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THE  
CHURCHMAN

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OCTOBER, 1887.

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ART. I.—LAY REPRESENTATION IN NONCONFORMITY.

WHAT place ought laymen to have in the councils and legislation of the Church? How may the Church of England grant to her laity such voice and position in the general management of her affairs as they may rightly look for? Such questions as these cry aloud for an answer at the present time: they excite the deepest interest in the minds of large numbers of Churchmen; they command, and must increasingly command, the earnest attention of the thinkers and statesmen in the Church's ranks.

That laymen did take some part in the government and legislation of the Early Church appears certain. St. Cyprian, for example, states again and again how in all matters of consequence his rule was to consult the laity as well as the clergy. In the order of a Council, drawn up at Toledo, A.D. 633, "chosen laymen" are specified amongst those who are to be included in the assembly for the purpose of taking part in consultation. We know that laymen took part at Tarragona, A.D. 516; at the second Council of Orange, A.D. 529; at Toledo, A.D. 653; and at Lyons, A.D. 830. In England, after A.D. 787, the laity had a place in purely ecclesiastical councils; for lay signatures are found affixed in the records of many of them. But without entering into further details of evidence, it may suffice just now to present the summing-up of the case by three great authorities. The late Rev. A. W. Haddan says: "The language in which the subject in general is mentioned, coupled with Apostolic precedent, establishes two things: one, that deacons and laity had a right from the beginning to a certain *status* in councils; the other, that they occupied a distinctly lower *status* than the bishops and presbyters did. The fair influence from the evidence, as regards the general question, seems to be that, as in the election of

bishops, and in synods held for that purpose, so in provincial synods likewise, the consent of *all* orders in the Church—bishops, priests, deacons, and laity—was at the first held needful, although the bishops as a rule discussed and voted.”<sup>1</sup> In the Convocation of Canterbury of July, 1885, the Bishop of Winchester went further, and expressed the opinion that it was “a primitive and catholic usage to consult laymen upon subjects which involved the definition and interpretation of faith. He was quite certain that the primitive custom was to consult laymen, but not to give them a definitive power. There was more authority from the primitive Church for saying that the laymen were consulted than that the presbyters were consulted; and there was abundant evidence that laymen were consulted, although they were not allowed a definitive voice.”<sup>2</sup> Finally, we have the conclusion of the late Bishop Moberly of Salisbury, to whom the Church is so deeply indebted for his teaching on the position of laymen. “Endeavouring,” he says, “to trace synthetically the working of the Church from the Acts of the Apostles onwards, in respect of its conciliar action and its theory of the possession of Divine truth, I find myself entirely at a loss to discover the beginning of the doctrine that the truth was in such sort delivered to the bishops, as that they alone (or even along with the presbyters) have the absolute and final right to consult or judge respecting it.”<sup>3</sup> On the whole we are warranted in saying that, according to early precedent, the presence, voice, and consent of the laity should be had in ecclesiastical legislation, if all the functions of the Christian body are to be in normal and healthy action.

To this teaching of early ecclesiastical history, Churchmen will naturally and rightly turn for the principles and precedents which shall serve as guides through the perplexing difficulties and problems of to-day, rather than to any experience gathered by Christian communities outside our pale. But when Churchmen have to pass from the critical investigation of principles to the practical application and working out of these principles, such modern experience may be of considerable value. We therefore propose to describe the methods and results of lay representation among Nonconformists, and to compare, as far as is practicable, their experience in the representation of the laity with the recent experience of Churches in communion with our own; such as the sister

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<sup>1</sup> “Dictionary of Christian Antiquities,” i. 482.

<sup>2</sup> *Guardian*, July 15, 1885, p. 1055.

<sup>3</sup> “The Administration of the Holy Spirit in the Body of Christ,” edn. i., p. 123.

Church of Ireland and the daughter Churches of America and Australia.

Two denominations are at once seen to be incapable from their constitution of yielding any instruction on this point. The Baptists and Congregationalists are not organized corporate bodies, but a collection of independent, unconnected communities, each attending to its own private and particular interests. If we imagine a land in which each town or village governs itself in absolute independence of its neighbours—and all the towns and villages are so many distinct, isolated, political atoms, with no cohesion, no common organic life, no superior assembly vested with authority, no laws binding all citizens alike—we have the civil analogue of the Congregational polity. Every congregation is like a village council, with its own officers and peculiar regulations. The congregations, taken in the aggregate, do not constitute an ecclesiastical state: they are not even a republic; for there is no true federation, no representative governing body with power to regulate the whole, no supreme ruling authority elected or appointed by the people. From such a collection of political or ecclesiastical atoms a legislator can learn nothing. Government can be said to exist only in its most elementary form of village communities.

The only influential denominations that have a corporate organization and life are the Presbyterians and the Methodists. Between these a most interesting similarity obtains in the regular gradation and subordination of their representative assemblies or ecclesiastical courts, in which ministers and laymen meet for united counsel. For in studying Methodism it should ever be borne in mind that as an ecclesiastical system it is essentially Presbyterian, both in its outward form and animating principle. The entire constitution and gradation of its administrative and legislative bodies offer the most striking parallel to what we find in Presbyterianism, though the Methodist assemblies differ from the Presbyterian in some important features, and that, in our judgment, considerably for the better. We will endeavour to trace out this parallel, and in so doing describe briefly the part which the laity take in each community.

Both systems begin with the court most intimately connected with the congregation. In Presbyterianism every congregation has its Kirk-session, which consists of the minister and all the lay elders elected and acting in the congregation, the number of the latter varying according to the size and requirements of the congregation. The minister is *ex-officio* the moderator, but in all other respects the lay elders have equal powers with him. The Kirk-session determines

who shall be admitted as members, and who removed from "the church roll," pronounces whether any member is worthy of censure, and what the form of censure shall be—in short, is charged with the general spiritual oversight of the congregation. The court in Methodism which answers to the Kirk-session is called the Leaders' Meeting, and it consists of the minister, the leaders of the society-classes, along with the stewards or treasurers of the society and poor funds. The lay members of this meeting, however, are not elected by the members of the society, but by the meeting itself on the sole nomination of the minister, apart from whom no name can be brought forward for approval or disapproval. To this meeting there is a right of appeal against any decision of a minister in regard to the admission or expulsion of persons as members of the Methodist Society: the trial of accused members must likewise take place before it, the lay members acting as a kind of jury, whilst the sentence rests with the minister alone. It is also a congregational or parochial council to confer with the minister and advise him in matters affecting the general welfare of the congregation.

Next to the Kirk-session, and superior to it, stands the Presbytery. This is composed of all the ministers who have regular charges within a fixed area, together with a representative lay elder for each Kirk-session, so that ministers and elders are equal in number. This body may grant licenses to preach, and through its ministerial members bestow ordination; the trial of accused ministers takes place in the first instance before it, and it may suspend from ministerial rights and privileges, if this be considered necessary; it is charged with the oversight of vacant congregations within its area; it may also review the rights and privileges of the Kirk-sessions in its jurisdiction. Correspondent to the Presbytery, we find in Methodism the Circuit Quarterly Meeting. This is an aggregate meeting of all the various leaders' meetings comprised within a certain area called a "circuit," with the addition of all lay preachers of three years' standing, and all trustees of chapels in the circuit, who are likewise resident members of the Methodist Society. Two laymen, called Circuit Stewards, are appointed, again on the sole nomination of the presiding minister, to receive and disburse the moneys raised for ministerial sustentation, and to represent the circuit in the next superior court, called the District Meeting. The functions of the Quarterly Meeting are almost entirely financial, the only exceptions being that a report of the number of members in the circuit and an annual return of the scholars in the day and Sunday-schools are given, whilst at the March meeting invitations are given to ministers either to continue in the

circuit or to succeed those whose term of three years may have expired. Candidates for the ministry must be approved by a vote of this meeting before they can proceed to the further examinations; but here its jurisdiction in regard to the ministry ends.

From the Presbytery and the Quarterly Meeting we pass in the gradation of ecclesiastical courts to the Synod amongst the Presbyterians and the District Meeting amongst the Wesleyans. The Synods of Scotland may be described as enlarged Presbyteries, since the membership is simply made up of all the members of those Presbyteries which lie within a prescribed area or province, with the addition of a minister and lay elder as representatives of one or more neighbouring Synods. The work of a Synod is very limited in range. It is mainly a court of review, occupied with the examination of the books of the Presbyteries and the consideration of complaints and appeals. In the Methodist District Meeting one of the most striking and suggestive peculiarities of the Wesleyan system of lay representation makes its first appearance. The lay members of the meeting—that is, the Circuit Stewards, together with the treasurers of various funds—are not admitted to all the sessions, but only to those in which financial affairs and matters related thereto are considered. From all questions affecting faith and doctrine and the investigation of ministerial character they are rigorously excluded. The business in which laymen may take part relates to grants in aid of ministerial sustentation, applications for additional ministers, divisions of circuits, the numbers and condition of the schools, proposals to build or alter chapels, etc., etc. The lay representatives of the Wesleyan Conference are elected in this meeting by the separate votes of the laymen taken by ballot after nomination, the right of which belongs to the lay members only.

The parallel between Methodism and Presbyterianism is completed by the General Assembly of the one, and the Conference of the other. These bodies possess the supreme legislative and judicial power in their respective denominations; and owing to their great influence and authority, membership in them is eagerly sought. Laymen were not admitted to the Wesleyan Conference until 1878. A long struggle for lay representation preceded their admission, but finally it was victorious; and according to the arrangements which received final sanction in 1877, the Representative Conference is composed of 240 ministers and 240 laymen elected by the separate votes of ministers and laymen in the District Meetings, according to a scale of proportionate representation drawn up year by year. The same principle

of equality rules in the Scotch Free Church Assembly, which consists of one-third of the membership of the Presbyteries, elected by the Presbyteries alone. In 1882 there were 372 ministers and 372 elders so appointed. In the Assembly of the Established Church the principle of equality is supplanted by an elaborate system of proportionate representation according to the numbers in each Presbytery. An abstract of a recent Roll of Assembly showed there were 200 ministers and 89 elders representing Presbyteries, 67 elders elected by Town Councils as representatives of Royal Burghs, and 5 ministers or elders representing Universities.<sup>1</sup> The powers of the Assembly are only limited by the constitution of the Church, its judicial decisions are irreversible, even by a succeeding Assembly, but one Assembly is not bound by the precedents of others.

Here the similarity between the Methodist and Presbyterian bodies ends, and a striking difference comes into view. The great and all-important distinction between the Conference and the Assembly is that which obtains between the Synod and the District Meeting. In the Conference all doctrinal and pastoral matters are strictly reserved for consideration by ministers alone. Laymen are not admitted during the first and second weeks of the annual session of the Conference, but may take part only during the last week of the three, when legislation is confined, in theory at least, to questions affecting the finance of the Connexion. Thus it comes about that their consent is not in any way necessary to doctrinal change. Their voice need not be heard at any stage, nor is any provision made for consulting them. When grave changes were recently made in the baptismal office, whereby the doctrine embodied in it was lamentably altered, the laity were entirely ignored, and were absolutely powerless. Multitudes of them, not even excepting many members of the Representative Conference, knew nothing about these serious changes until the new office actually came into use, and resignations of ministers were in consequence taking place. Is not this utter exclusion of the laity a violation of their just rights? As we saw above, though the laity, according to primitive usage, have no "definitive power" in regard to the determination of doctrine, yet they have a well-founded claim to be consulted in some form or other, so that their "consent" may be obtained. This Wesleyan Methodism does not offer to

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<sup>1</sup> This peculiar and not very happy arrangement appears to have originated in an abortive effort on the part of the Established Kirk to make itself national. Only an abnormal ecclesiastical genius could have hit upon a town council as an elective body for a supreme church court!

its laity, and so far it appears to be wrong. On the other hand, Presbyterianism errs by going to the opposite extreme, and admitting its lay elders to decide, on terms of perfect equality with its ministers, all questions of doctrine, even the most difficult and delicate, such as tax the utmost resources and skill of trained theologians. The vote of an ignorant and deeply prejudiced Highland elder counts for as much as that of a thorough scholar and calm philosophic thinker, like the late Principal Tulloch or Principal Rainy. Fifty such elders or fewer may turn the decisions of the whole community on grave questions of doctrine or Church rule. This admission of laymen, whose theological equipment may be of the slenderest character, to a share in the definition and interpretation of doctrine, without even the common safeguard of voting by orders, is a grave defect in the system. It accords neither with Scripture, nor Church history, nor the dictates of human reason.

Methodism differs from Presbyterianism in another point, and that not for the better. From first to last there is no such thing among the Wesleyans as direct and true lay representation. Throughout it is a system of ministerial nominee-ship. The Circuit Meeting is composed of the members of the leaders' meetings and the lay preachers, all of whom must be nominated to their office by the superintendent minister before they can be appointed to it. Nearly every lay member of the District Meeting is qualified for his seat by holding the office of Circuit Steward, the nomination to which is again vested solely in the superintendent minister. At first sight the election of lay members of the Representative Conference is an exception to the prevailing rule, but it is an exception in appearance only, seeing the electors to the Representative Conference are the lay members of the District Meeting, and the lay members of the District Meeting are nearly all ministerial nominees. It is a singular and striking fact that, while there is an elaborate system of lay representation, at no stage is there any such thing as free lay election in the Wesleyan-Methodist body. In the other Methodist bodies, such as the Primitive Methodists and the Free Church, this defect has been avoided, but in such a crude and reactionary way that the opposite extreme has been touched, and evils incurred distinctly greater and more serious than those it was sought to remedy.

In one important respect the Conference and the Assembly follow the same rule, and this rule is worth notice both for its wise foresight and for what it suggests in regard to the House of Laymen, which the Southern Convocation has called into existence. The laymen discuss all matters assigned to them,

not alone, but in joint consultation with the ministerial members. We have reason to believe that the practical advantages flowing from this arrangement have proved considerable and valuable in both bodies. However carefully laymen may be selected, they are by no means always well-informed on every question that comes up, nor are they at all seasons disposed to give the necessary time and care which the thorough discussion of some important subject may demand, partly, no doubt, because they do not adequately realize its magnitude or clearly perceive its bearings. But by the union of ministers and laymen in common session, those who have large knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs can make it available, and bring it to bear powerfully upon the decisions of the whole body; more thorough discussion is ensured, the different sides of a question get attention, the danger of mistaken and mischievous legislation is minimized, the risk of collision between the two orders is reduced to insignificance. All this is surely most advantageous. When the proposal to form a House of Laymen was under consideration in the Canterbury Convocation, Archdeacon Emery expressed an opinion that "it would not be wise to let the laymen discuss subjects alone." The experience already had tends on the whole to confirm this view. The separate action of such a body as the House of Laymen has very manifest dangers, which do not appear so far to be counterbalanced by equally manifest benefits.

Most interesting and instructive is it to observe that the constitution of the sister and daughter Churches is in this respect different from that of the mother, and, as we venture to think, wiser. One considerable objection will have to be taken to their arrangements, as we shall shortly see; but their experience may be of the greatest value to ourselves at this time of discussion and transition.<sup>1</sup>

Lay representation in the Church of Ireland is, in brief, after this fashion. In the Diocesan Synod two laymen, who must be communicants, are elected for every clerical representative. The Synod elects the bishop, the Diocesan Council, and all diocesan officers. We have it on the authority of Archdeacon Jellett that, "as a rule, the laymen elected to the Diocesan Council are men of high intelligence, as well as of earnest devotion to the Church." In the General Synod the

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<sup>1</sup> Those of our readers who are not already acquainted with the three excellent articles on Lay Representation in the Churches of Ireland, America, and Australia, published in the *National Review* for 1886, will be glad to be referred to them. They are in the April, October, and December numbers.

laity are again in the proportion of two to one of the clergy. The late Archdeacon Lee did his utmost to get questions relating to doctrine and discipline reserved for decision by the bishops and presbyters of the Church, and even carried his protest to the length of resigning his seat. But the attempt failed, and subjects of the highest moment are now discussed by clergy and laity in common Synod. A great safeguard is found, without doubt, in the fundamental law which requires the assent of two-thirds of each order, present and voting, before any resolution can be deemed to have passed; but we know too well that great sacrifices will sometimes seem preferable to a collision between the two orders, and thus measures will be adopted which, if discussed in an Assembly of clergy unhampered by such considerations, would be sure to fail.

In the Church of America laymen are admitted to the General Convention in equal numbers with the clergy, and with full power to take part by voice and vote in all matters whatsoever that may arise for discussion. Each diocese is at liberty to choose its representatives in its own manner, and may send not more than four clerics and four laymen. When any constitutional alteration is enacted for which the canons require a constitutional majority, the method of voting must be by both dioceses and orders; at other times the vote may be taken in this way, or by acclamation and division. Bishop Littlejohn testifies that "the laymen chosen by the Diocesan Conventions to represent them have been in every sense the flower of their order."

When we turn to the Church of Australia, a very similar constitution is met with. The Australian Church has three Synods, in all of which the laity are fully represented. To the Diocesan Synod there are summoned the clergyman in charge of each parish, with two, or occasionally three, elected lay representatives. For the Provincial Synod the arrangements for representation are much the same. The General Synod is composed of two Houses, the House of Bishops and the House of Representatives, the latter consisting of equal numbers of clergy and laity. The two Houses sit together for the transaction of business, but they vote separately. All kinds of subjects may come before them, but their power to effect doctrinal change is almost nullified by the fundamental rule of all the Australian Synods, that no alteration in the Articles, Liturgy, or Formularies of the Church may be made, "except in conformity with any alteration which may be made therein by any competent authority of the Church of England in England." The Bishop of Sydney, who has had exceptional opportunities of looking at the system with calm and impartial eye, says, "With the establishment and working of representa-

tive government in the Church, I am entirely satisfied. Lay representation works perfectly for good."

But (he proceeds) this opinion is conditional on that which appears to me absolutely essential for right working, viz., that clergy and laity should sit and confer together. If this were not the case here, I am convinced, not only that we should be liable to dangerous collisions, but that the chief value of our Synods, as deliberative assemblies, as centres of Church unity, and as educating influences over their members, and through them over the Church at large, would be lost. What we want is mutual interpenetration of the clerical and lay mind, and the sense of real co-operation of clergy and laity under the bond which unites them in Church membership. These things would not be furthered, perhaps would be actually hindered, by the co-existence and possible rivalry of separate Houses. So far as Colonial Church experience goes, I believe that it would generally confirm the opinion here expressed; and the inference which I would venture to draw, that the cause of Church representation in England suffers greatly from what is apparently at present considered to be the inevitable necessity of constituting clerical and lay Houses of Representatives in separation from each other.<sup>1</sup>

It thus appears that the General Synods and Conventions of these three Churches harmonize in their essential regulations much more with the Presbyterian than the Wesleyan system of lay representation. In their grant of free, unfettered election to the laity, they are unquestionably right; for if the laity are brought in and trusted at all, it is surely better that they should be frankly and fully trusted, than that they should be perpetually held in the leading-strings of a ministerial nominee. But in regard to the exclusion of the laity from "definitive power" on doctrinal matters, it must be owned that the Wesleyans have shown, as the Bishop of Lincoln says, "a true ecclesiastical instinct" in their reservation of questions concerning doctrine and clerical discipline for discussion and decision by ministers only, since this arrangement is undeniably more in harmony with primitive rule and practice. The one point in which the Wesleyans here fail is in not taking proper measures to secure "lay consent" when doctrinal decisions have been come to. Taken as a whole, it must be allowed that no body of Nonconformists has known so well as the Wesleyans how to give the largest possible share in denominational administration and legislation to the laymen, and at the same time to conserve the independence and rightful freedom of the minister. In achieving this result it has gone far towards solving one of the most difficult problems of ecclesiastical representative government.

As to the general effect of the admission of laymen to the Presbyterian Synod and Assembly, the Wesleyan District Meeting and Conference, there can be no doubt in the minds of competent observers that, though the well-known dangers,

<sup>1</sup> *National Review*, December, 1886, p. 451.

weaknesses, and difficulties of representative institutions have not been wholly escaped, yet a great balance of benefit results. The admission of the laity has in each case tended to bind the community together, powerfully contributed to its solidarity and unity, quickened the sense of each belonging to one great whole, and all belonging to each. It has led congregations to look outside their own narrow boundaries and given to their sympathies a wider range. Whilst an Independent congregation is self-centred and self-contained, with little tendency as a rule to throw out vigorous off-shoots, a Methodist, and to a less extent a Presbyterian, congregation has a noticeable disposition to plant down new "causes" and thus to extend its corporate life in all directions. As in administration, so is it in legislation, participation in responsibility develops interest, energy, and growth.

With the results of this Nonconformist experience of lay representation the experience of our own sister and daughter Churches coincides to a very remarkable and interesting extent. "If I be asked," says Archdeacon Jellett, "what has been the result, upon the whole, of the admission of the laity to a share in the government of the Irish Church, I answer, without hesitation, a large increase of Church life and Church work, improved churches, improved services, new organizations for Church purposes, boards of education, associations of Church-workers. I do not say that all these are the results of lay energy, but they are the result of the fact that all the members of the body are now permitted to discharge their legitimate functions, and that the vigour of the body has been thereby increased."<sup>1</sup> The answer of Bishop Littlejohn is very similar: "Without this organized, constitutional co-operation of the laity with the clergy, the American Church to-day would not be what it is in its strength, stability, energy, and aggressive vitality." Bishop Barry testifies that, for the Australian Church, lay representation "is an absolute necessity." "It alone places the Church in harmony with the whole tendency of modern civilization." Without it the decrees of the Synod "would not command general adhesion." So far from being revolutionary, he thinks lay influence in the Synod is "somewhat too conservative, not merely of principles but of practice":

Of all influences tending to bring about the right and healthy condition of things, there is none comparable to the influence of the lay representation in our Synods. It is an education in this important direction [that Church work is the business of the laity as well as the clergy], not only of the representatives themselves, but of those whom they represent.

The general conclusion to which Bishop Barry has come, is

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<sup>1</sup> *National Review*, April, 1886, p. 212.

exactly that to which we trust our readers will be led, and not only our readers but the vast majority of English Churchmen. "Such experience," he says, "as I have gained, entirely confirms my strong conviction of the necessity of obtaining or evolving a true representative system in the Church at home. Diocesan Conferences, and Congresses, and the like, are excellent as fields for discussion and schools of preparation for more definite action; but they cannot fill the place of Church Synods or assemblies of real power and responsibility. Till in some way the problem of obtaining these is solved in England, the Church will not have full vitality of self-government and that right harmony of legislative, judicial, and executive functions which is essential to its complete organization."<sup>1</sup>

J. STEPHENSON.

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## ART. II.—THE TITHE WAR.

*Tithe Rent-Charge Papers, No. II.; Land Rental, Tithe and Tithe Rent-Charge, with reference to the Tithe Rent-Charge Bill, 1887.* By C. A. STEVENS, M.A., Vicar of Portslade. London: P. S. King and Son, King Street, S.W. 1887.

*Tithes.* By Lord BRAMWELL and others. London: The Tithe-owners Association, 31, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 1887.

IN the discussion of the question indicated by the headings of this article, there are three parties whose interests have to be considered: (1), the Landlord; (2), the Occupier; and (3), the Owner of Tithe Rent-Charge.

From whatever point of view the question be looked at, and however opinions may differ upon details of adjustment, there is one broad and ascertainable principle upon which any legislation about the question ought to proceed, viz., that no legislation deserves the sanction of thoughtful and capable men which does not pay due regard to the rights of property. If this be not conceded, if confiscation of this man's property or of that be *ab initio* intended, then the questions are not worth arguing.

It is a little curious to notice how this principle has extorted respect even from politicians who at once proceed to violate it. As even a Conservative candidate or member has to trim and get the votes of different classes of people, so we have had this pitiable kind of exhibition at many an agricultural meeting.—"I am against anything in the nature of confiscation," says the speaker; and in the next breath he pro-

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<sup>1</sup> *National Review*, December, 1886, p. 449.

ceeds to advocate schemes which are especially designed to take away a slice of the tithe-owners' property and hand it to somebody else. The intellectual folly and moral obliquity of such an attitude will sooner or later be rightly punished by the contempt or the chilled support of all who wish profound economic questions to be argued and settled, not as best may suit the selfish aspirations of a candidate or a party, but upon those inflexible principles of right and wrong which are the safeguard and the guarantee of all civilized society.

We may fairly be invited to consider with some precision what the nature of the property in Tithe rent-charge is. Nothing can be clearer than the statement of Lord Bramwell under this head. He lays it down that it is the result of a bargain. The law of England, he points out, has drawn a distinction between Tithe and Tithe rent-charge. The tithe, as everyone knows, was the tenth part of the produce of the land—not only of grain but of all produce. In the words of Blackstone: "Tithes are to be paid for everything that yields an annual increase, as corn, hay, fruit, cattle, poultry, and the like; but not for anything that is of the substance of the earth, or is not of annual increase, as stone, lime, chalk, or the like; nor for creatures that are of a wild nature or *feræ naturæ*, as deer, hawks, etc., whose increase, so as to profit the owner, is not annual but casual."<sup>1</sup>

At the time of the commutation, in 1836, the value of this tithe was estimated before Commissioners amongst all the parties concerned. The estimate was based on an average reaching over a course of years, taking bad years with good; and at the close of it, the law of England made this bargain with the tithe-owner—you give up your right to tithe and we give you in lieu of it a rent-charge on the land itself of the amount which has been estimated. The words of the Act are most peremptory on this point, and it may be well to quote them here:

And be it enacted that from the first day of January next following the confirmation of every such apportionment, the lands of the said parish shall be absolutely discharged from the payment of all tithes . . . and instead thereof there shall be payable . . . a sum of money . . . in the nature of a rent-charge issuing out of the lands charged therewith. . . . 6 and 7 Will. IV., c. 71, s. 67.

That was the bargain which, for good or for evil, the legislature made with the tithe-owner; and, said Lord Bramwell, "a bargain's a bargain."

This distinction between tithe and tithe rent-charge is properly emphasized by Mr. Stevens. The reader is met by

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"Commentaries on the Laws of England," Book II., ch. iii.

it at once in the title-page of his publication. In popular language the distinction is obscured. Every farmer talks about "paying his tithe;" every newspaper has its paragraphs about the so-called Tithe War; and even politicians who aspire to become leaders of opinion are not ashamed of the intellectual blunder involved in speaking of the rent-charger's property as being a burden upon the land and an impediment to agriculture. If it were a mere abridgment of language and nothing but a question of names, it would not be worth notice. But, unfortunately, it is more than this. Many a speaker begins by describing the rent-charge as tithe, and then proceeds to saddle the rent-charge with all the odium which did attach to tithe, but which does not attach to the rent-charge substituted for it. The difference, however, is more than a difference of names. It is a difference of natures. The tithe was a charge upon produce; so that if there had been upon any spot no produce, there would have been no tithe. But the rent-charge is a charge upon the land, and is quite independent of produce, so that the assigned sum is due to the owner of it, whether the produce be much or little, or even be none at all.

There is this further result of the transformed nature of the (then) tithe-owner's property—a very momentous result which the discussions of the day are bringing out more and more clearly—that whilst the right to tithe attached to the tenant's produce, the right to tithe rent-charge attaches in law not to the tenant's occupancy, but to the landlord's ownership of the land. The rent-charge has, in fact, in some respects, the nature of a mortgage upon the land; and the rent-charger can be no more reasonably asked to abate his interest on account of bad times than a mortgagee could be expected to abate his.

The misuse of terms sometimes becomes responsible for very serious misconceptions. It has been urged, for example, that the common practice of giving a receipt in his own name to the tenant on his paying the rent-charge has at length bred the idea in the tenant's mind that the rent-charge is a burden upon him personally, and constitutes a grievance which it will pay him to agitate against. Every person capable of thought upon a somewhat intricate question knows, of course, that the rent-charge is no burden upon the tenant, and that the tenant cannot possibly gain anything—unless it be some momentarily snatched advantage—by any altered legislation with regard to rent-charge, whatever direction that legislation might take. Nevertheless, the agitation continues under cover of that mistaken idea, for which it is said an ill-drafted receipt is in no small degree responsible. In the same way,

by the adroit substitution of "tithe" for "rent-charge," the aspiring politician is enabled to flaunt mischievous and inflammatory statements, to which under a sound nomenclature he certainly could not commit himself, except with the penalty of being written down a blockhead.

The thread of idea that runs through Mr. Stevens' pages is that what has been or is taken from the owners of the tithe rent-charge is given, not to the tenants, but to the landlords. There are probably not many readers who will have the patience to work through all his figures: indeed, it is perhaps only those who have had some arithmetical training that are even qualified to do so. But his main conclusion every one can understand. By taking the figures of official and Parliamentary returns, he shows that the commutation of tithes into rent-charges in 1836, while it conferred certain unquestionable advantages upon the tithe-owner (then properly so-called), resulted in a pecuniary loss to him on a scale which is often little suspected—no less a sum than "£675,610 in the first year, with its incremental value year by year, also passed into his (the landlord's) pockets." It is noticeable that his estimate agrees, within a few pounds, with that estimated in independent ways by Professor Jones, the eminent Tithe Commissioner.

Here is the answer to a good deal of the nonsense that is talked at agricultural meetings,—and talked, too, sometimes, by those who ought to know better—if they presume to speak upon a difficult economic question at all. Sir T. Grove, M.P., is reported to have told his hearers at Reading, that "the tithe-owner now gets more than he is entitled to. He is entitled to only a tenth of the produce, and if he took that, he would not get anything like the tithe he now gets." The statement is a blunder from beginning to end. In the first place, the (so-called) tithe-owner is not entitled to a tenth of the produce: he is entitled to the fixed sum (variable only with the price of corn) which was apportioned in lieu of the tenth of the produce. And next, the tenth of the produce at the present day is vastly in excess of the apportioned sum. Mr. Stevens calculates the tenth of the produce for the current year as £6,315,032; whereas the sum received as tithe rent-charge is only £3,544,586, or little more than half what Sir T. Grove admits to be the tithe-owners' due. Well may Mr. Stevens exclaim: "And this is the sort of information supplied to the farmers by their Parliamentary instructors!"

In the same region of figures is to be found the answer to another cry which is thought good enough to delude the suffering farmer with—the cry for the revaluation of the tithe. There was lately a meeting of farmers in Bedfordshire, with

Mr. Cyril Flower, M.P., and Mr. H. Gardner, M.P., as speakers, and resolutions are reported to have been adopted declaring it to be essential in the interests of agriculture that a revaluation of tithes be immediately arranged. Now every economist knows that no valuation of the tithe rent-charge can in the slightest degree affect the unfortunate position of the British farmer, for the very simple reason that it does not come out of his pocket at all. If the rent-charge were swept away altogether, the disastrous position of the farmer would not be at all improved.

But let us examine the proposal. The first thought, perhaps, is that it might seem rather late in the day to revise a bargain of fifty years' standing. It is impossible to say what would become of business, if all people were to demand that their old bargains should be readjusted. On general principles, therefore, the rent-charger may protest against any re-valuation; though if such valuation were to be conceded he would, no doubt, profit by his experience of the past in defending his own interests, and the probability is that he would gain rather than lose by the transaction. There recently was held a very influential meeting of owners of tithe rent-charge, both lay and clerical, and a resolution was passed by them that the "meeting would not fear the result of a revaluation by a Royal Commission."

Now, why would they not fear it? Why, of course, because the settlement of a fixed rent-charge has for ever cut off the tithe-owner from all share in the enormously increased value of the produce of the country. It appears from the figures which are accessible to everybody that, notwithstanding the very serious agricultural distress, the value of the nation's produce has increased with the increase of population during the last forty or fifty years, and increased, too, on a very large scale. But the tithe rent-charge remains fixed. To be precise, it appears that in 1836 the land-rental of this country was 33 millions, and the money value of tithe rent-charge was 4 millions; but in 1876 the land-rental had increased to 50 millions, whilst the tithe rent-charge stood at 4 millions still. On no principle of justice could you reapportion the interest of the tithe-owner without giving him at least *some* share in this large increase; and it is not likely, it may be presumed, that any Royal Commission would attempt to do so. And that is why the rent-charge-owner says that there is no need for him to fear a revaluation of his interest.

But we desire especially to draw attention to the care with which the legislature has shut the door against any such proposal. Over and over again the Act of Commutation insists that the settlement was to be not only a bargain but a "per-

manent" bargain. Section 37 speaks of the rent-charge as "to be paid as a *permanent* commutation" (the italics are ours) of the said tithes. Section 38 speaks of "the sum which ought to be taken for calculating a *permanent* commutation;" and section 39 says that "the Commissioners shall in every case award the rent-charge to be paid as a *permanent* commutation for tithes." It is the reiteration of the word "permanent" to which we especially invite attention, as showing that the bargain was designedly framed so as not to be contingent (as some people seem to imagine it was) upon any fluctuations either of produce or of property.

But thoroughly to expose what can only be called the impudence of the claim that the rent-charge should be reduced by law, it will be well to turn the tables. We ask our readers to reflect what would be thought of the tithe-owners if they on their side seriously proposed a revaluation; if they on their side began to plead that the bargain should be reconsidered because the value of agricultural property has (in the aggregate) so largely increased. They would, of course, be told—and told pretty summarily too—that, for good or for evil, the bargain had been closed, and by that bargain they must be content to stand.

A complaint has sometimes been made on the part of the landowner, that in these depressed days the rent-charger occasionally gets more off the land than the owner himself gets. Unquestionably he does. That, however, is an everyday incident of property. There is many a property which brings very little profit, and not unfrequently brings a considerable loss to the man who inherits it. Many a man becomes seised of an estate out of which he can get literally nothing. In some respects he would be even better off without it. The estate is, perhaps, charged with all kinds of annuities and payments to a widow, a younger brother, or other legatee. These payments have to be continued under all circumstances, and there is many a case in which there is not sufficient margin left even to pay the owner a fair remuneration for the trouble that he has to bestow upon the estate. The annuitant in such a case is actually better off than the owner. It is, therefore, no exceptional position in which the owner of land sometimes finds himself at the present day in comparison with the owner of rent-charge. The legislature has made a permanent bargain: he has no right to ask that it should now be treated as a contingent bargain.

Nothing, it is universally understood, would have been heard of all these discussions but for the losses which have lately fallen upon all who have to do with cultivable land.

Lord Salisbury said in a recent speech<sup>1</sup>: "When there is great suffering in a community, the various members of it naturally struggle with each other as to the mode in which the suffering should be distributed." That is an exact description of the case before us. Some persons have lost a good deal of money in land, and they are trying to make the tithe-owner bear a portion of that loss.

H. T. ARMFIELD.



### ART. III.—THE PROPORTIONAL REWARD.

WHEN James and John came with their mother and asked our Lord that these two young men might have the most honourable place in His coming kingdom, the Master had naturally little to say to such a request. He saw the blindness and mistake of it. He saw that they did not in the least understand what they were asking. And the attempt of the good woman to steal a march on the other ten disciples was unfair and discreditable. It was as clear a piece of favouritism and secret influence as was ever undertaken. All this was perfectly true. But at the same time it was also true that there were such seats in the kingdom of heaven to be disposed of. Somebody must sit in them. They would not be left empty to all eternity. "To sit on My right hand and on My left . . . shall be given to them for whom it is prepared of My Father." And then, when the ten were moved with indignation against the two who had thus tried to supplant them, our Lord kindly shows them the way by which alone they could become the greatest. There was such a thing as degrees in the kingdom; but James and John had not gone the right way about it. "Whosoever will be great among you," He said, "let him be your minister: whosoever will be chief among you let him be your servant." Degrees and places there will be; but they will not be had by begging for them.

It is very right for us to desire glimpses into the unseen world—that future which seems so far off, and may yet be so near to any one of us. It has been said by Montaigne that "those who accuse mankind of folly in hankering and panting after things to come, and who warn us to enjoy the present, and to take our fill of it, as we have no sufficient hold on the future, as little indeed as that which is past and gone, have hit upon one of the most common of human delusions. We are never occupied with what is within us—we are always

<sup>1</sup> Mansion House, 1887.

looking beyond; fear, desire, hope are spurring us on toward the future—stripping us of all feeling and thought about what is, in order to interest us with what will be.” But Montaigne should not have spoken of delusions; it is an instinct of human nature. “Futurity is the great concern of mankind,” said Burke. “The future mingles itself with every thought and sentiment,” wrote Sir D. Brewster, “and casts its beams of hope or its shadows of fear over the stage both of active and contemplative life; it appears and disappears like a variable star, showing in painful succession its spots of light and shade; and at the great transition, when the outward eye is dim, the image of the future is the last picture which is effaced from the retina of the mind.”

I wish in this paper to call attention to one aspect of the future which is commonly forgotten. It is in the words of the Revelation: “Behold I come quickly, and My reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be.” I believe it to be indisputably true that the doctrine of a proportional reward is everywhere insisted on in Holy Scripture. We ought not to neglect anything which can help us to bind the future in with the present—to weave the threads of what is to come with the texture of our daily life. It is a doctrine which cannot fail to give us additional zeal and activity in the cause of the Lord, and to remind us that our labour is not in vain in the Lord. Above all, on so grave and serious a subject, we are surely compelled to exclude nothing from the range of our contemplations, but carefully to set before ourselves what we believe to be the plain counsel of God. An opposite doctrine has been, as I hold, falsely imputed to us by Mr. Morrison in his late attack on Christianity.

There are two parables in particular which throw light upon our condition as having all to appear before the judgment-seat of Christ. The first is the parable of the labourers and the penny. The other is the parable of the servants, the pounds, and the cities. The parable of the labourers who all got the same wages for their different hours of work, was directed against the disciples who were eagerly asking what they were to have for their readiness in following Christ, in contrast to the reluctance of the rich young man. Our Lord shows them that eternal life, like the penny, is the free gift of God to all alike; of that none can have either more or less, whether they have enlisted in His service late or early, whether they be Jew or Gentile. But He warns them that some who, like the earlier labourers, thought themselves first, would become last by that very self-justifying and claiming spirit. Although that eternal life would be alike given to all, there would be in it degrees of enjoyment of its blessings, there would be first

and last. Let them take care lest their eager greedy spirit make them among the last in the degree of bliss and happiness. What we learn, then, about the future in the parable of the penny, is that eternal life is the free gift of God, but that there will be first and last—in short, places or degrees—in the enjoyment of it.

The other parable, that of the servants, the pounds, and the cities, carries the teaching further still. It shows us that while all reward is a free gift, and not a matter of merit, yet that God is absolutely just, rewarding every man according to what he has done. The servant who brought his lord's pound and said that he had gained ten pounds, is told, "Well, thou good servant; thou hast been faithful in a very little; be thou ruler over ten cities." Then came the second, saying, "Lord, thy pound hath gained five pounds." He got his proportional reward: "He said likewise to him, Be thou ruler over five cities." In a word, God is not unjust that He should forget our works and labour of love. The reward is not earned by ourselves—it is the gift of God; but the scale by which it is determined is the way in which we work out our own salvation, God working in us both to will and to do of His good pleasure.

I said that this soul-stirring doctrine of the Proportional Reward is insisted on everywhere in Holy Scripture.

It is taught by Isaiah: "Surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God."

It is taught by Jeremiah: "I the Lord search the heart, I try the reins: even to give every man according to his ways and according to the fruit of his doings." And again: "Ah Lord God! behold Thou hast made the heaven and the earth by Thy great power and stretched-out arm; and there is nothing too hard for Thee. Thou showest loving-kindness unto thousands, and recompensest the iniquity of the fathers into the bosom of their children after them: the Great, the Mighty God: the Lord of hosts is His name, great in counsel and mighty in work: for Thine eyes are open upon all the ways of the sons of men: to give everyone according to his ways, and according to the fruit of his doings."

Our Lord Himself insists on this again and again: "The Son of Man shall come in the glory of His Father with His angels: and then He shall reward every man according to his works." It is by this thought that He encourages the persecuted: "Rejoice and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven." He points out how it will be proportioned: "He that receiveth a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward: and he that receiveth a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward." Yes, and even further than that, each deed shall have its own recompense: "Whoso shall give to drink

unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, shall in nowise lose his reward." "Do good," He said—"do good, and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be the children of the Highest." In the parable of the sheep and the goats how is the question of entering into the joy of the Lord settled? According as the persons before the judgment-seat had fed the hungry, and clothed the naked, and visited the sick and the prisoners. Those who were distinguished by righteousness in this life, He says in another place, will shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. When talking by the well of Samaria about the labourers in the harvest, He encouraged the disciples by reminding them that they would not be forgotten: "He that reapeth receiveth wages, and gathereth fruit unto life eternal; that both he that soweth and he that reapeth may rejoice together." To the twelve disciples themselves on another occasion He promised a very special position in heaven: "Ye shall sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Those who deny the doctrine of a proportional reward would be compelled in consistency to accuse our Lord Jesus Christ of misleading words.

But again, it is of great importance for us to know what St. Paul says on this question, because it is he who insists more strongly than any other writer on the doctrine of Justification by Faith, which the ignorant and thoughtless would at first sight think opposed to the doctrine of the proportional reward. What does St. Paul say? He speaks to the Romans of "the righteous judgment of God, Who will render to every man according to his deeds." He tells the Corinthians how "every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour. If any man's work abide which he hath built on the foundation of Jesus Christ, he shall receive a reward." He warns the Galatians not to be deceived. "God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." And again he urges them: "Let us not be weary in well-doing: for in due season we shall reap if we faint not." To the Colossians he has just the same message: "Let no man beguile you of your reward . . . whatsoever ye do, do it heartily as unto the Lord, and not unto men: knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of your inheritance."

The Epistle to the Hebrews is equally strong. It appeals to the example of Moses "who had respect unto the recompense of the reward."

The aged St. John has no new message. "Look to yourselves," he says to the household of his friend the elect lady—"look to yourselves that we lose not those things which we have wrought, but that we receive a full reward." And in

his Revelation he gives us a very clear and distinct glimpse : "I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God, and the books were opened ; and another book was opened which is the book of life : and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works." And in another place in the Revelation : "All the churches shall know that I am He which searcheth the reins and the hearts : and I will give unto every one of you according to his works." Just the same doctrine is put by him still more concisely : "Behold I come quickly, and My reward is with Me, to give every man according as his work shall be."

Degrees there are in heaven already, and it is natural that there should be hereafter. We are told of archangels as well as angels, cherubim as well as seraphim. St. Paul speaks in more than one place of thrones and dominions, principalities and powers amongst the hosts of God. St. Peter describes Jesus having gone into heaven and being on the right hand of God, angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto Him. Jesus Himself, as we have already seen, told James and John and their mother that there was a place on His right hand and on His left where some would surely sit. And He comforted His disciples by saying that He appointed unto them a kingdom even as His Father had appointed unto Him.

If loftier posts superior state declare  
 More virtuous acts, if ampler needs requite ;  
 If brightest crowns on noblest prowess light,  
 And well-worn fields a fuller harvest bear ;

If thrones, dominions, princedoms, powers there are,  
 Which God's inferior hosts excel in might ;  
 If day's bright orb outshine the lamp of night,  
 And Hesper's radiance the remotest star ;

Then shall the younger brethren of the sky,  
 If right I scan the records of their fate,  
 In varied ranks of social harmony  
 God's mount encircle. Glorious is the state  
 E'en of the lowest there ; but seats more nigh  
 The Sovereign's throne His greater servants wait.

(*Bishop Mant.*)

A wise and well-directed ambition to be foremost in the battle of God here is the noblest spur of human action. "As long as the world lasts," says Clarendon, "and honour and virtue and industry have reputation in the world, so long will there be ambition, emulation, and appetite in the best and most accomplished men who live in it ; if there should not be, more barbarity and vice and wickedness would cover every nation of the world than it yet suffers under." Zeal for the glory of God, a desire to do His work well, call it what we

may, that is our best motive here. How far stronger a motive becomes, and how closely it brings the glorious future of the other world into bearing on the present, if we remember all these lessons which we have gathered from various parts of the Word of God, in evidence that our place in the mansions of light will be determined by the zeal and sincerity and purity of our work below!

Ought we not to think more than we usually think on the effect which what we now do will have on our everlasting future? It seems clear that every additional sin will lessen our reward in heaven; every act of useful self-denial done for the glory of God will increase our degree of that happiness hereafter which the merits of Christ have bought for us as the free gift of God. It is not unfair to say that the neglect of this great doctrine is the reason why there is so little real Christianity among us. Christianity is not sufficiently felt to be a real practical force. Let none suppose hastily that I mean that we can buy our reward; it is all the effect of the redemption of Christ. But we can never do enough to show our faith by our works. We cannot be too full of zeal for the higher blessedness of heaven reserved for God's more earnest servants here. The glowing faith of the ancient Church can only be explained by the strong, simple hold which they had on these great realities. This is partly the secret of that astonishing joy with which they ran forward to receive the martyr's crown. They were always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as they knew that not one stroke of all their labour was in vain in the Lord.

WILLIAM MACDONALD SINCLAIR.



#### ART. IV.—THE REFORMED CHURCH OF IRELAND.<sup>1</sup>

THE Church of Ireland has had to bear the brunt of a greater variety of criticisms than any other branch of the Anglican Communion. Passing over amongst others, as we are content to do, that which charges her with refusing to follow in the steps of the Ritualists, we are more concerned with the accusation that she has sinned in having failed to convert the Roman Catholic population. We might retort on the English critic that the Church of England has failed in what must seem the easier task of converting the Protestant

<sup>1</sup> "The Reformed Church of Ireland, 1537-1886," by the Right Hon. J. T. BALL, LL.D., D.C.L., Longmans, Green and Co., London; Hodges, Figgis and Co., Dublin.

Dissenters. But this would be a poor defence. We propose, in noticing the excellent historical sketch lately published by Dr. Ball, to point out some of the causes which up to the present—for we are not quite hopeless as to the future—have placed infinite impediments in her way as a reforming Church in the midst of an overwhelming Romish population.

The Irish people in the sixteenth century were, for the most part, a Keltic race under Latin influence. The race and the influence alike prejudiced them against the new movement of reform. The Keltic race has always been plastic under the hands of those who appealed to the senses and the imagination; while the Anglican Church was a Church of calm reason and sober worship. Latin influence, moreover, had woven its toils very slowly, but for four hundred years very surely, about the Irish people.

Moreover, the reform proposed was proposed by the Conqueror. This fact alone was almost fatal to its success. It is a question deeply interesting but now insoluble whether these powerful antagonistic forces would have been sufficient to neutralize wise measures on the part of England for the promotion of reform. It is but the simple fact which is stated when we say that wise measures were not adopted.

Conversions to the reformed Church have never been unknown, but they have always been exceptional. They will not, in our opinion, ever become general while dislike of England lasts. Our best hope is of a spontaneous reform promoted from within the bosom of the people themselves, when some leader shall arise, full of love to God and man, who shall be willing to lay down his life if necessary in the cause of religious liberty. For his coming the hearts of many are, we believe, now being secretly prepared.

In Dr. Ball's volume on "The History of the Reformed Church of Ireland" the English reader may rely upon it that he will find a judiciously calm exposition of the history of that Church during the past 350 years. The author's official position has given him peculiar facilities both for studying her annals and for acquainting himself with her present temper and condition. Ignorance of the Church's history, both before and since the date of the Union, will now be inexcusable; and we hope to find a marked increase of interest in the fortunes of the Irish Church as a result of Dr. Ball's labours.

Before proceeding to notice the principal lessons to be derived from his work, let us express a hope that either he or the learned Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin will ere long fill the gap of nearly 400 years which exists between the termination of the history of the

period treated of by Professor Stokes and the commencement of that taken up by Dr. Ball.

For, uneventful from a Church point of view as may have been the interval between 1171 and 1535, the religious history of that period, especially when contrasted with that of the corresponding period in England, had its all-important influence on all that was to follow.

It was during this period that the multitude of religious houses arose in Ireland, the graceful ruins of which are now among the most interesting antiquarian attractions of the country. The monastic system in Ireland had always possessed innumerable votaries; in the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries their buildings reached the highest development, both as regards number and architectural perfection.

While the conscience of England was awaking in response to the voices of the earliest reformers, a counter-movement proceeded in Ireland. There were in the latter country no universities to carry out the work which the English universities promoted. The education of the people, such as it was, was performed by the monastic orders. Sir James Ware, in his "Annals," gives a list of 382 monasteries erected within 300 years previous to the Reformation. These were of the Augustinian, Benedictine, Cistercian, Dominican, Franciscan, and Carmelite Orders, of which the first-named were the most numerous. There were many minor orders, and the whole country was embraced by their influence.

There was no other religious influence at work. The country had given birth to no Wiclif and no Tyndal. No Langland had told his dream of clerical imposture, and no murmur of discontent with the existing order of things had been heard. The impression left on the mind by a study of the annals of the period is one of gloom. While England was passing through the throes preparatory to the birth of religious liberty, Ireland was being brought slowly but surely under a more perfectly organized bondage of conscience. While England was waking, Ireland was falling into an ever deeper sleep. Even her ancient literary activity had long been a thing of the past.

This fatal contrast in the history of the preparatory period accounts for much of the ill-success which attended the first attempts of Henry VIII. to introduce the new light into Ireland. But it by no means accounts for all. Amid such a condition as we have described (while that portion of Ireland alone which then formed the Pale was even nominally linked by sympathy with England) fell like a thunderbolt the Act of the Irish Parliament of 1536-7, which proclaimed Henry to be head of the Church, forbade appeals to the Pope, and

ordained that firstfruits and twentieths should be paid only to the King. This vote was only obtained by packing the House of Commons with purely English members, and excluding all the proctors of the clergy who were accustomed to sit in the Lower House.

At the same time began in Ireland the suppression of the monasteries.<sup>1</sup> This was a gradual process, extending even to the time of King James I. As monasteries were suppressed, indeed, vicarages in some of the parish churches connected with them were incorporated; but the emoluments fixed for performing the services of the cures were quite inadequate, and so continued for a long time, to secure educated and competent incumbents.

The Act of 1536 and the vigorous suppression of the monasteries formed the commencement of the Protestant Reformation in Ireland. The consecration by three English prelates of George Browne, Provincial in England of the Augustinian Order, to be Archbishop of Dublin, took place about the same time (19th March, 1535). This English ecclesiastic, consecrated by English prelates, was directed to lend his best efforts to promote the recognition of the supremacy over the Church of Ireland of an English king.

It cannot be wondered at that whatever may have been the motives of Henry and his chief adviser, the plan which was adopted to transfer the Irish allegiance from the Papal chair to the throne of England was not likely to be popular. But we search in vain at this period for traces of any act of English ecclesiastical policy which was likely to be popular in Ireland. And all this policy was adopted towards a people among whom not a ray of spiritual light had as yet shone. The Bible preceded the Reformation in England: in Ireland it is only in a limited sense that it can be said even to have accompanied or followed it. The fatal contempt shown for the vernacular tongue of the majority of the Irish people should have been rendered impossible to those who had seen how England flocked to hear read her first vernacular Scriptures. But this contempt was felt and shown. And the English liturgy, which was adopted in 1551 and first used on Easter Day in that year in Christchurch Cathedral, Dublin, was not by public authority translated into Irish until 1571, and then only at the urgent entreaties of good Bishop Walsh

<sup>1</sup> The actual commencement was in 1528, when, according to Ware ("Bishops," p. 347), forty of the lesser monasteries had been dissolved. In 1536 (see Loftus MS., Marsh's Library, under this date) "the religious houses and monasteries were granted to the King, by the authority of Parliament, to the number of 370; the yearly value of which amounted to £32,000, and their movables were rated at £100,000." See Mant's "History," p. 155.

of Ossory, who procured an order that in the shire town of each diocese the liturgy should be said in Irish and a sermon preached to the common people—"a provision which," as Ware tells us, "led to the conversion of many."

We have no record of any public circulation of the Holy Scriptures in Irish, or, indeed, of any patient continuance of the above-mentioned practice. The political colour of the Reformation in Ireland was predominant, and there were at that period, if Walsh be excepted, no men like the saintly Bedell, the martyr of 1641, who lived to circulate the Scriptures and to exemplify their teaching by devoted lives.

This brief review of the earliest period of the Reformation of the Church of Ireland is sufficient to show that four fatal barriers to its success existed. It was not prepared for by any popular movement; it reversed all the leading policy of the Church; it came in the form of English law backed up by English force; and it was presented to the people in a foreign tongue. No wonder that Ireland did its best to refuse the unasked-for and unwelcome gift. No wonder the clergy endorsed the forcible remark of Cromer, the Irish Primate, "that whatever might be elsewhere alleged against the Roman authority, it was not in Ireland that it should be denied by a King of England, for to this source he owed his own title to rule the island." "The Pope's ancestors," said Cromer, "gave it to the King's ancestors."

Irish Churchmen cannot now look back to that period of mistakes without a painful conviction that had the Reformation been preached and not dictated to the Irish, had seeds of truth been gradually sowed in the minds of the rising generation in popular and well-endowed schools, and had a wide circulation of the vernacular Scriptures preceded any changes enacted by Parliament, the people might have been won over in far greater numbers to the Reformation. No doubt race and habit would still have counted for much on the other side; but the bitter thought remains that the Reformation was introduced in the most injudicious way possible.

This at the outset accounts for much of the failure which has been incessantly laid to the charge of the Church. We shall meet with many other hindrances to her success as we proceed.

A rapid glance at the period following the Act of Henry shows us, indeed, a gradual dying out, in the region of the Pale, of disaffection to the royal supremacy, and a sort of silent acquiescence in the inevitable. To the Irish outside the Pale, Dr. Ball tells us (p. 27), the Reformation was scarcely offered. Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Armagh were the

dioceses of the Pale. The Bishops of the first three were won over to the royal side. Bishop Browne issued a curious document entitled "The Form of the Beads" (1538), in which the confidence of the laity is directed from the Pope to the Most High, and some wholesome outlines of doctrine as to justification and pardon are laid down.

The reformed Book of Common Prayer was accepted 1st March, 1551, by a minority of the Irish Bishops, the Primate Dowdall, who had succeeded Cromer, being opposed to it, although appointed by the King. Dowdall subsequently left the country, to return in Mary's reign, and his successor, Goodacre, was consecrated in 1553, the reformed ordinal being first used on this occasion.

The story of the Church during the reign of Mary is tolerably well known. There were no martyrs for the faith of the Reformation in Ireland, for the most obvious reason. Certain bishops, including Browne of Dublin, were deprived<sup>1</sup> others fled the country, and their sees were filled by Marian bishops, all of whom in the next reign, with the exception of two, conformed to the Reformation.

The continuity of the ancient orders of the bishops and clergy of the Irish Church is rendered unquestionable by these facts. There had been consecrations purely English to Irish sees. But there had always been, also, consecrations purely Irish, or of a mixed character. The ancient line of succession from St. Patrick and the primitive Church had never been broken. Although fresh blood (to change the figure) had been infused, so that the Irish succession had been blended with the English, the old had continued and formed probably a preponderating element. Some of the Marian bishops (as, for example, Hugh Curwen, the new Archbishop of Dublin) were Englishmen consecrated in England; others were appointed by the Queen with the sanction of the Pope, but received native consecration; and none, so far as evidence is to be had, were consecrated and sent from Rome.

When, therefore, these prelates, numbering about seven, together with all the remaining Irish bishops, conformed to the Reformation, at the accession of Elizabeth, with the exception of two,<sup>2</sup> the link of connection with the ancient

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<sup>1</sup> But see the curious story of the failure of a design for persecuting heretics, attributed to the abstraction at Chester, by an heroic woman, of a document from the commissioner who had charge of it (Ball, p. 45, and Appendix, Note K). A Providence seems traceable in this.

<sup>2</sup> These were Walsh and Leverous, of Meath and Kildare, who were deprived. The former was banished, and died at Alcalá, in Spain, 1577; the latter earned his livelihood by keeping a school near Limerick.

Irish Church continued with those prelates and clergy who, from however mixed motives, had given their adhesion to the Reformation. The number of Irish consecrators was always large, so that we find Bishop Bramhall writing (*Works, Angl. Cath. Lib., vol. ii., p. 252*) that there was no need of irregularity in the consecration of the first Reformation bishops in England, for "if it had been needful they might have had seven more out of Ireland, archbishops and bishops. For such a work as a consecration Ireland never wanted store of ordainers; nor ever yet did any man assert the want of a competent number of consecrators to an Irish Protestant bishop."

The Romish bishops who were introduced after the accession of Elizabeth can lay no claim to Irish orders. They were intruded from Rome; and while it is confessed that most of the laity went freely with them and a number of the clergy, this does not alter the historical fact that the Church of Ireland does, and the Church of Rome in Ireland does not, possess the ancient succession of episcopal orders in the country.<sup>1</sup>

We have turned aside from the main topic of this review to notice this subject, because many persons have questioned the correctness of the title "Church of Ireland" maintained by the Reformed and Protestant Church. The plain truth candidly uttered seems to be this. The Romish Church has always had in modern times the superiority in numbers. She has never since the Reformation had any title to be the successor by holy orders of the Primitive Irish Church. The title "Church of Ireland" has been inherited by the Reformed Church from antiquity, and the most searching investigation has failed to detect any flaw in her title, which has of late been officially admitted by authority.

Resuming the thread of our discussion as to the reason why the Church failed to prove the converting instrument which it was expected to be, let us hear Dr. Ball. Speaking of the reign of Elizabeth, he says:

The parochial organization was received by the Reformed Church in a condition of weakness and inefficiency. Unfortunately, the remedies imperatively demanded were not applied, and the measures of Henry and his successor tended to aggravate, not to lessen, the hindrances to its efficacy. When the monasteries were dissolved the appropriated parishes might fairly have expected that the tithes which were drawn from them

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Neither took any part in giving to the innovating Papal Church a share in the ancient Irish succession.

<sup>1</sup> On the subject of the above paragraph the reader may consult Dr. Alfred Lee's pamphlets, published in 1867, and Bagwell's "Ireland under the Tudors," ch. xxxv.; see also Dr. Ball's Note O, and Mant's "History," p. 284. Titular foreign bishops began to be intruded in 1567. They prefer no claim to lineal succession from the Irish Church.

would have been restored ; the interests of the Church, indeed of society, demanded that for the work of education, hitherto conducted by the religious orders, schools and colleges should have been provided. But neither measure was approved.<sup>1</sup> . . . Some alleviation of these adverse circumstances might have been obtained from judicious redistribution of ecclesiastical revenues, but nothing of the kind was attempted. . . . The only expedient employed . . . was the creation of unions and pluralities. (Pp. 79, 80.)

Again, the right hon. gentleman writes :

If we turn from financial to other interests of the Church, here also the policy pursued on behalf of the Crown will be found to have been injudicious. The inmates of the religious houses, when deprived of their own establishments, were not provided with other places of retreat, but were scattered among the people all over the country. They were, even more than the secular clergy, opposed to innovation, and the treatment which their societies received deepened opposition into active hostility. They became the most decided and, from their ability and energy, the most formidable adversaries of the Reformed Church. More than any other agency they kept alive a spirit of unwavering allegiance to Rome.

While the monastic portion of the clerical order was thus arrayed against the new religious system, no steps were taken to gain over to its support such of the parochial clergy as were of the Irish race. Indeed, one of the measures adopted was calculated to repel them. By a statute of the Parliament of 1536, it was provided that if a benefice fell vacant it should be conferred upon a person who could speak English, unless, after proclamations in the next market town, none such could be had. . . .

With respect to the clergy of the Reformed Church in the English districts, the neglect to provide means of educating persons intended for the ministry produced consequences not less injurious than those which ensued in the case of the Irish. They were ignorant, of rude manners, negligent in the performance of their duties. In order to compensate for their defects, some Englishmen were sent over, others came of themselves ; but of either class there were few, and most of the latter were (it is said) either unlearned or "men of some bad note," for which they had forsaken England. (Spenser, "View of Ireland," p. 570.)

How fully all these statements bear out our contention that England, having undertaken a work for which there was in Ireland no sort of demand, did it in a manner so made up of a show of force and of blundering inefficiency as to defeat her own aims !

While the ultimate results have been unspeakably happy for that portion of the inhabitants of Ireland which has succeeded to the inheritance of an open Bible and a reformed Prayer-book, the process of evolution of the present spiritual condition of the Church has been extremely slow, and meanwhile the fetters of Rome have been more and more closely riveted. We have not space for a series of pictures which could readily be given, and for which we refer the reader to the pages of Dr. Ball and Bishop Mant, of the low estate in all

<sup>1</sup> It was only in the last decade of Elizabeth's reign that Trinity College, Dublin, admitted its first students, January 9, 1593.

respects of the Church for over two hundred years following the Reformation. A few bright lights contrast with prevailing gloom. A few names, such as those of Ussher, Bramhall, Bedell, and Taylor—of Leslie, King, and Berkeley, stand out from others as men who laboured for the best interests of religion. Many an unknown parochial curate, "passing rich on forty pounds a year," wore out his life unnoticed, giving daily service often at sunrise and sunset, as Grattan said, and trying to lead his humble flock in paths of righteousness. But the powers that were, were against righteousness. Absent incumbents did nothing to remedy the results, material and spiritual, of the neglect of duty by generations of absentees who went before them.

The state of the Church varied from time to time. There were crests on the waves and hollows between. There were now and then voices crying in the wilderness that God's houses must not be left in ruins; but there was neither zeal nor money to respond to these rare appeals.

Take one such appeal. In the year 1566, says Dr. Ball :

Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord Deputy, addressed to Queen Elizabeth a letter, describing the state of the Church, and suggesting some remedies. The diocese of Meath, which he terms the best inhabited country of the realm, he selects as an illustration, and from it (he observes) "it will be easy to conjecture in what case the rest is, where little or no reformation of religion or manners hath yet been planted." The parishes in this diocese which had been vested in the monasteries were now inappropriate in the Crown : of these fifty-two had vicars, and a hundred and five had none. The latter Sidney found to be under the care of curates, to whom he applies the epithets of "simple or sorry," of whom eighteen could speak English, "of little learning or civility, living on the bare altarages (fees for altar services), without a house standing for any of them to live in; the walls of many of their churches being down; very few chancels covered (which implies that fewer still of the naves were); windows and doors ruined . . .;" and he concludes, "*your Majesty may believe it that upon the face of the earth, where Christ is professed, there is not a Church in so miserable a case : the misery of which consisteth in these particulars : the ruin of the very temples themselves, the want of good ministers to serve them when they shall be re-edified, and of competent living for the ministers being well chosen.*"

At a still later date, as Dr. Ball adds :

Spenser gives an even more unfavourable account of the condition of the Church and clergy. He describes the poverty of the benefices in the Irish districts, which often do not yield a competent maintenance for any honest minister to live upon—scarcely enough to buy him a gown. The clergy, (whether it would seem Irish or English), he charges with simony and other "enormities." The Irish, he says, are mere laymen, save that they have taken orders ("View of Ireland," pp. 508-510).

In 1607 Sir John Davis accompanied Sir A. Chichester to some of the Ulster counties upon a progress to inquire into their condition. He reports the poverty of the livings in Cavan; and adds, "the incumbents were such poor, ragged, ignorant creatures we could not esteem them worthy of the meanest of those livings." (Davis's "Tracts," p. 266.)

The reader must be referred to our author's always readable pages for further pictures of the like sort. He will also find in Bishop Mant's "History" records in detail of the extraordinary condition of dilapidations of churches and glebe-houses at successive epochs, continuing far into the eighteenth century. Before passing on from the Elizabethan period, let us hear how Spenser reflected on the times and on the measures hitherto taken by England :

That which you blame is . . . the troublous occasions wherewith the realm of Ireland hath been continually turmoiled. For instruction in religion needeth quiet times : and ere we seek a sound discipline for the clergy, we must purchase peace for the laity. For it is ill preaching among swords.

And again :

Religion should not be forcibly impressed into them with terror and sharp penalties as now is the manner [what would Spenser have at a later period said of the Penal Laws ?], but rather delivered and intimated with mildness and gentleness, *so as it may not be hated before it be understood.*

A promise of improvement in the condition of religion followed the plantation of Ulster in the reign of James I., and the writings and labours of Ussher, the great Primate of the seventeenth century.

But if various symptoms of improvement were exhibited in the earlier half of this century, the Church was staggered by the blow which fell in 1641, and from which she took many a long year to recover. Strafford, who had done much to keep Ireland under firm domination, and also to advance her material interests by the introduction of the linen trade and other industries, was recalled by Charles I. in 1640; and almost immediately a rebellion, which had long been smouldering, and which the plantation of Ulster by Scotchmen had done much to foment, burst forth with fury. On this subject Collier writes ("Hist. Ireland," p. 141): "As with one accord the native Irish rose against the settlers in the planted counties. Men, women, and children were killed. Others, stripped of all clothing, were driven out to die of exposure; shelter was refused. The cities were crowded with naked refugees. As to the number who were slain and those who perished from exposure there has been wild exaggeration; but the lowest estimate is between 12,000 and 13,000. The flame spread all over Ireland; but owing to the English settlers elsewhere having time to prepare for defence, its fierceness was not so severely felt in some districts as in the North."

Dr. Ball refers (Note X) to other recent calculations, which raise the estimate of the number of Protestant victims of this rebellion to 25,000. A picture of the sufferings of individuals

in those dreadful October days will be found written by an eye-witness in Clogy's life of his father-in-law, the sainted Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, who fell a martyr to the cause of truth in the rebellion, and whose singular virtues prompted, at his graveside in Kilmore churchyard, more than one cry of admiration from his enemies, who deemed they were seeing laid in the grave the "last of the English."

Once again the churches lay unroofed and unused, the glebe-houses ruined and in many cases unoccupied, while some of the best blood of the Church of Ireland was spilt. The Episcopal Church suffered more than the Scotch, it is somewhat surprising to note. In much of Ulster, Dr. Ball tells us, "the Church ceased to exist."

This was in 1641. Then came the Commonwealth, and the iron hand which crushed rebellion, but also crushed Episcopacy. The Solemn League and Covenant were in Ulster, Cromwell in Leinster, and the empty churches everywhere. "His victorious despotism established itself upon the total ruin of the civil and ecclesiastical polity which had been before upheld in Ireland by the English Government."

From this epoch, however, promises of dawn began to brighten on the horizon. Ussher and Bedell had not lived in vain. Jeremy Taylor was one of twelve bishops consecrated in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, on the accession of Charles II.; and Taylor's influence was elevating to the whole Church which he adorned. Little by little education spread among the Irish clergy, and theology was not any longer unknown.

The Church, in the reigns of Anne and of William III., was rendered again unpopular by the enactments of the Penal Codes, by which a fresh attempt was made to crush out Romanism in Ireland by force, with the usual result of intensifying the evil.

The attitude encouraged by England in the Irish Established Church during the entire period embraced by the reigns of Anne, William, and the earlier Georges, was that of a dominant and haughty superior. The Romish priest or schoolmaster was treated as an unclean animal, which must be driven to hide from the eye of a superior race. This code could but fail in practice; but the Church of Ireland had not yet been taught the full lesson she was destined to learn, to live by love. In the earlier part of the present century, and after the Act of Union, the dreadful tithe troubles harassed the land for years, and did not cease till the tithe composition Act of 1832.

The history of the last twenty years is too recent and too familiar to be here recorded; but we may send the reader to

the closing chapters of Dr. Ball's book for most accurate facts connected with the disestablished Church.

What have we learned from this brief review? Guided by history, we have seen a reformation thrust forcibly, in obedience to the fashion of the times and to the conscience of England, on an unprepared and unwilling Church. We have seen a degraded and ignorant "reformed" clergy living in poverty, in ruinous houses, ministering fitfully in decayed, and often roofless, churches—no school for the peasantry, and no one competent to teach the principles of the Reformation had they existed. We have seen the Church pillaged in war and decimated by massacre, holding its ground, humanly speaking, only because endowed with a remnant of its ancient tithes—too weak in all the instruments of spiritual power to do more in Ireland for centuries than hold its ground.

We must admit that the problem placed before the Church of Ireland has always been one of vast difficulty. Some of the conditions of the problem we have noticed, many more may be studied in our author's pages; but these enormous difficulties and these innumerable hindrances must be considered by those who find fault with the Church for her failure to win over the majority to her side.

To-day, as we look at her, we see a Church alive and awake. Deserted by the State which once only too sternly established her in Ireland, but containing within herself elements of perpetual life. Governed by her synods, supported in great measure by her laity, aiding in sending the Gospel to all lands, quietly sowing the seeds of the truth among the Romanist population, and setting an example to the people of Ireland of God-fearing, law-abiding, and intelligent citizenship, which not long since won from the lips of a Roman Catholic, who had every means of knowing both sides, the confession that "the Protestants of Ireland are the salt of the earth."

G. R. WYNNE.



ART. V.—ROBERT AITKEN, OF PENDEEN:  
A SKETCH.

IT was in the autumn of 1872 that I first saw Robert Aitken, of Pendeen. I was in wretchedly bad health, and had been sent down to the coast—to the little watering-place of Sandgate—with the double object of recruiting strength and of reading for Orders with the Vicar. Sandgate is a long, straggling little town, which stretches its wind and weather-beaten length for a mile or more along the line of the beach.

Like a wall behind rise the cliffs ; at their foot bosky groves, within the recesses of which nestle the villas of the fortunate and the one or two mansions of the great. Above are the downs and the geometrically arranged huts of the camp of Shorncliffe. Sandgate is a little quiet backwater, away from the rush of the tide of life. It is not situated on the main line of railway. Those who are whirled past Shorncliffe station on their way to Folkestone or Dover are not made conscious of its existence by any outward and visible sign. It is hidden away behind and beneath the cliffs which terminate the downs seaward. If you want to visit Sandgate you must either change at the junction above and run down to the shore upon a single loop-line, or else you must make your way along the white and dusty road which leads past the Martello tower, through a depression between the high downs into the main or rather only street of the village. All that is to be seen is then soon seen. On the left are the schools surrounded by their bare, trodden playground ; on the right a flight of steep steps leads up to the church—a shapeless building, whose meaningless architecture is, however, partly redeemed by the masses of ivy which cover its walls and festoon its open belfry ; further on a long vista of smallish shops and not very pretentious lodging-houses ; short side-streets running up to the cliffs on the right and down to the beach on the left, where is hidden away a colony of fisherfolk, labourers, and that nameless unworking population which hangs on somehow to the skirts of society in every English town or village. Such was Sandgate fifteen years ago ; such, for all I know to the contrary, it is to-day.

We were not easily excited in Sandgate. Sometimes we waxed a little warm over local elections, and called each other hard names ; or we (metaphorically sometimes, but not always) shook our fists at each other over an audacious proposal to carry a railway right through our narrow territory, stringing it like a bead, and encroaching upon our beach, in the eyes of quiet people, our best possession ; or bands of young soldiers would now and again parade our street, throwing their caps in the air, and hurraing when some foreign complication threatened an immediate outbreak of hostilities and a prospect of active service. But in the main we took things very quietly ; and the passing years which were effecting such startling changes in the great world beyond the cliffs left us much as we had always been, both socially, politically, and religiously.

When, therefore, the Vicar announced that, for the first time, a Mission was to be held in Sandgate, and that the Missioner was to be that well-known and mighty evangelist,

the Rev. Robert Aitken, of Pendeen, I do not think that very many people troubled themselves much about the matter, or even inquired very diligently who Mr. Aitken might be. The Vicar, however, set to work in a methodical manner, and called together his staff of parish-workers. To each district visitor a certain section of the village was assigned, which was to be systematically visited from house to house, and the aim and objects of a Mission impressed upon the people. The Thursday evening service took the form of a large prayer-meeting, at which a special blessing was asked, during many weeks beforehand, upon the coming Services. By-and-by everybody at least knew that something unusual was going to take place in connection with the church; and by the time that the season of the Mission drew near, most of the spiritually minded people in the parish were thoroughly interested and determined to do their best to make Mr. Aitken's visit a success.

One Saturday afternoon he arrived at the Vicarage. For my part I was, I confess, a little frightened. I had never taken part in a mission before, and my solitary experience of the ways of a Missioner had been rather alarming. About a year previous to this, a certain well-known evangelist had visited a Midland town, near to which was my home. He had been invited to read a paper at a clerical and lay conference. After the proceedings, it fell to my lot to pilot him through the mile and a half of country lanes which lay between the town and the parsonage at which he was to pass the night. Our conversation, which was at first upon general topics, was soon brought round to that of religion, and religion, too, made somewhat uncomfortably personal. It was in vain that I turned the edge of my companion's remarks with my best skill and attempted to parry his semi-questionings, so as to avoid as politely as might be the catastrophe of the interrogative direct which a certain instinct told me was threatening. All in vain. I found myself at last taken by the arm, and required to answer then and there whether I were a Christian in the truest and fullest sense of the word. On that occasion I had chosen to consider myself as insulted. The memory of it rather rankled in my heart. When, therefore, Mr. Aitken was announced at the little Vicarage on the cliff, I looked forward with some apprehension to the prospect of spending nearly a fortnight in the same house with one so noted for "his power in dealing with souls!"

As I entered the drawing-room a deep, bass voice was uttering sounds in slow tones which seemed to vibrate through the room. There stood upon the hearthrug an old man of a striking and majestic figure. He seemed to fill the room with his presence. The rest seemed there to listen and to

obey. One became instantly conscious of a great and compelling personality.

Robert Aitken, of Pendeen, was not a man to see and to forget. His commanding height, which raised him head and shoulders above the average crowd, supported a massive head, square and resolute, venerable as that of an apostle, and, in spite of its thin white hair, bleached by many heats and frosts of hard service, erect as that of a general reviewing his troops in the field. His eyes, which rested upon the new-comer with the quiet benignity of a patriarch, would at times concentrate their gaze into a steady, searching look which seemed to penetrate right through one's frontal bone into his brain, and to read the secrets there as an open letter might be read. Sometimes they would flash a fitting accompaniment to the thunderous tones of his overwhelming voice. The face was neither handsome nor beautiful—that is to say, its features were neither regular, nor were any of them, taken singly, conformable to any recognised model of masculine beauty. But the face was a powerful face. It was the countenance of a man who was accustomed to be loved, followed, and obeyed. His voice, which was then slightly affected by age and much speaking, was still magnificent. Full and resonant, one of the deepest bass voices which I have ever heard, its lower notes seemed, without any effort on his part, to cause a vibration throughout the room, such as is effected by the swell of an organ. Such a voice exercises a singular power over the heart of a listener. It touches a chord which responds as to the subtle influence of music, and brings an audience at once into sympathy with the speaker.

We soon found that we had nothing to fear from any want of tact on the part of the great Missioner. He treated us all as though we must, as a matter of course, feel a deep interest in the work which he had come among us to undertake; and, before many minutes had passed, we found ourselves sitting, as in an enchanted circle, spell-bound by that soul-thrilling voice, and listening to words such as one at least among the company had never before heard fall from lips of mortal man. As that one listened, "his heart burned within him," and it seemed to him as though the days of the Apostolic Church might once more dawn upon men; and that disciples of Jesus might again comfort and encourage one another in very deed, "in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs." We were more than content to let him talk. His conversation was as a revelation to more than one among his listeners. He discussed easily and without constraint many subjects, but all were regarded from the point of view of the other world. In his scheme of life it was evident that Jesus still walked among men. When

we rose to separate for the night, it was with the feeling that we had at last been brought face to face with an actual saint of God.

Next morning, as we went churchward, Aitken accepting and leaning upon my young arm, some people turned to look after the notable figure of the fine old man. And indeed he was not one who could pass down the main street of a village without attracting attention. His tall, square-set form was robed in a long, cassock-like over-garment, which reached almost to the ground, and was fastened down the front by braided frogs. His broad-brimmed hat bore that rosette in front which is now not an uncommon ornament upon the clerical headpieces, but was then sufficiently rare to be remarked. These rather unusual habiliments became him well enough. He bore himself unconsciously, and not as though there were anything about him different from his fellows. But, as I said, people turned and looked after us. They were evidently asking one another what sort of man this Missioner might be. The church, however, was not crowded. It was fuller than usual, but that was all. Sandgate was not easily excited. It was evident that, if this Mission were successful, it would not owe much to the initial force with which it was started on its course.

We had heard something of the strange power which Aitken was able to exercise over his congregations of Cornish miners. How he would emerge from his church, where he had spent hours in prayer, and, standing up before the great assembly in the open air, would bow them before the sweeping onrush of his impassioned eloquence, as a field of corn is swayed by the wind. How tears would respond to his pleadings, and sobs and cries at times would convulse his hearers, as a thousand hearts trembled before his stern delineation of the judgment which follows hard upon a life of unrighteousness. It was, therefore, with a keen interest, not unmixed with curiosity, that we watched the black-gowned figure—the black gown and bands were then used in Sandgate—ascend the lofty wooden pulpit, and listened for the first words which he might utter.

A short collect, and then he commenced the Lord's Prayer. I do not know whether he was in the habit of using the Lord's Prayer in the pulpit. I imagine not; since, if I recollect rightly, he did not again repeat it before his sermons during that week. But then, as though without premeditation, he began the words of the Prayer of prayers. Never had I heard that prayer so prayed before. It was as though I had not understood what the words meant until then. As he prayed, it seemed as though a veil were drawn away from our faces and our Father was before us—a substantive Being. Hands

seemed to be extended above us as though in benediction. A deep stillness fell upon the congregation. Scarce one durst look up. Even the children appeared to feel the spell. Not a sound came from the fidgety corner of the Sunday-school gallery. We were already well disposed to listen to the words of the sermon which was to follow.

The sermon itself, however, was not quite what we had been led to expect. It was not the kind of sermon to which we had been accustomed to listen from the lips of distinguished preachers. There was nothing in the nature of oratory about it. If one might judge by such recognised models as Barrow, or Jeremy Taylor, or by Melville, or Bradley, it was not a sermon at all. There were no apparent "divisions." There was no marked peroration. There was no swift rush of arguments like to those with which, as with charging battalions, Chalmers would bear down and overwhelm all mental opposition on the part of his audience. Nor was there the forcible flow of dramatically told and artistically arranged anecdotes with which Guthrie would enchain the attention of every hearer.

Aitken's style, on this occasion at least, was almost colloquial. He seemed purposely to avoid all conventional methods. Indeed he spoke almost with contempt of those "paper sermons" which were compounded out of dry books in the study-chair. He assured us that anyone among us could preach if only the love of Christ burned with a living flame within his heart, and if only he would be content to tell others what he actually knew of the grace of God, and not what he supposed *ought* to be known and taught. Sometimes his stories seemed to fall almost below the dignity and solemnity of the occasion—as when he narrated how a sportsman with gun and dogs had occupied the same compartment with him on his journey from London, and had asked him whether he, too, was fond of shooting. With a twinkle in his eye he told us that he had replied, 'Yes, sir, but it is my business to shoot *souls*!' Yet, if we smiled, it was with a tear in our eye, for we already felt that the bow was in the hand of no unskilful marksman, and that the arrow which he had aimed at our hearts had found "the gold." We left the church disinclined to criticise, though there was plenty in what we had heard to invite criticism. The preacher had produced the effect upon us which no doubt he had intended to produce. He had made us feel that what he said he *meant*; and that God, Eternity, Judgment, and Salvation were not disputable theories but absolute facts. Somehow, by his very artlessness of speech, he had brought us face to face with God. He had—how, we could not tell—for awhile raised the curtain which

shut us off from the Invisible; he had led some of us trembling into the very presence of the awful Judge; others—happy souls—to meet the reassuring glance of their Father in heaven, in Whom they then knew that “they lived, and moved, and had their being.”

Aitken was, however, not always colloquial; he was capable, we found, of flights of eloquence, at which times his action would be as vehement as his delivery was impassioned. On such occasions he was overwhelming. There was nothing for it but to yield one's self unreservedly, for the time being, to the influence of his surging speech. Now and again even the rushing torrent of his thunderous words seemed but an inadequate vehicle to convey to us the thoughts which strained and pressed with volcanic force within him, seeking an outlet. Then he would lean far forward, reaching over the pulpit, extending his arms as though he would gather us all up together close to him, and so impart himself to us. Or, he would, in attacking some crying evil, or some God-defying sin, wrestle with it, crush it, strangle it, and dash it out of existence, treading it down beneath his feet, to be committed to utter destruction among the impalpable dust of all forgotten things.

He would sometimes laugh at his own impetuosity, and say that it took a strong pulpit to hold him. Nor, after we had heard him a few times, were we incredulous. We did not, after a little experience of those thunder-clap passages of his, find it hard to believe the following story which he told the home-circle at the Vicarage against himself. He was, on a certain occasion, preaching in a West-country church. The pews were old-fashioned and high-walled; the pulpit was lofty, shaped like a wine-glass, of thin panelling, and supported upon a slender and wholly inadequate stem. This pulpit stood in the centre of the building, and was surrounded on two, if not three, sides by the encroaching ranks of pews. As the great preacher ascended the rickety and worm-eaten steps they creaked ominously, nor did the pulpit, when he grasped its narrow edges, seem too strong. All this, however, Aitken soon forgot, and launched himself freely out upon the current of his discourse. Presently he was breasting the rapids and carrying the whole congregation with him as with the mighty strokes of a powerful swimmer, when some lunge of arm or leg, or the sudden impact of his body against the side of the pulpit, was too much for its sorely tried stability. There was a sharp crack, a long, rending crunch, and Aitken felt the whole pulpit was slowly falling forward! Rapidly the question flashed through his mind, What was he to do? As rapidly he resolved to do nothing, but to continue his sermon.

This he did, till the pulpit, gradually settling down, rested against the edge of the high pew nearest to it. Happily the inclination was not so great as to prevent him from preserving his balance, and he was able to stick to his post until the end!

Aitken's real power, however, over his audience did not seem to lie in his vehemence, or in the language which he employed, or even in the earnestness and directness with which he spoke; rather in a certain magnetic force which he appeared to possess, and which placed him at once *en rapport* with his hearers. One may almost say that without this indescribable attribute, without a certain measure of this almost mesmeric power of attraction, no man can be a truly great orator. Aitken had it in a remarkable degree. From the moment when he began to speak to the moment when he closed his address, all eyes were fixed upon him—riveted, one might say. He sometimes seemed to hold absolute dominion, for the while, over the souls whom he admonished. I remember one remarkable instance of the strange power which would accompany his simplest words. We had left the church after the evening service, and were assembled in the schoolroom across the way for an after-meeting. The room was full without being crowded. There was no excitement of any kind. We had not even sung any of the revival hymns from the Mission-book. We sat in our places quietly waiting for the clergy to take the initiative. Presently Aitken arose. His tall form, crowned with its massive white head, towered above us. There was a moment's silence, during which he looked around, and seemed in that glance to comprehend all present. Then he slowly raised his arms, and with hands extended above our heads, began, "Dear, dear souls!"—no more. There was a slight pause. I was myself seated upon a form which likewise held five others, men and women. I distinctly felt the form tremble beneath us. Glancing sideways I could see that my neighbours were visibly agitated, nor was I insensible to an influence which, as it were, bowed the spirit before the compelling will of him at whose feet we, disciple-like, were sitting. During that slight pause following those three words a silence that was almost painful to bear fell upon the room. It was as though every breath were held; and when the deep tones of the preacher's voice were again heard resuming his address, a light sigh, almost a sob, escaped from the congregation, as though they had been under the influence of a spell and were just set free.

"Dear souls" was a favourite expression of Aitken's. It did not sound strange coming from his lips. But, indeed, we did not stay to weigh his expressions, or much to recollect his words; they were but as the chariot of fire—wheeled or

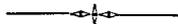
winged, we cared not which—that bore us up into heavenly places and into the presence of the eternal Father. Of the after-meetings, and Aitken's method of dealing with the people who remained for them, I will not say much. His methods were such as might with safety be adopted by himself, but by none other. It was impossible really to resent any words, however personal and persistent, from one whose grave and commanding personality and whose age and apostolic bearing appeared to bestow upon him the father's right to speak. It is said that upon one occasion his attention was directed to a certain lady of title—a well-known leader of fashion—who had come to hear him preach, and, having satisfied her curiosity, was leaving the church. She had passed with a cold stare some one who asked her concerning her soul, and begged her to remain to the after-meeting, when Aitken, rapidly striding down the aisle, overtook her, and, laying his hand upon her arm, said quietly, "My dear, go and sit down." Her hauteur was dissolved in an instant, and she suffered herself to be led without resistance to a seat, where she remained during the rest of the proceedings. I can quite believe it. But some of his assistants who imitated his methods, without possessing at the same time the advantage of his manner, no doubt often gave serious offence.

That was the case at Sandgate upon more than one occasion. Toward the end of the Mission, however, there were few who found a word to say against either it or the Missioner. I do not suppose that Sandgate is perfect even yet; but I do not fear being found far wrong if I say that much of the fruit of the patient labour of the then Vicar was gathered in during that time, and that converts were made who have not since been lost, and that spiritual life was awakened which is still, after the lapse of fifteen years, putting forth strength.

This was, I believe, Aitken's last Mission. Soon after he left for the Continent, and, returning home, fell dead upon the platform of a London station. Judged by results visible and countable, it was not one of his most successful Missions. But there still live certain who thank God that they were then brought into contact with one of His servants, and listened to a voice which they recognised as that of His messenger.

E. C. DAWSON.

EDINBURGH.



## ART. VI.—MODERN PALESTINE.

NO other country has drawn to itself so much of the world's debate as Palestine. Situated at the point of junction of two continents, it formed the connecting link between the civilizations of the ancient world, and down to our own time has retained its geographical and political importance, whilst it possesses an historical and religious interest which renders it altogether unique. The Rabbis held that Jerusalem is the centre of the earth, that the sacred rock was the nucleus around which the rest of the world was formed; that on Zion the first Adam was created, Noah offered sacrifice after coming out of the ark, Abraham offered his son Isaac, and in due course of time the altar of burnt-offering was erected, because, as they beautifully said, it was fit that the place of man's creation should be also the place of his redemption. In later times the Christians adopted a somewhat similar opinion, and with a slight transference of site still point out the centre of the earth under the dome of the Greek Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Nor have the Mohammedans been behind in ascribing to Jerusalem a mysterious and awful importance, affirming that the rock over which the great "Dome of the Rock" is built covers the "Well of Souls"—the "great abyss" of the Talmudic doctors. Many other fancies with reference to the land are to be found in Jewish writings, as that it is higher than all other lands; that it is so holy that whoever (of the chosen race) walks four cubits in it is assured of a part in "the world to come;" that to be buried in it is like being buried beneath the altar, and therefore an expiation;<sup>1</sup> that it even possesses a kind of divinity, because it is written (Levit. xxv. 38), "to give you the land of Canaan to be your God." Nor has the Christian Church been free from superstitious reverence for the soil of Palestine. As early as the fourth century dust and earth were brought thence and sold for enormous sums as remedies against evil spirits. The Campo Santo at Pisa was formed of fifty-three shiploads of earth from Mount Calvary, in order that the dead might repose in holy ground. Pilgrims still carry home with them bottles of the sacred water of the river Jordan; and it is a common custom, especially with Russian pilgrims, to dip shrouds in that stream and treasure them to be buried in.

Whether any of this mysterious sacredness attached to the land before the call of Abraham it is now impossible to decide;

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<sup>1</sup> The Jews still carry away to foreign countries the earth of Palestine to put into the graves of their beloved ones.

but it is certain that from the period of the Israelitish conquest, which was accomplished by divine, supernatural aid, the interest with which the country has been regarded has never flagged, and that every great nation as it rose to power has desired to possess and rule over it. The Assyrian and the Babylonian, the Egyptian and the Persian, the Greek and the Roman, the Arab, the Frank, the Turk—all these have in turn invaded it; and in our own day it differs from every other country in this—that it is regarded as sacred by the followers of the three great monotheistic religions which have sprung from the Semitic race. Widely as the children of the promise have wandered from the faith taught them by inspired prophets and seers, they still cling with passionate fondness and reverence to the land of their fathers. Sad as the error of the deluded followers of Mohammed is, they have not forgotten to revere the land promised to him in whose faith they vainly profess to believe; and deplorably as the Church of Christ has in the course of its chequered history become corrupted, it has never ceased to regard with veneration the country in which the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, where our Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel, taught and suffered and died for us.

This feeling with reference to Palestine is closely associated with the belief in a glorious future which the land is to enjoy. The pious Jew looks forward to the time when his people are to be restored to it, when their dismal wandering and homelessness are to be terminated, and Israel is to become prosperous and powerful. The devout Christian, to whom the way of God has been revealed more perfectly, shares the same belief, but with the conviction that it is the Kingdom of Christ which is to be established there; and whatever differences of opinion may exist with reference to the second coming of our Lord, all are presumably agreed that the Jews will eventually be led to believe in Jesus of Nazareth as their Messiah and Saviour, and that their restoration to the favour of God will be to the rest of mankind "as life from the dead." The appointment of an English Bishop to represent and preside over the labours of the Church in Jerusalem and adjacent countries shows how deep an interest is felt by English Churchmen in the spiritual regeneration of that part of the world; and now more than ever there will be a desire to investigate everything concerning the Holy Land, and especially the present condition and prospects of the country and its inhabitants.

It is proposed to give in this article a rapid sketch (1) of the climate and productions of Palestine as observed in recent years; (2) of its inhabitants; (3) of the existing state of the Mohammedan, the Jewish, and the Christian religions as re-

presented there; and (4) of the philanthropic, educational, and evangelistic work being carried on by Protestant agencies.

I. *Climate and Productions.*—It has often been asserted, but never proved, that the climate of Palestine has undergone a great change within the historical period. That the fruitful and delightful land, flowing with milk and honey, promised to the Israelites can be the parched, barren, and unfruitful country which modern Palestine is so often represented to be is deemed incredible, except on the supposition that great climatic changes have occurred in it. But we must not judge of an Eastern country from a Western standpoint. The Holy Land is neither so richly timbered nor so green and well watered as England (for instance); but it is equally fertile, and when properly cultivated yields returns not inferior to those of the most favoured countries of Europe. Of course, all the land is not equally productive, nor is it all adapted for the growth of the same crops; and one cause of the apparent barrenness of the soil, as shown by the pitifully scanty and lean ears of wheat and barley which the tourist observes in riding over the mountain-paths, is that owing to bad government and want of roads there is so little intercommunication that villages in the hills, in order to be independent of their neighbours, try to grow their own corn in spots where figs, vines, and olives ought to be planted, instead of raising those products for which their land is suited, and exchanging them for the breadstuffs grown in the plains.

But it is said the rains are less copious than in the old time, that the "latter rain" has been withholden or diminished, and that consequently the land has become more dry and barren. There is no proof of these statements. The rainfall of Palestine does not depend upon local circumstances, but upon its situation and its surroundings, and there is nothing to show that these have changed in any important particular; whilst statements as to the former productions of the country, and scattered notices of its physical conditions, customs, and diseases, tend to show that the heat and the cold, the rain and the snow, summer and winter, seed-time and harvest, are much the same now as they have ever been. It is, indeed, probable that before the country had been denuded of its forests, and when many more palms, sycamores, figs, and other fruit-trees existed, summer showers may have been less unfrequent than they are now.

The rainfall at Jerusalem, on a mean of twenty-two years, is 22 inches annually,<sup>1</sup> which falls on 52 days extending over a

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<sup>1</sup> In the British Isles during 1885 rain fell on 239 days, and the total amount was 36 inches.

period of six months, from November to April inclusive ; a very little also falling during the months of October (.514 inch) and May (.199 inch). Probably this is about the average for the whole of Palestine, excluding Lebanon, where the amount is greater and the rainy season is extended over a somewhat longer period. In the times and manner of its falling, and in its amount, the rain seems to be now what it was in Biblical and early post-Biblical times. In Ezra x. 13 we read that there was a great rain when the people were assembled in the ninth month, which corresponded to our December ; and the Mishna ordains that if rain has not fallen before the third of Marcheshvan (the end of October), it is to be prayed for ; and if by the first of Kisleu (middle of November) none has fallen, fasts are to be observed. From Joel ii. 23 we learn that the "latter" rain fell in the first month, Nisan (or April), which is still the month for the last rains of the season. The "early" rains, called in the Bible *yoreh* or *moreh*, moistens the soil, which had become hard and dry from the long drought, and fits it for the reception of the seed ; so that it is the signal for the commencement of ploughing. During the latter part of summer, after the treading out of the corn is completed, the peasants feed and tend their oxen carefully, so as to get them into condition for the hard labour of ploughing ; and as soon as a moderate amount of rain has fallen, this operation commences. In good seasons, October or November is the month for the early rains ; but it sometimes happens that they are delayed until December or even January, and sowing and ploughing have to be delayed accordingly. Corn, or at least barley, sown as late as the beginning of February may produce a good crop if the subsequent fall of rain is sufficient, four months being enough for its growth and ripening.<sup>1</sup> Although oxen are usually employed for ploughing, camels, mules, horses, and donkeys are also pressed into this service ; and the writer has even seen a donkey and a woman harnessed to the same plough. The season for ploughing is generally very bright, as the operation cannot be carried on when heavy rain is falling ; and a more cheery sight can hardly be witnessed than one of the large plains of the country covered with ploughs as far as the eye can reach, whilst the melodious call of the peasants to their animals gives an additional charm to the scene. As many as eighty or a hundred ploughs at work may sometimes be counted from a spot somewhat elevated. The ancient Oriental plough, guided with one hand whilst the other hand is employed in managing the cattle by means of a long and heavy goad, is still in use, and is said to be more

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<sup>1</sup> John iv. 35.

suitable for the light soil of the country than the European plough, the deeper furrow of which causes the earth to dry too quickly. The great number of stones in many cornfields gives an idea of slovenly farming to those accustomed to the neatly kept fields of the West; but it is believed that stones left on the surface are useful in preventing evaporation, and thus retaining moisture in the soil. The yield is exceedingly good in the best lands, as those of the great plains of Esdraelon and El Buttauf, some parts of the plains of Sharon and Philistia, many upland plains, and the low, undulating hills (*shephelah*) which intervene between the mountains and the western plain. No manure is used except that dropped by sheep and goats or horned cattle which are turned out after the harvest has been gathered in; and it seems surprising that, after so many centuries of such lax cultivation, so much fertility should still be retained. But the soil is naturally, in many places, one of the most fruitful in the world; the population has for ages been scanty, so that lands often lie fallow; and the peasants well understand the necessity of rotating their crops. Yet many localities have been impoverished by the continuance of the existing system, and many a deserted village no doubt owes its forlorn condition to the exhaustion of its lands. Wherever manuring has been adopted the yield has been largely increased; and as the population becomes larger steps will have to be taken to maintain fertility and restore it where it has been lost. An impediment of no small importance is the custom of using dung for fuel. This is a very ancient custom, and one most injurious to the land, which is thus deprived of the only means by which its continued fruitfulness can be secured. In Egypt, which is fertilized by yearly inundation, the manure may be burned without injury to the crops; but elsewhere there must be a return to the soil of the saline and other matters which are taken from it. What the peasants in the plains would do for fuel if dung were not used is not easy to decide, but with improved means of communication there would be no great difficulty in bringing wood from the hills; and the cultivation of wood for fuel must soon engage the attention of the Government. In ancient times, and even to a comparatively recent date, there was much pinewood on the hills which was employed for this purpose; but the pines of the hills, like the sycamores of the vale and the palms of the Jordan Valley, have disappeared under the blighting influence of bad government and the devastation of repeated and almost constant wars.

When the corn is sown the peasants rest themselves and their cattle awhile, and watch the downpour of the heavy

winter rain, upon which so much of the prosperity of the coming year depends. In a good season this falls during January and February and the beginning of March, and is neither very scanty nor too copious. If too little falls, or the intervals between the periods of rain are too long, the corn is poor and weak; and if too much falls there is too great a growth of straw. Observations during a long series of years have shown that wheat is cheapest after a season of moderate rainfall. Other winter and spring crops are *dhourrha*, which is a kind of millet (*Sorghum vulgare*), the chick-pea (kirsenny), lentils, beans, and peas. For all of these an adequate supply of spring or latter rains is necessary. This should fall at intervals during the latter half of March and the month of April; and if a little falls in the early part of May, it is of advantage to the crops on the higher hills. When the previous part of the season has been favourable, the harvest may be said to depend entirely on a sufficiency of the late rains; but a favourable latter rain cannot save the harvest if the corn has previously been extensively shrivelled by a long continuance of dry weather or easterly winds, nor will the most promising harvest prove satisfactory unless a sufficiency of rain fall late in the season.

Hardly less important than wheat and barley in some parts of the country are the summer crops of sesame and tobacco. Gourds, cucumbers and melons, grapes, olives, figs and pomegranates, oranges, lemons and citrons, and in the neighbourhood of large towns tomatoes, lettuce, cabbage, cauliflowers, leeks, onions, bamia, the eggplant, artichokes; also apricots, peaches, apples, pears, *zaroor* (which is the berry of a kind of hawthorn), and other fruits, employ the care of the husbandman, and contribute to the welfare and enjoyment of the people. The vine has been known in Palestine from very ancient times, and is still largely cultivated. The grapes are mostly white, large, fleshy, and not so juicy or delicate flavoured as those grown in Europe. The bunches are often very large. It is very common to see them from 12 to 18 inches long, and the present writer measured one upon his own terrace 24 inches in length. They are eaten in their fresh state, forming an important article of diet during their season, or dried into raisins, used for wine, and boiled down until the juice becomes thick like treacle, when it is strained and largely used as food. Grapes are also preserved as a kind of jam, to be eaten in the winter months, and the young unripe grapes are boiled and sweetened for food. Vine leaves, too, are made use of as an article of diet, rice and meat being rolled up in them and boiled. Although Mohammedans will not touch wine, they are the great grape-growers of the Hebron district,

which has so long been famous for the abundance, beauty, and productiveness of its vines. Very good native wine is made both by Germans and Syrians; that made by Jews is not usually so good, being thick, sweet, and astringent. During the season beautiful grapes may be bought for a halfpenny or a penny a pound, and excellent wine may be made for three-pence a bottle. Mutton and goat's flesh are the only meats used by the natives in the south; but of late years beef has been consumed by Jews and Europeans, and pork by the German settlers. There is a strong prejudice amongst the natives of the cities against beef, probably because it has never been a custom of the country to eat it, and there is always a suspicion that the animal was diseased or it would not have been killed. Camel's flesh is sometimes consumed by the peasantry, but it is coarse, as also is that of the buffalo. Fowls and eggs are an important production of the villages, the peasant women bringing them to market every morning. The fowls are small and often tough, but if fed on good food for a few days become plump and tender. The eggs also are small and less rich in flavour than an English egg, but are both larger and better than those of Egypt. A fowl can be purchased for a shilling or eighteenpence. Eggs cost from a farthing to three farthings apiece, according to season and weather. If very heavy rain or snow is falling the women cannot get to market, and fowl's eggs and other produce which they bring become dear.

Harvesting begins in April in some parts, but in the hills not until May. The barley is ready before the wheat, and both are allowed to ripen before being gathered. A sickle is generally employed to cut the corn, and the reaper will often protect himself with a leathern apron. On a few farms which have been purchased by capitalists, reaping-machines have been in use of late years. Early morning is the time for cutting the corn, when the dew is still upon it. After the sun has become high, the work is abandoned till next day. The threshing-floor seems to be exactly what it was in ancient times. The same operations of treading out the corn by animals, and of dragging over it a rough roller or a flat board with sharp stones or pieces of iron on its under surface and a man standing upon it,<sup>1</sup> are still employed. The flail is only used for lentils, spelt, and peas. Gleaning by the poor is common; and it is said that corners of the fields are left unharvested, as by the ancient Jews.

It is when the corn is gathered in that the troubles of the

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<sup>1</sup> "Behold I will make thee a new sharp threshing instrument having teeth" (Isaiah xli. 15). The instrument is still called by the Arabic equivalent for the name employed by the prophet.

peasant begin. He may not remove it, or any part of it, from the threshing-floor until the tax-collectors have viewed it, estimated its amount, and taken the tithe; and as their visit for this purpose is often delayed, the proprietor suffers greatly from the depredations of birds, mice, and ants,<sup>1</sup> which carry off immense quantities of the grain. The tithes are frequently sold by the Turkish Government to the highest bidder, and the purchaser of course finds his interest in estimating the crop as high as possible, so that disputes are of constant occurrence. When the Government collects them for itself, the adjustment of this important matter is always an affair of many words and much "bribery and corruption." Perhaps the poor peasant loves to have it so, for the excitement of endeavouring to cheat the Government is a pleasant change from the monotony of his existence; and if the result of the quarrelling be that he is made to pay more than he ought—*Naseeb!* it is destiny; God is great, and Mohammed is the apostle of God. The world will still go on though he and his children almost starve, and he may have better luck next year! It is said, and is probably true, that the villagers as a rule would rather suffer the loss entailed in entertaining the officers during the days the dispute is going on than pay at once the lawful demand. A sheep is slaughtered, rice and butter are purchased, endless pipes of tobacco and cups of coffee are consumed, the gossip of the whole countryside is discussed, and mysterious monetary transactions of a delicate nature take place before an agreement can be arrived at.

All the cultivated land in Palestine is theoretically the property of the Sultan. From time immemorial each village has held lands which it has the right to cultivate on payment of a Government-tax of four in a thousand of its estimated value in lieu of rent. These lands are the common property of the villagers, who meet together every year to arrange what portion each is to plough and sow, and with what crops, and what portion is to be left fallow. The produce is the private

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<sup>1</sup> The truth of the statement of Agur the son of Jakeh (Prov. xxx. 25), that the ants "prepare their meat in summer," has been called in question; but it is nevertheless in accordance with fact, like many other statements of Holy Scripture upon which doubt has been thrown. There is no commoner sight in Palestine than columns of ants marching to and fro between their nests and a supply of corn or other seeds which they have found, and laying in a supply for future use. When this harvesting is over, they employ themselves in dressing the seeds which they have stored, and carrying the husks outside their nests. All over the country, in suitable situations, the position of the habitations of these industrious creatures is indicated by a circular or semicircular heap of husks of grain which they have thrown out. Whether, as Pliny states, they destroy the *radicle* of the seed, so as to prevent germination, I am not able to say.

property of the cultivator. A village may sell its lands as if they were freehold property; but by a recent edict, no single individual is permitted to purchase more than one-third of the lands of any village. This restriction, however, may be evaded by purchasing the several thirds in different names; a course which has of late years been rather freely adopted by capitalists and some colonizing societies. If the lands are sold, the villagers either migrate to another locality or remain and earn a living as hired farm-labourers. If, as sometimes happens, a village, whose population has dwindled, possesses more land than it can cultivate, the superfluous portion may either lie untilled or be let to another village or to private cultivators, the rent being one-fifth of the produce. Besides the communal lands belonging to the villages, there are others which belong to individuals, who possess the same rights in them as the villagers have in the communal lands—that is, the right of cultivation, of letting, and of sale. By an old common law of the country, the Sultan has the right to take possession of any lands which are left uncultivated for three successive years (they are called “arâdy mahlooly” = loose lands), and to dispose of them as he chooses; but in practice this right is seldom or never exercised, unless in remote districts where there are few or no inhabitants. The dwelling-houses of the peasants are usually their own freeholds. Until recently every man had a right to erect a house with its courtyard in his own village, and this was regarded as his own freehold; but by an old law, now again in force, such erections can only be made by Government permission; and the space upon which they stand is taxed in compensation for the tithes which would have been charged upon its produce had it been cultivated. The olive, fig, and other fruit-trees of a village, and the vines, are always private property; but the land upon which they grow frequently belongs to others; so that the land may be sold without the trees, and the trees without the land.<sup>1</sup> The owner of the land is not permitted to uproot or injure the trees.

All produce of the soil is liable for the Government tithe, except certain garden produce in the neighbourhood of large towns where the difficulty of estimating and collecting the tenths has led to a different arrangement. At Jaffa, for instance, the beautiful and productive orange-gardens pay a

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<sup>1</sup> Abraham had asked the sons of Heth for the possession of a burying-place, and lest it should be afterwards asserted that he had only purchased the land and the right to bury in it, a clause was inserted in the deed of conveyance which specifically stated that he had bought not only the cave of Machpelah and the field, but also *all the trees that were in the field* (Gen. xxiii. 24). So ancient are Oriental customs!

Government-tax of eight per thousand on their estimated value (instead of four), and their produce is free from tithes.

Foreigners may now enjoy the privilege of owning land, provided that, in respect of that land, they accept the position of Ottoman subjects—that is to say, that in any legal questions arising in connection with it, foreign consuls are not to interfere, and judgment is to be given in accordance with the law and custom of the country. This privilege, which is a dangerous one for the Turks, has been somewhat largely taken advantage of, and a great many foreigners are now owners of houses and cultivated lands. Before the law came into operation it was customary for foreigners to purchase land through another person, an Ottoman subject, who entered into a private agreement with the real purchaser. In this way all the property of the numerous missions of the French, Russians, Germans, and English were held. The Turks (like the Russians) have a strong objection to foreign *societies* or corporations becoming owners of land, especially of arable land, and endeavour all they can to prevent it. The Jewish and German colonies which have recently been founded are looked upon with much disfavour, because the colonists are all subjects of some foreign power; and the Turks, not without reason, fear that political complications may arise should their respective Governments ever claim a right of interference in the difficulties and disputes which so often occur in connection with these undertakings. This is the chief reason why it is so difficult for such settlers to obtain permission to build houses for themselves to live in; and the strong objection which has been shown of late to the erection of hospitals and schools is due more to the fear of foreign influence than to religious zeal or intolerance. It is a singular spectacle to observe the French and Russians making use of the zeal of their respective Churches to further their own political ends in Palestine, and the Turks availing themselves of Mohammedan intolerance to counteract them.

The mean temperature of Jerusalem is 62·8° Fahr. The coldest month is February, when the mean temperature is 47·9°. It rises month by month until August, when it is 76·1°, and then falls month by month until the following February. Frost usually occurs on five or six nights in the course of the winter, and snow fell in fourteen seasons out of twenty-two. The time for snow is the end of December, January, February, and the early part of March. In 1870 there was a heavy fall of snow on the 7th and 8th of April—a very remarkable and extraordinary occurrence. For the most part the snow is in small quantity, and soon melts. The deepest snowfall registered was in December, 1879, when it

measured seventeen inches where there was no drift. The drifts are sometimes many feet deep. Although the mean temperature is highest in August, the hottest days do not always occur in that month. In May and September the temperature sometimes rises to 100° Fahr. or higher. It was at the time of harvest, the month of May, that the Shunamite's son, being with the reapers, cried to his father, "My head, my head," and died in a few hours, doubtless of sunstroke. Travelling at this season is fatiguing and hazardous both to man and beast. Even the natives prefer to make their journeys by night during the summer season. The mean daily range of temperature is 23·3° Fahr. in the summer and autumn, and 15·7° Fahr. in winter and spring. The great difference between the day and night temperature, especially in the hill districts, is no doubt one of the chief causes of the prevalence of fevers, dysentery, and other diseases. Even in summer it is necessary to put on extra clothing after sunset. The Arab never goes from home without his cloak. The best season for a tour in Palestine for those who are tolerably hardy is the month of March, when the whole country is beautifully green and bedecked with innumerable wildflowers. But the roads are sometimes at that period swampy in the plains, and rivers and streams difficult to cross, and many will prefer to travel in April. From the middle of November to the third week in December is also a pleasant time, as ploughing is then going on, and the absence of thistles and other wild weeds makes the exploration of ruins easier. There is no period of the year when Jerusalem may not be visited and short excursions made from it with pleasure and safety, provided ordinary precautions are taken, and the traveller is not so pressed for time that he cannot wait until a day or two of rain or exceptional heat have passed. But the Jordan Valley should be avoided between May and November.

THOMAS CHAPLIN, M.D.

(To be continued.)

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## Reviews.

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*Rational Aspects of some Revealed Truths.* By EDWARD B. OTTLEY, M.A., Minister of Quebec Chapel (lately the Principal of Salisbury Diocesan Theological College). Rivingtons. 1887.

MR. OTTLEY undertook a difficult task in 1883, to deliver in two days a course of devotional lectures in defence of the main positions of Christianity. For such an endeavour could hardly lead to more than a summary of well-known arguments. But, to do Mr. Ottley justice, he

seems to have been fully conscious of the difficulties that lay before him, and modestly speaks of his book as "a meagre heap of filched materials." Yet if the materials are arranged with some degree of originality, and in a pleasing form, the result becomes neither unattractive nor without value, and in these respects the volume amply justifies its publication.

In the first, the Introductory Lecture, the author discusses the extent, origin, and causes of modern unbelief. He points out that the study of the bases of belief may well tend to deepen our faith and enlarge our charity, that we shall think more of what we hold in common with other Christians and less of points of difference. He also shows that we hardly estimate sufficiently seriously the general tone of thought in our leading periodicals, and he rightly warns us of the inconsistency of allowing the works of eminent Agnostics, "the moral philosophy of which, though somewhat veiled from sight, is totally opposed to the Christian and generally received morality," to be read freely "by those who are denied a lighter literature, where indeed much that is base and impure is introduced upon the scene, but where the lights and shadows of the traditional moral standards are never blurred, and the old distinctions of right and wrong are rigidly observed." Yet on the whole this lecture is of a decidedly hopeful tone, especially as regards unbelief in England, for "in the great warfare with unbelief we stand far ahead of any other European country." This may be, but the battle is far from won. The foe finds his adherents in three classes—the poor, especially those who are discontented with their social condition, for "unbelief fastens upon despair;" the philosophers and men of science who believe that their investigations are somehow or other able to reach beyond the finite, or at least to decide whether there be anything beyond the finite, or if not that, to at least place them in a position to affirm that nothing save the material can of a certainty be recognised; and lastly, those persons in general society who, without any claim to personal investigation, or even to study, profess their doubts of our religion. The secret of dealing with the first and last classes is sympathy. The second has to be met by more intellectual forces.

In the second Lecture—on the authority of the Holy Scriptures—we think that Mr. Ottley is particularly happy. He is, of course, with the shortness of time at his disposal, obliged to limit himself to one argument, and he takes the argument of Butler that the historical character of the Bible "gives the largest scope for criticism and for confutation of what is capable of being confuted, either from reason, or from common history, or from any inconsistency in its several parts." Proceeding on this line, he shows that the researches of modern times have on the whole wonderfully confirmed the accuracy of the Bible, in not only history but also natural science. "In the leading ideas of development and differentiation, as well as in the actual sequence of the orders of life [though personally we can hardly regard this last as absolutely certain], the latest investigations of science harmonize with the teachings of Moses."

In the three Lectures given to the subject of the Divinity of Christ, Mr. Ottley takes, first, the general influence of Christianity upon the world; but this lecture is somewhat too sketchy, and would have been more forcibly put had he first read that most excellent of books, Bruce's *Gesta Christi*. In Lecture IV. he is more at his ease in stating the argument from the representations of the ancient Hebrew Scriptures, taking occasion, by the way, to show the fundamental importance of the Arian controversy, and to introduce some valuable quotations from Mozley and Mr. Illingworth upon the reasonableness of the doctrine of the Trinity.

The fifth Lecture is devoted to the representations of Christ in the New Testament, and it is perhaps sufficient to say of it that it is a

summary of the more important parts of Liddon's "Bampton Lectures." But in one respect he puts the truth still more strikingly than Canon Liddon: (p. 140.) "Who, of all earnest souls that ever lived, would have dared to offer an Ideal of human perfection with a vast *lacuna* at the very core of the conception—I mean, with a total absence of all "consciousness of sin, of all that vast basis and ground of genuine "humility, which is but the underside of all human greatness?" . . .

In the last Lecture, as indeed in the last page or two of the first, Mr. Ottley speaks of the witness to Christ to be borne by His disciples in the present day. The summing up of it seems to be this: we need more faith, and that on all sides—more faith in science which is Divine language, more faith in reason which is the lamp of truth within, and more faith in God. Christians need, he tells us, to see that *all* their powers may rightly be used for God—in science, in art, in literature; they need to use their powers in each department of life to their very best, and to use them there for God. For, as he tells us (p. 180), "Many earnest and thoughtful men are turning away from Christianity in a kind of discontent, not simply on account of its miraculous or supernatural element—for that could be rationalized away—but because it seems wholly absorbed in moralities," and such men need to be shown that Christianity has to do with the whole sphere of life. Yet we personally cannot think that this is really the great need of our time. It seems to us that one great danger of to-day lies in the mixture of the Church and the world, and that there is much more need of a return to the old spirit of the Church in the first three centuries and of the much-despised Puritans.

We are glad that Mr. Ottley has published his Lectures. The "meagre heap of filched materials" is well put together, and will serve, we doubt not, as a firm stepping-stone to many who are struggling to escape from the threatening waves of unbelief.

M.A.



*His Masters.* By S. S. PUGH. London: R.T.S.

An exceedingly well-written and vivacious story of school life forty years ago, containing scenes that are manifestly true to life, and not drawn from some imagined and sentimental academy. "His masters" were the opposing forces of good and evil to which the hero was subjected, and it is shown plainly how it is impossible to trim between the two. The moral teaching is all that could be desired, and the interest is well sustained by a good story and plenty of scholastic excitement, all natural and real. A little genuine boys' slang, quite up to date and not antiquated, will help to reconcile many boys to digesting the grave and serious lesson which the author conveys.

*A Manual of the Book of Common Prayer.* By the Rev. C. HOLE, B.A. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

This is the fourth issue of the Theological Educator Series, and fully reaches the standard of its predecessors. Its distinctive feature is, of course, to specially assist those preparing for Holy Orders; and the author, who is Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History at King's College, London, performs his task in a thoroughly trustworthy manner. As many points of importance as possible are presented in condensed shape, and satisfactory references are given for fuller study. A very useful part of the book is a collection of sound and exhaustive examination questions.

*Friendly Greetings.* Vol. xiv. London: R.T.S.

The pictures are bright; the coloured texts are quite worthy of a frame; the letterpress is practical and well selected. This volume is on a par with the preceding ones.

## THE MONTH.

PARLIAMENT was prorogued on the 16th. The Allotments Bill, as we hoped, has been carried. The Tithe question is to be dealt with early next session.

Mr. Gladstone's motion for an Address to the Crown, praying that the proclamation of the National League might not be carried out, was rejected by 272 to 195.

Mr. Bridge, the Welsh Tithe Commissioner, in his Report, points out that many distressed clergy have been obliged to grant reductions which they can ill afford in order to secure the payment of any tithe at all; but that in districts where the landlords pay the tithe no difficulties have arisen. This he believes to indicate "the best mode of escaping the present difficulties which surround the tithe question."

The Bishop of Manchester has appointed a Diocesan Missioner. (In how many Dioceses is there any Diocesan organization for Mission work?)

In the Annual Pastoral Address to the Wesleyan societies throughout Great Britain appears this paragraph :

The non-political character of our Church is very precious to us, and we are anxious to preserve it intact, and trust that nothing may ever occur among us to derogate from it or to shade it. Strongly should we deprecate any attempt at banding together as Wesleyans in party action, for our neutrality would become destroyed by such action, and the peace and prosperity of our Church-life would suffer. Let the old tradition prevail still—no politics in our Connection—a tradition so much in keeping with the saying of the Lord, "My kingdom is not of this world." Then shall we the better preserve "the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace," and live and labour together as brethren in the Lord.

Dr. Bardsley was consecrated Bishop of Sodor and Man at York Minster on St. Bartholomew's Day.

An interesting letter from Canon Jellett, touching the Church of Ireland, has appeared in the *Times*. Dr. Jellett says :

The Church of Ireland . . . was independent of the Church of England, with its own laws and canons. It was united to the Church of England in 1800, and then there was "the United Church of England and Ireland." It was disunited by the Act of 1869, and became what it had been before—"the Church of Ireland." There is no other legal name that can be given to it.

Under the heading "Increase of the Episcopate: how should it be attempted?" the *Guardian* has an able article, concluding thus :

As for the funds, we confidently hope that the Bishops will set the example; some by prompt offers of transference of income along with transfer of claims; and others by submitting, for the sake of the vast interests at stake, to a taxation of their present revenues.

Bishop Perry, of Iowa, has been elected to the see vacant in the Canadian Church.

In the *Record* of the 16th appears an interesting report of a C.M.S. meeting at Keswick (the Bishop of London presiding), with a speech by the Rev. F. E. Wigram, just returned from his long tour.