and accepting the terms dictated by Mr. Gladstone. The latter, reviewing on the next evening in the House of Commons the terms of the compromise, said, "We have

arrived at a great era. When the Bill receives, as I trust it will receive in a few days, the assent of the Crown, every man must be conscious that a change will begin to pass over the moral atmosphere of Ireland." On July 26 the House of Lords met at four o'clock for the purpose of hearing the Royal assent given by commission to various public and private Bills. Of these, the first to receive the assent was an Act to put an end to the establishment of the Irish Church ; and on the same evening, in the House of Commons, the Speaker announced that the Royal assent had been given to the Irish Church Bill.

To ARCHDEACON LEE.

London,

July 23, 1869.

MY DEAR ARCHDEACON,

I have no doubt that you and others in Ireland have read, with an indignation which nearly equalled that with which I witnessed, the scene on the part of men who by name are the noblest in the land, which yesterday was enacted in the House of Lords. But more on this when we meet.

I can only write to say that I am leaving London this evening, but do not expect to be in Dublin till Monday night.

Yours most truly,

R. C. DUBLIN.

CHAPTER V.

1869.

“ When shall our Northern Church her champion see,
 Raised by divine decree,
To shield the Ancient Truth at his own harm? . . .
 Like him who stayed the arm
Of tyrannous power, and learning’s sophist tone,
 Keen-visioned Seer, alone.”

J. H. NEWMAN

IN the Charge delivered to his clergy in October, 1869, Archbishop Trench expresses so clearly his view of the battle, if it may be called so, in the House of Lords, that the following extract from it is here given :—

Seeing, as it is now possible to see, the final issues of the struggle of last session, one cannot but regret that the House of Lords—although more for their own sake than for ours—did not from the first declare their inability to do anything effectual in our behalf. There would have been no indignity in declaring that the seat of real power had, in the progress of events, so shifted that, however theoretically an equal force to the House of Commons, they were not any longer such in reality. Had they avowed from the beginning that they were but as the porcelain jar, and the House of Commons the iron vessel, and that a collision between the two must at every sacrifice be avoided, one might have regretted that their real power was not more commensurate with that which the theory of the constitution assigned to them, and might for many reasons have earnestly desired that the theory should be brought more into harmony with the fact; but none could have been so unreasonable as to find fault with the weak for owning themselves such, and for declining to undertake a task which could only be carried through by the strong.

But to have promised so much, and to perform so little ; to have said, "Come, and be safe under the shadow of our wings," and then, when we accepted the invitation, that we should have found no shelter there—this we had a right to complain of and to resent. A House of statesmen, or one, at least, which embraced so many statesmen, should have formed a juster estimate of what was within its reach to accomplish, should have made the discovery of its own impotence, if not at the first moment, yet certainly before the last.*

Or, if by some strange miscalculation it was only at that latest moment that they discovered this, we might at least have expected that there should have been some expressions of regret—I had almost said of remorse—for having raised so many hopes and expectations, which they must now themselves proceed to dash. If the House had sat, at least for a moment, as in dust and ashes, I cannot think that such a moral attitude would have misbecome it. What did excite a painful surprise was the manner in which it gave way, amid the mutual gratulations of its members, and as though they were accomplishing a feat most glorious ; everybody extolling everybody else ; the consciousness of having extricated itself from a position of embarrassment rousing in it a delight intense enough to swallow up every thought of the poor Irish Church, at the expense of which this extrication had been effected ; or if by one or another we were remembered for a moment, this was only to magnify and exalt the boon, in return for the concession of which everything else had been abandoned ; while, after all, that boon proves, on nearer inspection, to be of so questionable a character, and is practically clogged with so many conditions, that at present it is altogether doubtful whether we shall accept it at all or not.

And yet, as I live over again in thought that memorable night—

"Cum fracta virtus, et minaces,
Turpe solum tetigere mento,"

and as I compare the collapse of Thursday with the outbreak of the

* "From the way in which the Lords have dealt with the subject, and the grandeur of their debate, so very far surpassing all in the Commons, I think they are masters of the situation, and may carry much more of amendment than seemed probable ; and I think so the more rather than the less on account of the largeness of the majority (for second reading of Irish Church Bill), considering how completely that majority was owing to peers who desire extensive amendments. It shows how many there are who were not afraid of declaring their whole mind, instead of staying sulkily away."—Letter from late Right Hon. Sir W. Heathcote, June 22, 1869.

Tuesday preceding, I feel that, much as we may have lost and suffered, it is not we who have lost and suffered the most. It was a night indeed when one who only listened to what was uttered might have supposed the House of Lords, by its wisdom and prudence, and, as some added, by its courage, had taken a new lease of life and power. But, amid all this self-gratulation, no wise or thoughtful person who was present within its walls but must have felt the hollowness of all that was spoken, but must have had this conviction forced upon him, namely, that we were assisting at a turning-point in the history of the English Constitution ; above all, in the history of one of its noblest institutions. With whatever glosses it may have been sought to gloss over or conceal the fact, there was then made a final avowal on the part of one branch of the legislature, that, however it might keep Jews out of Parliament for a few years, or arrest for a certain number of sessions the abolition of church-rates, in all such greater matters as mould and fashion the future of a nation's life, it had no voice which could make itself effectually heard ; and I am bold to prophesy that the struggle on the Irish Church Bill will be the very last in which the House of Lords will ever venture even to appear to cross or thwart the will of the House of Commons in any matter of high national significance.

But now that all is over, that this battle has been fought and lost, let us at any rate comfort ourselves with the thought how much better it is to be the spoiled than the spoilers ; how much we, every one of us, would prefer to have suffered this wrong than to have had any share in inflicting it ; and let us commit, first to the Righteous Judge, and then to the days which remain, and which shall be free from the passions and interests of the present, the judgment, whether this thing ought to have been done, or whether, if done at all, the manner of the doing was such as the equities of so violent, so vast, and so sudden a transition might have fairly demanded. But having, so to speak, registered this appeal, let us address ourselves, as becomes brave men, to the meeting, and by God's good hand upon us, to the mastering, of the immense task which lies before us ; as Christian men, to the freeing of ourselves from the last traces, if these be lingering with us yet, of ill-will, bitterness, or of that anger wherein is sin, which we may have been tempted to nurse against any ; that so, with consciences void of this offence, and lifting up holy hands without wrath as without doubting, we may seek and may obtain help from the Sanctuary, even from Him Who in every time of need is the only effectual Helper.

With the surrender in the House of Lords, Archbishop Trench's struggle in England on behalf of the Irish Church ended, and he turned to face far greater difficulties in Ireland, entering upon a long season pregnant with sorrow, perplexities, calamity, and loss. The history of that second struggle is outside the task undertaken by the editor, but for many, especially in England, it is needful, in order to understand the letters which follow, to give a short account of the position in which the Irish Church found herself on the passing of the Bill, and of her first free action. For this the editor is indebted to the Archdeacon of Dublin, the Venerable J. George Scott.

“The Irish Church Act by one stroke put an end to all compulsory legislative or executive authority of the Church over her members in Ireland, and at the same time removed all questions respecting the internal relations of the Church and her members from the sphere of Parliamentary action. It was necessary then to set the Church free to arrange for herself, with those who might be willing to continue their connexion with her, provisions for adapting to her altered circumstances the mutual relations of her clergy and people, and for giving expression to her teaching and regulating her corporate life.

“For this purpose, the Act repealed the prohibition which former statutes had enacted against the holding of assemblies, synods, or convocations, or electing representatives thereto. And it gave authority to the Bishops, clergy, and laity of the Church to elect representatives to a synod or convention, and therein to frame constitutions and regulations for the general management of the Church, of its property and affairs; and for the future representation of the members in diocesan synods, general convention, or otherwise.

“The two Archbishops, in pursuance of this permission, summoned a meeting of the ancient Convocation of the Church of Ireland, in accordance with the former precedents, disused for two centuries. In that Convocation the Bishops and clergy decided on inviting the co-operation of the laity

in the manner indicated in the Irish Church Act. At the request of a meeting of the laity in Dublin, the two Archbishops convened a lay conference to make provisions for the election of representatives to a general convention. The convention was in due course constituted by separate diocesan elections of clergy by the clergy, and laymen by the laity. At the suggestion of the Lay Conference, an organizing committee, consisting of the Bishops, with two clergymen and two laymen from each diocese, assisted by some learned persons, was appointed to sketch a draft plan for a constitution to be proposed and discussed and put into shape in the general convention.

“The most fundamental question for decision in this preliminary action related to the admission of the laity to sit and vote in an assembly appointed to regulate the constitution of the Church.

“In the meeting of Convocation the objection was raised that synods had in ancient times exercised the legislative functions of the Church, and that synods consisted only of Bishops and clergy, with the assistance of laymen invited by them—not as representatives, but as learned advisers. To this it was replied, that the American and Colonial Churches of the Anglican Communion had all admitted the laity by representation to a voice and a vote in their synods; and, moreover, that the Irish Church Act presumed that some such course would be adopted in the Church of Ireland, and gave permission for the action of such an assembly, and no permission for the framing of a constitution by Convocation alone. When Convocation had decided this question in favour of co-operation with representatives of the laity, a further point remained to be decided within the Convocation, namely, how far and on what subjects should the laity be allowed to speak and to vote. It was maintained by some of the stricter Churchmen that the teaching of the Church had been so definitely committed to the Bishops and clergy that they were bound to retain in their own sole charge all matters of theology, of worship, or of moral teaching; or at least that if

the laity were admitted to consultation on these subjects, they should not be admitted to vote.

“To this it was replied that no such restriction had been imposed upon the action of the laity in the sister Churches; that, as a matter of fact, in early synods laymen had interfered, and often interfered for good or for ill, in matters of doctrine, and had done much to determine the decisions; and that if the Church was to retain the affection and confidence of the laity, it was necessary that they should be admitted to hear the truth from the clergy, and claim and receive explanations, and that their opinions, when instructed, should be taken into account.

“The final decision was in accordance with the example of the sister Churches. Inasmuch as the Irish Church Act gave effect to the existing doctrine of the Church and the old ecclesiastical law, as binding upon all who desire to continue members of the Church, on the footing of presumed contract, in all points in which the law should not be altered by the action of the Church herself; it was not necessary to frame a system of doctrine, worship, or morals; but only to keep the deposit which the Church had received; and the Convocation considered that the vote by Orders would give to the clergy the power, and impose on them the full responsibility, of stopping the way against any alterations inconsistent with the principles of the Church. This final decision obtained the assent of all the Bishops, including Archbishop Trench; though he looked with deep anxiety and dread on the prospect of the possible opening up of the most solemn truths of theology for discussion by unlearned and uncultured country squires, and with extreme pain and dismay on the loss of the co-operation of the most attached and most able of his counsellors, Archdeacon Lee, whose conscience would not allow him to take part in exposing to possible profanation the mysteries of the faith.”

To the EARL OF COURTOWN.

Broomfield, Wicklow,

July 31, 1869.

I am very glad to hear that you gave the answer which you did to the circular requesting the Archbishops to summon the Conference again. I find almost universally among the clergy, and very generally among the laity, the strongest distaste to any such step.

The Bishops meet on Tuesday next; I will write to you again immediately after their meeting. Nothing is determined as yet. The attempt to revive the Church Conference would be the immediate signal for a declaration on the part of a considerable body of one clergy that they disowned its authority, and would abide none of its decisions. I know not what the end will be.

I often fear that we shall find ourselves on the rocks and among the quicksands even before we have left harbour.

To his Wife.

Cuddesdon Palace,

Thursday, August, 1869.

You saw, no doubt, in the paper the announcement of the Bishop of Salisbury's death. It is a *great* loss to the Church, and he so young and strong, and with the apparent promise of twenty years of usefulness before him. The Bishop of Oxford feels it very much. There was no other of his brethren with whom he was at all on such confidential relations.

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

Broomfield,

August 2, 1869.

The Bishops meet to-morrow, and among other most important matters to consider is the request of the committee of the Church Conference that the latter should be called together again. If there is one thing which the great body of the clergy, high and low alike, dislike, it is the prospect of this; so I trust we shall find no difficulty in giving them a civil "No." But much may depend on whatever other resolutions are taken, and every way is so beset with difficulties and dangers that, were it not for the faith that a higher Hand will lead us, one might be willing to throw up all in despair.

To the Same.

Broomfield,

August 6, 1869.

We have given the Church Conference people a courteous but decided answer, which I suppose is published in the Dublin papers to-day, that we will not reassemble the body.

This, I have no doubt, was well done; but how the Provincial Synods, when called together to reform themselves, will behave is a matter on which I have the gravest apprehensions; how, also, to bring together this body when reformed, and fuse into one body with the lay representatives, seems to me as hard a problem as ever was set before men.

We must come to grief, unless almost everybody behaves wisely and well; and is this likely anywhere, above all here?

However, "Forward," is the only possible word now; and if it be "Forward in the name of God," all our unfaithful fears may yet be put to shame.

To the Same.

Broomfield,

September 22, 1869.

The suggestion that the laity should return two delegates for every *one* whom the clergy return is a very nasty one, as indicating the desire of a petty triumph; but it loses all, or nearly all, its significance on the assumption that the voting be by Orders. This is absolutely vital, and *I shall decline to forward another step in the reorganization of the Church unless this of the three Orders* is made a fundamental. This, too, is the resolution of several of the Bishops, including the Bishop of Ossory and the Primate; I trust also that of a large body of clergy, and of some laity. There is no room for compromise or for silence here.

The second proposition ought, I think, also to be resisted; but not as vital, seeing that the voting by Orders would redress the wrong which otherwise it would inflict.

To the Same.

Broomfield,

October 4, 1869.

I am very glad to think that you will be among the delegates of next week's Conference. We may certainly expect that on that day

the laity will show their hand, and very much will turn on what kind of hand it is. Some of the most influential among the moderate laity have asked the Primate and myself to meet them in Dublin on Saturday. I have, of course, assented.

Nothing can at present go worse than our move in the matter of a Sustentation Fund. The contributions are very few, and, with a few noble exceptions, far below what they ought to be. Fancy — sending £500, and — £100! Please do not mention this; it will be known soon enough to do us incalculable harm, and, if it is at a similar scale than men in general set the standard of their duties, the Irish Church is doomed indeed. I hope —'s gift may stand next in our future lists to the £1000 which “an English curate” has sent me.

To the Same.

Broomfield,

October 7, 1869.

I am inclined on the whole to think that it is a good deal more probable that we shall commute than not.

I do not imagine that the economical difficulties will prevent it.

That which inevitably *would* do so, would be the signs of any serious agitation for the revision of the Prayer-book, or otherwise for the modification of doctrine. This would instantly cause a large body of the clergy to refuse to move an inch from this their present position, and would be absolutely fatal to the scheme.

I am rejoiced that you report so favourably of what you saw and heard in Dublin. I do not myself now anticipate that we shall have any difficulty in the matter of the voting by Orders; if only we can make it clear that this does not mean “by orders *of the Archbishop*,” as it was understood by a lay delegate, whom a friend of mine found indignantly proclaiming that he would never submit to anything of the kind.

To the Same.

Broomfield,

October 17, 1869.

I could not see anything in the reports of the later day's proceedings which really diminished the gravity of what was said and done on Tuesday; and, on the whole, look at a catastrophe on the three Orders question as more probable than not.

The Bishops have requested that an opportunity for a *common*

announcement of our views on the three Orders matter should be taken ; and that I should not run before with any single announcement on this matter. I have consented.

I saw old Cashel yesterday. He was as true as steel on the matter.

To the EARL OF COURTOWN.

Palace, Dublin,

October 27, 1869.

I wish very much that our matters were about to follow that course which you have traced out. I should have much fairer hopes for the future than I am able now to entertain. But, putting aside the obstacles, formidable enough, which the temper of men would raise up, there is an obstacle lying behind all these, namely, that our best lawyers—I would instance Chatterton (a letter of whose I enclose) and Ball—declare that no General Synod or Convention would satisfy the conditions of the nineteenth clause of the Act for our disestablishment, of which the members were not directly chosen for that Synod or Convention ; and that so the dream which I have cherished, namely, that we of the clergy could come together according to the old Church precedents (as we did two months ago), and that the laity might also come together, and that, when we thus stood side by side, we might resolve ourselves into one body, the old Church body, now reformed in its clerical part and reinforced by the laity, must come to nothing. They announced in the distinctest terms that, according to Clause 19, such a body would be illegal—by this I mean would not fulfil the conditions of that clause—and that all must have been elected from the first for a General Convention ; and it seems to me impossible to act in the face of this declaration of the experts. I cannot express to you how gloomy the whole aspect of things is to me. Certainly nothing could be worse or more ominous than the temper of the Lay Conference on the first day of its meeting, and that vote, taken in the absence of the clergy, that they would be two to the clergy's one, has done more to destroy mutual, generous confidence than any who see only the surface life of the Church can well imagine. Then, too, there was an evident determination on the part of many to resent the recognition of the Episcopate as a third Order in the Church, whose distinct and concurrent vote was necessary as well as that of the other two Orders in the Church. For myself, I should absolutely decline to take share in the proceedings of any Synod, where this right was not recognized from the beginning ; and

the same is the resolution of the greater number of the Bishops—of all, I believe, except one; so that it is impossible not to see how many and great dangers are before us. Only the future will declare how far all these were aggravated and intensified by the disastrous resolution of the 12th. I wish I could speak more hopefully; I try to do so to the world in general; but to those to whom one can speak in confidence and without reserve, it is better to show all that is in one's mind.

To H. F. TRENCH.

Dublin,

October 27, 1869.

There are many temptations in the first freedom of a college existence; but you, I doubt not, will seek grace and strength to resist them. Whose lectures are you attending, and what are you doing in these lecture-rooms? Make it a rule to give the morning, up to two p.m., to work; and rescue some good portion of time for work in the evening as well.

If you attend wine-parties, evening chapel is always a good opportunity for leaving them. Do you belong to the Union? If so, do not spend too much time there, reading the papers and the magazines. Remember the office in the Church of Christ, and so *keep yourself* that you may not be altogether unworthy of it. May God bless and keep you. Ever your most loving father,

R. C. DUBLIN.

Write at large, and tell me all you can of your *manière d'être*.

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

Dublin,

November 8, 1869.

You see that we have asserted our position as a separate Order,* and that the *Express* has taken it very meekly. I trust the lesson

* The following announcement had appeared in the newspapers of November 6:—"THE CHURCH OF IRELAND.—The following resolutions were adopted unanimously, at a meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops, held yesterday: In reference to the seventh resolution of the Lay Conference, the Bishops have taken, or will take, the steps necessary for the carrying out of the suggestions therein contained, by convening meetings for the election of delegates, clerical and lay, to attend the General Synod or Convention of the Church. That, with reference to the ninth resolution of the Lay Conference, the Archbishops and Bishops are prepared to co-operate in the formation of such a committee as is therein suggested. That the Bishops shall sit and vote as a separate Order, with a right

will not be thrown away upon us, if there is need again to assert a principle.

To the EARL OF COURTOWN.

Dublin,

November 8, 1869.

You will have seen by the newspapers that the Bishops have thought it best to define their own position, as the Act gives them full authority to do; and in this way to cut short discussions which would have had a very injurious effect, if room had been allowed for them.

I cannot think that the concluding words (the last five lines) of Clause 19 can be interpreted in the very limited sense which you suggest. The approaching Synod or Convention will have far larger powers for good or for evil—at least, so I understand—than merely the forming of the governing body of the Church. All the leading outlines of all future Church arrangements will have to be traced by it, so far as our new conditions need that these should now for the first be traced. I trust we shall have the good sense and forbearance to change or to modify only where the new conditions render this absolutely needful.

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

Dublin,

November 13, 1869.

I gather that you of the laity have elected somewhere about or above five hundred parochial representatives, which, when united with the clergy, will make not very far from eight hundred. I shall not much admire having to drive such a team, though it be but for a single day.

of conference and discussion in common, whenever desired by themselves, or either of the other Orders."

"The last move," a layman wrote on November 7, "was a very important declaration of the Bishops (the result of a meeting at the Palace on Friday, the 5th, at which they all pledged themselves to stand by it at all risks, but this is not generally known), to the effect that they intend to form a separate House, and to vote apart, though sharing in our discussions. I am very glad indeed that they have irrevocably committed themselves to this: a considerable portion of the laity wished to force them to vote with the clergy—in fact, that there should be but two Orders, clergy and laity; and it was with great difficulty and only on a point of order that our last lay meeting was kept from passing a resolution on the subject; now, however, they are forestalled, and I do not in the least anticipate any difficulty about it."

From ARCHIDEACON RANDALL.

Binfield,

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,

November 15, 1869.

I have again to thank you for your kind remembrance of me in sending me a copy of your Charge.

It is full of melancholy interest; a sad anticipation of the difficulties that must beset the reconstruction of the temporal framework of the Irish branch of the Church; and, let me add, full of awful warning to those good and zealous, but, as I think, most injudicious Churchmen on our side of the water, who have allowed themselves to talk of the possible disestablishment of our own branch as a small evil, which would be overbalanced by the emancipation of the Church from State control.

No doubt God can overrule all for good, and Christ will not suffer the malice of enemies, nor the mistakes of friends, to prevail to the ruin of His Church; but such a disruption is a trial that will perplex the judgment of the wise and sadden the hearts of the faithful, set loose a great abundance of iniquity, and cause the love of many to wax cold. God grant that the days of the trial may be shortened; and that you and your faithful brethren may see your way to the end of them.

Looking to particulars, I quite think with you that the resolution (I hope only tentative and revocable) of the Lay Conference, that the number of lay deputies in the future Church body should be double that of the clerical, is a great mistake. It shows jealousy and disposition to secure an apparent, which will soon have the effect of a real majority of influence. It will make the clergy more disposed to call for a vote by Orders upon every occasion; and it will make the vote by Orders invidious to the laity. In fact, the vote by Orders will be in danger of becoming as ineffectual as the vote of a weak aristocracy against a powerful democracy.

All that you have said about the inconvenience of such a numerous assembly, and the difficulty of even obtaining a hearing for the unpopular side, is quite true. And if the attendance would be generally thin, and only full upon special occasions, so much the worse.

It would be filled by a whip, with men who, with little or no knowledge of the subject, would come in and vote with a party for a foregone conclusion. Looking at the situation, as I must do, from the outside, I shall be apprehensive that some, perhaps many, of the laity might be too much influenced by political rather than eccle-

siastical considerations, and might be disposed to Presbyterianize the Church, so as to unite and strengthen the interest of the Protestant body in the State. I am very glad to see that you do not seem to think there is any great inclination this way; though you have indirectly given strong and wise cautions against it.

I do not know whether you have heard lately from the Bishop of Oxford, so I will tell you that he delivered his farewell Charge to his diocese at Christ Church on Thursday last, November 11. As it had been announced that the Charge would only be delivered once by himself in person, the cathedral was crowded by clergy and laity from all parts of the diocese, between five and six hundred of whom remained to partake of Holy Communion. Addresses of regret at his departure, and prayers for his happy success in his new diocese, have been signed by an immense majority of the clergy, and fresh signatures are still coming in. I suppose his translation will be completed by the middle of September; and he will hold his Christmas Ordination, D.V., in Winchester Cathedral. He will be assisted on the occasion by those of his old Oxford staff who are able to be with him—Pott, Woodford, and myself; and I believe G. Sumner will be one of his staff, as he was of the late Bishop's.

It is a heavy work that the Bishop has undertaken; and I am considerably apprehensive as to the effects of the change. If he had been translated to Canterbury or London, I should have felt that the prospect of increased usefulness to the Church would have made up for all the hazard of his own comfort. But Winchester is not so much larger a sphere than Oxford, as to make any appreciable addition to his influence. He was already the most personally influential prelate in the Anglican Communion, and he will be no more now. It is almost a pity to have exchanged the title of Oxford, so long a watchword in England, the Colonies, and America, for such a slight accession of dignity, and, I fear, rather a diminution than an accession of worldly goods. He himself, as you will suppose, takes varying views of his situation; sometimes cheerful, at other times melancholy. But he will go boldly to work; and God grant that his work may be blessed.

I hope Mrs. Trench is well, and that these terrible changes do not depress her spirits. I know they will not overwhelm yours. *Impavidum ferient ruinæ.* But we must not call this a ruin. We hope better things.

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

Dublin,

November 16, 1869.

Clergy and laity meet together on this day fortnight,* on which occasion a vote of censure on the Bishops for presuming to fix their own position will be moved, and probably passed. It will not, however, be put by me.

The first diocesan meeting was on November 30, but no such resolution as the Archbishop expected was proposed. After a long struggle against a motion of Lord James Butler's, the Archbishop rose and said, "From what I have heard, and from the resolute determination of a large number of persons in the room that no business shall go forward, I will now take a step which I believe is justifiable on the ground that a very small amount of business remains to be done—two or three matters of the merest detail, and concerning merely the laity. I will not endeavour to resist that attempt as little as I have attempted characterizing the resolution that no further business shall be done to-night. I shall myself not attend any further adjournment of the meeting. I do not think that it will be at all necessary for any clergyman to attend the meeting to-morrow, at which meeting whoever attends will, I request, elect a chairman of their own, a chairman that shall not be myself."

The meeting then separated; and, coming together on December 1, sent a deputation requesting the Archbishop to "meet his brother Protestants and his clergy of the united dioceses of Dublin, Glendalough, and Kildare," on the next day. The meeting adjourned to two o'clock to receive the Archbishop's reply. On reassembling, the chairman said, "It is with sincere regret that I have to announce that the Archbishop, with every expression of kindly feeling and anxiety for the welfare of the Church, has deputed us to return you this answer: 'It is with deep regret that I feel compelled to decline acceding to the request which has been

* First diocesan meeting of lay and clerical representatives for the united dioceses of Dublin, Glendalough, and Kildare.

conveyed to me. I am persuaded that the discussion at the present moment of such questions as would be raised by the resolution which it is intended to bring forward at the meeting would be ill-timed, and would be likely not to heal, but to draw wider, any differences which may exist between us.’”

The Honorary Secretary of the diocesan meeting, Rev. Morgan W. Jellett, refused to act as secretary until the Archbishop should resume the chairmanship. It was then moved “That no Order in the Church has a right to assume to itself exclusive privileges until such privileges shall have been conceded by the general body of the Church.”

An amendment was moved “That no Order shall, in the initiatory steps necessary in reconstructing the Irish Church, exercise any independent legislative power until such power shall have been conferred on it by the General Convention.”

This was adopted ; but, as the Bishops were immovable in their resolution to maintain their Order in the Church, such resolutions were but waste of breath. This *résumé* of one struggle is given, as the difficulty of preserving even that which was vital to the existence of the Church is often alluded to in these letters.

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

Dublin,

November 22, 1869.

I observe in to-day’s *Express* that the “Central Protestant Defence Association” has taken up, as one of the subjects before it, “The Commutation of their Incomes by the Clergy.” This certainly is not likely to help on the matter, as in common decency they might leave the clergy to be first movers in this.

To H. F. TRENCH.

Dublin,

December 6, 1869.

I do not know when or where one has so pleasurable a feeling of complete independence or enjoys oneself so much as at college, if only one is keeping clear from all which leaves sorrow and shame behind it, and seeking conscientiously to improve and make the most

of the term, and opportunities which it affords. Try and secure to yourself two or three *friends*; I do not mean acquaintances, for they may be many, but friends, such as will abide with you for life. May God bless you and keep you, and ripen in you more and more the desire to serve Him.

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

Dublin,

December 8, 1869.

I see that one of the points which we shall have to fight, and a most important one, will be to resist the setting up of Diocesan Church Courts, for the more prompt and easy worrying of clergy with ritualistic or Puseyite proclivities. I propose to stand, and, as at present advised, will consent to nothing else, to the maintenance of the Bishop's Court, as it now stands, with him and the Chancellor, his legal assessor, the sole judge in this Court, with, of course, a Court of Final Appeal, to which causes might be carried. I do not believe I *could* give away this jurisdiction. I am sure that with such courts as some intend, life would be intolerable for every clergyman with the slightest sense of independence. I dare say you have seen a resolution proposed and, I think, passed at the Enniscorthy meeting of yesterday.

From the BISHOP OF LICHFIELD.

The Palace, Lichfield,

December 7, 1869.

MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,

In Melbourne, the power of veto in the Bishop has been established by an act of the Colonial Legislature. Sydney is the only place in our hemisphere in which it has been disputed, but I think that the Bishop's right has now been recognized. In New Zealand, every Bishop has a veto in his own Diocesan Synod, even if he stand alone against an unanimous vote of clergy and laity. But this veto of the one Bishop may be only suspensive, as any member of the Diocesan Synod, who considers himself aggrieved, may bring the question before the Triennial Meeting of the General Synod; and the objection of the Bishop may then be overruled by a concurrent vote of Bishops, clergy, and laity. In other words, the Bishop's veto cannot be overruled without the consent of a majority of his own brethren. This proviso has silenced all talk against episcopal vetos, and in nine years, during which forty-five Diocesan

and four General Synods have been held, the case has never occurred.

I cannot advise the Irish Bishops to give up this point. It is too much for the Irish laity to ask that you should contradict in your practice the experience of all the other branches of the Anglican Church.

Ask me as many questions as you like, for I shall never be tired of answering them. I do so wish to help you in any way that I can.

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

Palace,

December 10, 1869.

I have received an interesting letter from the Bishop of Lichfield on the Bishop's veto in his Diocesan Synod, in answer to inquiries of mine. I send, but should be glad to receive it again.

The more I see of the malignant hostility to everything Church-like which reveals itself in so many directions, the more convinced I am that *some* will have to quit the future Church. *Who* these are seems to me as yet undetermined, though a very few months will probably make this plain.

To the Same.

Broomfield,

December 27, 1869.

The Organization Committee meets on Wednesday of next week, and the Bishops two days before.

There seems to me hardly a hope that the Committee will ever be able to produce a joint report, or even *two* reports, which express all the dissimilarity of our minds on points the most important. I often think that my own personal matters will be brought to a crisis in the Diocesan Synod, where I think it tolerably certain that the Dublin laity will never accede a veto to the Bishop, and where I hope it is also certain that I would not give away a right, held for the benefit of the whole Church, and of which individually I am only a trustee.

With outlooks such as these, this, as you suppose, cannot be a very jocund time; but we have had notwithstanding a cheerful Christmas, and are most thankful for innumerable family blessings compassing us on every side.

To MARIA TRENCH.

Broomfield,

January 1, 1870.

This morning brought me two volumes,* beautiful externally, and containing the life-story of one who deserved to be named as "a beautiful soul," I doubt not many times more than she to whom Goethe gave this name in his autobiography, though, if I remember right, she also borrowed what beauty she had from Him Who is the All-Beautiful, and the Alone Beautiful.

Very many thanks for so precious a gift. I purpose to read the book now in order, which I did not do on its first appearing, hoping that in later editions there would be less of Coleridge and more of Keble. I believe that this is the case, or, at any rate, that the best half of this is the case.

I would fain more live to-day in the solemn recollections of this day six years ; but distractions are infinite.

To his Wife.

Palace,

January 5, 1870.

The Organization Committee met to-day, and we got through some business, for the most part preliminary, and we all behaved as prettily as possible ; indeed, I hope that there was something more than prettiness of behaviour among us, and that the end will not put our very friendly beginning to shame. Master Brooke made a speech on the folly and wickedness of anybody wishing to touch the Prayer-book.

The "General Convention of the Church of Ireland" met on February 15, 1870, to consider the draft of a Constitution for the disestablished Church which had been prepared by the small committee chosen for the purpose. It will be best to give here the articles in that Constitution, as it was finally passed, concerning which the battle raged most fiercely, in order to make the letters which follow intelligible. The articles are entitled :—

"The Constitution of the Church of Ireland enacted by

* "The Life of John Keble." A New Year's gift from the girl students of Alexandra College.

the Archbishops and Bishops and the Clergy and Laity in General Synod assembled in the year 1879, and by the authority of the same, forming a complete code of the legislation of the Church (except revision statutes, and local or temporary enactments) for ten years from the passing of 'The Irish Church Act,' 1869."

A Preamble and Declaration, concerning continued communion with the English Church, etc., etc., is followed by—

“CHAPTER I.—THE GENERAL SYNOD.

“I. The General Synod of the Church of Ireland shall consist of three distinct Orders, viz. the Bishops, the Clergy, and the Laity.

“II. The General Synod shall consist of two Houses, namely, the House of Bishops and the House of Representatives; but both Houses shall sit together in full synod for deliberation and transaction of business, except in such cases as shall be hereinafter provided.

“III. The House of Bishops shall consist of all the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of Ireland for the time being.

“IV. The House of Representatives shall consist of 208 representatives of the clergy, and 416 representatives of the laity, to be elected as hereinafter provided.

“XVII. The presence of at least three Bishops, forty clerical, and eighty lay representatives shall be necessary to constitute a meeting in full synod. The presence of at least five Bishops shall be necessary to constitute a House of Bishops; and the presence of at least forty clerical and eighty lay representatives shall be necessary to constitute a House of Representatives.

“XXI. If at any time the Bishops express their wish to consider separately any matter in debate, the further discussion of that matter shall be postponed until the Bishops shall have had the opportunity of so doing.

“XXII. BISHOPS' VETO: and NEGATIVE.—The Bishops

shall vote separately from the representatives, and no question shall be deemed to have been carried unless there be in its favour a majority of the Bishops present if they desire to vote, and a majority of the clerical and lay representatives present, voting conjointly or by Orders ; provided always that if a question affirmed by a majority of the clerical and lay representatives, voting conjointly or by Orders, but rejected by a majority of the Bishops, shall be re-affirmed at the next ordinary session of the General Synod, by not less than two-thirds of the clerical and lay representatives, voting conjointly or by Orders, it shall be deemed to be carried, unless it be negatived by not less than two-thirds of the then existing Order of Bishops, the said two-thirds being present and voting, and giving their reasons in writing.

“XXIII. The Bishops shall not vote until after the declaration of the votes of the clerical and lay representatives. If they desire to vote, the Bishops may withdraw from the General Synod for that purpose, and may reserve the declaration of their vote until the next day of meeting.” *

The chief struggle in forming the Constitution concerned the recognition of the Bishops as a separate House, with powers of voting equal to those of the Orders of Clergy and Laity. The Bishops, without exception, “high” and “low” alike, had pledged themselves to stand firm, and not to consent

* “The debates have appeared to me to be highly creditable to the Convention,” a fair-minded layman wrote at this juncture, “and the spirit earnest and good, though the opinion of the members is not always entirely orthodox. I am not quite happy,” he adds, “at the true ground of Episcopal authority not being put forward as firmly and decidedly as it seems to me that it ought. The Bishops are not disposed to retract from the concession they have made in the case of the Convention, namely, that if a measure be carried by majorities of the other two Orders, it should require a majority of the whole Bench to negative it. Beyond this, the Archbishop says they are ‘dogged.’” To this letter, addressed to Sir William Heathcote, the latter replied, “If the Bishops consider themselves bound to apply the Duke of Abercorn’s compromise to the permanent legislature,¹ I am sorry that they did not set their backs to the wall, and refuse it altogether. I hope the Bishops will stand firm on the proportion in the draft—not two laymen, but one and a half to each clergyman.”

¹ The “General Synod.”

to be merged into either or both of the other orders. It was an interesting coincidence that at the special service at St. Patrick's Cathedral on February 15, before the opening of the General Convention, the morning lesson for the day, in the usual course, from the then unrevised lectionary, was the story of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. This gave great offence to most of the lay delegates, some of whom complained that it had been chosen on purpose for the service, and, on its being pointed out to them that it was the proper Lesson for the day, that the day of the opening of the Convention had been chosen on that account, for which, it is needless to say, there was not a shadow of foundation. It certainly could not have been pleasant to them to hear almost their own words, "Ye take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi, seeing all the congregation are holy," signally condemned.

It was unfortunate that the independence and right of the Order of Bishops to vote should have obtained the popular name of "the Bishops' *veto* (the "absolute veto," it was sometimes called), which gave a despotic and invidious sense to that which they felt to be their inalienable right.*

* This was so clearly expressed at the time by the late Right Hon. Sir William Heathcote, that his exact words are given, bearing, as they do, upon important principles. "You should not state it," he writes of the question at issue to a friend on February 13, 1870, "as the question of the Bishop's *veto*, which suggests a view of the case at once narrow and erroneous. It is the question of the independent action of the House of Bishops as one of the Houses in your legislature, and when the fact of their being such is once recognized, and impressed on men's minds, it will be impossible for them to avoid the necessary consequence that if the repeated concurrence of the two other Orders is to override the Bishops, so the repeated concurrence of the Bishops and clergy must be allowed to override the laity, and that of the Bishops and laity to override the clergy.

"Even this reasoning takes low ground, for it postulates nothing but the equality of the Order of Bishops to the other orders, while we really believe it to be more than equal.

"The proposed plan for setting aside their decisions is one for placing them conspicuously and *constantly* in a position of inferiority. In every doubtful case they will, as it were, have their right hands tied behind them.

"I would go further, and say that this would be the worst possible solution of the difficulty, if difficulty there should be, and that it would be less noxious to the Church at large, and certainly less degrading to the Bishops, if they were merged with the rest of the clergy, and formed only one House with them.

"But this, though better, is still inadmissible, and I think that the Bishops (I

The General *Convention* of the Irish Church met, for the purpose of drawing out a Constitution, on February 15, and sat until April 2. A member of the Convention, in a letter dated April 3, writes of "the striking way in which the Archbishop has risen day by day in the opinion and confidence of Churchmen of every class." "Even amongst those who have been most opposed to him," he adds, "I hear but one opinion expressed, and that is of unmeasured confidence and trust; and I am told that it is the same out of doors, notwithstanding that half the blank walls in Dublin are at this

hope they will act unanimously) must take their stand, and refuse to abandon the independence of their Order.

"Even in the American Church the Bishops cannot be set aside in the manner proposed, although in that country the idea of so treating authorities is familiar, and the Houses of Congress *can* so deal with the President.

"Nay, in the American Church, the tendency is towards strengthening the hands of the Bishops.

"You will observe that in the extreme case of the House of Bishops standing out indefinitely against both the other Houses, a little patience will either bring the remedy, or demonstrate that the grievance was fictitious, and that the Bishops were doing good service.

"The case supposed assumes that the course taken by the Bishops is counter to the general sense of the great majority of the clergy and laity of the Irish Church.

"If that be so, as each Bishop drops, his successor will be elected with a view to enforcing that general sense, and by degrees it will be enforced.

"If the new Bishops are not elected in that sense it will show that the original assumption was unfounded, and that it was in the clergy and laity, and not in the Bishops, that the misrepresentation of the feeling of the Church at large on this point was to be found."

On February 20, he writes concerning the temporary arrangement as to the House of Bishops in the Convention: "I see in the *Globe* of last night that a compromise, arranged by the Duke of Abercorn, has been carried, whereby in the *standing orders of the Convention* a concurrence of seven Bishops is rendered necessary to give effect to the dissent of their Order from the other two.

"I think it is wise to have accepted this arrangement, provided there is no agreement, express or implied, that in settling the permanent constitution, there shall be any abandonment of the independence of the House of Bishops, as laid down on page 14 and page 21, § 25.

"If this is not abandoned, the present arrangement gives the Bishops full power to maintain it, as there will be no difficulty in getting the consentient number of seven in the Convention, or indeed, I suppose, of the whole eleven.

"I was glad to see that the Bishop of Tuam had struck a note which may perhaps vibrate in an Irish audience, and he had truth on his side. The desire to humiliate the episcopacy is, and long has been, as characteristic of the Papal Government as of the Presbyterians."

moment chalked over with 'Puseyite Trench'! He never spoke without impressing himself deeply on the Convention, and latterly I think his influence was at least tenfold that of *any* other person in it."

On February 22, the Bishops' forming a separate House was affirmed after a long debate. "The Duke of Abercorn's compromise," as it was called, was accepted for the *permanent* legislature of the Church. After a stormy and lengthened debate on February 25, the right of the House of Bishops to vote if they pleased was affirmed, and the necessity of a majority of their Order, as of the other Orders, in favour of any measure to be carried, should they think fit to vote on it. The compromise consisted in a majority of eight out of the eleven Bishops being necessary for a valid vote against any measure carried by two-thirds of the clerical and two-thirds of the lay representatives in two consecutive synods. Thus, while the assent of only two-thirds of *those present* of the two other Orders is required for the passing of a measure, more than two-thirds of *the whole Order* of Bishops is required to give them the power of legislating thereupon.*

* The comment upon this compromise by an English Churchman so universally honoured and esteemed as the late Sir William Heathcote, is too valuable to withhold. Having, as has been seen, assisted the Archbishop with his counsel during the Parliamentary struggle, he watched, with painful interest, the far more important battle in Ireland. He writes on March 7, 1870: "The Duke of Abercorn's amendment is very, *very* bad. Even if the substantial power of the Bishops should practically not be diminished, it cannot be unimportant that their dignity should be impaired by the insolence of putting them in two particulars (the vote and the reasons in writing) below those who, being their inferiors in Church position, certainly ought not to be more than their equals in Church legislation. . . . I have observed two other votes. . . . The most offensive is that a deacon is to be considered as a *complete* clergyman, so as to be qualified to become a *representative* of the clergy. How curiously the Irish mind, on the Protestant side as well as the Romanist, from defects of principle common to both, delights in Papal abuses, as in the degradation of Bishops, and, as in this case, in attributing more to official employment than to Orders. Cardinal Pole was only a deacon till he became Archbishop of Canterbury, quite late in his life, when he was ordained priest and consecrated Bishop, I think, on the same day."

In a letter of March 17, he writes: "I do not at all mean to say that if I had been present, and obliged to deal with the matter practically by giving a vote, I might not have acquiesced. Nevertheless I must not deny that, not being on the spot, and therefore not able to appreciate with any exactness the force, or the

From REV. DR. PUSEY.

Christ Church, Oxford,

February 19, 1870.

MY DEAR LORD,

Your Grace will, I doubt not, accept a few words of sympathy, however worthless, in this heavy trial of faithful hearts, which must fall chiefly upon you. My comfort in all this tumult and threatenings, and my motto, is those words of the prophet, "The way of the Lord is in the whirlwind and the storm, and the clouds are the dust of His feet." I remember those quiet, calm times early in this century. They had their own good, but I would not wish them back again. "God shaketh the wilderness;" and, awful as the Presence of God is, the shaking of hearts are among the fig-tree signs. Your Grace knows all this more reverently than I, but it is sometimes a relief to hear the echo of one's thoughts.

But, under God, the battle is in the hands of your Grace's Order. You have granted to the utmost. Even what you grant is unprecedented, save in these late years. Still, though formally wrong, I do not see what harm it can practically do to gather representatives of the laity in a separate chamber; for they can only have a negative voice; and, after all, one would act without them. The Clergy must [be ?] with them in any case.

I trust, then, that this experiment would not involve harm. But

direction of the adverse currents, I could not help thinking that even if the need of compromise to a very unpalatable extent were granted, still the Duke could probably have carried with as much ease a little more, and have provided that if two-thirds of the Bishops were required for the negative, two-thirds of all the members of each of the other Orders (not two-thirds of those only who voted) should be required for the compulsory affirmation; and that, if reasons in writing were to be given with the final negative, there should be a similar requirement of reasons in writing to be first sent up with the repetition of the affirmative to which that final negative is the answer. As it is, it places the Bishops in a very humiliating position of inferiority, and though it may be the best which can be done, yet I cannot but feel that bad is the best.

"That the Bishops should think that their having accepted a compromise somewhat similar to this with respect to the Convention, a temporary body, and charged only with organization, carried with it any logical necessity of yielding to the same in the permanent legislative body, in which may, and will be, raised questions of doctrine, liturgies, terms of Church Communion, and the like, seems to me a marvellous *non sequitur*.

"Still I do not presume to say that on other grounds it was not right to yield. Probably it was so. Anyhow the advantage gained, viz. that on the first negative a mere majority of the bare quorum of Bishops should suffice, is incalculable, and the difference between seven and eight is unimportant."

to admit what I understand them to demand, to be one chamber with you, would be insanity and to give up the episcopate save in name, to remain only to be dragged at the chariot-wheels of its captors.

But our dear Lord's words, "In patience possess ye your souls," are your victory. They must give way in time. Weary as the conflict must be, in weariness and faintness is God's strength. I trust that your Grace will not leave those wild sheep to themselves. They would destroy themselves. It is will against will ; but God is on your side, and yours is a God-sustained will.

I am sorry for any giving in. It is only to rest under the shadow of His wings until the tyranny be overpast.

I beg to remain your Grace's very faithful servant in Christ Jesus,
E. B. PUSEY.

CHAPTER VI.

1870, 1871.

“ Faint not, and fret not, for threatened woe,
Watchman on Truth’s grey height !
Few though the faithful, and fierce though the foe,
Weakness is aye Heaven’s might.

“ Quail not, and quake not, thou Warder bold,
Be there no friend in sight ;
Turn thee to question the days of old
When weakness was aye Heaven’s might.”

J. H. NEWMAN.

AT this juncture, when men who had thought and learned little previously on Church matters were in a perplexed and excited condition of mind on the subject, and looking about for some way of using the powers they found suddenly conferred upon them, a person unknown to the Archbishop wrote to him, complaining that a little book of devotion containing “ Roman Catholic teaching ” had been given to a member of his household by a Dublin clergyman. The Archbishop wrote in reply :—

Church Convention Rooms,

March 25, 1870.

SIR,

I am, and for some time to come am likely to be, so fully engaged that it would much help me, in replying to your letter, if you would point out the passages in the book you have sent me which, in your judgment, contradict the teaching of the Church of Ireland, and the points in which they contradict it.

I remain, sir, your faithful servant,

R. C. DUBLIN.

In reply his correspondent referred him to certain passages in the book—"Short Prayers, etc., for Those who have Little Time to Pray"—which he considered "most objectionable and contrary to the teaching of the Irish Protestant Church." The Archbishop's answer was in the following weighty words:—

The Palace, St. Stephen's Green,

SIR,

April 7, 1870.

I have examined the passages in the little book which you have sent me, and am unable to join in your disapproval of them.

I can find nothing in the passage to which you first call my attention (p. 4) more than is taught in the Catechism, where it is said that Christ's Body and Blood are verily and indeed received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper. All gross, carnal, material notions, such as those held in the Church of Rome—all notions of a *local* presence—I consider to be sufficiently guarded against, indeed to be excluded by the language in which the statement is made.

Page 8. I entirely agree with the author of the tract that sitting at prayers where one ought to kneel is a mark of gross irreverence to Almighty God, and that any one, examining his conscience, may very fitly ask whether he has been guilty of it or not. St. Paul has said that at the Name of Jesus every knee should bow, and it has been a pious custom in the Church that there should be at least one manifestation of this honour to Christ our Lord as often as the Creed is repeated. At the same time, I do not attach such importance to this as would lead me to put it in a book of self-examination, had I been preparing such.

Page 8, § 3. I consider it altogether wrong for members of the Church to be present at, or to take part in, either Roman Catholic or Dissenting services, and entirely approve of the question relating to this subject.

Page 10. You speak of a passage in this page as "unfit to transcribe." As I do not share in your scruples, and as it seems to me very important, should this letter reach others besides yourself, that there should be no mistake upon this matter, I proceed to transcribe the words. They relate to the Seventh Commandment, and are as follows:—

"Have I indulged in indecent thoughts? read indecent books? joined in indecent conversation? looked at indecent objects? committed indecent actions by myself or with others? (Eph. iii. 5)."

Here are five questions in all ; and unless those sins of the flesh, which do more to ravage and lay waste the bodies and souls of men than almost all others put together, were to be ignored altogether, I know not how they could have been fewer, nor how those sins could have been spoken of in a more guarded manner, or in one less likely to suggest the remotest thought of evil to those who by the grace of God had been kept in happy ignorance of it. I pray God that there may never be among us, least of all among our clergy, that false delicacy, for such I must call it, which would allow souls to perish unwarned, when by a little plain-speaking they might perhaps have been saved ; and when I remember that our Church has chosen for her Sunday Lessons such chapters as Gen. xxxiv., xxxix., and Numb. xxv., I feel sure that she does not desire to nourish any such misplaced delicacy among us.

Page 22. You object to the connection of forgiveness of sins with Baptism. But you must equally object to the Nicene Creed—“ I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins ; ” and to the words of our Baptismal Service, where we are taught to pray “ that he, coming to Thy holy Baptism, may receive remission of his sins.” You further object, in the same page, to the words which put the forgiveness of sins in any relation with the Sacrament of Christ’s Body and Blood. They are placed in the closest connection in our Communion Service, as when we pray, “ Grant us so to eat the Flesh of Thy dear Son, and to drink His Blood, . . . that our souls may be washed through His most precious Blood.”

In respect of your last objection (the same page) I can only refer you to the “ Absolution or remission of sins, to be pronounced by the priest alone,” which is every day read in our churches, and to the concluding words of the first Exhortation, when the minister giveth warning of the celebration of the Holy Communion.

I have now gone through all the passages objected to by you in the little manual which you have submitted to me, and for the reasons which I have stated I am unable to join in your disapproval of it.

It is, of course, altogether within your power to object to its being placed in the hands of those who are immediately under your authority, and I am quite sure that Mr. Weldon would not have so done had he been aware of this objection.

I remain, sir, your very faithful servant,

R. C. DUBLIN.

It is almost impossible, at this time, to realize the storm of abuse and invective which this letter called forth. The exceptions were few where, at the Easter vestries throughout the whole country, resolutions in condemnation of the Archbishop were not passed. The most violent language was used, and the cry arose, "The Archbishop has plainly declared the Prayer-book's teaching, therefore let us alter the Prayer-book. To your tents, O Israel! Let no one be your representative at the 'General Synod' who is not prepared to purge this Roman leaven from the Prayer-book." In the words of Canon Brougham, in a pamphlet published at the time: "In every direction meetings are held and protests adopted. The newspapers teem with leaders and letters, rarely conciliatory, usually vying with each other in virulence. The resolution is openly proclaimed that the Prayer-book must be altered, and many have avowed their determination to withhold all aid from their Church, in this her hour of direst need, until a revision of her formularies has been carried out in a manner satisfactory to their doctrinal bias."

One specimen is sufficient to give of language used: At the vestry meeting at Belleek, all present signed a protest based on the second resolution, in condemnation of "the unorthodox and unscriptural teaching insidiously conveyed in the widely circulated book now so prominent before the public." The mover of the resolution declared that "the plain, honest meaning" of the Archbishop's letter was, "that the formularies of our Church are not sufficiently based on the truths of Scripture, the pure, simple truths of the Gospel, to exclude the teaching of Romish errors and the introduction of Romish practices by our ordained ministers." The speaker, afterwards a prominent member of the "General Synod," after inviting his hearers to "calmly consider the question," expressed his earnest hope "that at the coming Convention such wholesome, judicious, and resolute enactments will be made and enforced as will at once put a stop to even the small beginnings of those whose teachings tend to rob us of our faith, our reason, and our Bible." The motion was unanimously carried,

as well as one of thanks to the speaker, and to "congratulate him on the correctness of his judgment."

From REV. DR. PUSEY.

Christ Christ, Oxford,

May 5, 1870.

MY DEAR LORD,

The discouragement under which you suffer from these proceedings of many of your clergy and laity to me is nothing surprising. Your Grace went (I always supposed) as a missionary for Catholic truth amid a clergy and laity who had lost so much of it. I saw something of them in 1841, when a clergyman who did not believe in baptismal regeneration said that "they (the Irish clergy) had to thank us for the Oxford Tracts for recalling them, for that they were on the verge of Dissent." I found that the one point which they had received from us was the Apostolical succession.

But this, my dear Lord, is no ground for being disheartened. It is God's cause, not yours. You are captain under the great Captain of our salvation. I always regard opposition as a test that something has been done which people feel, else they would not make such a tumult. They would make ten times the tumult if they thought that they could get rid of your Grace and the truth together. But it will subside when they see that they prevail nothing. "No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper; and every tongue that shall rise against thee in judgment, thou shalt condemn."

But to leave the post which God in His Providence gave you would be to expose the Church to apostasy. If held together, they would, in time, receive the faith which they express in their prayers. If left to themselves, they would doubtless efface from the Prayer-book the expression of the truth which they do not hold. Their Prayer-book is against them, and they will cease that wild cry when they find that you are firm. If they would embrace any more truth, if your Grace were personally obnoxious to them, there might be some good in resigning; now it would be but quitting the ship, to leave it to drift on the rocks. A heathen could say, "Nec sumit aut ponit secura arbitrio popularis auræ."

Christ placed your Grace where you are, and He alone must remove you.

Your faithful and affectionate servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

Palace,

Sunday, May, 1870.

I am much obliged to you for Sir W. H——'s letter. I trust it will be no breach of confidence if I read what bears on our matters to my brethren to-morrow. I do not think there is the least shaking upon their part.

In answer to your question I should say, Resist by all means ; vote against, and induce all whom you can to vote against, all middle terms. They all of them involve the sacrifice of the principle, which is alone worth fighting for, and nothing would put us in a more questionable position than the carrying of one of these by large majorities, including the greater part of our own friends. I trust and believe that we should resist even then ; but resistance would be much harder than if the separate and equal vote of the Bishops were plumply and absolutely denied. Either carry it, or else bring it to this issue. You have seen the proposal of the Belfast caucus. As the Bishops present cannot be more than nine, and as the Convention consists of nearly seven hundred members, it proposes to give to them between a seventieth and eightieth part of the voting power in that body.

To the Same.

Palace,

May 16, 1870.

I have resolved to send a contribution in the shape of donation and subscription to the Central Sustentation Fund, but in such a shape as that I shall sacrifice as little as possible should the Church of Ireland turn out, after all, to be no Church, but only a Protestant sect.

I send a donation of £1000, but instead of paying it at once, as I should have done, I spread it over five years, having, of course, the power of stopping instalments when I please. I have also given £1000 a year, to be paid January 1 and July 1, and to begin the 1st of next January. Thus, if we go to rack and ruin before that date, the loss will be very small indeed ; and the present deadlock seems so dreadful that it was necessary to do one's little to help an escape from it.

I write this in explanation, lest I might seem to be myself acting contrary to the advice which I gave you, and the announcement which I made about my own intentions.

To ARCHDEACON LEE.

Draper's Hotel, Sackville Street, London,

MY DEAR ARCHDEACON,

May 24, 1870.

Would you send me a copy of the Lay, or, I believe, Lay and Clerical Protest,* if you can get it without any trouble?

Matters, I suppose, are going on much as usual, or from bad to worse in Dublin, and generally in Ireland, but I do not hear much.

I was at Westminster Abbey on Sunday evening, where Mr. Stopford Brooke preached—a *most* objectionable sermon.

To the Same.

London,

May 31, 1870.

Do you at all hear how the Central Sustentation Fund is going forward? Here the Bishops and Archbishops are quite ready to urge a general collection in aid throughout all England whenever we give them a hint. I was forced to tell them that I *could* not give it just at this moment, and they quite agreed. It is the same with Churchmen like Roundell Palmer, who are waiting to give, if only they felt that they could give with safety.

* A protest against teaching contained in the little book, which, the protest stated, "having been submitted to the Archbishop of Dublin, has drawn from his Grace no expression of censure or mark of disapproval." There is only one copy, it is believed, to be had of this curious document (in the possession of the "Representative Body of the Church of Ireland"), which perhaps more than any other reveals clearly what the Archbishop had to face at this time, and throws light upon the tone of his letters. Amongst other things, those who signed it declared, "We believe that Christ is no more present in the elements after consecration than before; and that in this Sacrament He is not in any special sense present, save spiritually, and in that sense really, in the hearts of those who by faith receive it.

"We protest against the doctrine that the Lord's Supper is a representation of our Lord's death on the cross, the object of which is to place before God the Father His Son's death as a sacrifice for sin.

"We protest against the doctrine of Priestly Absolution. The conveyance of forgiveness of sins through a priest has no warrant from Holy Scripture, and is not found in the forms of Absolution used in our daily and Communion services, in which remission of sins is declared and pronounced by God's ministers to those who truly repent. If there be found in our present formularies any expressions which appear to favour such a doctrine, we think the time has come for their removal from the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of Ireland," etc., etc., etc.

To his Wife.

The Athenæum,

Ascension Day, 1870.

We have just come from a long but interesting service at Burrows' Church. The Bishop of Winchester preached, very well, but not quite at his best. Mrs. Gascoigne went with us.

I hope you do not get any splashings of the bilge-water which I see is still being emptied as plenteously as ever on my head; but it is not much use my hoping this, as I know what comes on me will be as if it came on you. All whom I meet here seem very much pleased with what I have done, but of course I only meet those of one kind, or, at any rate, only these speak to me on the subject. We can only commit the matter to God, and be content as He wills, through honour or dishonour, and to seek the blessing which there is in one as well as in the other.

We had a small but very pleasant dinner at the Cowper Temples' yesterday.

It ought, however, to be said that there were a few in Ireland who came forward to protest against the almost universal condemnation, in that country, of the Archbishop's action. A letter was published (June 9, 1870) from a layman, Mr. Hatchell, in which he had the courage to say that "it seems now that in the eyes of not a few an Archbishop may be called on at any moment to abdicate his high functions at the beck of a body of turbulent laymen, whose zeal, indeed, is manifestly great, but is as manifestly little in accordance with knowledge. A Bishop of their choice would not be worthy of the title of shepherd, but would be rather the bell-wether of the flock, as ignorant and timid as themselves, but in no intelligible sense a leader or guide. If Episcopacy is to be maintained, let it be a reality, not a sham. . . . That our Archbishop should deal with questions of doctrine apart altogether from Church principles, with a view to make matters smooth, to conciliate, to meet the wishes of the majority (as though he were a candidate on the hustings), or from any other motive usually classed under the heads of good or indifferent, is too preposterous to be for a moment entertained. . . . A Bishop in his diocese is like a judge in his

court. He is bound to decide *according to law*. . . . The Bishops must explain the laws of the Church by appealing first to the Gospels, then, where there exists disputed interpretation, to the light afforded by the famous doctors of antiquity—to Ignatius, who sat at the feet of St. John; to Clemens, to Irenæus, to Augustine, and thus 'to frame his judgments,' as Bishop Ridley writes, 'to the dictates of the early Fathers.'"

Of this letter the Archbishop writes, June 17, "I think it is quite the best thing which has been written yet."

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

Broomfield,

July 26, 1870.

I can speak with no confidence of the episcopal veto, but should certainly contribute my portion to it for the purpose of resisting to the uttermost any court founded on such a scheme as Judge —— suggests. We have far more to fear authoritative interpretations of our doctrine in an un-Catholic or anti-Catholic sense, than any actual alteration of them. Such interpretations we shall most likely have, anyhow; we should certainly have with courts constituted on the scheme which he has sketched out.*

At present the Brooke-Plunket manifesto is very poorly signed indeed, although, as I understand, they have taken great pains to procure signatures to it before circulating it all through Ireland, as now they are doing.

We do not see any reason for altering our plan of a short visit to the Tyrol. Of course, we cannot reach it now by the Rhine, Frankfurt, and Munich. We propose to go to Aix, thence across North Italy to Venice, and so strike upward. Before many months all these parts may be alight, but they will scarcely catch fire for some little time to come.

If it were right ever to despair, one would be tempted now to despair for the future of the civilized world.

I liked in the main Judge ——'s letter much, and thought it very opportune.

* "You may guess from recent episcopal utterances," the Archbishop writes in another letter, "the amount of resistance to popular clamour, if this should demand the construction of courts even more objectionable, which is likely to be displayed."

To ARCHDEACON LEE.

Innsprück,

September 2, 1870.

We have had beautiful weather and a most prosperous journey, the Dolomite region of the Tyrol surpassing in strangeness and beauty all our expectations. My eldest daughter and myself were indeed near what might have been a very serious matter. Three or four days since, in a narrow lane approaching a Tyrolese village, we were set upon by a cow, both of us knocked down, and only that the proverb "God gives short horns to the wicked cow" was fulfilled in the creature, we might have been much hurt. As it was, by God's good Hand upon us, we escaped with some bruises and torn clothes.

To MARIA TRENCH.

Millecent, Naas,

October 5, 1870.

It appears to me *most* desirable that the erroneous impression (and I am convinced that it was erroneous) as to the light in which Keble regarded the sacrilegious spoliation of the Irish Church should be removed; and the testimony of one who knew him so well will go far to remove it.

It is probably the best testimony which now is, or ever will be, accessible. My advice would be to publish by all means.*

* The extract submitted to the Archbishop was from an article in "Musings on the 'Christian Year' and 'Lyra Innocentium,' by Charlotte M. Yonge, together with a few Gleanings of Recollections of the Rev. John Keble, gathered by several friends," and is as follows:—"I cannot refrain from mentioning here the deep regret expressed by his sister-in-law at the wrong impression which had been conveyed (by Dr. Newman's letter in Sir John Coleridge's Memoir) as to his feelings about the proposed disestablishment and spoliation of the Irish Church. It may be remembered that, writing of his conversation on this subject with Mr. Keble, Dr. Newman says, 'I cannot remember his exact words, but I took them to be, "And is not that just?"' Mrs. Keble said that, knowing his mind most intimately, she *knew* that the impression this would convey was untrue; that even supposing the words quoted were said by him (which from Dr. Newman's letter seems doubtful), she knew that he used them in the sense of 'Is it not a deserved chastisement?' (as *e.g.* Nehemiah confesses, 'Howbeit Thou art just in all that is brought upon us'); that he *never* could have taken part in the Irish Church Act. I cannot say how strongly she expressed the certainty of *knowing* that this was the case, or her regret that passing words, not exactly remembered, should have given a wrong impression to the public as to his feelings on so important a matter. He ever held and taught to the end what he had received from his father's teaching—that to take from God or His Church that which had in any way been consecrated to Him was sacrilege; and his poems in the 'Lyra Apostolica' would alone show

I often have wondered how any of us can rejoice and enjoy ourselves, as we have been lately doing, while such a wide world of anguish and pain has been all around.

To the Same.

Dublin,

October 23, 1870.

I am sure that your notices of Keble will be very precious hereafter. They are exactly what we ask for, and can so seldom obtain, concerning those who have passed from us, and whose memories are eminently dear.

Convention has not as yet behaved particularly ill, and perhaps will not; but next Tuesday will be the day of proof. I am strong to think that we shall be able to throw out by a large majority of the clergy, and possibly by a small one of the laity, the proposal that a committee should be appointed to consider whether any changes in the Prayer-book are advisable, and to report thereon to the first General Synod.

The Church Convention met for its adjourned sitting on St. Luke's Day, October 18, 1870. There is a notice in a letter from a leading layman of its first work having been to establish ecclesiastical courts "on an excellent basis, and that entirely through the personal influence of the Archbishop in one case, and the Bishop of Meath in another. In the that he did not think the less of this sin because it was *national*. There is a note to a poem by him in that book, headed 'Sacrilege,' which mentions that it was 'written March 25, 1833, whilst the Irish Church Bill was in progress;' and another poem by him in the same volume, headed 'Spoliation,' contains these lines:—

'But sadder strains and direr bodings dark
 Came haunting round the Almighty's captive ark;
 By proud Philistian hosts beset,
 With axe and dagger newly whet,
 To hew the holy gold away
 And seize their portion as they may.
 * * * * *
 Oh, would my country once believe,
 But once her contrite bosom heave,
 And but in wish or vow restore
 But one fair shrine despoiled of yore.'

Mr. Keble did not so depart from the convictions and teaching of his whole life as to call sacrilegious spoliation a 'just' or righteous act."

first case, the Convention had just before rejected, without a division, an amendment proposed by an influential layman, but when nearly the same proposition was moved by the Archbishop, it was at once accepted with only one dissentient voice ; and that (its acceptance) simply because he was the proposer of it."

On October 27, in spite of the Archbishop's strenuous opposition, a resolution was carried, "Whereas the following Memorial has been presented to the General Convention, etc. That a committee consisting of twenty-four members (twelve of whom shall be chosen from the Bishops and clergy, and twelve from the laity) shall be appointed in accordance with the prayer of the said Memorial."*

* "The Memorial, etc.

"Humbly sheweth,

"That the resolutions lately passed at so many vestry meetings seem to your memorialists to call for action on the part of the Convention. We therefore respectfully submit to your consideration the following expression of our feelings in regard to the questions which now agitate our Church, believing that we are thereby adopting a constitutional and practical method of conveying to the Convention the wishes of many Irish Churchmen, and also hoping that a firm and temperate declaration of our common principles may, with God's blessing, re-assure many minds, and unite many hearts, at the present crisis :—

"We declare our adherence to the principles of the Reformation, and our resolution, so far as in us lies, to maintain the Church of Ireland as a Scriptural, Protestant, Episcopal, and undivided National Church ; and we desire to avoid any expression or action which could furnish reasonable ground for disruption, or even for mutual distrust among its members.

"We earnestly hope that the Committee which has been appointed to revise the Canons and Laws of our Church, and to report progress to the adjourned Convention in October, will recommend the adoption of all such precautions as may be necessary to preserve our Church from the encroachments of modern Ritualism, and we pray the Convention, when that Report shall have been laid before it, to pass such resolutions or give such further instructions as may be requisite to prevent any departure from the pure simplicity of our worship, and to guard us against the introduction of superstitious novelties tending to assimilate any of our services to those of the Church of Rome.

"We have no desire to alter the comprehensive character of our Church, but we are equally unwilling to admit that its basis was ever intended to be so wide as to give room for the reassertion of those dangerous principles 'which at the Reformation it did disown and reject.' We deprecate any rash or hasty alteration of its formularies, but inasmuch as a few passages in our Prayer-Book have been made a pretext for the introduction of doctrines and practices altogether at variance with the general tenor of that Book, and repugnant to the Scriptural

It was thoroughly understood that this committee was the first step in the revision of the Prayer-book. The committee appointed was to report to the "General Synod," which did not yet exist, although the absurdity was strongly urged by the opponents of the resolution, of a moribund body appointing a committee of its own members to report to another body not yet formed, and which would be at perfect liberty to refuse to hear the report read; the Convention being merely an *organizing* body, to establish a Constitution in which (among many other things) should be formed a competent authority to deal hereafter with doctrines, formularies, etc. It was, therefore, the opponents of the resolution urged, beyond the province of the Convention to prescribe to that permanent authority which they were setting up, how to act; the proper duties of the Convention and of the "General Synod" respectively lying in different subject-matters. But all such arguments were but as whispers inaudible in the whirlwind and tempest raised throughout the country by the Archbishop's refusal to condemn doctrine contained in the Common Prayer-book of the United Church of England and Ireland.

Master Brooke, the proposer of the resolution, asked for leave to postpone the naming of his committee, being unwilling that it should be formed without a single Bishop being upon it. He failed, however, in persuading even one to take a seat upon it. The resolution might appear innocent *in terms*, viz. that a remedy may be applied to an unsatisfactory state of things; but there was no chance of convincing the agitators that the only remedy for the disturbed and upheaving condition in which they found themselves was an

principles of our Reformed Church, we pray that a committee may be appointed by the Convention to take the whole matter into careful consideration, with a view to the suggestion of a remedy; and that it be instructed to make its report to the General Synod of 1871."

One of the amendments proposed that in the resolution should be inserted (amongst others) the words: "We hereby declare that we disown and reject the dogmas of the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament, Priestly Absolution, Auricular Confession, and any necessary connection between Regeneration and Baptism, and all other doctrines whereby the Primitive Faith has been defaced or overlaid."

inflexible determination to keep up the union, on *Church* principles, of the whole Anglican Communion throughout the world; and the Bishops put forth a sort of manifesto, expressing their disapproval of the appointment of the committee. When formed, it contained few names known much beyond the bounds of their own parishes.

The Convention, having completed the work for which it was called into being, was, on November 4, finally dissolved; so that still further discredit and ridicule was, in England, cast upon the committee of a defunct body which yet held itself to be living. If they choose to act together and draw up a report, it was asked, to whom are they to present it? Not to the "General Synod," was the answer, by which they are not deputed, and of which they are not necessarily members: they can claim no further authority than that the defunct Convention had so far confidence in them, as to beg them to act together, and to draw up a pamphlet on ecclesiastical and religious subjects which would be worth just as much, and no more, as any other pamphlet.

To the BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Dublin,

November 3, 1870.

We had been watching for and fearing such an announcement as that which your letter contained, but by some accident we had missed it in the papers, and your letter brought us the first tidings that the blow had actually fallen.* I always saw with joy how true a daughter of your own you possessed in her whom you have lost, and it was, therefore, a most real sadness to learn that this light and joy of your life had been withdrawn. Much more must we mourn for dear Ernest; but all experience shows us that our God allots the hardest parts to the truest and noblest hearts; and the beauty of his character is so great that it is nothing strange if, to make it more beautiful yet, this gift of a severe loss should have been allotted to him. May that same gracious Hand sustain, strengthen, and comfort him in this sorrow of all sorrows. I am writing in the confusion—and what a confusion!—of our Convention. I am sorry to say that

* The death of Mrs. Ernest Wilberforce.

I think almost as ill as possible of our future. Archdeacon Lee has withdrawn, but I think this was quite premature and a mistake, from any share in our work—has, in fact, resigned his seat in the Convention. Almost all which has been done at this meeting of the Convention has been most mischievous; but it would be a long story to tell it all.

We will not, I trust, forget your dear Ernest's immense sorrow, a sorrow in which you also have so large a share.

CHAPTER VII.

1871-1873.

“ Wake, Mother dear, the foes are near,
A spoiler claims thy child ;
This the sole refuge of my fear,
Thy bosom undefiled.

“ What spells of power, in this strange hour, ¹
My Mother’s heart enslave ?
Where is thy early bridal dower,
To suffer and to save ?

“ Thee then I sue, Sleepless and True,
Dread Maker reconciled !
Help ere they smite, Thy shrine in view,
The Mother with the child.”

J. H. NEWMAN.

THE first “General Synod” of the disestablished Church in Ireland met on April 13, 1871, and sat till May 18.

A series of stormy debates ensued with regard to altering the Prayer-book, in the course of which a member, General Dunne, anxious apparently to hasten the process, attempted to render the possibility of change in the Prayer-book dependent upon the will of a bare majority, and not on the assent of two-thirds of either Order. This proposal (which was negatived) drew from the Archbishop the following protest :—

“ That proposal was one that would certainly have the effect of causing the Bishops to reconsider their decision. If it were merely for himself, and if he were merely consulting his own peace of mind and his own tranquillity, he would say, by all means let them have the matter over next year. Under the present state of things, the moral and mental strain was so great, and the terrible uncertainty under which many of

them were, and for some time must be—whether they who were themselves resolved under all circumstances to maintain their fellowship with the great Anglican Communion, whether they should still be able to draw the breath of their spiritual life in communion with this Church of Ireland—was so intolerable, that he should say for himself that he would like to see a measure passed which would settle the matter next year, in order that they should know the best, if there was a best, or the worst, if that worst was in store for them ; but there was something above one's own peace of mind or one's own tranquillity."

General Dunne, however, only found 70 to support his motion, out of an assembly of 292 ; it was rejected by a majority of 222.

It is necessary to give a brief statement of some facts which for years caused a strain of anxiety to fall upon the Archbishop greater than he could bear without ultimately suffering severely, and which were a never-ending source of sorrow to him in the thought of all which the Church had lost.

The report of "Master Brooke's Committee," as it was called, appointed by a defunct body, was received by the "General Synod." It contained all which the Archbishop had feared and anticipated. As, however, a majority of two-thirds of every Order was required to make alterations in the Prayer-book, the first division went against the revisionists—an overwhelming majority of the laity voting with them, and the numbers of the clergy being 117 for and 77 against. It was plain that a majority of two-thirds of the clergy could not be obtained in favour of some of the changes proposed in the Prayer-book, and the report was withdrawn. The Bishops, on April 28, consented to act on a committee, proposed by Rev. Dr. Salmon, to consider the whole question of revision, and to report to the assembly of 1872. Thus began the weary work of debate and contention, first in framing the report, and then in passing it through successive "General Synods," which ended in the authorization, for use in Ireland, of the present altered Prayer-book. The changes were framed, and new canons passed, with the avowed object of excluding, as far as possible, High

Churchmen from holding office in the Irish Church, by contracting the liberty allowed in the English Prayer-book, and, by various fresh enactments and prohibitions (admirably framed, as experience has proved, for their purpose), repelling those who were certain to esteem them vexatious fetters, and to seek freer and more congenial fields of work.*

To MARIA TRENCH.

8, South Eaton Place, London,

June 16, 1871.

One thought a month ago that France had sounded the deepest depth to which she could fall; but, since, a deeper depth has opened

* In his Charge, given in September of this year, the Archbishop says: "A considerable number of clergy, three hundred and fifty in all, a Bishop included, have recorded their dissent from Canons passed at our last General Synod. . . . A certain number of these declarations of dissent possess no legal value, not having been sent in until the month, which is all that is allowed for the making of such protests, had expired. This fact, however, does not alter their significance, which, as it seems to me, is more than has hitherto been esteemed. But whether this be so or not, one thing, at any rate, is evident, namely, that this clause in the Act will be largely used by the present clergy for their own protection, whenever they see, or think they see, that the liberties which were theirs in time past are in danger of being encroached on or diminished in the future. . . . When some, wishing to still our fears, assure us that very few alterations will satisfy them and those on whose behalf they speak, and these extending but to a few words, we cannot derive from this assurance all the confidence which they would fain impart to us. . . . It is not the mere amount of alteration which really affects the character of a Church service, but the parts of the service in which that alteration is made. . . . When, in the Spanish bull-fight, the matador advances at last to kill the bull, he does not hack and slash it with a broadsword; he holds but a little dagger in his hand, with a touch of this he dexterously divides the spinal cord, and the huge creature falls a lifeless mass at his feet. Each one of our services may have, so to speak, its spinal cord, which once cut, the life will have departed from it."

While these sheets are passing through the press, an article has appeared in a leading Dublin paper, of pronounced Protestant views, commenting on the difficulty experienced at the present moment in filling the second chair in the Divinity School of Trinity College, Dublin—Archbishop King's Lectureship in Divinity. "No one can give the matter a moment's consideration," the article continues, "without being aware of the fact that we are being drained of our learned men. . . . There is reason for apprehending that men learned in theology, and capable of comparison with learned men of the sister Church of England, are not being encouraged by the circumstances of the Irish Church. . . . If we desire to make things better in the future, the Church must create more prizes for the cultivation of theological studies, and our Boards of Nomination must appoint really well-read men to our larger and better endowed parishes. The alternative is an increasing loss of our ablest men, and their exodus from our shores to work in the sister Church of England."—From the *Daily Express* of April 6, 1888.

for her, and one asks whether there may not be a deeper still, whether this is not indeed the bottomless abyss. I trust that in England we shall do something more and better than thank God that we are not as she.

To his Wife.

Frankfort,

June 28, 1871.

I have brought safely, or rather, let me say, God of His goodness has brought, not these precious ones only, but us all, safely thus far. We have three or four hours to spend here before starting for Nuremberg; but I hardly care to venture out in the rain, which, however, we presently shall do. All the children are very good and attentive; but it is not like travelling with my dearest wife, and I do not think I shall undertake it again. During the long days' journeys many sad thoughts come over one, of that longer journey, so little accomplished as it should have been, which is now drawing towards a close.

I am not quite sure whether I may not grieve some whom I ought not to grieve, and perhaps diminish the influence which, in this crisis of the Irish Church, I ought to preserve undiminished, by my presence at the Passion Play. If so, I ought not to be there. I have asked the Archdeacon to give me his judgment how far this would be. This is a matter on which he would be a very fair and competent judge. If this is his mind, and I hope to find a telegram from him at Munich, I certainly shall not please myself, but put the young people in Cholmeley's and M——'s charge for the two days, and myself abstain.

To ARCHDEACON LEE.

Broomfield,

July 16, 1871.

I was glad to hear that you were getting a little quiet in England after all the worry and wear of the last few months.

The Passion-Spiel was far more beautiful in an artistic and æsthetic point of view than I expected. It moved and affected me less than I had anticipated. There was, in fact, no choice but to reduce the outrage and *ῥβεις* of the Passion to a minimum, and one felt at every moment how immeasurably below the actual reality of things all which we saw was. I do not, however, think this was a drawback, but rather a merit.

To MARIA TRENCH.

Dublin,

August 3, 1871.

Pleasures and pains have stood in the way of my answering yours, and stood, as I feel, far too long ; but I took it with me abroad, and then found that a question arose on a point of lapidary Latinity, which I could not confidently answer without reference to my books ; and even now there is more than one point which I should rather talk over with you than write about imperfectly in a letter.

Doubtless Latin is *the* language for monumental inscriptions, and yet have we a right, because it is thus a more perfect instrument, to speak through it concerning our departed only to a select few, and not to all faithful people ?

I write in great haste, and with more than one deeply anxious care. Will you consider this, and tell me when we meet, which I trust may be very soon ?

To REV. FRANCIS TRENCH.

Broomfield, Wicklow,

August 15, 1871.

There is here little or nothing new to tell of, and we are reminded very much of the Horatian saying, "Truditur dies die." I have a good deal of leisure here, as only those among the clergy find me out and follow me up who have real business to transact.

I am much engaged here in the preparation of my Charge, which will have to be delivered next month. This is a more laborious task than usual, as the great catastrophe which has lately overtaken us, and the altogether new condition of things on which we have just entered, suggest a vast number of subjects on which it will be needful to say something.

We greatly long to hear that God is pleased to bless to you the loving cares of those who care for you ; this love of theirs, so tender and so true, gives to us a little glimpse and hint of what His love to His own must be. It is a great sorrow to us all that you have not that strength and joy in your life, which God granted for so many years ; but we know that He does all things well ; that we are in loving hands ; that much which we find it hard now to know and understand, we shall know hereafter, and that in the end we shall praise Him for all.

From M. RÉMUSAT.

Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris,

MONSIEUR L'ARCHÉVÊQUE,

Août 29, 1871.

Le Chef du Pouvoir Exécutif de la République Française, Président du Conseil des Ministres, sait tout ce que, par l'ardente charité de votre beau langage et de vos nobles écrits, vous avez appelé d'efficace bienveillance en faveur des français, victimes de la dernière guerre. Voulant vous donner une marque particulière de la gratitude de la France, il vient, sur ma proposition, de vous conférer, par Arrête de ce jour, le Cordon de Commandeur de l'Ordre national de la Légion d'Honneur. Je m'empresse de vous remettre les insignes, dès que je les aurai reçus de la Grande Chancellerie de la Légion d'Honneur. Je me plais à vous féliciter, Monsieur l'Archévêque, sur une distinction si bien placée, et à vous offrir les assurances de ma très-haute considération,

RÉMUSAT.

From ARCHDEACON RANDALL.

[*September, 1871.*]

I am most thankful for what you have said upon the subject of revision. It is not so much great changes in the whole structure of the formularies that is to be feared, or, indeed, that will be much pressed for; but little omissions of a few (alleged to be) objectionable words, which yet are cardinal points of faith, but which persons more anxious for comprehension than truth, and frequently quite unaware of the bearing of such expressions upon the whole tissue of the faith, are always ready to give up.

The changes in the American Prayer-book are indeed, as you justly say, a "caution" against this sort of revision. You know very well, and have well shown, both here and in your tract upon the revision of our Authorized Version, what ticklish and hazardous things revisions are.

I beg to be kindly remembered to Mrs. Trench. I hope neither she nor you are worn down with the anxiety that all these proceedings must bring upon you. May God overrule all for the best; and, if such may be His good pleasure, grant you to see your Church still safely anchored upon the Rock of Faith when all these storms have blown away.

Yours, dear Lord, affectionately,

JAMES RANDALL.

To THOMAS COOKE TRENCH.

Palace,

October 5, 1871.

We began our sittings of the Revision Committee yesterday. The first proposal for a gratuitous *literary* (not doctrinal) emendation of the Prayer-book was, I am glad to say, ignominiously snuffed out, though it came from Salmon. The Revisionists, many of whom joined us in this, keep themselves for greater things. There was not much else of importance done.

To the Same.

Palace,

December 16, 1871.

Changes the most outrageous are being proposed in the Baptismal Service. I am seeking to meet the difficulty of some of our Low Church friends by a rubric, leaving the service unchanged; but how that rubric is to be framed, and how it will satisfy them without giving up something which we cannot give up, is the difficulty—I fear an insuperable one.

To the BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Broomfield,

January 11, 1872.

We are here rapidly hastening to a frightful catastrophe, though very few seem conscious of the fact. There is much danger that our Revision Committee will propose to the General Synod in April changes in the Baptismal Service, which, without denying the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, will remove every assertion of it; this, of course, involving further changes which they will recommend in the Confirmation Service, in the Catechism, and elsewhere. Some of the better sort of Low Churchmen in the Committee have started back at last in alarm at the extent of these changes, and the alteration of the whole doctrinal basis of the Church which they virtually involve.

To the Same.

Dublin,

February 14, 1872.

Our Revision Committee is now sitting from day to day. The revisionists have refused all the rubrics on the Baptismal Service which we offered them, but were totally defeated by very nearly

three to one in their proposal to omit the words "Seeing now that this child is regenerate." Every Bishop has on every important question voted up to this time straight; Cork on this matter of regeneration, and also on the ordinal, as sound as any; but the old Bishop of Cashel is dying, and I fear much that —— will be chosen in his room, which will at once plant an element of division in our very heart. Think of us and pray for us as men who need greatly wisdom, prudence, and courage, if so be we may be honoured in helping to save this ship of ours, which is very near among the breakers indeed.

To MARIA TRENCH.

Palace,

April 23, 1872.

I fancy that the vote this evening has put an end for the present to all attempts to meddle with the Athanasian Creed. I am most pleasantly surprised at the result. The clergy behaved like angels, but the rift between them and the great body of the laity in the matter of revision is becoming very distinctly marked. Some of the latter propose to go home, as it seems clear to them that nothing, or at any rate very little of what they desire to see effected, can be done.

I am not without hope that we shall be able to elect Maturin as Librarian of Marsh's Library.

At a meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in May or June, 1872, a proposed grant of £5000 to the Irish Church Sustentation Fund was for the time being put aside, on the ground of the dangerous and revolutionary attitude which the Irish Church seemed disposed to assume in reference to doctrine and practices, and the consequent necessity of waiting to see into what it would finally settle itself.

In June, the Archbishop writes to Bishop Wilberforce, asking him to let him know how he acted, since the Privy Council decision against the eastward position in celebrating, if complaint was made to him of a clergyman taking this position at the altar. "You will see," he continues, "that the troubles of our Diocesan Courts are already beginning. Various charges have been brought against Dr. Maturin, most

of which have been dismissed as frivolous or not provoked. There remains the undoubted fact that he does so consecrate, this being alike forbidden by our new canons and by the decision of the Court of Appeal of the Privy Council." The Archbishop seems to have been under the impression at this time that clergy who had protested against new obligations were not exempt, as Dr. Maturin claimed to be, from penalties on their non-observance, and also that, in some way, Privy Council decisions had force in the disestablished Irish communion, for he writes further to Bishop Wilberforce: "The matter having been formally brought before me in my court, I have no choice but to pronounce that he is in the wrong, miserable business as it would be to find oneself censuring, and visiting in the end with more than censure, the man whom I honour more than any other man in the diocese. I send an Irish paper with a copy of the proceedings. Please give me such counsel and help as you can."*

From the BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Winchester House,

MY DEAREST ARCHBISHOP,

July 3, 1872.

I have waited till I could talk with Phillimore over the questions you put to me. Of course his opinion is strictly confidential; but it is this.

I. As to your own canons—is there not a reservation of their binding effect as to incumbents who were such before the Disestablishment? If so, that is disposed of.

II. Then, as to the decision in the Privy Council.

He thinks you might with perfect propriety say, That the case having been decided in both Courts without the advantage of counsel being heard, by all custom of law it cannot be considered absolutely

* On the subject of the Privy Council decision, Sir William Heathcote writes on August 1, strongly deprecating the notion of rulings, right or wrong, of the English courts having any quasi-authority in Ireland; such a view combining in his estimation the disadvantages of both establishment and disestablishment. "If there was not a great deal to be said for it" (this notion), he adds, "it never would have prevailed all over Europe as it did, in encouraging appeals to Rome, for there is much of the same thought at the bottom in both the cases. But you see what *that* ended in."

to settle the question. That, indeed, the judges themselves have intimated that their decision in this case would not prevent their hearing counsel in another against the decision. That, consequently, you decline proceeding at present.

I should have no scruple in adding that I was the more determined in this course because I was myself satisfied that, had the case been properly argued, the decision must have been the other way.

I should be myself quite unwilling to proceed to enforce the decision. Indeed, I have refused privately to direct any clergyman to act on it. I am your most affectionate,

S. WINTON.*

May God guide you right.

To the Same.

Broomfield, Wicklow,

July 8, 1872.

MY DEAREST BISHOP,

I am much obliged for the thought and attention which you and Dr. Phillimore have given to our Church matters which I brought before you.

The twentieth clause of the Irish Church Act saves persons in Dr. Maturin's position so far that no dissent of theirs from changes carried after the disestablishment "shall deprive them of any annuity or other compensation to which under the Act they may be entitled." This would preserve Dr. Maturin's small annuity, but would not prevent the Church from proceeding step by step, supposing he refused submission, till it had deprived him of his church. So, at least, I am inclined to believe; though others consider that § 12, 2 gives a life interest to present incumbents in their churches as well, which it would be impossible to touch. Certainly any attempt of the kind would be followed by an instantaneous appeal to the civil courts.

I do not think that I could decline proceeding in the matter on the grounds suggested by Dr. Phillimore, nor do the grounds for refusing to proceed satisfy me. I do not see how I can declare otherwise, now that the matter has been officially brought before me, than that such and such is the law of the Irish Church, and that Dr. Maturin be admonished to conform to it. Whether, this done, and

* The above letter was sent, before publication, to Sir Walter Phillimore, who has kindly written to the editor saying that, as the only son of the late Sir Robert Phillimore, and one of his executors, he does not think, after considering the question, "that there need be any objection on the part of Sir Robert Phillimore's family to the publication of the letter."

he going on as he has done before, I ought to use further means of constraint, I am strongly of opinion that I should decline to do so; that, if pushed, I should declare that I did not consider the matter of such importance that I ought to use the pains and penalties of the Church to compel obedience, leaving those who were dissatisfied to proceed against me, if they were so minded, in the highest court of all.

I requested my Chancellor to draw out what in his opinion ought to be the judgment of my court—that is, mine, for nobody shares in the jurisdiction. I forward a copy, all preliminary surplusage being omitted. You will observe, he rests the whole decision on the new canons of the Church. I believe he could not do better, as this is more likely than any other course to bring about the result which would be far the happiest for the Church, namely, that the whole thing should go to water; and since he, though both an honest and an able man, is a very Low Churchman, it could not be said that he so wrested it with any intention to bring about such a catastrophe.

I am very much inclined to think that there was a flaw in the passing of our canons, sufficiently well known to those whom it most concerns to know it, which reduces their value to that of so much waste-paper; but, of course, it is not for me to proclaim this.

It is only necessary to say that Dr. Maturin's case was heard in the Archbishop's court, when the prosecutors obtained a sentence in accordance with the new canons. Dr. Maturin, claiming exemption from their authority, made no alteration in his practice, and the case "went to water."

To the BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Broomfield,

October 7, 1872.

MY DEAREST BISHOP,

I see that faithful and greatly honoured servant of Christ, the Bishop of Capetown, has passed into the eternal rest, and indeed rests *from his labours*.

Might it not be possible to do, and promptly, something in memory of him, which should also be a help to that South African Church which was so near to his heart, and for which he spent himself so freely? Probably nowhere in the limits of the Anglican Church is the battle with infidelity going so *openly* forward as in the diocese of Natal. Would he not have greatly rejoiced in seeing a permanent endowment for the Bishopric of that diocese, stript, as

I believe it has been, of much of the little property it had by the action of the civil courts? But this is only one of many ways which might be chosen, only I would fain see something done while men's hearts are yet full of a sense that a prince and a great man, and something far better than a great one, has passed from among us.

I hope to be in London for the greater part of next week. There are many things on which I should rejoice to speak if you should chance to be in London.

To his Wife.

December 31, 1872.

To-morrow will be the day, nine years since, of my consecration. How much I should like to keep it quietly in retreat! As it is, it will be full of work.

The Archbishop was alone, with one daughter, for about six weeks at this time, the rest of his family having gone to Rome.

Early in February the Archbishop, with his companion-daughter, joined his wife and three other children at Rome, and thence went to Naples and Castellamare, returning home in April, sooner than he had intended on account of the death of Mrs. St. George, widow of his step-brother.*

The meetings of the "General Synod" which immediately followed the Archbishop's return were amongst those which caused him deepest anxiety and trouble. On April 29, the following motion was passed as a resolution, by majorities of two-thirds of the clergy and laity. The Bishops did not vote, reserving action till it should be embodied in a Bill.

"That immediately after the declaration at the end of the Communion Service, beginning, 'Whereas it is ordained,' etc., there be added the following declaration:—

"And whereas the intention of the preceding declaration hath been, in modern times, by some persons, misconstrued or evaded, and it hath been taught by some that by virtue of consecration there is in, or under the form of, the elements a Presence of Christ, or of Christ's Flesh and Blood, unto which

* On her death the Archbishop and his brothers inherited their mother's property, and assumed the surname of Chenevix before that of Trench.

adoration may be or ought to be done, it is hereby declared that such teaching is not permitted by the Church of Ireland."

From REV. DR. PUSEY.

Malvern,

May 9, 1873.

MY DEAR LORD,

— assures me that your Grace would not be unwilling to hear from any of us what effect the rubric carried by the Synod against the Real Presence, or that of which your Grace gave notice as an amendment, would have upon any of us.* To me the two forms have one meaning, of denying the Real Presence altogether. For, as Bishop Andrewes says so devoutly, "Christ, in the Sacrament and out of the Sacrament, is, wherever He is, to be adored." It would be an implied heresy, which your Grace would (I am sure) be the first to disclaim, that there could be a Presence of Christ, in which He was not to be adored. From the report of what your Grace said, which — gave me in manuscript, I see that somehow your Grace does not think that it "covertly condemns any doctrine of the Real Presence." I can understand it in no other sense. To me the outward elements are but the veil of His Presence, a real veil of a real Presence, and I adore our Lord really present as I should in the flesh, though concealed by His dress. I can understand our Communion Service in no other way. The words, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ," etc., must mean what they did before the Reformation. It would be tampering with the meaning of words to use the same words in a different sense. When, in Cranmer's unhappy day, they ceased to believe the doctrine, they omitted the words. Our dear Lord intercedes for us at the right hand of God, in His Body. His Body *there* does not "preserve our bodies and souls unto everlasting life." Say what men will, there is no mean between a real Presence and a real absence. If It is present, It is to be adored; if It is not to be adored, It must be absent.

I do not say this to involve your Grace in controversy, but to explain my meaning. If either of these rubrics were carried, I should, were I an Irish clergyman, betake myself to England, thinking the Irish Church heretical. If I had property I should sell it, and come to England. It is sad for — to return to Ireland, ready to quit. It is very distracting and requires a strong mind, or a strong

* This amendment, which is lost, was never moved by the Archbishop. He seems to have destroyed it.

will, not to be unsettled by this continual uncertainty. Humanly speaking, I should feel certain that devout minds, with ——'s belief, if the Real Presence were denied (virtually as well as expressly) would go where it is believed, and, if they remained in Ireland, would become Roman Catholics.

Such a change in the rubrics would materially weaken the hold of the Church of England over a large class of minds. We should be obliged to confess that the Church of Ireland had become heretical; what, then, of the Church of England, if it communicated with it? Would not it thereby become heretical? Many would think so. The Rationalists would rejoice at this additional laxity, as strengthening their ground; but devout minds, and perhaps consistent minds, would be sorely shaken. If we believed as the ancient Church believed, and made no allowance for modern laxity as to Communion, we should think that the English Church would become a conniver at heresy, and so a partaker of it.

The Irish correspondent of the *Guardian* this morning gives me some hope. I am sure that the only line for the poor Irish Church would be to say, "We have all lived under this Prayer-book so long; we will not change it now." Surely those who are against change have, from their position, a stronger claim than those who desire it. Changes by a majority are tyrannical over the minority. Your Grace may well say, "Non hæc in fædera veni." Your Grace left your tranquil position to serve a Church, identical with the Church of England. I can well think that if you could have foreseen these confusions, you would have remained where you were. Your Grace laments in your Charge that your clergy go to England. As we grow older we take root. I cannot imagine a young clergyman, who had the faith which I had learned, staying in such a chaos.

The line of not changing the Prayer-book avoids all controversy as to details. It is a simple argument: "You never professed discontent with the Prayer-book while we were established; if the Conservatives had come in a few years sooner, you would have acquiesced in it still. Do then, for the sake of peace, for love of your brethren, and to avoid the confusion consequent, and the disharmony with the Church of England, what you would have done for an establishment."

Your Grace, even by yourself, much more with the Bishop of Derry, and, if so, the Archbishop of Armagh, have the immediate future of the Church of Ireland in your own hands. You have but to say, "In view of all these evils which changes will produce, we

will have nothing to do with the changes or with the body which makes them." They would be dropped ; and the Church of Ireland might yet learn what it has unlearnt, the religion of the Prayer-book. If these changes *are* made, it would go step by step to the abyss.

God guide your Grace.

Your faithful and affectionate servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

During the debate as to altering the Baptismal Service, the Archbishop had said :—

"They were told that this was only a small alteration which was suggested—so small, that they might accept it without any serious remonstrance. He entirely declined to accept the estimate which was so often made as to what was small or great in matters of doctrine. In the matter of a wound, whether the wound were a serious one or not, he took it that everything turned on the fact whether the wound touched a vital part or not. There were in wounds slashes which looked ugly enough, and which, in reality, meant nothing at all ; there were, on the other hand, almost invisible punctures which carried with them dissolution and death. In the same way, there were vital points in the Prayer-book, where a wound was fatal, or almost fatal. He was sorry to say he felt that more than one of the recommendations of the Revision Committee were of that character. It was said that this was not an alteration in the service at all ; it was only an omission. Then it was asked, Why did they complain of the omission ? it was not intended to abridge the Liturgy, or infringe upon their rights ; they might still believe and still say children were regenerate in infancy. Now, it seemed to him that that was a cold comfort, and a cowardly solution of the difficulty. He could not accept it ; nothing was proposed to be added, only something to be taken away. No one spoke so strongly and so well as Dr. Reichel himself on that matter the other day. Now, did they suppose that their positions would be the same hereafter as they were now when these statements were withdrawn ? It was one thing to have occu-

pietied a position, and another, having a position, to abandon it. With the Prayer-book on their side, plainly they found it hard enough in this Church of Ireland to maintain the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. It was thought sufficient almost to brand a man with being no true Christian to represent that he believed and preached the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. He saw in a review a charge preferred against himself, simply because he held the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, that he was unworthy of the confidence and affection of the Church of Ireland. He saw clearly how infinitely more difficult it would be hereafter to maintain their position, and how soon all the gracious promises made to them now would be forgotten. How soon it would be said, 'Oh, that was in the Prayer-book once, but it was such a monstrous doctrine that we put it out entirely.' Baptismal Regeneration was urged to be false doctrine, and yet they would allow people to pray for regeneration, but they would not permit them to assert it. From that view he entirely dissented. They had heard a great deal about promising young men waiting to join the Church as soon as they complied with their request. They were told that they would lose many of these; but let them weigh other losses against these. Any one who occupied a place of such prominence as the Bishops of the Church of Ireland must have an opportunity of knowing the fact that continually—he would not say from week to week, but from month to month, and oftener still—they received intimations and communications from one and another of the clergy—oftentimes those who were the *élite* of their clergy—that they were about to seek some more congenial field of labour than that which Ireland offered; and to their honour he must say that in every case, or in almost every case, it was not the dilapidated fortunes of their Church which were pleaded as the reason and ground for this, but it was in each case the dark, uncertain future—the uncertain future of doctrine in their Church.

“They did not know what they would be asked to acquiesce in—what new rubrics would be inserted in the

Prayer-book, or what old confessions of faith would be taken away ; and so they came to the sad conclusion to leave them—men of the highest character and honour, who would be bound still closer to the Church by its fallen fortunes, but they left because they saw the great threatening of change, and they saw the whole tone of the Church of Ireland was about to be lowered.”

The resolution for altering the Baptismal Service was negatived, but on May 8, the following resolution was proposed by Rev. the Lord Plunket, and carried by two-thirds of clergy and laity :—

“That after the final rubric (Public Baptism of those of riper years) be added the following declaration :—

“Whereas the language used in the Formularies of the Church to describe the grace of Baptism hath been variously interpreted, it is hereby declared that so far as such language doth denote admission to the visible Church of Christ, and a visible signing and sealing of the promises of God subject to the conditions of the Christian covenant, it is to be understood as expressing the privileges and responsibility of all who receive that Sacrament ; but in so far as such language denoteth a further grace, the Church of Ireland doth not require her members to interpret it as determining, either in the case of infants or adults, that such grace is received by all who receive Baptism, or that they who receive such grace do of necessity receive it at the time of the administration of the Holy Ordinance.” *

It is best to conclude here the history of these rubrics,

* A remarkable pamphlet appeared about this time—“*Censor Recensus*,” by “*Glandelacensis*,” which, with another by the Rev. J. George Scott, had a considerable influence on the final fate of the proposed rubrics. “Under this most unbelieving rubric,” the writer says, “there is no assurance of any individual subject of Baptism, no matter what the accompaniments may be, having received the slightest spiritual benefit, unless, indeed, Baptismal Regeneration be understood as identical with baptismal grace ; while it may be maintained that Baptism generally, as well as particularly, is in its nature but a vain ceremony, unproductive of an inward effect, present or ulterior ; for as the first ‘grace’ associated with it is merely a word without a reality, so the ‘further grace’ spoken of is inferentially of the same ideal character.”

which caused long-continued distress, and heavy work to the Archbishop. No Revision *Bills* were introduced in the "General Synod" of 1874, but the work of preparing *resolutions* for alterations in the Prayer-book was carried on. The Bills were all left for 1875. On April 22, 1875, the Bill embodying the resolution carried in 1873 as to the rubric concerning the Real Presence was "thrown out formally, and Mr. Pilkington intimated that Dr. Salmon would in a day or two bring the subject contained in it before the House in a new form." It was rejected (to give the words used at the time*), "as upon examination it has been considered ineffectual for any purpose." Dr. Salmon does not appear, from the "Journal of the General Synod" to have introduced any substitute for the rejected rubric; and none has found place in the new Irish Prayer-book, authorized in 1877 by the Synod. He did move two paragraphs in the Preface concerning the Blessed Eucharist.†

The "Journal of the General Synod" gives no account of the withdrawal or rejection of the rubric on Baptism, passed as a resolution on May 8, 1873; but, as it finds no place in the Irish Prayer-book, it appears to have been silently dropped. The truth is, that the patrons of the rubrics were thoroughly ashamed of them; in the Archbishop's words at the time, "Saturn devoured his own children," and they were allowed to die without any flourish of trumpets by their opponents. As will be seen further on, the "General Synod" of 1875 broke up for want of a quorum in the middle of attempting to introduce a statement upon Baptism into the new Preface, which has not ultimately found place there.

"I fear I cannot construe the words of the resolution,"‡ Dr. Liddon wrote on May 9, "except as denying what the ancient Church believed; but I suppose that the matter is not yet *definitely* settled, and that the proposed alterations may yet be rejected in the block." In a letter dated Ascension Day, Dr. Liddon says, "In the long run, a Church which is

* *Saunders' News Letter* of April 24, 1875.

† See p. 176.

‡ On the Holy Communion, passed on April 29. See p. 151.

loyal to its principles, and which adheres strictly to the doctrinal standards of the Church of England, would, I believe, do better—incomparably better—than a body which goes to work upon no higher principle than that of bidding for popular support, striking a kind of equation between the wish to keep on *some* terms with the Church of England, and yet to conciliate convictions which are irreconcilably at issue with the plain grammatical sense of her existing formularies.”

CHAPTER VIII.

1873, 1874.

He who scanned Sodom for His righteous men,
Still spares thee for thy ten ;
But should vain hands defile the temple wall,
More than His Church will fall :
For, as earth's kings welcome their spotless guest,
So-gives He them by turn, to suffer or be blest."

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

THE Archbishop seems to have been too much occupied to write letters at this time, but the following short extract from his Charge, given this year, expresses, in words as beautiful as they are weighty and prophetic of ensuing facts, his sense of the effects certain to follow from changes made at this time.

I do not conceal my regret that when the subject of the Calendar was under discussion in the Synod, a proposal which I ventured to make did not find more acceptance, found, indeed, so little favour that I did not think it good to press it to a division. The proposal was this—namely, that it should be referred to a Committee to report what names should retain an honourable mention in the Church's Calendar, in the roll of her worthies ; what other names of persons or references to events it might be well to remove ; that, in fact, a selection should be made, instead of the ruder process of casting all overboard together. The matter may be said to be one of comparatively small account ; and, in one sense, seeing that it does not affect our services in the least, this is true. But in another aspect, the retaining of these names, or at least of some of them, or rejecting of them in the mass has each a very real significance. There is an historic Christianity, as well as a dogmatic, and, indeed, the dogmatic can never be rightly understood except in the light of the historic.

Retaining these names (I speak of such as after a due examination we might have retained), we should have continued to express our sympathy and oneness with the Church in its process of historic evolution, in its long struggle with the world and with successive forms of moral and intellectual error, our thankful remembrance of those who in times past have fought the good fight of faith. Some words which we used to hear in our churches, "Let us now praise famous men and our fathers which begat us," are not words of inspiration, but they are good words notwithstanding; and in the eleventh chapter of the Hebrews an Apostle has taken up the same strain. I cannot, therefore, but lament that, so far as the Prayer-book of the Irish Church is concerned, we have no longer this thankful commemoration, say, of St. Cyprian, who dyed with his blood the persecutor's sword; of St. Augustine, who fought the battle of free grace; of another Augustine, who brought the Word of Life to our Saxon forefathers; not to speak of many more with these whose praise is in the Churches; of women who "out of weakness were made strong," and whose very names had been omens from the beginning of the grace and glory, the perpetual felicity which was in store for them. Glad would I have been if, instead of sweeping all away, and wilfully making ourselves poorer in all these elevating, ennobling recollections, we had rather added to the list a St. Patrick and a St. Columba; wherein none could have counted that we had exceeded or ill-used our powers. We should, in fact, only have done what the Revisers of 1662 did before, adding as they did the names of St. Alban and of the Venerable Bede to the list of those whom the Church was fain to hold in thankful remembrance.

Certainly I should not have grieved, but should have been the better pleased if at the same time the commemoration of events and of persons, legendary rather than historical, or of such as might even seem to give countenance to superstition or error, had been removed with a firm hand; nor can I think that it would have been so difficult as some have urged, to distinguish between the false and the true, between what would have stood the touchstone of a fair and enlightened criticism, and what would not. As I cast my eye down the almost vacant pages, once alive with glorious memories, I cannot help believing that before many years have elapsed, many Irish Churchmen will wish that the course which was suggested had been adopted, instead of that ruder and rougher process, that indiscriminate banishment of all, which in the hasty legislation of last year found favour with us.

Nearly as disastrous in the end as changes which should lead to a secession and a schism, would be those which, while not seeming sufficient to justify a step so tremendous, should yet leave any considerable body of our clergy and laity with a fixed discontent and dissatisfaction at the results which had been arrived at—such changes as should cause any large number of the best and most hopeful of our young men, of those who should have maintained the grander traditions of our Church, and handed down the torch of piety and learning from one generation to another, to look askant upon us, not to enlist in our ranks at all ; or, if enlisting, doing it with no hearty love and liking for the service. For, indeed, as must be evident to all, to do effectual service for a Church and in a Church, implies and requires something more than that we find nothing in its doctrine and discipline which imperatively obliges that we stand aloof from it ; something more than the fact that we are able, though perhaps only just able, to draw the breath of our spiritual life within it. There must be much more than this in the spirit with which we regard it. There must be something of a passionate devotion to it. It must be fair in our eyes ; like the Bride in the Canticles, “black, but comely” —dark with the human imperfections of its members, but comely with the heavenly gifts and graces wherewith its Lord has adorned it. It must be a Church—and I believe you will all set your seal of assent to these words—not hindering lofty aspirations, but helping ; not jealously watching to keep the devotion of all her children at the same level, and that a low one, but giving free room to that Holy Spirit who is wonderful in His workings, to work at His will, to lead on whom He will to higher things. It must be a Church which heartily believes in its own divine mission, in its ministers as ambassadors of Christ, in the Word of which they are the bearers as life-giving, in the Sacraments which they dispense as channels of a grace which nothing but the sins of men can defeat.

It is impossible not to recognize that already another spirit is making way amongst us. Thus, in the matter of imparting Holy Orders, I have more than once during the last year been requested by candidates for these, that I would give them Letters Dimissory to some English Bishop, and this on the ground that some uncertainty or suspicion might hereafter hang round our own Orders, and thus cause them some embarrassment, or put some obstacle in their way should they at any time desire to exchange work in Ireland for the same in England, in the United States, or in our Colonies.

Let me remind you that in all our legislation it greatly behoves us

to remember that we are not legislating for a day or a year, nor for transient phases of the Church's life, but, as we are strong to hope, for all days, be they few or many, until the Lord shall come. Let us, then, bear ourselves as men "who lay great bases for eternity." The contrast between ourselves and the Church of England as it now is, in this matter of legislative power, is a most instructive one. The Church of England can hardly legislate at all; we can legislate only too easily. If it feels the weight of too little liberty, we feel the weight, and, strange as this may sound, it *is* a weight, of too much.

The summer was spent at Broomfield. In July he was in London with his wife and daughters for the marriage of his eldest son. His daughter wrote from London, "Last Sunday" (July 13), "we dined quietly with the Bishop of Winchester. What a wonderful man he is! He had preached at Clapham in the morning, confirmed at three, got back for evening church at the Chapel Royal at half-past five, and had rather long prayers with the servants before we left." Thus the friends were together on the last Sunday of Bishop Wilberforce's life. The Archbishop returned to Broomfield in the course of that week, so that the news of the Bishop's death on Saturday, 19th, did not reach him till the following Monday. His wife has sent the following notes from her diary:—

July 21, 1873.

As I passed through the hall I saw him standing at his library door with the paper in his hand. He said something about the Bishop (with whom we had dined in London a few days before). I said, "Is anything the matter?" "Killed," he said, in a voice I shall not forget.

24th.

My dear Archbishop left for the funeral of the Bishop.

26th.

Dearest Archbishop returned, in low spirits. Sits much in his library alone; tries to be cheerful to us.

From REV. CANON LIDDON.

3, *Amen Court, E.C.*,

August 11, 1873.

There was a rumour afloat that you were at least thinking of writing our dear Bishop's life. I could scarcely believe it, because—whatever might have been possible at Westminster—your Grace now can have no time or strength to spare for such an enterprise. Would that I might be wrong! Some one certainly ought to write it, who combines with literary power and Church sympathies, and a penetrating moral insight, the somewhat rare qualification of having known him in earlier days, before he had taken up his great place in the history of our Church and country. I do not know how far Mr. H. Burrows fulfils these conditions.

What a terrible gap he has left! Not in our hearts only, but in the whole fabric of the English Church! It feels like a different thing, now that he is gone; even when one never saw him, or only at rare intervals, the knowledge that he was *there*, and at work, gave a sense of security. I still find it very difficult to think about anything else, though he would be the last person in the world to approve of this. And if this is so even with me, what the loss must have been to your Grace and to others I dare not think.

Once more thanking you for your goodness, I am, my dear Lord, your dutiful and obliged,

H. P. LIDDON.

P.S.—I only heard of the dear Bishop's death in Brittany on the eve of his funeral, and of the date of his funeral after it had taken place.

"Plutarch, his Life, his Lives, and his Morals," was this year published by Archbishop Trench, in a small octavo volume. "Many thanks for the present of your lectures on Plutarch," Dr. Lightfoot wrote on August 11, "which are most delightful reading. I have devoured the book, and left off with a strong appetite."

From WILLIAM B. DONNE.

40, *Weymouth Street, Portland Place,*

MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,

August 16, 1873.

Many thanks for Plutarch—that is, for the gift; many more for the pleasure your book has given me, for I have read every

word of it. The book is charming. Perhaps without brag or vanity I may claim to be one of the exceptionable readers of your lectures. I have for many years, at various times, studied, not Plutarch only, but his contemporaries, elder or younger—Epictetus, Seneca, Dion, Chrysostom, and, beyond his age, the imperial Stoic also.

I am delighted to find that you hold an opinion in common with one I have long entertained, and indeed cherished. It is, that the character of the Romans under the Empire has been drawn by very unfair hands, and exhibited to us through a very questionable medium—that of a satirical historian, Tacitus; a scandal-loving biographer, Suetonius; a professed satirist, Juvenal; and a writer who lived long after the time of any of them, and under a new order of men and things—Dion Cassius. In the booklet which accompanies this note, you will find occasional glimpses of this opinion, and in sundry review articles I have, in past days, dwelt on it more at large.

Yours affectionately,

W. B. DONNE.

How much and often have I thought of you of late, after reading the sad and irreparable loss you have sustained in the Bishop of Winchester!

From HERMAN MERIVALE.

Barton Olave, near Exeter,

September 29, 1873.

I must write a line to thank you for a little present which has reached me of a charming book, reminding me of old thoughts and early studies. I hope it is not unlawful to say so, but to me there is something *Biblical* about Plutarch. The exceeding naturalness and simplicity, which are neither childish, like those of a rudimental age, nor affected, like those assumed in a refined age, remind me more of Old Testament narrative, in what one may call the biographical portions, than any other literature, only, of course, there is in Plutarch the philosophical colouring which the latter does not affect. I think Sir Walter Raleigh, whom I, writing almost in sight of his little place, probably respect more than you do, whose neighbours he and the rest of his "ring" plundered, gives me more the notion of a man trained on Plutarch than any one else. You have touched, but not cleared up (as who can?), the strange problem that so encyclopædic an observer should share the universal ignorance of his contemporaries of less observation than he about the very existence

of Christianity. If one were disposed to argue, *à la* Whately, that there never was such an institution at all until the monks invented it, how convincing an essay one might write on the mere material afforded by paganism. I have puzzled over this question in many a page—from those of Gibbon downwards—and never got at all nearer a solution.

From REV. CANON LIDDON.

3, *Amen Court, E.C.,*
December 8, 1873.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have to thank you for your goodness in sending me a copy of your Charge.

It shows, I regret to think, that the difficulties with which your Grace has to deal do not grow less formidable with the lapse of time. In particular, I regret more than I can say that migration of clergymen and candidates for the ministry to England, to which you refer. It is due, no doubt, to controversial as well as to less respectable causes; but it must have a very demoralizing effect upon the spirit and self-respect of the Church, unless, as I trust is the case, our Lord makes up in other ways what He withdraws in this.

I cannot quite see how the Church of Ireland can reconcile its expulsion of the deuterocanonical books from the Lectionary, with the retention of the 6th Article, as it stands. And the recent change seems to me to imply a judgment as to the real extent of the distinction between the canon proper and some at least of the deuterocanonical books, which antiquity would have found strange, if nothing more. If St. Jerome might possibly have made himself at home in your new Lectionary, it is hard to see how St. Augustine could have done so. However, if this change was to be the only one, we might hope that all would yet go well. And I was thankful to infer, from a paragraph in the *Guardian*, and from what ——— said to me at Oxford, that you have cause for being more hopeful than was the case a year ago. If only those vital questions about the Sacraments can be laid to rest, or settled satisfactorily, the worst of the crisis will have been passed.

Let me assure your Grace of the deep and affectionate respect and sympathy with which your efforts to maintain unimpaired our common inheritance, in the face of enormous difficulties, are regarded by a great number of English Churchmen.

Your affectionate and respectful,
H. P. LIDDON.

From the BISHOP OF LLANDAFF.

Bishop's Court, Llandaff,

MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,

December 10, 1873.

Though my sympathy is worth very little, I do not like not to express it, considering the manifold troubles you have to contend with in your present exalted position. You must often contrast it with the quiet and comparatively slight responsibilities of some parts of your former life.

But no doubt you have been transplanted for the good of the Church, and occupy a field of labour which few or none in the present state of things could occupy so well. I trust you may be strengthened for your work, and find reason yourself to be thankful that you are where you are. From your Charge and that of the Bishop of Cashel I have been glad to infer that financially the Church in Ireland is rather better off than you expected. This is some little encouragement. *You* must specially have felt the painful (in one sense) death of Bishop Wilberforce, which shocked all England. To himself it was momentary, and one may hope painless. You mention his sympathy. Not long ago I sat next to him at dinner. The course of conversation led back to very distant times, when a cousin of mine was his private tutor. He talked more freely with me than usual, and amongst other things said, "It is my nature to be intensely sympathetic." I have often thought that this was the cause of a good deal of misrepresentation to which he was subject. People did not understand him, and, therefore, thought him insincere.

Believe me, my dear Archbishop, yours very faithfully,

A. LLANDAFF.

From ARCHDEACON RANDALL.

Binfield,

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,

January 3, 1874.

I cannot tell you how great a pleasure it has been to me to hear that you have undertaken the Life of our great and greatly beloved friend, the great Bishop Samuel. You are the man, and the only man, fit to show him as he should be shown to the present time, and to that which is to come. I know the work must be a great addition to the already heavy anxieties and responsibilities of your position, yet I am sure that your love will make the labour light. Only do not let yourself be hurried about it, too fast for your strength and power of fulfilling it to your own satisfaction. The world and

his friends had better wait a while for it, and the reasonable part of them will be willing to wait, rather than wear out the workman and spoil the work by impatient haste to see it finished.

I have been looking to see if I had any letters from him that might be of use to you ; but though I certainly received many letters from him, they were scarcely ever more than invitations and appointments to come to him, and so have perished. I have one, explanatory of his conduct in the *Hampden* affair, which appears to have been copied by a machine, and intended to be shown to other friends at the time. I will send you this, if you like to have it.

I send you all the good wishes of the season, heartily wishing and praying that you and your branch of our Church may have a quieter time and rest in a more satisfactory settlement this year than the last. I beg to be kindly remembered to Mrs. Trench, who, I hope, is well.

Yours, my dear Lord, affectionately,

JAMES RANDALL.

To RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM HEATHCOTE.

Dublin,

February 5, 1874.

I fear you must think very badly of our prospects here. I am inclined to think something better of them than I did a year or two ago. Philip II.'s saying, "Time and I against all the world," was a very wise one, and I seem daily to see its truth.

It is impossible not very earnestly to lament the language in which the chiefs of the two parties in England are carrying on the conflict, all the stately courtesies of honourable foemen seeming to be altogether forgotten.

Whether Archbishop Trench ever considered the question of undertaking Bishop Wilberforce's Life or not, he very soon felt that he must not undertake the task. The spring of 1874 brought him increased anxiety as to Church matters, almost all of the laymen who had stood by him being excluded from the newly elected "General Synod."* To the labour and worry

* "If we come to weigh votes, as well as to count them, how great would the difference be!" the author of a pamphlet, "Are the Laity Unanimous?" writes. "The numerical strength of the revisionists lies in the irreligious and careless element in the parishes, in the mere political Protestant, and in those who are Protestants not because they believe the doctrines of our Church, upon

of attempting to guide such a body, were added the still greater trials and griefs of the Revision Committee, upon which, for the first time in the history of revisions of the English Prayer-book, laymen formed a part. Many of these were entirely ignorant of theology. "I really think they must have put me upon it for a joke," were the words of one with wit enough to see the absurdity of his position; but it does not seem to have occurred to most that there was anything unfitting in their suddenly leaving the country pursuits which had hitherto occupied them, to deal with the most delicate theological questions. All this involved a trial of patience to the Archbishop, placed as he was in circumstances the most distasteful to one of his delicate and refined perceptions, which can hardly be estimated. "It is evident," the writer of a leading article in the *Guardian* during the debates says, "from the comments of some of the Irish newspapers, and even of Dublin correspondents of the London press, that there are those among Irish Churchmen to whom it would seem a comparatively small matter to effect such changes as would drive from the Irish Bench of Bishops one not merely of the highest rank, but of the greatest celebrity—perhaps the very first and finest mind in the whole of the episcopate of that Church." Happily, he was always able to turn for refreshment to literature, especially to poetry, and was ever ready with help to others on such subjects. To the writer of a "Life of St. Teresa," begun at his suggestion, he writes:—

February 9, 1874.

I hope you will bring in St. Teresa's great sonnet on the love of God. I have some notion that it has been translated, and well translated, into English, but I cannot remember where. Please, also, take notice of Crashaw, and her influence upon him, and his great ode addressed to her. There are two very interesting articles about her, which they are profoundly ignorant, but because they possess an hereditary hatred for those of another Church. Nor, I think, will you doubt that if the electors had been limited, say to those who could pass an easy examination in the Bible, or who had made sacrifices according to their means in order that there might be meat enough in God's house, the results would have been very different from what they are."

Lutheran, but thoroughly sympathizing, in the "Zeitliche Studien für Lutheranische Theologie." I have them, if you would care to see them. In other numbers of the same, and by the same hand, there are papers on "St. John of the Cross," and "St. Peter of Alcantara," foremost men in the Spanish Church, and brought into closest contact with St. Teresa.

From the LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND.

Charleville, Bray,

DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,

April 14, 1874.

I am much obliged by your kindness in sending me your excellent lecture.* I have read it with real pleasure. On all points we may not agree; but that does not diminish my admiration—without reference to its high literary merits—for the truth and courage which seem to me, especially here and at this time, to give it the greatest value. I thank you for an example, so wise and noble, of large-hearted generosity.

With sincere respect and regard, your Grace's faithful servant,
O'HAGAN.

To H. F. CHENEVIX TRENCH.

Broomfield, Wicklow,

MY DEAREST FRANK,

May 27, 1874.

We are all thinking much of you at this time, and daily using the Ember prayer with reference to all about to be ordained to any holy function, but with especial reference to one. It is, indeed, a matter of continual thankfulness to your dear mother and to myself that God has put it into your heart to give yourself to this, the service of His sanctuary; and it is our prayer and confidence that the gift and grace will abundantly be yours, enabling you to fulfil this, His gracious purpose, concerning you. Pray remember me most kindly, if you have the opportunity, to your Bishop.† He is a little overdone with caution, but most worthy of affection, respect, and honour. Say to him, if occasion should arise, how glad and thankful I am that you are making your first essays under him. How much I should like to see you in your work at Liverpool. I trust that I may manage before very long to do so.

* On the Franciscan and Dominican orders. Most of it was afterwards incorporated into a chapter in "Mediæval Church History."

† Of Chester.

May all grace and strength and blessing be yours, and yours next Sunday an *Ordination* which shall be a Consecration as well.

Your very loving father,

R. C. DUBLIN.

“I was at the British Museum ten days ago,” the Archbishop writes on June 13, with reference to the “Life of St. Teresa,” “and got a copy of your saint’s poems ; they are but five or six in all. I copied out and send to you her sonnet, worthy of Madame Guyon. There were some thirty entries in the Catalogue of her books, or books relating to her, with some thirty more cross-references to others where something of interest about her was supposed to be. London is at boiling point, and seems as if very little more would make it boil over, though I do not know exactly what that would mean.”

CHAPTER IX.

1875.

“ One only Way to life :
One Faith, delivered once for all ;
One holy Band, endow'd with Heaven's high call ;
One earnest, endless Strife ;—
This is the Church, th' Eternal framed of old.

“ Smooth open ways, good store ;
A Creed for every clime and age,
By Mammon's touch new moulded o'er and o'er ;
No cross, no war to wage ;
This is the Church our earth-dimm'd eyes behold.

“ But ways must have an end,
Creeds undergo the trial flame,
Nor with th' impure the Saints for ever blend,
Heaven's glory with our shame ;—
Think on that hour, and choose 'twixt soft and bold.”

JOHN KEBLE.

THE spring of 1875 was probably the time at which, for the Archbishop, anxieties and sorrows as to the Church in Ireland culminated. The following letter concerns the proposed Preface to the new Prayer-book, which, to the Archbishop's mind, contained, in a subtle form, the poison which he had tried to exclude from the book itself :—

To MARIA TRENCH.

Kilkenny Castle,

March 31, 1875.

I sent a copy of the Preface to Dr. Pusey yesterday, but addressed it to Oxford. I hope to hear from him promptly in reply, as words of his might put to shame some who, after being long with us,

threaten to be now found in the ranks of the adversary. I had a long, most able, and most interesting letter from Liddon yesterday on the subject. He thinks it to be simply ruin. There will be a small meeting at the Palace on Friday, and I hope a somewhat larger one on Monday, to consider what ought to be done.

E—— and I are in these very friendly quarters for two or three days, and Lady Ormonde has turned the house into a Bishops' warren for the occasion. They like the new Bishop here, and (which is of considerable importance) his wife.

From REV. DR. PUSEY.

West Malvern,

April 5, 1875.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am much distressed to see how people are blinded by the dust which that Preface throws in their eyes. Apart from the denial of truth which it implies, I think that both it and the alterations are as dishonest and disgraceful as any documents I ever saw. As documents, they are thoroughly discreditable to any one who framed them. They seem framed on the principle, "More is meant than meets the ear." I think that the Jesuitry far outdoes that of those in the Roman Church, if Jesuitry means "to veil in smooth words what one really means, and so to hide from people what you really mean."

The alterations and explanations were miserable. This Preface is a laboured apology for not changing more, by declaring authoritatively that this language, which people cling to, as expressing the truth, means nothing; that, therefore, there is no use in changing what means nothing; and so, to prevent a schism, which people might make if what they prize were wrested from them, the Synod is to leave them the shell, declaring that it has no kernel.*

* "No doubt," the author of a paper on Revision largely circulated at this time writes, "serious and mischievous changes have been introduced; but these are, for the most part, expressed in language so theologically inaccurate and so intentionally ambiguous, that, while they utterly disfigure the Prayer-book, they will be found, after all, virtually to admit that whole system of teaching which the sincere Revisionist seeks to exclude. And all this disingenuous work is brought to a climax by the new 'Preface,' which, from the poorness of its composition, its studied ambiguity, and its weak attempt to hide the real purpose of its authors, may fairly claim the single merit of being worthy of the deformed services to which it is the introduction. This Preface, indeed, treats the Prayer-book in the true spirit of the well-known lines:—

“ ‘Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
Just hints a doubt, and hesitates dislike.’ ”

If this were passed, I cannot imagine any person who has belief in the Sacraments or in absolution remaining, much less being ordained, in Ireland.

I should advise any one who would listen to my advice to leave it. The heart says, "I must have Sacraments; I must have the Body and Blood of Christ which He left to His Church." And these deny His Presence. I must seek Absolution, and these say, "Absolution is only release from excommunication, or preaching."

Hoc Ithacus velit. I can see no difference between this new body which these declarations would make and the Presbyterian, except that it would have Bishops, to convey—nothing.

I am sure that the only thing which can save the Irish Church will be if your Grace and the Bishop of Derry say, We will have nothing to do with those who pass these measures. To divide against them only and then to accept them is to sin against truth, with eyes open.

Believe me, my dear Lord, your Grace's affectionate servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

The "General Synod" met on April 6. Before the question of the Preface could be considered, there was a long struggle as to the passing of certain changes in the Prayer-book recommended by the "Revision Committee." A brief summary of that concerning the Athanasian Creed is necessary for the understanding of the letter which follows, from Dr. Pusey, and which seemed to the Archbishop one of so much importance, that he caused it to be immediately printed, for private distribution.

By the Statutes of the Church of Ireland (chap. i. sec. 27), it was enacted that no modification or alteration should at any time be made in the Articles, doctrines, rites, rubrics, or formularies of the Church, unless by a Bill; and that no Bill for such changes should be introduced except on a resolution passed in full Synod. No such Bill to be introduced till the next ordinary session after the resolution had passed; a majority of two-thirds of clergy and laity was necessary for the passing of the Bill.

In May, 1874, a resolution was passed to alter the

Athanasian Creed ; and now, in April, 1875, a Bill to that effect was brought forward.

Two changes were proposed as to the Creed (by this Revision Bill, No. 4) ; one relating to the rubric prefixed to it in the Common Prayer-book of the United Church of England and Ireland, the other relating to the Creed itself. It was proposed that for the existing rubric the following should be substituted :—

“On Christmas Day, Whit-Sunday, and Trinity Sunday, shall be sung or said, instead of the Apostles’ Creed, the following portions of the Psalm *Quiquaque vult* by the Minister and people, standing.”

As to the Creed itself, it was directed that the first two and the last verses should be removed, and also the verse, “Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation, that he also believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

On April 8, the second reading of the Bill embodying these changes was moved, and declared carried ; a division was called for, a vote by Orders being demanded by ten clergymen. The result was that the motion for the second reading was carried by two-thirds of the clergy and laity.

The Archbishop of Dublin thereupon announced that a vote of the House of Bishops would be taken at his desire ; the result of such vote to be announced on the next day.

On April 9, the following statement was read by the Lord Primate :—

“At a meeting of the House of Bishops held on Thursday, April 8, 1875,

“A vote was taken on the question that the Bill to carry into effect the resolution of the General Synod touching ‘the Confession of our Christian Faith, commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius,’ be read a second time.

“Ayes—The Bishops of Meath, Down, Killaloe, Tuam Limerick, Cashel, Kilmore, Ossory.

“Noes—The Lord Primate, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Derry.

“The motion was therefore carried.

“The Bishop of Cork was unavoidably absent.”

The Bill was therefore, on April 9, read a second time.

In Committee, on April 14, the Bill was divided into two, one on the Creed itself, the other on the rubric; and, on April 20, both passed through Committee.

On April 22, the Bill for the mutilation of the Creed was proposed for the third reading, and carried by both the lower Orders, whereupon the Bishop of Derry announced that the Bishops would vote. On the same day the Bill enacting the new rubric was put for final passing, and, on a division, carried by the lower Orders.

The Archbishop, on behalf of the Bishop of Derry, announced that the Bishops would vote.

The voting of the Bishops was the same on both Bills.

Ayes—The Bishops of Meath, Killaloe, Cork, Tuam, Limerick, Cashel, Kilmore, Ossory.

Noes—The Lord Primate, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishops of Down and of Derry.

The two Bills relating to the Athanasian Creed were therefore, on April 23, declared passed.

Although, however, the Bill had passed, the matter was not finally arranged. Each separate Revision Bill, as it passed, could but enact that such and such a change should be made in the forthcoming new Prayer-book. When every Bill had been either passed or rejected, a final vote was necessary to the effect that the altered Prayer-book be adopted, and be henceforth the only one lawful to use in Irish Churches. This was done in 1877; but meanwhile the English Prayer-book remained in force, and no changes had become law.

It is also necessary, for the clear understanding of Dr. Pusey's letter, to give the proposed form of the Preface to the altered Prayer-book, which the Archbishop had sent to him on March 30, marking the differences between it and that

which now stands prefixed to the same Prayer-book. Where no such difference is marked in a paragraph, it is the same as that now printed in every Prayer-book authorized for use in Irish churches.

“PREFACE.

I.*

“When this Church of Ireland ceased to be established by law, and thereupon some alteration in our Public Liturgy became needful, it was earnestly desired by many that occasion should be taken for a new and full review thereof (such as had already more than once been made in former times), and for considering what other changes the lapse of years or exigency of our present times and circumstances might have rendered expedient. And though we were not unaware of many dangers attending on such an attempt, yet we were the more willing to make it, because we perceive to our comfort that all men, on all sides, professed their love and reverence for the Book of Common Prayer in its main substance and chief parts, and confessed that it contained the true doctrine of Christ, and a pure manner and order of Divine Service, according to the Holy Scriptures and the practice of the Primitive Church; and that what was sought by those who desired such a review was not any change of the whole tenor or structure of the Book, but the more clear declaration of what they took to be its true meaning, and the removing of certain expressions here and there, which they judged open to mistake or perversion. And as this Church has already, in its Convention of 1870, received and approved the Book as it then stood and was in use, so we now declare that, in such changes as we have made on this review, we imply no censure upon the former Book as containing anything contrary to the Scriptures, when it is rightly understood and equitably construed. The true reasons of such changes will, for the most part, appear on a comparison of the two Books; but it has

* Proposed by Rev. Dr. Salmon.

been thought good to add some further explanation why certain things have been altered and others retained.

II.*

“As concerning the Holy Communion, some of our brethren were at first earnest that we should remove from the Prayer-book certain expressions which they thought might seem to lend some pretext for the teaching of doctrine concerning the presence of Christ in that Sacrament repugnant to that set forth in the Articles of Religion, wherein it is expressly declared that the Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner, and that the mean whereby it is therein received and eaten is faith ; but upon a full and impartial review we have not found in the Formularies any just warrant for such teaching, and therefore, in this behalf, we have made no other change than to add to the Catechism one question with an answer taken out of the Twenty-eighth of the said Articles.†

III.‡

“As for the error of those who have taught that Christ has given Himself or his Body and Blood in this Sacrament to be reserved, lifted up, carried about, or worshipped, under the veils of Bread and Wine, we have already in the Canons prohibited such acts and gestures as might be grounded on it or lead thereto ; and it is sufficiently implied in the Note at the end of the Communion Office (and we now afresh declare) that the posture of kneeling prescribed to all communicants is not appointed for any purpose of such adoration ; but only for a signification of our humble and grateful acknowledgment

* Proposed by Rev. Dr. Salmon.

† The following is the question and answer added to the Catechism :—

“*Question.* After what manner are the Body and Blood of Christ taken and received in the Lord’s Supper ?

“*Answer.* Only after a heavenly and spiritual manner ; and the mean whereby they are taken and received is Faith.”

‡ Moved by Rev. Dr. Salmon.

of the benefits of Christ which are in the Lord's Supper given to all worthy receivers, and for the avoiding of such profanation and disorder as might ensue if some such reverent and uniform posture were not enjoined.

IV.*

“Touching the services for the Sacrament of Baptism, it is known to all that, of a long time past, controversies have prevailed in the Church concerning the precise nature and extent of Baptismal Grace, and the time and manner of its operation; and these services have been diversely expounded by different parties in the Church, who nevertheless have never, on either side, been censured by public authority, as unfaithful members of it. And we now hereby declare that though, on a review of the Prayer-book, this Church has not deemed it expedient to change these services in respect of expressions which some have desired to alter, but which have been used in connection with this Sacrament by the Universal Church, from the earliest times, yet it is not our meaning in thus retaining those expressions to limit or abridge, on the one side or the other, that liberty of expounding them which has been hitherto allowed by the general practice of this Church, and, upon occasion, by solemn decision of the Court of Final Appeal in Ecclesiastical Causes in England; nor do we require thereby the Ministers of our Church to hold or teach any other doctrine concerning this Sacrament than that which is set forth in the *Articles of Religion*. And it should be plain to all men from the express declarations of the Offices

* Moved by Rev. Dr. Salmon. The following was ultimately substituted instead of the above, and stands now in the Preface to the altered Prayer-book:—

“In the Formularies relating to Baptism we have made no substantial change, though some have desired to alter or omit certain expressions touching which diversities of opinion have prevailed among faithful members of our Church. At the same time, we desire fully to recognize the liberty of expounding these Formularies hitherto allowed by the general practice of the Church. And as concerning those points whereupon such liberty has been allowed, we hereby further declare that no Minister of this Church is required to hold or teach any doctrine which has not been clearly determined by the *Articles of Religion*.”

themselves that no language therein used is meant to exclude the necessity of repentance towards God and renewal of the heart, by the power of the Holy Ghost, on the part of all who shall live to be capable of the same.

V.*

“The Special Absolution in the Office for Visitation of the Sick has been the cause of offence to many ; and as it is a form unknown to the Church in ancient times, and as we saw no adequate reason for its retention, and no ground for asserting that its removal would make any change in the doctrine of the Church, we have deemed it fitting that, in the special cases contemplated in this Office, and in that for the Visitation of Prisoners, absolution should be pronounced to penitents in the form appointed in the Office for the Holy Communion.†

VI.‡

“No change has been made in the formula of Ordination of Priests, though desired by some ; for, upon a full review of our Formularies, we deem it plain, and here declare that no power or authority, saving such as may belong to him in the

* Proposed by Rev. Dr. Salmon.

† See p. 186, note.

‡ Proposed by Rev. Dr. Salmon. There are slight verbal alterations in the sixth paragraph, as ultimately passed for the new Preface ; the form in which it now stands is as follows :—

“No change has been made in the formula of Ordination of Priests, though desired by some ; for, upon a full review of our Formularies, we deem it plain, and here declare that, save in the matter of Ecclesiastical censures, no power or authority is by them ascribed to the Church or to any of its Ministers, in respect of forgiveness of sins after Baptism, other than that of declaring and pronouncing, on God’s part, remission of sins to all that are truly penitent, to the quieting of their conscience, and the removal of all doubt and scruple ; nor is it anywhere in our Formularies taught, or implied, that confession to and absolution by a Priest are any conditions of God’s pardon ; but, on the contrary, it is fully taught that all Christians who sincerely repent, and unfeignedly believe the Gospel, may draw nigh, as worthy communicants, to the Lord’s Table without any such confession or absolution ; which comfortable doctrine of God’s free forgiveness of sin is also more largely set forth in the Homily of Repentance and in that of the Salvation of Mankind.”

remission of Ecclesiastical censures, is ascribed to the Priest in respect of absolution of sins after Baptism, other than the ministerial one of declaring and pronouncing, on God's part, remission of sins to all that are truly penitent, to the quieting of their conscience, and the removal of all doubt and scruple; nor is it anywhere in our Formularies taught or implied that private confession to, and absolution by, a Priest are any conditions of God's pardon, or needful or availing for any other purpose than that we have before set down; but, on the contrary, it is fully taught that all Christians who sincerely repent, and unfeignedly believe the Gospel, may draw nigh, as worthy communicants, to the Lord's Table, without any such confession or absolution; which comfortable doctrine of God's free forgiveness of sins is also more largely set forth in the Homily of Repentance, and in that of the Salvation of Mankind.

VII.*

"With respect to the Psalm commonly called the Athanasian Creed, experience has shown that certain clauses in it, being understood by many as speaking too absolutely of the condition of those who, from any cause, fail to hold all the particulars set down in this statement of the Catholic Faith, and as excluding from the visible pale of salvation the Churches in communion with the See of Constantinople, have occasioned great pain and scandal to tender consciences, and may even, in some cases, have obstructed the ready reception of the truths thus guarded.

VIII.†

"We have, therefore, directed that only that part of the said Psalms which is properly a confession of belief in

* Moved by Rev. Dr. Salmon. Omitted from the Preface to the new Prayer-book.

† Moved by Rev. Dr. Salmon; passed in 1875. On May 10, 1876, the following clause was substituted for it, in consequence of the repeal of the Bills for mutilating the Creed, and now stands in the altered Irish Prayer-book:—

the doctrines of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation of Christ, His Passion, Descent into Hell, Resurrection, Ascension, and Second Coming, and also of the General Resurrection, Final Judgment, and the Eternal State of the good and evil, should be recited on certain days instead of the Apostles' Creed ; protesting, nevertheless, that in this order it is not our meaning to withdraw the witness which the Church is ever bound to bear (and which we here solemnly bear) to the obligation which lies on every man, as he regards his everlasting salvation, to acquaint himself, according to his ability, with all that God has revealed ; and to accept with faith and humility whatever shall be sufficiently proposed to him out of the Word of God, and proved by clear and certain warrant of Holy Scripture.

IX.*

“The Church of England having lately revised and altered the Table of Lessons as it stood in the former Book, we have judged it convenient to follow their new Table, only with this exception, that whereas in their Table some Lessons are still taken out of the Books called Apocryphal, we have so arranged ours as that all the Lessons shall be taken out of the Canonical Scriptures. Nevertheless, in taking that order, we do not mean to condemn or censure them or others for reading the Apocrypha in the Services of the Church (so as it be done, not for the establishing of doctrine, but for example of life and instruction of manners) ; but to use our own liberty in estab-

“With reference to the Athanasian Creed (commonly so called) we have removed the Rubric directing its use on certain days ; but, in so doing, this Church has not withdrawn its witness, as expressed in the Articles of Religion, and here again renewed, to the truth of the Articles of the Christian Faith therein contained.”

* Moved by Rev. Dr. Salmon. The following paragraph was ultimately substituted for the above, and now stands in the Irish Preface :—

“In revising the Table of Lessons, we have judged it convenient to follow generally the new Table which the Church of England has lately adopted, with these principal exceptions, that whereas in that Table some Lessons are still taken out of the Books called Apocryphal, we have so arranged ours as that all the Lessons shall be taken out of the Canonical Scriptures ; and we have included in our Lectionary the whole of the Revelation of St. John.”

lishing what we deem to be most meet for the peace and greater edifying of our own people.

X.*

“And now, if any one shall complain that these changes are not enough, and that we should have taken this opportunity of making this Book as perfect in all respects as he thinks it might be made, let him consider that men’s judgments of perfection are very various; that many old things are acquiesced in quietly from use and habit, where if a change were introduced (though for the better), it might produce much strife and even schism; and that what is allowable, though imperfect, with peace is often better than what is otherwise more excellent without it. Let him consider also that the use of this Book, both in its substance and most noticeable parts, is not peculiar to ourselves, but is a tie and a symbol of union between us and other Protestant Churches in England, Scotland, the Dependencies and Colonies of the British Empire, and the United States of America—in a word, in all quarters of the world; and he will perhaps think that, except upon very great and urgent reasons, extensive and remarkable changes should not be made without conference and agreement, if possible, with our brethren, in that wherein we all have thus a common interest.”

On the series of Resolutions concerning the above ten paragraphs, passed in 1875 and 1876, a form of Preface in a series of Bills was brought forward and passed in 1877, in spite of the Archbishop’s struggle and final vote against it.

* Moved by Rev. Dr. Salmon. For this concluding paragraph, the following was substituted in May, 1876:—

“And now, if some shall complain that these changes are not enough, and that we should have taken this opportunity of making this Book as perfect in all respects as they think it might be made, or if others shall say that these changes have been unnecessary or excessive, and that what was already excellent has been impaired by doing that which, in their opinion, might well have been left undone, let them, on the one side and the other, consider that men’s judgements of perfection are very various, and that what is imperfect, with peace, is often better than what is otherwise more excellent, without it.”

It will be seen that it is, to use the words of one who in vain fought against it, "less grossly intolerable than the one at first proposed," which the Archbishop had sent to Dr. Pusey.

From REV. DR. PUSEY.

Christ Church, Oxford,

MY DEAR LORD, *Friday in Easter Week, April 2, 1875.*

The course of action proposed to the approaching Synod will, if the recommendation be adopted, affect the whole Church now in communion with the Irish Church. God only knows its effects. I can only pray that it be averted. Your Grace will not think that I am presuming if I venture to offer my opinion upon it. For, on the old principle, "It is our concern when the next house is on fire;" and, in Christ, it is not the next house, but part of the same.

But, before entering on the subject of the proposed changes, will your Grace allow me to express what I feel as to the tyranny of alterations by a majority? There was a time when it was surmised that those with whom I have been associated might take advantage of any proposed alterations to make changes which should express more clearly what we believed to be the doctrine of our Church. Dr. Cardwell urged this in one of his books of documents, published by the Oxford University Press, as a ground against the proposal of alterations on the other side. This was contrary to our whole mind. We wished, with the help of God and by His grace, to raise a forgetful generation up to the teaching of the Church in her formularies. But we felt that the Church should be at one within herself before she made any changes. We are one body, bound together by one common heritage, the Prayer-book; and to change this, on either side, would be to violate the charter of our existence as one body. A majority has no right to alter our devotions, or to change their meaning. The Revisionists seemed to have wished to act upon this principle; but they could not resist the temptation of saying that, on certain vital doctrines, the words of the Prayer-book had not their apparent meaning. But this they have tried to express in a way which should awaken, as little as may be, the fears of those who hold to the old teaching; and the result has been an evasive production, unworthy of the straightforwardness of the Church, or of the English character.

If they had said at once that Bishops and Presbyters had no office beyond that of preaching, that it was an error to suppose that

Baptism conveyed any grace, or that it made us "children of God," or had any connection with the New Birth, or that in the Lord's Supper there was anything but mere bread and wine, or any Presence of Christ other than in all acts of devotion; or that absolution was anything more than a preaching of Christ's forgiveness of sins upon true repentance; or that any one was responsible for not seeing any truth which God had revealed, though he failed to see it through some spiritual or moral fault, this would have been intelligible enough, and those who believed the truths thus rejected, would have left the Church of Ireland at once.

The Revisionists have not done this; but, like the Arians of the fourth century, have produced a series of evasive statements, not seeming to condemn the truths, which they do in fact reject.

1. Thus, p. 6 of the Resolutions, instead of openly saying, "The Church of Ireland denies that there is any priestly office in the Church," it says, "The Church of Ireland doth, by the word Priest, understand Presbyter." But unless the Revisionists meant to deny any priestly office, this rubric would be absurd. All we who believe that our Lord gave specific powers to the clergy, hold that the word "Presbyter" (as the title of the second order of the clergy) is identical with "Priest." To say that the Church of Ireland by "Priest" means Presbyter, is to me simply saying that A is equal to A. But this is not the mind of the Revisionists; they mean to convey that which they dare not say openly.

2. The new rubric, p. 18, is painfully evasive.* It is dishonest in its statement of that which it intends to reject, and in order to escape condemning this in plain words, it substitutes a formula, which its authors too would, on consideration, acknowledge to imply heresy, and to be shocking to Christian feeling. The point at issue (as your Grace knows) has been what, rightly or wrongly, has been called "the real objective Presence," as distinguished from a *subjective* Presence, simply in the soul of the receiver, or what in the advertisement at the end of our first book of Homilies is designated as "receiving the Body and Blood of Christ under the forms of bread and wine." This we hold to be the teaching of the whole Church from the Apostles, and it is this, not any teaching about adoration, which has been the ground of attack by the Low Church party for these forty years. This rubric, while declaring that we "misconstrue or evade" that declaration at the end of the service for Holy Communion, unobserved, alters its terms; leaving out the words

* See pp. 151 and 156.

“corporeal and natural,” which were designedly put in, and substituting “Presence of Christ,” or of “Christ’s Flesh and Blood,” for “a *corporeal* presence of Christ’s *natural* Flesh and Blood;” and then it accuses us of “evading.” But further, in order to escape the mere blank denial that “there is under the forms of bread and wine a Presence of Christ’s Flesh and Blood” (which would be denying what is on the surface of every Father of the Church, and in our own Homilies), it introduces a statement abhorrent to every Christian mind! For by not simply denying any Presence of Christ, but only “a Presence of Christ unto which adoration may be or ought to be done,” it implies that there *may be* “a Presence of Christ, unto which adoration ought not to be done,” which would be blasphemy.

3. In the insertion of words from the Articles in the Catechism, a material change has been made by the omission of the words, “given and taken.”* Apart from what I believe to be the true interpretation of your remarkable countryman, Mr. Alexander Knox, that they mean “given by the Priest and taken by the communicant,” they plainly describe the whole action of communicating. Even as to this, the words only declare what no one denies. A Roman Catholic would not deny it, but only if it were added, “and not sacramentally.” As the words are altered in the proposed form, “only” would seem to exclude “orally” or “sacramentally.” It is an unexplained formula, which the aggressive party mean, but do not avow.

4. In the Baptismal Service, the change of the words, “None can enter the kingdom of God except he be regenerate, and born anew of water and of the Holy Ghost,” can have no meaning except to separate “regeneration” from Baptism, according to the doctrine of Calvin, that Baptism is only an outward sign of a grace previously given to elect infants. The whole subsequent Service is to be interpreted in this sense, and the Irish Church is to give thanks to God seemingly, but not really, for regenerating the child by Baptism, but in fact for having regenerated it, apart from Baptism, if it is one of the elect infants.

5. In the Service for the Sick, any office of the Priest is tacitly effaced. The aggressive party does not, in terms, deny absolution by the Priest, such as it has ever been held and used from the Apostles’ time, but silently removes all expression of it. This agrees with its rejection of any meaning of the word “Priest” before. The substitution of the precatory for the indicative form of absolution

* See p. 177, note.

would entail no loss, except of comfort, to the penitent : the precatory form being as valid as the indicative. The change is made by the omission of the words, "The Priest shall absolve him," which can only be removed on the ground of disbelief that the priest has any office in the matter, or does absolve.*

6. The mutilation of the Athanasian Creed leaves everything as mere matter of private opinion, except what Arius and the Arians might have held on the one hand, and tritheism on the other. It leaves out "the right faith is," even as to the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. It retains the words "we are compelled by the Christian verity to acknowledge every Person by Himself to be God and Lord," and Arius used both words of our Lord ; but it excludes the necessity of believing the three Persons to be God and Lord in any special sense, as the previous part of the Creed had taught.

I should think that the Church of Ireland would emphatically teach that it was *not* "necessary to salvation," *not* the "right faith," *not* the "Catholic faith ;" in fact, that there was no faith revealed by Almighty God as to His own Being, or the Incarnation and Redemption, else we should be bound to believe it. I will not trouble your Grace with other matters.

The proposed form of Preface seals all this. It is a laboured apology for not doing more. It admits that it would be "better and more excellent" in itself ; that what has been excepted against, is allowable only, although imperfect ; that it is "acquiesced in from use and habit" only. It condemns what the Revision leaves.

But it preserves all the ambiguity of the Revision itself. It understates or states falsely what it rejects or what it admits ; it uses language which every one may understand in his own way. Thus, as to the sacrament of Baptism, it is said, that "of a long time past, controversies have prevailed in the Church concerning the precise nature and extent of Baptismal grace, and the time and manner of

* In the Service for the Visitation of the Sick in altered Irish Prayer-book, the following has been substituted for the paragraph in the English Prayer-book :—
 "¶ *Here, if the sick person feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter, he shall be moved to open his grief, after which (if he humbly and heartily desire it) the Minister shall say thus,*

"Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of His great mercy hath promise forgiveness of sins to all that with hearty repentance and true faith turn to Him ; Have mercy upon thee ; pardon and deliver thee from all thy sins ; confirm and strengthen thee in all goodness ; and bring thee to everlasting life ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*"

its operation." This is a thorough understatement; the main controversy has been whether God gives any grace through Baptism at all. Again, as "to the long time past," Zwingli states that his doctrine was absolutely new, and that all before him had been in error. It speaks of the error "of those who have taught that Christ has given Himself, or His body and blood, in the Sacrament, to be 'reserved, lifted up, carried about, or worshipped.'" This is misleading. The dispute has been whether "Christ has given Himself, or His body and blood, in this Sacrament, under the veils of bread and wine," *to be received*. This is what we affirm; what the aggressive party denies. The words "to be reserved, lifted up, etc.," are mere dust in people's eyes. It is put forward that the only change in the Office of the Visitation of the Sick is the substitution of one form of absolution for another, and that there is no ground for asserting that its removal could make any change in the doctrine of the Church. But the removal of the words, "*The Priest shall absolve*," does make a change. The aggressive party knows that it does, else it would not have removed them.

The formula of Ordination of Priests is defended on the ground that no power or authority, *saving such as may belong to him, in the remission of ecclesiastical censures*, is ascribed to the Priest, other than the ministerial one of declaring and pronouncing, on God's part, remission of sins. The remission of ecclesiastical censures, 1, does not belong to the Priest at all, but to the Bishop; 2, the words which might seem to convey it, "*sacramentis Ecclesiæ te restituo*" (I believe these were the words), are left out in our formula purposely. The absolution is, of course, ministerial; all our acts are "ministerial;" whatever is done for man's salvation, God is the doer of it. But the question between the aggressive party and those who take the words literally, is, "Does God give any grace through the absolution?" If the dispositions of the penitent are right, are our Lord's words fulfilled, "What ye loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven"? The declaration limits apparently the words, "Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven," 1, to Ecclesiastical censures, which cannot possibly be meant by "forgiveness of sins." The aggressionists could not say, or think that they did! 2, to a preaching of the Gospel that if men are truly penitent, God forgives them; but any more unnatural interpretation of words I cannot imagine.

The declaration as to "sincere repentance" is as cold as could be framed. True repentance, as your Grace knows, is "real sorrow *for the love of God*, that one has offended so ungratefully our good

and holy God." "*Sincere* repentance" does not express this; and so the declaration risks misleading people, in a condition of the salvation of us sinners. If it were passed, I should think that many a soul might, in the day of judgment, allege its framers to be parties to its damnation by misleading it as to the nature of true repentance.

In regard to the Athanasian Creed, the statement is thoroughly inadequate and misleading. The warning clauses have been objected to, not as speaking too absolutely of the condition of those who, from any cause, fail to hold all the particulars set down, but as affirming that the belief of any of these truths is necessary to salvation. The broad question is, Is there any doctrine which is certain truth, which we may pronounce to be certain truth, revealed to us by God, or is that only truth which any man troweth? As for the mention of the Churches in communion with the See of Constantinople, this is mere dust in people's eyes, which has been got up of late years in order to foment the odium against the Creed. It is not true that this has been part of people's objection, and, in fact, the statement does not touch the Eastern Churches at all. Both parties agreed at the Council of Florence that the Greeks held under the term *δια* what we hold under the term *ἐκ*. On the other hand, the statement proposed makes every one the judge as to his own faith. He is bound to believe what is proposed *to him* out of the Word of God, and proved by clear and certain warrant of Scripture; but any right or wrong as to his "opinions," whether there be any sinful blindness, which our Litany teaches us to pray against, is wholly ignored.

Once more, as to the Holy Eucharist, the first statement is thoroughly vague, yet it is a declaration in fact that the doctrine of the Real Presence is not in the Formularies. Of course we hold, and know that the doctrine which we hold is not "repugnant to that in the Articles of Religion;" for we believe from our hearts that "the Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after a spiritual and heavenly manner," and that "the means whereby it is received and taken therein is faith." We have stated this over and over again for well-nigh forty years. But the Declaration does not defend the expressions which speak our faith on this ground; it allows them simply because *upon a full and impartial review* we have not found in the Formularies any just warrant for their teaching: *i.e.* it is proposed to reject in one sentence, as the decision of the Irish Church, the doctrine of the Real Presence, such as the whole Catholic Church from the days of St. John the Evangelist held and

taught it; such as was sanctioned by the Councils of Nice and Ephesus; such as we believe our Lord taught, and St. John, taught by the Holy Ghost, recorded at length in the sixth chapter of St. John, and which our Exhortation to communicants quotes as relating to the Holy Communion.

As to Holy Baptism, the tone against changing is throughout apologetic. An apology is made for not "changing the Baptismal Service in respect of expressions which have been used *in connection* with this Sacrament by the universal Church from the earliest times." Nothing is said implying that those terms convey truth, the faith as held from our Lord, but only that these have been used in "connection with this Sacrament."

This in itself is utterly falsifying the truth. It had been true to say, the term (for they are not *terms*) "regeneration" is *the* term by which, from the Apostles' time till Zwingli, the Church expressed its belief, but the Irish Church has not censured, as unfaithful members of it, those who contradicted that belief, and therefore we allow that contradiction still. But this Declaration expressly puts both on equal terms, and the Irish Church would declare by adopting it, that it held that our Lord had revealed no truth on this Sacrament whereby we become members of Himself.

The Gorham decision, to which this document appeals, was virtually condemned by almost the whole English Episcopate. It cost us many valued members. The most able of the Bishops (Bloomfield), who was an assessor, protested against it. The Bishops, he told me, with the exception of some three or four, had agreed in a declaration contradictory of it; but that declaration was not published because those three or four not agreeing in it, the rest thought it ill-advised to publish their disunion. The Gorham decision was condemned at the time as a dishonest decision. This decision which pronounces that, for the purposes of discipline, the English Church had not stated its faith so clearly that any disbelief of Baptism could be condemned (for Mr. Gorham's was the extremest form of unbelief in it), this Declaration parades as if it were a General Council "by *solemn* decision of the Court of Final Appeal in Ecclesiastical Causes in England;" in other words, by a Civic Court reviewing the judgment of the Archbishop's Court. Lastly, the Declaration expressly dispenses the Minister of his Church from holding or teaching the doctrine taught to every child in our Catechism, that we are by Baptism made "children of God, members of Christ, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven;" for it frees

them from any duty of holding or teaching any other doctrine than that contained in our Articles. You are to have clergy who will not teach what the Church will still require to be taught to all its children.

It is consistent with disbelief as to the Holy Eucharist that the Revisionists have struck out from the Exhortation words as to the unworthy reception, for, according to their disbelief, there is nothing to profane, contrary to the teaching of St. Paul.

There is one further matter, as to the future, opened by this Preface. It is proposed to apologize for not changing (not on the ground of the truth of what is not changed, but, allowing and stating change to be best), for fear of a schism.

Then the Irish Bishops would commit themselves to the conviction that as soon as there should be no fear of schism, those changes ought to be made. Meanwhile, you are to retain what is excepted against, because it has no meaning. You are simply to tolerate it, because it need not mean anything.

If I were a clergyman in the Irish Church, I should think that its Bishops, if they acceded to these changes, cast me out. I could not go on using solemn words which its Bishops had declared to have no meaning. I should resign any office in it, and come to England, as so many of your clergy have done in anticipation. If I were a layman, with property, I should sell my property, and go to England. Three courses are open—1. to emigrate to England; 2. to form a schism in Ireland; 3. to acquiesce, and suppress one's faith, and lose it. There is yet a fourth, to which, I suppose, many would resort, to join the Roman Communion; and this, I suppose, would not be unfrequent; for this continual denial of faith has shaken people's allegiance through and through; and some, I suppose, only await the formal decision to renounce the Irish Church as formally fallen from the faith. But when these are gone in their different ways, what is to become of the remainder? They will have formally committed themselves that they retain these expressions only "for fear of schism." Then they will be bound to expunge them as soon as that fear shall be over, as soon as there will be none left to make a schism. Then your Grace will bequeath to posterity a community having Bishops to convey nothing, except an office of preaching, which might just as well be given with no necessary faith as to the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, or office of our Lord; with no belief as to Sacraments; with no doctrine distinguishable from the Presbyterian bodies around you, except that you had Bishops who

conveyed nothing (for the words of Ordination you will have committed yourselves ought to be changed), and had nothing to convey.

Meanwhile, if the Church of England should remain in communion with you, you would have done your utmost to draw it down to the same abyss; so that there should be nothing left in the west but, 1. Ultramontanism; 2. Unbelief; and, 3. Presbyterianism, verging ever more and more into unbelief. I have for many years had all my hopes damped by our Blessed Lord's words, "when the Son of man cometh shall He find *the* faith"—την πιστιν—that faith which He left on the earth.

There is still one way left; the anti-revisionist body have, I understand, been strengthening of late. It could still be said, "We will have no changes by majorities." Else, I believe that you will put out your candlestick with your own hands, and your Grace will only have been called to your office in the Irish Church to connive at, and so to assist in, its destruction.

Your Grace will forgive this plainness, and believe me to be your faithful servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

It will be seen by comparing the above letter with ultimate facts, that, in spite of havoc made in the Prayer-book, much was gained in the fight led by the Archbishop. i. "The new rubric" (p. 184) was abandoned. ii. The Baptismal Service was left unaltered (see p. 185). iii. The Creed was left un-mutilated (see p. 186).

The proposal of a Preface for the altered Prayer-book was made on May 2. While its clauses were passing in the form of separate resolutions, with a view to their being embodied in Bills in the next session, the clause relating to the Athanasian Creed was amended by the statement that the entire Creed was retained unaltered among the formularies, but that only the selected portion should be recited on certain days.

The plan at this time was to print the Creed in two forms in the Prayer-book—A, unaltered, to avoid stultifying the 8th Article; B, in a mutilated form, to be publicly recited, three times in the year, instead of the Apostles' Creed.

On the motion of the Bishop of Meath for passing the

amended clause, May 13, 1875, the Archbishop of Dublin rose and said—

“He thought Mr. Carmichael and others would find that they would not gain anything by having this interpretation of the Act of the Synod put into the Preface, an interpretation which amounted to an indication that the House had given, or would give, some firstfruits of repentance for the act it had done. With regard to the proposal of his right reverend brother upon the clause of the Preface at present before the House, it was of immense importance, and an immense improvement upon what the original clause at first stated, but still it seemed to him that it would be wisest if they used all their power to prevent anything being passed in the Preface relating to the Athanasian Creed at all, but to leave a free course open, not obliging those who differed from them to adopt a course which would be only riveting the chains closer on them. He was obliged altogether to disagree from the statement made by gentlemen there, that a settlement of this question had been arrived at. No settlement had been arrived at up to the present. The Synod had distinctly in its own power to give active life to their past legislation,* and, unless that was given by a new vote of that House, what they had done would remain dormant, altogether without force or application. There must then be another vote, and, notwithstanding what had been said by some, he did not despair. Working still altogether within that Synod, and by the action which it had provided, he did not despair of a reversal of what had already taken place, and he said that not only to those present who took an opposite view from him, but to those who came to him asking for advice—to those who were holding on now to the Irish Church by the very slightest hope that could be imagined, and who had taken counsel with him on the matter. To them he had said, ‘The Church of Ireland has not yet committed itself to

* *i.e.* by adopting, as a whole, the altered Prayer-book, and making it unlawful to use the old Common Prayer of the United Churches of England and Ireland in Irish churches.

anything ; any action at present might seem prompt, but it would be precipitate.' He did not say what might be necessary to be done afterwards. If the future brought its difficulties, however, it would also bring its own counsels, and all he had said at present was, 'Nothing has been done yet ; at present therefore any action on your part would be utterly premature ; it would be wrong.' Personally, he could not forget the infinitesimally small majority by which the Athanasian Creed Act—he would not use the stronger language and call it 'that fatal Act'—passed ; and when he considered again the poignant regret with which, as he knew, more than one looked back upon the vote which they then gave, and when he considered—they would suffer him to say—the thrill of horror with which the news of what they had done had been received in Churches around them, and also when he considered—and he said it with perfect truth—how that Synod had sometimes gone in very rash and precipitate ways, and yet had drawn up when it was on the edge of the precipice, and had that sense of danger which prevented it from precipitating itself over the precipice, he could not at all believe that it was hopeless that the future would see another such event as that. At all events, he said to the House, as he said to others, that at the present nothing had been done ; and he did trust, from his heart of hearts, that nothing would be done. He was the more earnest in desiring that, because, if the event was different, there would be no choice for him but to claim those rights which the Irish Church Act had secured for him, and which the Church of Ireland had no power, and also no wish, to deprive him of. He should have no choice but to use those powers, those rights which had been secured to him by the law of the land, which the Church of Ireland had no intention, or wish, or power to take from him. He should therefore have no choice but, if things remained as some intended they should remain, himself to decline making use of a Prayer-book which contained a mutilated Athanasian Creed." *

* Report in *Daily Express* of May 14, 1875.

One who was present told the editor that when the Archbishop sat down a great silence fell upon the assembly. Even his bitterest opponents felt the immense significance of the speech just uttered, and knew, both that they could not do without him, and that nothing but absolute ruin could ensue from the small body of Churchmen in Ireland. hitherto united to the English Church, being broken into two. The Archbishop's speech is given as far as possible *verbatim*, the editor being unwilling, on a matter of such supreme importance, to give any condensed *résumé* of his words. There is no doubt that it was the chief cause of the repeal, in the next year, of the Acts just passed, and averted a general break-up, although, as will be seen from his vote, the final arrangement was far from satisfactory to the Archbishop.

The Bishop of Meath's motion for the insertion of a clause in the Preface stating that a mutilated form of the Creed had been provided for public recitation, was then put and carried by two-thirds of clergy and laity. The Archbishop did not request any vote from the House of Bishops, reserving action until the resolution just carried should be embodied in a Bill.

On the next day, May 14, a clause in the Preface to the new Prayer-book relating to Baptism was proposed ; several amendments were brought up, and considerable confusion arose as to the wording of the clause. "At this point the Archbishop of Dublin rose to remind the Synod that a Preface was a document of importance, one by which (as had been hinted) the clergy were liable to be brought to book and judged. When (said his Grace) he remembered the great significance this Preface enfolded as a dogmatic statement of the Church of Ireland, he confessed that he was amazed at the way in which it was treated and spoken of by members. He thought it would be inconceivable to persons not present to think they could dispose of such serious matters in such a hurried and slap-dash way. A sentence was proposed here and there, and withdrawn, another substituted, and words omitted or changed at random, and all this while they were

dealing with the most difficult of all subjects—theology. When it was considered how it was proposed to enlarge their dogmatic frontier, the perils that were in store for them—that, certainly, if they might interpret the future by the past, would be in store for them—if they made the rash, hasty, and ill-considered statements that they were apparently too ready to pass that day, surely he was justified in asking them to pause and think well of it.”*

The clause of the Preface under consideration, with various amendments, was, however, put, and declared to be carried, but on a division being called for, it was found that a quorum was not present, and the House was adjourned to October 19.

The assembly had thus run itself out without obtaining a resolution in the Preface about Baptism.

Although it is anticipating, it seems best here to give the result of the struggle as to the Athanasian Creed.

On May 9, 1876, the two statutes of 1875 (one removing certain clauses in the Creed, and the other directing a rubric to be inserted for the public recitation of this mutilated Creed) were repealed by majorities of two-thirds of clergy and laity. A resolution had previously been passed (on May 4) for the removal of the rubric in the Common Prayer-book of the United Church of England and Ireland directing the recital of the Athanasian Creed on certain days, the majorities in both Orders being very large. Thus, by the arrangement arrived at, which has been carried out in the new Prayer-book, the Creed was to remain un mutilated, but the order for its public use was to be removed. On May 10, the clause which now stands in the Preface to the Irish Prayer-book, with reference to the Athanasian Creed, was adopted by resolution (with a view to its enactment in the next session) by two-thirds of clergy and laity, the Bishops not voting at this stage.

In 1877, Bills embodying these two resolutions were enacted finally; and on April 26, 1877, the Preface, which had been constructed bit by bit, by majorities of two-thirds

* *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette* of June 22, 1875.

of clergy and laity, was proposed as a whole for enactment as part of the new Prayer-book. The motion was carried, only ten laymen and twenty-five clergy voting against it. Of Ayes there were 102 of the clergy and 166 of the laity.

Upon this the Archbishop stated that, at his desire, the House of Bishops would vote. They voted five to four, the result being:—

Ayes—Bishops of Meath, Killa'oe, Cashel, Kilmore, and Ossory.

Noes—The Lord Primate, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishops of Down and of Derry.

The motion was therefore carried, and the altered Prayer-book, with its new Preface, was ordered to be printed, and to come into use after June 30, 1878.

The Archbishop had thus been in the minority on every occasion when the House of Bishops voted, and was defeated.

CHAPTER X.

1875-1879.

“If Winter comes, can Spring be far behind?”

SHELLEY.

EARLY in May, the Archbishop was in London and at Oxford, where he was the guest of Canon (now Bishop) King, in order to take counsel with friends as to the difficulties which beset him. Sympathy was very precious to him. “I must write you two lines,” he writes, May 17, to one of his clergy, the Rev. J. Twigg—“indeed, I should have written them before this—to say how much I prized your letter, and the spirit which dictated it. A few more like it would be indeed signs of hope in a very dark and cloudy day.”

From REV. CANON LIDDON.

Christ Church, Oxford,

Trinity Sunday, May 23, 1875.

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,

I have had a very sympathetic letter from Mr. Beresford Hope, who, if he can get free from a Committee of the House of Commons, will attend the Lambeth meeting and ask the necessary questions.

Our letters have met with very various receptions, probably with more severe condemnation than we know of.* But that does not matter if they have the effect of making English Churchmen recognize the extreme gravity of the Irish crisis. What I trust will be

* Letters from himself and from Dr. Pusey, offering large subscriptions towards building a church in Dublin, if it could be arranged that, as in many Scotch churches, only the unaltered English Prayer-book should be used in it.

understood is that we hope, if possible, to add to the strength of the existing Irish Church. Whether we are to do so or not is really a question for her to decide.

The Dublin papers, I see, are indignant at what they consider an "appeal to their pockets." As if their "pockets" had not already protected the Ordinal from their Puritanism!* . . . I confess to much more sympathy with Mr. Saunderson and Lord James Butler, who seriously imagine that the Puritan theory is the Christianity of St. Paul and St. John, and who act accordingly, than with theological diplomatists of the Italian type, who appear to be willing to abandon anything, or to retain anything, as the administrative expedencies of the moment may seem to dictate or suggest.

Ever, my dear Lord, yours most dutifully and affectionately,

H. P. LIDDON.

The following letter, from Canon Liddon, is given, although addressed to one of the Archbishop's daughters, who had written to him for her father:—

From REV. CANON LIDDON.

Hôtel Windsor, Paris,

July 24, 1875.

Your kind letter, with its enclosure, reached me here to-day. Pray make my best respects to the Archbishop, and thank him for so kindly thinking of me. The opinion seems to be in favour of all that, under the circumstances, could have been hoped for. It protects existing incumbents against an enforcement of the new decisions, if finally carried; but it also makes what the Archbishop said in Oxford the other day clearer than ever, viz. that as yet nothing *is* irrevocably settled, in respect of the Creed. I do not know how far the forms of the Irish Convention admit of its rescinding what has been already done in this matter; but this, if possible, is certainly desirable, for otherwise the actual resolutions will be a sword of Damocles hanging over the Irish Church, and liable to be put in force whenever any lay synodsmen is powerful and enterprising enough to carry a motion for the date from which they shall become law.

It is easy to be wise after the event; but, as it appears to an

* Alluding to the proposed alteration in the Service for the Ordination of Priests being abandoned, because, in the opinion of some lawyers, to do so might interfere with those ordained in Ireland holding livings in England.

English observer, the greatest mistake of all was the substitution of the present anomalous "Synod" for the ancient Convocations of the Church of Ireland. Those bodies might have made *some* changes, under pressure, but they would surely have had a sense of historical and religious self-respect, which would have saved them from the profane absurdities into which the existing body has plunged with such simple enthusiasm, probably from an instinct that, being a thing of modern manufacture, it must do something quickly—no matter what—to justify its existence. Are not the old Convocations only dormant? Could they be summoned by the Archbishops? Would they not at once speak with an authority which this singular collection of clergymen, colonels, and lawyers, can never command when undertaking to deal with the truths of Divine revelation, however indirectly?

I have lately seen a great deal of Dr. Döllinger in Munich. He was much interested in what has been passing in Ireland, and laughed heartily at the disgrace into which we have got with the *Guardian*, which he generally reads. He agreed with me that a change of Primates—between England and Ireland—if it were feasible, would certainly be "a good thing, at least for the English Church." But he greatly regretted the tendency of things in Ireland, which "could only reinforce Ultramontanism."

Pray make my affectionate and true respects to the Archbishop and Mrs. Trench.

To REV. FRANCIS TRENCH.

Broomfield, Wicklow,

August 2, 1875.

I seem long in debt to you for a letter, but in this retreat from the busier ways of men find very little to write about, neither do I suppose that we shall much stir from this for the next two or three months. We have just had a visit of some days from Canon Ashwell and his wife. He is a Canon of Chichester, and on him has devolved the writing of the Life of the Bishop of Winchester—I mean Wilberforce. I certainly rejoice, the more that I see of the task, that, at my time of life and with my engagements, I declined it. The mere labour of mastering the materials, letters, and back history of the last forty years will be enormous; and the anxiety of how to tell a life which came into contact, sometimes into collision, with so many other lives, and to do justice to all, and at the same time to keep charity for all, is such as I would not willingly undergo. I

have had many talks with him upon the work which is before him, and feel a very good confidence that he will do it well.

To REV. H. F. TRENCH.

Broomfield, Wicklow,

August 19, 1875.

There is a fatal facility in writing and talking which some clergymen possess from the very outset of their career.*

I doubt whether this is of advantage either to themselves or to others. A little resistance in our materials, and a refusal to take shape at once, is, I believe, much better both for preacher and hearers at the first. *Facility* which has been earned by toil is that which alone is worth having.

I wish the *Times* was not so far in the right respecting the Bonn Conference.

The following letter was written soon after the Archbishop had given his consent to his eldest unmarried daughter leaving him for two years to work under Bishop Webb at Bloemfontein :—

To his Wife.

Jerusalem Chamber,

November 10, 1875.

I profit by a few minutes' pause in our work to write a few lines without feeling that I am withdrawing myself from the proper work which is before me.

Dear bright E—, how very much we shall miss her ; and what a large piece is two years out of the little space which anyhow can remain to us of our lives ! But I remind myself of that word, He that giveth with cheerfulness.

Work has begun again, and I must draw this letter to a close. I have no right to go on and to withdraw myself from the important work in which I am professing to take a part. May God bless, comfort, and strengthen my dear wife and all the dear ones of that home which has been crowned for so many years with mercies so many and so great !

These were the last days of perfect health granted to the

* "Some people," the Archbishop once said, "have a kind of facile piety ; you have only to turn the tap, and it flows on."

Archbishop. He crossed safely to Ireland on November 22. He disliked taking a servant about with him, and being on deck and alone, went down the companion-ladder at the last moment to fetch his desk, which had been left in the saloon, missed a step, and, in trying to recover himself by a strong effort, he snapped across both knee-caps, and fell, from want of support, at the bottom of the steps. He was carried, helpless, to the nearest hotel, and after a few days removed to the Palace. After long confinement to bed, he gradually recovered sufficiently to take even rather long walks, but he could never do so safely alone, the knees not regaining sufficient strength to prevent his falling from any slight trip. He had several falls, more or less alarming, but did not again fracture the knee-cap. The cessation of his very active habits of exercise on foot, entirely for a long time, were a serious hindrance to general health; they were never wholly resumed, and he felt the privation keenly. He was also losing, at this time, the most prized help and companionship of his eldest unmarried daughter, as he would not allow her to give up or postpone her engagement to go out with Bishop Webb for two years. She left him on December 23.

To MARIA TRENCH.

Palace,

Christmas Eve, 1875.

You cannot imagine how empty the house seems to-day,—but how unthankful to say this when it is full of loved ones! The poor Sherlocks are now, I fear, giving to God their eldest born, in quite another fashion from that in which we are giving that dear child; and they have not enjoyed her presence for more than a third of the time.

From the MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Trinity College, Cambridge,

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,

March 25, 1876.

By our present statutes we are empowered, under certain conditions, to elect as Honorary Fellows "persons eminent for scientific

or literary attainment." In virtue of this provision we elected a few years ago the late Bishop Thirlwall to a Fellowship of this description, and he professed himself greatly pleased by what we had done. We are anxious that the Episcopal Bench should still be represented on the list in question; and I am, therefore, desired by the electing body, who are the sixteen Fellows first on the roll, to request that you will allow them to add your Grace's name to the already somewhat distinguished list.

I need not, I am sure, say how greatly rejoiced I shall be if you will consent to this proposal, which the electors are unanimous in desiring me to convey to you.

I remain, my dear Lord Archbishop, yours most faithfully,

W. H. THOMPSON.

To EDITH CHENEVIX TRENCH.

Palace, Dublin,

April 11, 1876.

MY DEAREST CHILD,

We think much and often about you, and long much to hear that you are in perfect health again.

We never can be otherwise than anxious about the illnesses of our beloved in a far-off land. Do not be too proud of your health and strength. Fancy an aggrieved announcement in last Saturday's *Literary Churchman* that Bishop Webb had resigned, and that some explanation of this resignation was due to the Church. We were not at all scared, and we did not let dear mother know anything about it till we had got a telegram from Canon Ashwell, saying, as we were sure, that it was a blunder, and that for "Webb" we must read "Wilkinson." I should think that poor Mrs. Webb must be seriously inconvenienced and annoyed.

I believe that I am making way, but so slowly as hardly to be conscious of it. What is in store, and whether I shall ever be at all what I have been, is in higher hands than ours to determine; but all will be well, and with the multitude of mercies which surround me, I may say, "All is well." Our Synod meets next week. I must renounce the hope of being present. It will be much if I am able to take part in dear R——'s marriage, and I have serious misgivings whether this may be.

Your very loving father,

R. C. T.

The following letter is given, as it was preserved by Arch-

bishop Trench when burning most which he possessed, probably on account of its testimony to the value of women's work. It is also but one amongst numberless letters from colonial clergy thanking him for gifts of books. The Archbishop's almost invariable words, on hearing of any lonely foreign priest, were, "Can we not send him some books?"

From REV. A. THEODORE WIRGMAN.

St. Mary's Rectory, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony,

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,

April 28, 1876.

I received quite safely a few days ago the copy of your Grace's most valuable work on the *Seven Churches*, which you so kindly sent to me. I must thank your Grace most warmly for it, as it is a most acceptable addition to my small library. I had long wished to possess it, but colonial clergy have often to think twice before ordering a new book, and it will add one more to the valuable works which I already possess from your Grace's pen—books which have made your name a household word with English priests all over the world. It gave myself and my wife the greatest pleasure to receive Miss Trench and Miss Pigott as our guests during their short stay in Port Elizabeth. I can hardly express the good that may flow from self-sacrifice such as theirs in a selfish, worldly state of society like ours. Bishop Webb's noble band of workers must have made their mark upon the people in every town and village they passed through. I know they did so here. The idea of ladies leaving their homes to work for Christ here stirred up even the busy money-making people of Port Elizabeth. People hostile to the Church opened their doors to them, and vied with one another in hospitality, and when I preached for the Sisterhood in my Church I had the largest single offertory I ever remember. People who shrug their shoulders at the idea of a priest sacrificing himself will believe thoroughly in a lady doing so, and this is why Anglican Sisterhoods are so popular in this colony, even in the presence of a Dutch Calvinist element bitterly hostile to Anglo-Catholicism.

In May, the Archbishop took a house in London, in Great Cumberland Place, where he remained until August, under surgical treatment for his injured knees.

To ———.

17, Great Cumberland Place, London,

June 24, 1876.

I certainly duly replied to your letter, which I received some two or three weeks ago. I stated in my reply that I could not go back from my rule, namely, to admit as candidates for Ordination only such as had *taken* their degree and obtained their Divinity Testimonium. If I gave up this rule in any cases, I should presently have to give it up in all, and have, therefore, no choice but to abide by it. I regret sincerely that I cannot comply with your request; but it is for the Bishops to maintain, or at least to endeavour to maintain, some sort of standard of theology in the Church of Ireland.

From ALFRED TENNYSON.

Aldworth, Haslemere,

MY DEAR TRENCH,

July 27, 1876.

I saw your "Sacred Latin Poetry" some years ago, and was so much struck with it that I had always longed to have it in my hands again; indeed, had always intended to buy it, and I cannot tell why I did not. What chiefly lived in my memory was the "Laus Patriæ Cælestis," not as the best thing in the book, but as the most marvellous *tour de force* in the Latin tongue, and yet much more than a *tour de force*!

It makes me happy to have this volume as your own gift. Thanks, also, for your kind answer to my son Hallam about my Latin chorus, which he had always pressed upon me to show you. I may say that the lines lose a good deal of their effect by being read apart from the dialogue. I am most glad to hear that there is now a fair prospect of your being able to move about again. You will have to take great care not to get another stumble.

Yours most truly,

ALFRED TENNYSON.

The following letter is in answer to one from the Rev. Thomas Keble, consulting the Archbishop as to the publication, separately, of the Commentary on the first sixteen verses of St. John's Gospel by the late Rev. John Keble, or as to whether it should be included amongst other Remains. The latter was decided upon, by the Archbishop's advice, and it

forms part of "Studia Sacra,"* which was at this time being prepared for the press.

To REV. THOMAS KEBLE.

Broomfield, Wicklow,

September 15, 1876.

DEAR MR. KEBLE,

I have never seen the fragment of a "Commentary on St. John," of which you speak. But from the judgment of Dr. Pusey and others about it, it is plain that it is worth preserving and ought to be preserved. The only question, therefore, now to be decided is whether it should make part of the present publication or be deferred to some future opportunity. I cannot but think that it would be unwise to commit it to the chances of the future. It is *so* hard for a very small volume (and this, I take it, would prove a very small one) to make its way, that I would not willingly lose the present opportunity of associating it with other *remains* by the same hand. At the same time, I feel that I am replying somewhat in the dark, and that actual acquaintance might modify my opinion, though indeed I scarcely know how.

Believe me, very truly yours,

R. C. DUBLIN.

To ARCHDEACON LEE.

Broomfield,

October 11, 1876.

Let me congratulate you on having made arrangements so satisfactory in regard to Rathmines. It is indeed a matter of congratulation to us all that the diocese should have acquired a man of Mr. Carleton's stamp. We have much need of such. I must make some communication to the Synod, which meets a fortnight hence. I mean about myself. I cannot speak hopefully of the future, for I am certainly *not* making progress. The six weeks here have done nothing for me, and when the physicians prophesy ultimate restoration, I only know they have been wholly deceived in regard of the past, and therefore may very well be so in respect of the future.

I shall tell the Synod (by letter, for I cannot attempt to be present) what they promise, what my own anticipations about the future are—that, if they wish it, I will hold on for a while further, and shall leave the matter there. It is all very grievous to me, and

* Parker and Co., Oxford.

in manifold ways ; but there is one thing which my conscience forbids me to attempt, which is a *clinical* Episcopate. Please let this be between ourselves for the present.

To the Same.

Broomfield,

October 20, 1876.

Many thanks for your kind words and wishes about myself. I certainly shall not resign ; but, as I must make some communication with the diocese, shall seek an expression of its wishes in the matter of the continuance for a while of the present condition of things. I do not know whether I have been well managed or ill ; but my own conviction now is that I shall never be better, and that it is a mere question of time. I will not, however, by any action of mine anticipate that time.

The depression caused by long inactivity, and the fear of further injury from a fresh fall, made the Archbishop shrink from exertions which his family hoped might be of benefit to him.

To MARIA TRENCH.

Palace,

December 17, 1876.

I ought to have returned the accompanying before this. They are the first lines of a commentary, but have that indescribable charm which everything of the writer has. I am glad they are to be published.*

I was much interested with what you sent me of Dr. Pusey's,† and am thankful that it should adorn your book ; but on this particular point Newman has spoiled me for everybody else, even for the greatest and the best.

Dearest E—— starts for home about the middle of next month, unless a letter of mine, which *may* arrive just in time, and in which I have suggested a little longer tarrying, should turn the scale.

I heard dear Frank preach last Sunday ; I had not heard him before. It was very good, and, what was most valuable, had in it

* Commentary on first eighteen verses of St. John's Gospel, by Rev. John Keble. Published in "Studia Sacra" (Parker and Co.).

† A short introduction by Dr. Pusey to "Occasional Papers and Reviews by Rev. John Keble" (Parker and Son). A letter from Cardinal Newman, in the same volume, on the character and genius of Mr. Keble, had been seen in manuscript by the Archbishop, and had won his highest admiration.

the capabilities of something better still. His whole heart is in his work ; it is something for which to praise God.

I make no way, and before very long the rest of men will see about me what I have seen long since ; but I will not trouble you with this.

Early in August the Archbishop went to Droitwich, with his daughter Edith, to try the effect of brine baths.

To MARIA TRENCH.

Saline Baths, Droitwich,

August 29, 1877.

Many hearty thanks for all the loving words which your letter contains. I will not say—I will only think—that they should have found their way to one worthier of them. Unhappily, with disclaiming to say, I have said it. But to proceed.

I think the title which you propose is too big.* Should any knowledge of the things which we are here doing, or trying to do, reach him in that happier world to which he has passed, his modesty, which no doubt still survives, would be hurt by it.

Mr. Norris's † first suggestion commends itself to me, his second not at all. Mr. —, the physician here, who is not a quack or an impostor, but an honest man, and with a decided cleverness of his own, thinks he can do much for me. I believe nothing of the kind, but that I shall carry my helplessness to the grave ; but, whatever may be the result of the experiment, I shall not regret to have made it.

Mr. Frederic Myers, in sending the following letter to Archbishop Trench's daughter, writes (September 10, 1886) : " For my part, I feel certain that some of your father's poems will give to many generations the strength and happiness which they have given to an audience ' fit though few ' (not *now* indeed so few) in this century. As the centuries roll on, the relics of all of us will be sifted very small ; but, for instance,

* Some title, now forgotten, proposed for the book published as " *Studia Sacra*," containing a commentary by Mr. Keble on part of first chapter of St. John's Gospel, on first eight chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, and other papers.

† Now Archdeacon of Bristol. He wrote the preface to " *Studia Sacra*," which he had in great part edited.

the two stanzas which begin 'O life, O death, O world, O time' seem to me as if they ought to last *for ever*—as if *no* age could find an expression more simple and majestic of the great primary thought which they contain."

To FREDERIC MYERS.

Broomfield,

October 8, 1877.

DEAR MR. MYERS,

I cannot refuse to write to you and to say how much pleased I and all of mine were with your article in the *Nineteenth Century*.* I suppose this is not very wonderful, for we have the highest authority for the saying that, "As the fining-pot for silver, so is the man for his praise." It is not, however, every one who praises aright, or at any rate who praises as we care to be praised. This, however, you have done in an article which presents itself to me as a singularly graceful piece of English writing, and that I should have hailed as such, even if no interest of my own had been bound up in it. Certainly, when I remember the absolute stillbornness of the little volumes which make up my book of verses, it is strange that they should have attained so much of a *παλιγγενεσία* as this.

I was very sorry to miss the pleasure of seeing you when you paid your too-brief visit here. Pray believe me always very truly yours,

R. C. DUBLIN.

To MARIA TRENCH.

The Palace,

December 30, 1877.

I have forwarded your note to C. A. L.—, with order of mine included,† though I have little desire to spread the knowledge of my ignorance and incompetence as far as the islands of the Mediterranean Sea.

Do not take this as a piece of superfine humility, but I am just now passing through the state in which Mediæval Church History is as a Duncan which I have murdered, and I a Macbeth, with words like these in my mind—

"I am afraid to think what I have done;
Look on't again I dare not."

* In October number, 1877. It contained a critique on the Archbishop's poem.

† Ordering a copy of his "Mediæval Church History" to be sent to a friend at Hyères.

In a little while I shall probably be as vain of it as if it were something considerable.

In July, 1878, the Archbishop took a house in Arlington Street, was in London for about six weeks, and attended the "Pan-Anglican Synod," or, as he preferred to call it, the Lambeth Conference.

"We had, on the whole, a very grand service this morning," he writes to his son on July 27, "and good, I think, on the whole, will follow from our gathering, though it will be more in the way of general impression than any special point that may have been made."

There is a letter dated October 31, 1878, amongst the few preserved by Archbishop Trench in later years, from the authoress of one of numerous "Word-Books" frequently sent to him, of which his books on words had been the parents. After acknowledging her obligations to him, the lady adds—

"The Study of Words," "English, Past and Present," etc., etc., gave definite form to my latent love of words, and ultimately led to my making notes of them, notes embodied in this work. And here, my Lord, pardon me if I write too frankly. I would acknowledge with heartfelt thankfulness all that I owe to you through other works of yours; the building up of my faith when tempted, and sorely tempted, with intellectual doubts, if I may call them so; the comfort in times of sharp anguish; the help in seasons of long-continued sickness; by the grace of God your writings have been unspeakably blessed to me, and out of the abundance of my heart's sense of this do I tell you that so it has been.

I think, too, that there is none, be his rank and place in the Church ever so exalted, but must feel saddened at times with the idea that his work, and the results of his work, fall far short of his aims. And if this be so, then it must strengthen his hands to know certainly that one of the least of those whom his Master calls "brethren" thanks God for his good works, which have been such a means of grace to her.

To REV. FRANCIS TRENCH.

Dublin,

January 8, 1879.

Let me very heartily wish you, if not the pleasures, yet what are much better than them, the best blessings of the year which we are beginning, and as the very choicest of these, more and more knowledge of Him Whom to know is life eternal. The year that has just gone by was marked for us with a very memorable mercy in the calling back, as it were, from the very gates of the grave our dear Frank, to do much work, as I venture sometimes to hope, in the Lord's vineyard.

Here we are having a larger share of severe cold than is at all common in Ireland, and it is difficult, indeed at present impossible, to get away to the south of France or elsewhere, as may be thought desirable. I met General Grant, of American fame, the other day at dinner. He is short, coarse, and commonplace to look at, save indeed that he has a strong square jaw, indicating, as this almost invariably does, strength and firmness of character, and enabling him, as this has done, to set his mark for ever on the history of America.

To FRANCES CHENEVIX TRENCH.

Broomfield,

March 1, 1879.

MY DEAREST CHILD,

We are here all eagerly waiting for South African news, gathering up every little fragment of it that we can, and full of indignation that there is no telegraphic communication with the seat of war. I am a strong Bartle Frere-ite, and reserved my judgment about Lord Chelmsford as long as ever I could, but his despatch leaves one no choice but to say that there were terrible mismanagements, negligence, and omissions of the simplest military precautions upon his part. There are many mourners round us; the Coghills and Hodsons are perhaps those of whom we hear most.

From REV. DR. WARBURTON.

St. John's, East Dulwich, London,

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,

April 26, 1879.

We are looking to the only pen that could do justice to the theme to immortalize the saving of the colours of the 47th by Melville and Coghill.

We are scantily supplied with details, it is true, but enough is known to enable the poet to whom we owe "The Alma," "After the Battle," and "The Return of the Guards," to hand down to those who shall come after, in verse worthy of the occasion, that gallant episode in the Isandula disaster.

That spirit that we have watched with admiration waging the nobler battles of the Faith on ungenial ground, has not, we are sure, lost any of its former sympathy with all heroic deeds, and we wait for words such as those that stirred our hearts like a trumpet two and twenty years ago.

I venture to hope that your Grace will not let this suggestion pass without a thought, and, at all events, that you will pardon the intrusion.

I remain, my dear Lord Archbishop, your faithful servant,
T. ACTON WARBURTON.

The Bishop of Massachusetts, sending the Archbishop his Triennial Charge and Pastoral Letter, writes on July 9:—

About Christmas-tide in the year 1856, or else in the early spring, 1857, a slender, delicate young clergyman, then from the Diocese of Connecticut, ventured to present himself to you at Westminster Abbey. You received him with singular kindness, and pressed him to dine with you at an early day. After dinner, you took from your shelves a copy of your five sermons, then recently published, and wrote his name in them with a kind word from yourself. You also gave him letters to two or three honoured names among the clergy, which he was not able to use.

It is many years since then. You have doubtless treated so many others with equal kindness, that you have forgotten the fact, and the name of that quite unknown visitor. But I have never forgotten your valued courtesy, and more, to me on that occasion. And this is my apology for troubling you with the pamphlets just sent.

In common with a vast number of other Churchmen in America, I have greatly sympathized with you in the great crisis through which the Irish Church has passed; and have thanked God that you have been enabled to guide so ably and wisely events which must ever fill an important place in Church history.

From REV. DR. LIDDON.

Christ Church, Oxford,

November 18, 1879.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have indeed to thank your Grace for sending me your recent Charge. It is more hopeful than I should have ventured to anticipate; as, since the introduction of the new Prayer-book, or even before it, all the appointments to the Irish Episcopate, and almost all the official language which has reached us from Ireland, have seemed to be less and less encouraging. However, your Grace is on the spot; and I would fain hope that a reaction against the irreverence and unbelief which dictated the suppression of the Creed and the mutilation of the Prayer-book may have set in, and may in time be strong enough to undo and to condemn that most unhappy piece of work.

In one respect the Irish Church, if she knew her strength, is better off than the English; she is beyond the reach of State Courts and of Parliamentary legislation. She has nothing to hope, but also nothing to fear, from a general election. Whenever our day of disestablishment and disendowment arrives, the Irish Church will see reason to congratulate itself that it was the first and not the second member of the Anglican family to submit to the process. What a "General Synod of the Church of England" would do, I do not venture to anticipate; but I am only certain that such changes in the Prayer-book as these which have been made in Ireland would lead to a disruption.

I sometimes have the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Butcher, who has become quite a part of our Oxford life. It is difficult for such as myself to share her enthusiasm for bringing young women to Oxford to be educated; it is possible that the "Higher Education of Women" movement here may be only a passing fashion. But it may also be a symptom of a change in the position of women, which seems to be going forward in modern society, a change which is hardly reconcilable with the Christian social ideal, and not in the long-run likely to strengthen the best influences of women themselves.

I am, my dear Lord, your very respectful and affectionate

H. P. LIDDON.

CHAPTER XI.

1880-1886.

“ And there the Loveliness, whose glance
From far did on me gleam,
But whose unveilèd countenance
Was only seen in dream,

“ Will, meeting all my soul’s desires,
Unveil itself to me,
When to the choir of starry lyres
Shall mine united be.”

R. C. T., *Paradise* (from RÜCKERT).

A SECOND edition of the Essay on “The Life and Genius of Calderon,” with translations, was published in 1880; the Archbishop revising once more the work of his earliest manhood. “We must reckon it, upon the whole,” a reviewer in the *Tablet** wrote, “the best vehicle that exists for conveying to the English reader, ignorant of Spanish, a not wholly inadequate idea of the grand Castilian poet, ‘the great and divine master,’ as Frederic Schlegel speaks, ‘by whom the enigma of life is not merely expressed, but solved.’ . . . A poet himself, and of no mean order, having much in common with the genius of the bard who is the subject of this study, Archbishop Trench possesses special qualifications as his English interpreter.”

To REV. WILLIAM MATURIN, D.D.†

Palace, Dublin,

April 16, 1880.

MY DEAR MATURIN,

Let me express to you—my wife has already expressed to Mrs. Maturin—the very sincere and deep concern with which we

* June 12, 1880.

† On the death of his young daughter, Ellen Maturin.

learned that the blow which had been impending so long at length had fallen ; though, indeed, where there is a readiness and fitness, with a true faith in a Saviour's cleansing blood, it is something amid all our sorrows for which to thank God, when He is pleased to deliver any of our beloved from the miseries of this sinful world.

For ourselves of this household, it would ill become us if we did not in a measure enter into your present grief ; for we cannot forget that twice within little more than the year just past, He Who gives and takes away, Who smites and Who heals, kills and makes alive, has walked up and down among us, as though about to withdraw one and another within the veil.* What He seemed about to do with us He has actually done with you ; but the comfort is great to know that the love which takes away is as tender and as true as the love which gives. Let me heartily wish and pray that God will grant to you and to yours all strength and comforts in the thought of Him Who has His own in the secret of His pavilion, and Who, if only we be faithful, will bring us to them and them to us in His good time. I am ever, my dear Maturin, in truest sympathy yours,

R. C. DUBLIN.

The following letter shows the Archbishop's attitude towards public matters unconnected with his special duties. The work of his Diocese was always placed before any other engagement, but he had joined the Mansion House Famine Relief Committee, not only with a feeling of the real need to which it set itself to minister, but with thankfulness that it was a work in which members of all creeds and parties could join, even in a city where differences are so sharply defined as in Dublin.

To the RIGHT HON. THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.

The Palace, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin,

MY DEAR LORD MAYOR,

December 7, 1880.

Nothing but business of very great importance, which falls to-day exactly at the same hour as the meeting at the Mansion House, and from which I cannot absent myself, has hindered me from taking my humble share at the winding up of your work to-day.

* Alluding to the all but mortal illnesses of his wife and youngest son in 1878 and 1879.

I have never gone back from my conviction, not merely of the reality, but of the severity, and in many places of the intensity, of the distress which the Mansion House Committee undertook, so far as the means placed in their hands would reach, to relieve. For myself it is no small satisfaction, though I did but touch as with a little finger a burden of which others bore the full weight, to call to mind the spirit in which the whole work which is now drawing to a close was carried through. It is gratifying to remember the thought and labour, which were so freely given by many, and certainly not least by yourself; the entire fairness, with no advantage sought to be snatched by any, which presided over our arrangements—a consciousness of this preventing the slightest outbreak of jealousy in any quarter—the drawing together in friendliest intercommunion of those whom in happier times many influences keep more or less apart. I will not ask you to read this long letter, but I will ask you to say that I should have been present at the meeting to-day, if other matters had not absolutely forbade me.

I am ever, my dear Lord Mayor, very faithfully yours,

R. C. DUBLIN.

"Timoleon," the Archbishop's last poem, was written in the spring of 1881, and the best judges seemed to feel that there were no tokens in it of failure in power and strength of poetical expression. The concluding lines were a fitting close to his poems:—

"And there shall wait on me

* * * * *

The golden tribute of a people's love.
 And when my work is ended, multitudes
 Apparelled all in white and crowned with flowers,
 As for a great day of high festival,
 Shall with large tears of sorrow and of joy
 Bear me, a victor, to my funeral pyre:
 So limns itself the future to my sight.

But lo! enough. The day is breaking fast,
 And we are called. Hyperion's eager steeds,
 The tempest-footed coursers of the dawn,
 Are straining up the slope of eastern heaven,
 And from their fiery nostrils blow the morn."

From the BISHOP OF TRURO.

Truro,

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,

July 22, 1881.

May I send one line of thanks for your kindness in sending me "Timoleon," and say what pleasure it made for me of the kind that makes one's heart beat stronger.

I have since read it to my children sitting at the head of a Cornish valley after a climb, and at present my boy at Eton has it. These are but rude ways of saying "Thank you," to one who has been my teacher in so very many and great ways now for thirty-three years. And my children delight in the same teaching.

From this time until the autumn of 1882 the Archbishop was better than he had been since his accident. He seemed to have a last short spring of renewed health and brightness.

From REV. DR. W. H. THOMPSON.

Trinity Lodge, Cambridge,

December 20, 1881.

Many thanks for your kindness in thinking me worthy of a copy of your latest Charge. I have read it with interest and pleasure, and am glad to infer from it that the prospects of the Irish Church are, on the whole, encouraging. Your remarks on the Revised Version very much agree with my own impressions. I rarely read a chapter in it without stumbling at some word or phrase which seems to me a needless change for the worse. The Old Testament, I hope, will be free from faults of that kind.

While I am on the subject, let me suggest a press correction which I dare say you will have anticipated—P. 20, l. 22, for 1 Tim. iii. 8, read 1 Tim. iii. 16. Another passage suggests a doubt as to the meaning of Wordsworth's "Miserrimus." I have never taken him for a pessimist, but rather for a half-despairing penitent.

"By Him to be forgiven, as I hope,
By Him to be condemned, as I fear,"

are surely the words of a believer, and lose much of their strange pathos if otherwise taken.

To —

*The Palace, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin,
New Year's Day, 1882.*

I must write to you a very few lines, if it be only to express how much I feel with you in the great and sudden loss which has overtaken you.* In a measure, indeed, it is the common loss of us all, but it so happens that it is more particularly yours. We all, however, shall often feel and know what it is *not* to have the counsel, the courage, and all high qualities of Mr. Skinner upon which to fall back in difficult times which are approaching, if indeed we are not already in their midst. For him, however, it is well—"no ominous hour knocks at his door with tidings of mishap."

What do you think of Mr. Arnold's poem on Stanley? Miss Arnold Foster has just been here; but I should have been obliged to find so many and serious faults with what is really a very fine poem, or rather one with very fine utterances, that I thought it best to hold my tongue.

To MARIA TRENCH.

*Palace, Dublin,
May 8, 1882.*

All things here seem to go on as usual, and Nature, with her unmeaning face, looks on as if nothing particular had happened or was happening. But of this enough, though indeed at present one can think or speak of little else.†

A word or two in reply to the most kind offer of a volume from Mrs. Skinner.‡ I should prize a volume from her, and, as I could also count it, from him, but do not lade me with a *folio*. My days of book-accumulating are past. I never think now how I can make them more, but often how I can make the best disposition of such as I have.

Your eye might light on some small devotional work—such a treatise, for instance, as Bellarmine's "De Felicitate Sanctorum," or John Gerhard's "Meditationes Sacræ." How delightful Oxford must be!

* The death, on December 29, 1881, of Rev. James Skinner.

† The murder of Mr. Burke, Under-Secretary for Ireland, and of Lord Frederick Cavendish.

‡ Widow of Rev. James Skinner.

To ARCHDEACON LEE.

30, Albemarle Street, London,

July 7, 1882.

Let me thank you very heartily for your most kind words on occasion of my daughter's marriage.* To myself and to her mother the loss will be irreparable. We can only be thankful that her destinies are linked with those of one of so rare a beauty of character. But I will not say more on a subject of such mingled joy and sorrow.

To REV. FRANCIS TRENCH.

Broomfield,

August 23, 1882.

I think you, or Mary, if not you, have received communications from this part of the world, since the event of last week has come to pass?

I trust that the event will be one which was laid out in the providence and counsel of God, and will thus have a large blessing upon it, but my loss and the dear mother's will, of course, be irreparable; but it would be to little profit to dwell upon this. Dear E—— was so full of good and gracious works here, and, I may be bold to say, so prospered in these, that it will not be easy for her to find in a new world the fit substitutes for these; but the future, as we can well believe, will be ordered for her by a wiser Hand than any hand of ours.

How much I wish you could see this place at this time! It is in very rare and excellent beauty; but Ireland, with its dreadful blood spots, is a land in which it is very difficult to take delight.

You should get, borrowing or otherwise, Tom Mozley's book on Oxford, Oriel above all, and your daughters could, I am sure, unearth some passages which would interest you very much.

To his Wife.

Palace,

August, 1882.

I was glad to see dear —— better than I had looked for. He seemed too to take real pleasure in the fifty-first Psalm, to which, or to the like of which, we all must come at last. May He Who has no better gift to give to any than a broken and a contrite heart, give this to us all.

* The marriage of his daughter Edith, on August 17, to Right Rev. Reginald Copleston, Bishop of Colombo.

The following letter was written just after the death, at 82, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, of the Archbishop's cousin and brother-in-law, the Hon. Charles Trench:—

To his Wife.

*Palace, St. Stephen's Green,
September 21, 1882.*

It is a pleasure to me to think of you as not lacking our dear Blanche's* care and loving attention.

I was yesterday at No. 82, and lighted on the family Bible, and saw the dear entry of your name on that very day, the 20th of September. We must take care to make that volume our own, whenever the books are scattered abroad, as I suppose they will be. There too was your earlier Arthur † and our beloved Emily. Please read in my poems the lines at page 403. They are among my best, but I never heard a word in their praise, and if nobody else does so, my wife ought. ‡

* His eldest son's wife.

† Mrs. Trench's youngest brother; died unmarried in 1840.

‡ The lines mentioned in the above letter must find place here, since it is well to know what a poet esteemed as his best. They are in the poem which comes last in all the later editions.

“ Life bears us on,
And yet not so, but that there may survive
Something to us; sweet odours reach us yet,
Brought sweetly from the fields long left behind
Of holy joy, or sorrow holier still:
As I remember when, long years ago,
With the companions of my youth, I rode
'Mid Sicily's holm oaks and pastoral dells
All in the flowery spring, through fields of thyme,
Fields of all flowers,—no lovelier Enna knew,—
There came to us long after, blown from these,
Rich odours that pursued us many a mile,
Embalming all the air:—so rode we on,
Though we had changed our verdant meadow-paths
For steep rough tracks up dusty river-beds,
Yet haunted by that odorous fragrance still.

Then let us be content in spirit, though
We cannot walk, as we are fain to do,
Within the solemn shadow of our griefs
For ever; but must needs come down again

I trust our wanderers are doing well.*

“A prince in our Israel has indeed passed away,” he wrote, September 19, on hearing of Dr. Pusey’s death. “Who will take the place which he has left vacant?”

During the early months of this year the Archbishop had spent much time in preparing for and passing through the press a “Synopsis of Moral and Ascetical Theology,” left nearly prepared for press by its author, the late Rev. James Skinner. It was a work in which the Archbishop took a deep interest, expressing warmly his high estimation of the learning, industry, and religious feeling, of which it was a monument.

“The edition of the book will sell,” he wrote on its publication; “but slowly, or, at any rate, not so fast as she who has bestowed upon it so many pious offices of love not unnaturally hopes.”

To MARIA TRENCH.

Palace,

October 4, 1882.

I shall be greatly honoured if I can be of the smallest service in the matter about which you write. My knowledge of the subject is so slight and inadequate that I hardly feel justified in offering help so poor as mine must be; but, as I have said already, I should most thankfully see myself made of the smallest use.

I wonder who will write the Life.† In any case, I much regret

From the bright skirts of those protecting clouds,
To tread the common paths of earth anew.
Then let us be content to leave behind us
So much; which yet we leave not quite behind;
For the bright memories of the holy dead,
The blessèd ones departed, shine on us
Like the pure splendours of some clear large star,
Which pilgrims, travelling onward, at their backs
Leave, and at every moment see not now;
Yet, whensoever they list, may pause and turn,
And with its glories gild their faces still.”

* The Bishop of Colombo and his wife, the Archbishop’s daughter.

† Of Dr. Pusey.

that there will be another presentment to the Church of the painful controversy between Dr. Pusey and my Bishop ; but that this some day or other should come was unavoidable from the first.

I am here on various pieces of business, private and episcopal ; but return to Broomfield, and to all the precious ones which it contains, to-morrow. We shall remain there for about a fortnight before we return to Dublin for good.

To REV. FRANCIS TRENCH.

Dublin,

November 1, 1882.

For ourselves, we have now been for about a fortnight in Dublin.

We have shrunk indeed to a very small party—small, that is, for us who were once so many ; but let me remember with thankfulness to God that our *shrinkage* here, that is, at Dublin, has not been through deaths, but only that one after another has taken flight from the nest, and in the fulfilment of His ordinance have found a new home for themselves.

At the same time I cannot help feeling that while the hold on this mortal life is frail and slight for every one of us, it looks frailest and slightest on the part of my dear wife.

To the Same.

The Palace,

April 13, 1883.

Whether we shall attempt any longer flight than Broomfield this coming summer is as yet undetermined. My dear wife is hardly equal to the London journey, now that by E——'s marriage there does not remain one stronger one among us upon whom it would be possible in time of need to fall back. So that I am disposed to think we must not attempt so bold a flight as London would be ; above all, when in myself also there is so little help.

All interests here in Dublin are absorbed in the murder trials.* The first of them will probably be brought to a conclusion to-day, and can scarcely have any other issue than that which we look for, namely, the condemnation of the man who with his single hand wrought the double deed of blood.

There is a grand Life of Lord Lawrence, very worthily told, which would be well worth the reading, should you feel yourself equal to so

* Of the murderers of Mr. Burke and Lord Frederick Cavendish.

serious a piece of study. The correspondence between Carlyle and his wife is not so pleasant, certainly not so ennobling a book, but is also very curious reading. How little will the lives of those who stand wilfully outside the Gospel bear any close inspection !

Early in May, the Archbishop had a severe attack of bronchitis and low fever, and was for some days alarmingly ill. He had felt Archdeacon Lee's death deeply, and had preached a sermon at St. Peter's, the Archdeacon's church, on the Sunday following his death, Whit-Sunday, May 13 ; but the exertion was too much for him, and before the week was over he was himself in danger. He recovered, but was never again as he had been before this attack. While confined to bed, he asked one who was in attendance to read to him some of the Psalms in the Vulgate, a version in which he had always much delighted, and asked especially for the Psalm *Eructavit cor meum*. He went from the Palace, where he had been taken ill, to his country home, and did not this year leave Ireland.

To MRS. REGINALD COPLESTON.

Broomfield,

June 28, 1883.

It has been no little disappointment to us that we have been obliged to postpone, in all likelihood altogether to forego, our visit to London this year. It helped us to maintain relations with a world beyond ourselves, which many causes—increasing years, distance, conditions of health—are now doing much to relax.

Please give to your Bishop my best love. I do not write to him on Church matters. He is better informed about them in Ceylon than we are here. He has borne, I trust, without seriously suffering by it, a heat this year which is reported to us as excessive. I pray God to have him and you and the little one in His holy keeping, and to give you again to see them whom you love, and who are longing not less to see you.

On Michaelmas Day the Archbishop consecrated the new parish church of Clane, in the county Kildare, built by his kinsman, Thomas Cooke Trench.

To his Wife.

Millecent,

September 29, 1883.

To-day opened very unpromisingly with wet and rain, and it seemed as if the festal character of the day would grow worse and worse. Things, however, mended after a while, and we have now a bright and sunny evening. I am very glad that so it was, and that there was no disappointment to mar the day which had been looked forward to so long. I am this afternoon *very* tired, having taken share in the early Communion at 8 a.m., and preached at the 11.30 Consecration. The church has many rare and excellent beauties, and is not admired more than it deserves.

To REV. FRANCIS TRENCH.

Dublin,

October 21, 1883.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

It is indeed a sorrow of sorrows to think of all which you and yours have been passing through during the last few days,* and the dread uncertainty which yet covers the future, and which still waits upon the future.

Need I say how earnestly I pray that one so greatly loved, so infinitely precious, who lights up the world through which she moves, may be spared a little longer to husband, to brothers, to children, to all who would feel her loss as so irreparable?

We wait, not without some expectation that to-morrow morning may bring its tidings of hope. May it please Him, Who wounds and Who heals, Who brings very low and then brings up again, to be present with you in this coming night, and that joy may come in the morning.

May this be His pleasure Who is Healer alike of body and of soul.

Your very loving brother,

R. C. DUBLIN.

From THOMAS ARNOLD.

10, Charlemont Mall, Dublin,

January 14, 1884.

It was most kind of you to send me "Timoleon," the weighty and balanced lines of which I read with great pleasure. Many years ago, when Metcalfe was sent for to Canada, and Brooke was carving

* The dangerous illness of Mrs. Francis Trench.

out a principality in Borneo, I used to think that England bred "Timoleons;" but the events of recent years have made me less sanguine. I never met the gallant and unfortunate officer, Sir G. Colley, the subject of your memorial lines.

I hear that Grove has turned over the work of preparing Stanley's "Life and Letters" to Theodore Walrond; from whom, perhaps, you have already received some communication on the subject.

To REV. C. W. BENSON.

The Palace,

February 5, 1884.

MY DEAR BENSON,

I am indeed sorry to learn that the great sorrow of which you write has come to you and yours—even as, sooner or later, it is sure, in one shape or another, to come to us all. May He who gave and also took away give to you and Mrs. Benson grace and strength for every dealing of His love.

I wish I could help you to unravel the meaning of the concluding lines of that very beautiful poem of the American Palmer to which you refer. I have often asked myself what this might be, but have sought for an answer in vain. The verses which one does understand are of such surpassing beauty that one grudges much to acknowledge that there are any which one does not understand, but so as regards myself it is. Let me offer to Mrs. Benson some poems of my own having to do with a home sorrow like to yours, and pray believe me, with truest sympathy, yours,

R. C. DUBLIN.

To MRS. REGINALD COPLESTON.

Palace, Dublin,

April 9, 1884.

You and your Bishop, to whom please deliver my most affectionate remembrances, have no doubt been abundantly informed of the progress which our mission here, which is now drawing to a close, has made.

It has offered many points of interest, and drawn Church-people together in very wonderful ways. No one has been more helpful in this matter than F——, who often takes me quite by surprise for the skill which in this matter he displays; never pushing to the front, while yet, as by nature, he finds himself there. I cannot but think

that either in England or in Ireland there is no inconsiderable work in reserve for him. The end, however, proves all.

Your dear mother is looking forward with pleasurable expectation to a visit to London, and to the few friends which still there survive. Whether this will embody itself in an actual fact still remains to be seen. In many respects, and for many causes, I should be glad and thankful if it did, but I have considerable doubts whether we shall venture on a journey to England or not.

Your dearest mother is just now beginning Fred Maurice's *Life of his father*, a very wonderful work for a cavalry officer. It fills me with amazement.

I think your Bishop will be touched with the same wonder too ; though the book may not possess the same amount of interest for you and him as it does for your mother and for me. I do not know any other books which recently have stirred me much. You, too, with husband and child, and other claimants on your time, have, in all likelihood, not found a great deal of time to spare.

I want to get out a new edition of my own poems, so that I may publish a newer and complete edition.

If I were to send a dozen copies of them, could you find that number of persons, little by little, who would care to accept them, and to whom you would be glad to give them?

But I must bring my letter to a close.

Ever your very loving father,

R. C. DUBLIN.

The Archbishop's last Confirmations were held this spring, from March 21 to May 26. "In consequence of the proposed Mission," he wrote, "I have fixed a later date for the Confirmations in the city parishes, as it may be hoped that one of the fruits of the Mission will be the gathering in, and the presentation for this ordinance, of many who have not yet been confirmed, though they have long since come to years of discretion." His last Confirmation was at St. Bartholomew's Church, on May 16. He was in London for the month of June.

To the BISHOP OF COLOMBO.

77, *Eaton Terrace,*

June 12, 1884.

Few books of any great mark and significance are publishing in the present year. To me a "Life of Bacon," by Dean Church, appears the most notable which the year has yielded, and is, indeed, worthy of honour and admiration on many grounds.

I am ever, my dear brother in Christ, most faithfully and affectionately yours,

R. C. DUBLIN.

The following letter, to his youngest son, is written on his leaving Ireland, where he had been acting as his father's chaplain, to accept the charge of a Liverpool parish. He had been rejected the previous year, on Archdeacon Lee's death, by the nominators to the cure of a church where he had laboured under the Archdeacon.

To the REV. H. F. CHENEVIN TRENCH.

Broomfield,

July 8, 1884.

I do not think that there was any career for you in the Church of Ireland; and that what you have done was the best thing to do, and that whereby you could turn your life to the greatest amount of spiritual profit. I will not, therefore, utter a word of untimely lamentation, though I deeply feel how immense is the loss to us all.

To REV. FRANCIS TRENCH.

Palace, Dublin.

1884.

It is a while since I have written; I do not know that even now I have very much to say.

We have had some very pleasant visits from children and grandchildren, such as I trust have stirred up many thankful thoughts in our hearts.

Of many sweet, I think that, perhaps, one or two of dear H——'s are the sweetest of all.

Grown-up children, when they have grown up in the fear and nurture of the Lord, and give promise of serving their generation, are, indeed, a treasure; but, for pure delight, there are perhaps none

to match those little ones, whom one can hardly help wishing that they could always remain what they now are.

Matters here, political and social, are somewhat better than they have been; though it is difficult to say whether the improvement reaches more than to the outside of things. Certainly, for the present, things are a good deal better than they have been. How curious it is that Egypt should be again the centre of the world's interests, the middle point round which all is evolving; and yet so, in the providence of God, it would seem to be. It is well to keep ever in remembrance that He guides the ship Who alone knows how to guide it.

It was during this summer that the Archbishop's health gave serious anxiety to his friends. He left Broomfield to consecrate a church at Celbridge, in the county Kildare, staying at the house of kinsfolk, whose gentle care was pleasant to him. "We left all good things behind when we left Donacomper," he said sadly on returning to Dublin, where his family had not yet moved from Broomfield, and where he remained for a few days for the September ordination. It was his last; and he did not get through it and the preceding examinations without serious strain and suffering.

The question of his resignation of the See began to occupy the Archbishop's mind seriously, and he determined to have a consultation of his physicians on his return, for the winter, to the Palace.

Still, he was preparing for his Visitation, and occupied in writing his Charge, when, on October 11, the result of the consultation was made known to him. It was the decided opinion of Drs. Gordon and Head that it was absolutely necessary that he should abstain from all episcopal duties and official work, "at least for the remainder of the year." He laid aside his Charge, never again to touch it; but the cessation from work brought a momentary rally, and he still doubted as to resigning his post. All through October the great spirit struggled on, amid the anxieties and fears of all who loved him; but early in November severe illness

came on, and the end seemed close at hand. On November 12 an announcement of his dangerous sickness appeared in the papers, asking, on the part of his family, for the prayers of the Church for him. He recovered partially ; but he knew now that he must resign his office as Archbishop of Dublin.

*The Palace, Dublin,
November 15, 1884.*

To the Members, Clerical and Lay, of the Synod of Dublin,
Glendalough, and Kildare.

MY DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD,

I have already communicated to the Synod of Dublin, Glendalough, and Kildare that infirmity of health compelled me to withdraw for a period from the transaction of business, except to a very limited extent. Since that communication my health has not improved, and I see no prospect of being able to discharge the duties of my office. I have therefore determined on resigning, so as to enable the diocese to proceed under the provisions of our Statutes to the election of a successor. There is no provision in those Statutes defining in what manner the resignation of an Archbishop shall be made, or to whom it is to be communicated ; but as the Diocesan Synod constitutes the authority which is to select a successor, I make this communication to you, as also to the Church Representative Body and to the Archbishops and Bishops of other dioceses of the Church of Ireland. As it may facilitate the arrangements connected with the appointment of a successor, I think it right to add that it is not my purpose to make any application to the Church Representative Body for the continuance to me, after my resignation is completed, of the income I received from them. And now, my dear brethren and friends, being in much feebleness of body, I cannot write to you such words of affectionate farewell as I should else have wished to do. I can but thank you for all the friendly counsel and loyal help which I have received from you, and ask for your prayers. And God forbid that I should on my part cease to pray for you, and to ask that on you all and on each in these united dioceses, on the whole Church of Ireland, the blessing of the great Head of the Church may now and hereafter abundantly rest ; and I commend you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, to God, to the Word of His grace, which is able to build you up, and so give

you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified in Christ Jesus our Lord.

I am, dear brethren, your faithful friend and chief Pastor,
RICHARD C. DUBLIN.

On November 28, 1884, Archbishop Trench formally resigned his office. If he had held the See till January 1, 1885, he would have ruled it for exactly twenty-one years. Only three or four were present, who were deeply moved as he affixed his name to the formal document of resignation, saying, with his usual gentle simplicity, "I am very sorry to do it."

From the RIGHT HON. EARL SPENCER.

Vice-Regal Lodge, Dublin,

MY DEAR LORD,

December 10, 1884.

I hope your Grace will forgive me for writing a few lines to you on learning of your retirement from the high position which you have held so long in Dublin and Ireland.

It would be presumptuous in me to express my admiration of many of the high qualities which you have shown, but I should like specially to express to you what I have always felt very strongly.

When we came to Ireland in the beginning of 1869, the proposals to disestablish the Irish Church had excited an immense deal of animosity among Churchmen, and party feeling ran very high in Irish society. I shall never forget your Grace's attitude towards Lady Spencer and myself at that time.

While never concealing your own views on the subject of the proposed measure, you never made the slightest difference in your relations with us.

Your example was very striking, and if I have never expressed to your Grace before my appreciation of your conduct at that trying time, I have never forgotten it, and am anxious to mention it now.

It is one of the unfortunate, but probably necessary, consequences of the strong party feeling which exists in Ireland, that political opposition is often allowed to interfere in private life.

If your example were more generally followed, party warfare would be less bitter, and the motives of political action would sometimes be considered to emanate from higher sources than mere political partisanship.

Lady Spencer is away, but I know she will join me in my regret that you have been obliged to withdraw from your more active work.

We shall both wish you much happiness in your comparatively retired life.

Excuse me for writing; I wish I could better express the feelings which I entertain towards your Grace.

Very truly yours,
SPENCER.

During the first months of 1885 the Archbishop slowly revived and crept on toward some measure of recovery. To the writer, in the *Monthly Packet* of March, of a notice of his "Brief Thoughts and Meditations," he dictates a few lines on March 5: "Let me thank you for all the loving-kindness in which your words are steeped, and, if I say no more, think of the utter weakness which besets me, but which, in one way or another, will not always endure." A month later, he writes to her himself.

DEAREST —

Palace,
Easter Eve, 1885.

Please take my best thanks for innumerable gifts, small and great, though, indeed, none are small where love goes with them, which magnifies them all. But no more said on this:—pray acknowledge that these [lines] have a certain grace, and are worthy the small pains of transcription; the actual writer here being Joseph Beaumont, writer of "Psyche," if I do not err.

With best love to all of yours,

R. C. T.

"Go, roseate buds of martyrdom;
In Paradise go take your room,
Where you may flourish and not fear
That Herod's sword may cross you there.

"Your little Lord that 'scapes to-day,
All yours in richer blood will pay,
First let Him grow, and fill His veins,
Whose blood must wash the whole world's stains."

There are only two letters, after this date, amongst those entrusted to the editor. To a lady in trouble he writes:—

I am indeed concerned to hear that you have so many sorrows and trials, and so few to help you to bear them; but, indeed, I wrong a Heavenly Father, Who never sends a grief but that He sends at the same time the grace which shall stand at our side even at the worst of this. Fix, dear Miss ——, this in your heart, that you have to do with One Who has called Himself above everything else the Comforter, and Who never takes away but that He may send to us or bring us something better in the room of that which we have lost. I wish I could write more at full; but, indeed, I am still labouring painfully under the weakness which I only very slowly exchange for things better. Let me, however, commend you to God and to the word of His grace.

The last letter is to the late Rev. Dr. Maturin, on the death of his wife.

To REV. WILLIAM MATURIN, D.D.*

Palace, Dublin,

April 10, 1885.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

We had long nourished hopes which yet were not to find their fulfilment, except, indeed, as we can always find in one shape or another, even if not in all shapes, the evidence that our God is Love; that He does not willingly afflict; that, with good things for us here, He has yet better for His children in store. For you and for me, these good things, if only we be found not altogether unworthy of them—these things may be not very far off. It is but a very little interval which divides us and them. Let us comfort ourselves with these words. It is indeed very little which I can say at a time like the present, only I will say how dearly beloved by many under this roof your dear wife has been for many a past year. She will be wept by no truer tears than theirs. May her memory, or, to speak better things, her presence, invisible albeit most real, be a spiritual power binding together in one all the scattered members of your household.

Let me commit you and yours, above all on a day like this, to His loving keeping, Who is able to keep us when all other keepers fail, and to give us in the end an inheritance among them that are sanctified.

Ever, my dear friend, yours in affectionate regard,

R. C. TRENCH.

* While these Letters were in preparation, he also has gained his rest. He died on June 30, 1887.

The summer of 1885 was spent at Broomfield, the home which had been his mother's in her youth. On October 2 he left it, never to return, and arrived on Saturday, the 3rd, in London, where he had taken 23, Eaton Square, for the winter and spring. He walked out and drove most days; one visit to St. Paul's Cathedral and to Dean Church was especially enjoyed by him. Yet, as the months went on, he lost ground, though gradually and slowly. There were weary days and nights, with fluctuations of hope and fear for those who loved him, and who could but follow him with prayers as he went down into the dark valley, leaning upon the only staff which could comfort him. "I have cared for a good Greek play as much as for most things," he said during those last days, "but it does not do to die upon."

It was on March 28, the third Sunday in Lent, soon after eight in the morning, just at the hour when his name was breathed in supplication at many an altar, both in the land of his birth and in England, that the longed-for rest was granted.

The Dean of Westminster expressed his desire, and that of the Chapter, that Archbishop Trench should be laid in the Abbey which had once been his, and his wife and children felt that it was his fittest resting-place. No pall, save of flowers, covered the coffin as it was carried on an open funeral car to the great Abbey. Through Dean's Yard, and thence through the archway leading alike to his old home and to the cloister entrance to the nave, where it was met by the clergy and choristers, the sacred burden was borne into the choir, followed by the long train of chief mourners—children and grandchildren, sister and nephew, with two or three in life near to him in love. "What are these that are arrayed in white robes? Whence came they?" was sung as it rested under the lantern. The grave, round which a large space had been

railed off, is in the centre of the nave. After the first part of the service, the last sad procession was re-formed and moved again back into the nave. The robes of the choir on the south side, and the wreaths and flower-crosses, carried by the chief mourners, on the east and north sides, made a white garland round the enclosed space; the Archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin, with the other Bishops and clergy, standing at the west end.

The Queen was represented at the burial by Col. the Hon. H. W. J. Byng.

“Now the labourer’s task is o’er” was sung after the coffin had been lowered into the grave. There was a pause after the Benediction, and then, as the mighty wail of the Dead March filled the cathedral aisles, the mourners laid the flowers which they carried around the tomb, and left their father to rest under the shadow of his own loved Abbey, waiting till the mortal put on immortality, till the precious seed sown in weakness be raised in power, till death be swallowed up in life, and the ineffable vision of joy, and brightness, and perfectness, after which his soul panted on earth, be his full and everlasting portion in his Father’s house, the eternal home of the redeemed.

“I did not know,” the friend wrote, to whom the last letter in this volume is addressed, “how much I loved the Archbishop till we were about to lose him, and up to the last I looked forward to seeing him again. To him it is unalloyed victory, and if St. Paul’s words can apply to any they do to him—‘I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the Faith.’ If I was to attempt to name his characteristic grace, I would say it was that which is highest in the kingdom of heaven—humility. I think he was the humblest man I have ever known. He suffered a prolonged martyrdom during the struggles after disestablishment, and never was he betrayed into saying a word or doing an act

which the most scrupulous would recall. The records of those debates are records of a meekness, a patience, and a forbearance which have not often been equalled, and could not be surpassed. Those who mourn him have one comfort which time cannot deprive them of—they can remember him in their prayers, and enjoy communion with him and all the faithful departed in the Holy Sacrament.”

For the epitaph on the slab of Irish marble, bearing a crozier, which covers Archbishop Trench's grave, his family are indebted to the Very Rev. R. W. Church, Dean of St. Paul's. “There is a public aspect of his character and career,” the Dean wrote when sending this inscription, “which I have attempted to express in what I have written. It is the peculiar combination in him of the poet, the theologian, and the champion of primitive and Catholic doctrine in his trying career as Archbishop. There was in him an imaginative love of truth, as not merely true, but beautiful; what others deal with only as divines, he also saw as a poet, and this is so characteristic that it seemed worth while to put it into words.”

IN MEMORIAM

RICARDI CHENEVIX TRENCH,

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PER ANNOS XXI. ARCHIEP. DUBLINIENSIS.

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