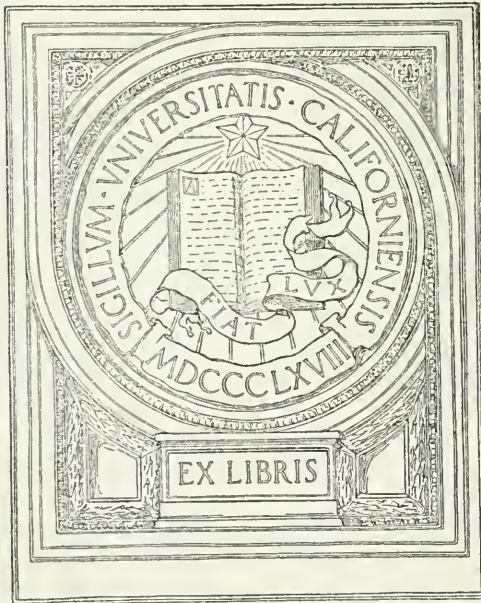


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LIFE AND LETTERS
OF
DEAN HOOK

NEW YORK: PUBLISHED BY
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1887.

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THE
LIFE AND LETTERS
OF
WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK

D.D., F.R.S.

BY
HIS SON-IN-LAW
W. R. W. STEPHENS

PREBENDARY OF CHICHESTER AND RECTOR OF WOOLBEDING
AUTHOR OF 'LIFE OF S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM' 'CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM' ETC.

SIXTH EDITION

With Index



LONDON
RICHARD BENTLEY & SON, NEW BURLINGTON STREET

Publishers in Ordinary to Her Majesty the Queen

1881

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JOHN FLOOD, D.D., 1830

Portrait painted by Mrs. J. F. Flood, 1830

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PREFACE

TO

THE NEW EDITION.

THE OBJECT of this Edition is to bring the work within the reach of many readers who were unable to purchase it in the larger and more expensive shape in which it first appeared two years ago.

A few letters have necessarily been omitted, and the narrative, although substantially unaltered, has been in parts condensed. On the other hand, two interesting events, omitted in former editions, have been recorded in the present volume. Of these the first (which is mentioned on p. 528) was Dr. Hook's generous support of the Rev. F. Maurice, on an occasion when Mr. Maurice was subjected, as he thought, to an unjust and narrow-minded attack. The information concerning this incident has been very kindly supplied to me by the Rev. Francis Garden, Subdean of Her Majesty's Chapels Royal. The second incident (recorded on p. 593), for the materials of which I am indebted to Dr. Liddon, Canon of St. Paul's, was the renewal of correspondence between Dr. Hook and Dr. Pusey, after it had been long suspended.

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One or two fresh anecdotes also have been introduced, and a few slight errors, which were overlooked in former editions, have been corrected.

The letter containing Lord Hatherley's reminiscences of his friend has been placed at the end of the volume instead of in the position which it formerly occupied between Chapters V. and VI. This alteration has been made solely with a view to symmetry, and by no means as implying that the letter itself is of secondary importance, for most readers will probably agree in thinking it the most valuable and interesting contribution in the whole book.

WOOLBEDING RECTORY : *St. Luke's Day*, 1880.

P R E F A C E.

ONE of the earliest recollections of my childhood is concerned with the subject of this Memoir. When I was about five years old, I accompanied my father and mother to London, on a visit to my uncle, then Mr. William Page Wood. As we were going upstairs on our arrival, my eye was caught by an oil portrait of a man with red hair and a large mouth, which hung over the door of the drawing-room, and I exclaimed, 'I don't think he's a pretty man.' The justice of the criticism was not denied. My mother allowed that he was not 'pretty,' but informed me that he was very good, and, moreover, that he was my uncle's greatest friend. And from that time forward, I became very curious about 'the good man,' as I was taught to call him.

That portrait on the staircase was one of the things I looked forward to seeing on our annual visits to London. I looked at it with increasing interest year by year, as I gradually heard and better understood who the subject of the portrait was ; how he was Vicar of a very large and very smoky town, far away in the north ; how he had built a great church there, what thousands of people flocked to it, what beautiful music was sung there, what eloquent sermons he preached, and how deeply he was beloved by the people ; and then, again, how full of mirth he was, what funny letters he wrote, and what droll things he

said and did. And on further acquaintance with the portrait, I could see there was a sparkle in the eyes, and a bright honest smile playing about the whole countenance, which largely compensated for the plainness of the features ; and I almost felt remorse for having ever ventured to say that the person depicted was not a 'pretty man.'

The interest which I thus learned to take from childhood in the life of the Vicar of Leeds must be offered as my principal apology for attempting to tell the story of that life. During my boyhood, indeed, and early youth, when he was in the plenitude of his strength and full tide of his work, I very rarely saw him, but I constantly heard about him ; and when in his old age I became connected with him through my marriage, and resided near him, he often talked to me like a veteran soldier of his old campaigns, and thus filled up and coloured for me in a great measure that picture of his life which the descriptions of others had already drawn in outline. It may seem to be a disadvantage, on the one hand, that a biographer should not personally have witnessed the work of his subject, but on the other, he may be able to write the history of past conflicts and controversies more dispassionately and calmly than one who has lived in the midst of them and has actually taken part in them. At the same time, no one can be more deeply sensible than I am how exceedingly difficult it is to put together a faithful narrative of a life passed in times which are, for the most part, too distant for the writer to draw much on his own recollections, and yet too recent to be studied in the pages of history. Not that I have endeavoured to write what is commonly called a 'Life and Times,' a combination which generally results in doing justice to neither the life nor the times. My aim has been to write the life of the man, to make him the central figure throughout, and to touch upon surrounding events

only in proportion as they concerned him, only in order to indicate the exact position which he occupied relatively to them, and to show how far he affected them, or how far he was affected by them. As far as possible, I have made him speak for himself, by his letters and diary, by extracts from his speeches and published writings, and by such fragments of his conversation as I or others could recollect. The difficulty of selecting and arranging copious materials of this kind, covering a period of more than half a century, can hardly be conceived by any but those who have made a similar attempt; and some indulgence is due, from which I hope not to be exempted, for defects in the execution of such a task.

To those who have aided me in it, and without whose aid it could not have been accomplished with that measure of completeness to which I trust it may pretend, I beg here most gratefully to acknowledge my obligations.

Foremost amongst these must be placed my uncle, Lord Hatherley, and my wife's aunt, Miss Hook. They not only supplied me with a vast quantity of valuable letters, but their full and exact reminiscences of distant events have been an unfailing source of trustworthy information. Besides the letter embodying his reminiscences, which Lord Hatherley has been good enough to write expressly for this Memoir, I have inserted a few letters addressed by him to his friend between the years 1830 and 1834, not only on account of their intrinsic excellence, but as illustrating the variety of subjects on which the two friends corresponded.

I must thank the Rector of Whippingham, the Rev. Canon Prothero, for endeavouring to glean some local information relating to the time when Dr. Hook was curate of that parish.

To the Vicar of Holy Trinity, Coventry, the Rev. F. M. Beaumont, I am much indebted for introducing me to some of

the old inhabitants of that city, more especially W. Odell, Esq., and Luke Dresser, Esq., whose communications have been exceedingly useful.

In Leeds my thanks are very particularly due to the Rev. E. Jackson, Incumbent of St. James's and Honorary Canon of Ripon, whose recollections, as the intimate and confidential friend of the Vicar during the period of his greatest activity, have been especially valuable to me.

My thanks are also due to the present Vicar of Leeds, to T. Pridgin Teale, Esq., M.D., to G. B. Nelson, Esq., and others, and, last but not least, to Mr. Edwin Moore, Registrar of the parish church, who rendered me immense aid in the toilsome work of searching out notices bearing on my subject, contained in the local contemporary journals.

In conclusion, I beg to thank collectively the large number of persons who have placed letters at my disposal, many of which are regarded by the possessors as very precious treasures. One word of caution may here be given to the readers of these letters. They must bear in mind that the writer was a man of very strong feelings and impulses. He wrote, and especially to the great friend of his life, in the most spontaneous manner, out of a very full heart, about whatever was uppermost in his mind. This, indeed, in a great measure constitutes their peculiar charm ; that they are the freshest and most artless expressions possible of the writer's thoughts and feelings at the moment when they were dashed off ; but for the same reason they must not always be taken as representing the deliberate and final conclusions of his mind upon the matters of which they treat.

The life which it has fallen to my lot to portray was a singularly noble life. I would fain hope that not a few of those who shall read the record may be stirred up by the perusal to emulate the life.

WOOLBEDING RECTORY : *September 27, 1878.*

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Erratum.

Page 7^b, line 10 from top, *for* rich *read* sick.

LIFE

OF

WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK.



CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION.

A. D. 1798-1821.

WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK was the eldest child of the Rev. James Hook and Anne his wife, and was born on March 13, 1798, at the residence, in Conduit Street, London, of his maternal grandfather, Sir Walter Farquhar, Bart. He was eleven months older than his only brother Robert, who died in 1873. Their only sister, Georgiana, who was several years younger, has survived both her brothers.

His paternal grandfather, Mr. James Hook, who was a composer and teacher of music at Norwich, married Miss Madden, a lady no less remarkable for sound sense and goodness than for her skill in painting. Out of a numerous family by this marriage, only two sons lived to manhood—James, who was born in June 1771, and Theodore, who was seventeen years younger than his brother.

James inherited the talents of his father and mother, and added to them very considerable literary powers of his own. It was truly remarked by one of his friends that had he given his

whole mind to painting, music, or literature, he would have achieved a high reputation in either of the three professions. His two novels, indeed, 'Pen Owen' and 'Percy Mallory,' entitle him to a high place among the writers of fiction. Some of his juvenile sketches were shown by his mother to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who was so much struck by the genius of the young artist that he strongly recommended the boy's parents to have him trained for a painter. A series of caricatures of the leading public men of the day, statesmen, lawyers, actors, and divines, drawn and coloured when he was a schoolboy at Westminster, aged fifteen, remains in possession of the family. They are inimitably good, not being in the least overdone, though full of humour ; and their value as portraits, sketched from the life, of such men as Pitt, Fox, Burke, Lord Thurlow, Boswell, Kemble, Munden, and many more, has been pronounced by connoisseurs to be very high indeed.

In music he had the same aptitude as his brother Theodore for playing impromptu on the piano, and was superior to him in execution and general knowledge of the art ; but although a ready versifier he did not improvise verses to his own accompaniments, the accomplishment for which Theodore earned such a remarkable reputation. His artistic tastes, in fact, were rather discouraged by his mother, who feared that they might dissipate his mind and allure it from the higher pursuits for which his more solid abilities, as she thought, fitted him.

In the latter part of the last century Westminster and Eton were the two great rival schools of England, and a brisk fire of epigram and satire was continually going on between the two through their magazines, the Etonian 'Microcosm' and the Westminster 'Trifler.' Hook was the artist of the 'Trifler,' and one of his drawings represented the boys of the two schools as being weighed by Justice in a pair of scales. The Etonians it is needless to say, were high in air, although George III. and other weighty personages were trying to depress their scale ; the Westmonasterians, on the other hand, touched the ground. This affront was retaliated by an epigram in the 'Microcosm' from George Canning, then an Eton boy :

What mean ye by this print so rare
 Ye wits, of Eton jealous,
 But that we soar aloft in air
 While ye are heavy fellows?

But his antagonist was as ready with his pen as with his pencil,
 and retorted in the 'Trifler' in a similar strain :

Cease, ye Etonians, and no more
 With rival wits contend :
 Feathers we know, will float in air,
 And bubbles will ascend.

During some of his holidays Hook wrote the libretto for two of his father's operas, which were brought out in London. But notwithstanding his inclination for artistic and literary occupation, his mother, who was anxious that he should enter Holy Orders, carried her point ; and after taking his degree from St. Mary Hall, Oxford, he was ordained Deacon by the Bishop of Sodor and Man in 1796, and he married in the following year.

Those were the days when pluralists flourished and abounded, and through the interest mainly of his father-in-law, Sir Walter Farquhar, who was the confidential friend as well as the physician of the Prince of Wales, preferments were heaped upon Mr. Hook in rapid succession. He became Rector of Sadington in 1797, Chaplain to the Prince of Wales in 1801, Rector of Epworth in 1802, of Hertingfordbury in 1804, and of St. Andrew and St. Nicholas, Hertford, in 1805.

The early childhood of Walter Farquhar Hook was spent at the Rectory of Hertingfordbury, and to this, the home of his earliest recollections, he ever looked back with the fondest affection. A very few years before his death he made a journey with his youngest son expressly to see it ; to pace once more the pleasant lawn and garden, and to see if the names were still legible which in his boyhood he had carved upon some of the trees that shaded the path by the river side—the names of himself and of his friend William Page Wood, together with the names of Shakspeare and Milton, whom they both loved with a passionate devotion.

While the sensitive tenderness and affectionateness of his

nature was inherited from both his parents, the vein of comic humour which equally distinguished him, and which sometimes burst forth into rhyme or frolicsome mirth, after the manner of his uncle Theodore, was derived from his father. On the other hand, like so many men who have been good as well as great, he thankfully acknowledged that whatever moral virtue he had was largely due to the careful training in early life of a pious mother.

How much (he writes in 1829), my dearest mother, do I owe to you. How often do I trace all that is good in me to the blessing of the Holy Spirit upon your labours, when in my grandfather's bedroom you used to inculcate so pleasantly the truths of Revelation into the hearts of dear Bobby and myself; those dear square, red books of Mrs. Trimmer out of which you read to us—how well I remember them, and how I wish I still possessed them!

The two brothers, Walter and Robert, learned all the rudiments of knowledge, including Latin, from their mother till they were about eight or nine years of age. A summary of their progress and remarks upon their character which she wrote, seemingly for her own private use, at the beginnings of the years 1805 and 1806, are striking proofs of the truth of the saying, 'the child is father to the man.' Walter is described as being very fond of reading, inquisitive, and anxious to have everything explained; persevering, and resolute in conquering difficulties, with a strong idea of principle, and a warmth of religious feeling rare in so young a child. His principal defects are said to be a shy and awkward manner, and an impulsive and irritable temper, easily exasperated by opposition, coupled, however, with a keen sense of remorse. On the whole, his mother considered that his character was one which required moderate, judicious encouragement, but was unable to bear much praise. Those who knew him best will easily recognise in this description some of the qualities which were most conspicuous in him throughout life.

When he was about nine years old he was sent with his brother to a school at Hertford, kept by Dr. Luscombe, and from this school he writes to his mother in February 1810 a

letter which is the earliest piece of his writing that I have discovered :

Dearest Mother,—I wish June was come, and I had to tell you that I was in the Fourth Form. I am very sorry that I am not in the Third Form, but you know I tried very, very hard. It is an ill reward for my fagging ; but it is the will of God that I should not go into the Third Form, and the will of God must be done.

Soon after this the two brothers were removed to Tiverton, in Devonshire. Their recollections of this school were not pleasant. The teaching was indifferent, the discipline severe, and the food scanty. They saved up their spare pence to buy buns and loaves to alleviate the pangs of hunger. In the letters, however, written by Walter at this time there are no complaints ; and in his handwriting there is very great improvement. The style of his letters becomes curiously grand and sententious ; but they are written then, as ever after, in pure, sound English. In one too long for transcription, bearing date November 1, 1811, he begins :—‘ My dear Mamma,—You will with me pity that wicked boy, Henry George Salter, who is now publicly expelled from this school : and his master, Master Richards, blotted his name from the Register, October 30, 1811, that it may be handed down to generations.’ Then follows an account of how this ‘ wicked boy ’ enticed another to run away with him, having borrowed a watch which he afterwards sold, saying they would go to London, where he would persuade his grandmother to leave him her immense fortune, which he would divide with his companion. The runaways were captured, and Salter wrote a contrite letter, upon which young Walter observes, ‘ Well, so far one would think him to be penitent Salter, but *I* say Salter the hypocrite ’ ; and he then goes on to relate how this naughty boy repeated the escapade, borrowing and selling another watch, after which he was expelled in the awful manner described at the beginning of the letter.

In 1812, the year after this tragical occurrence, the brothers were removed to ‘ Commoners,’ Winchester. Their father had become a Canon of Winchester, and this circumstance probably led to the selection of the school. The narrative of Lord

Hatherley¹ placed at the end of this volume, and the letters which I have added, render it unnecessary for me to trace at length Hook's school career, and I shall confine myself to some general remarks upon his character and conduct at this period.

In the first place, having been ill taught at Tiverton, he was very backward in scholarship, which at that time was the beginning and ending of education at a public school. At the instigation and with the help of his friend, William Page Wood, as will be seen, he ultimately obtained a fair position in the school ; but it may be doubted whether under the most favourable circumstances he would ever have made a finished scholar. His mind was not of that order which delights in the study and criticism of verbal niceties. He always read books for instruction or pleasure, and if he got this from them he cared little about the mould in which the contents were cast. Lively, ready, and original, too, as he was in writing and conversation, he was always rather slow of apprehension ; he had great difficulty in committing to memory, nor was his memory very retentive. He was never a rapid reader, and those who read aloud to him—a luxury of which he was very fond in later life—were always required to read very slowly, and sometimes to repeat a passage, not seemingly obscure, several times before he could take it in.

On the other hand, even when he came to Winchester, his delight in reading the best English poets and historians, and the extent of his acquaintance with them, were very uncommon for a boy of fourteen. His admiration for Shakspeare and Milton grew into a passionate enthusiasm, for which it would be hard to find anything like a parallel. Scarcely any letter written during his school or college days is without some reference to or quotation from these favourites. To read them he neglected his school work, and withdrew from the ordinary sports of his schoolfellows. He complains in one of his letters, September 1813, that the racket and bullying out of school are so great that he can get no time to pursue his favourite studies

¹ Formerly William Page Wood.

and meditations ; that he has discovered a new hiding-place, a hollow space about six feet deep, enclosed by stacks of timber, on a wharf, into which he retreats to read, but that, like all the rest of his haunts, he fears it will soon be detected. Probably it was for the same purpose of undisturbed reading that he chose to 'take a tunding,' that is, a severe thrashing, twice, rather than fag at cricket. It will readily be supposed that to a boy so averse alike from the ordinary work and pastimes of the place, school life was anything but a time of enjoyment. In fact he often said that but for his friendship with Wood it would have been insupportable. His lamentations are poured forth in letters which are at times really pathetic, but more commonly ludicrous, from the incongruity between the tragic tone of despair in which they are written and the actual circumstances of the case.

In October 1813 he writes to his brother, who for some cause was absent from school :

I hate this place more and more every day. I was licked yesterday more severely than ever before. I cannot run or hollow out loud even now without hurting my side, and I am to be licked again to-day for writing this : yet I should not be able to write at another time, as I go 'at top of hall'¹ and get so much to do. I begin to fear my licking. If I am killed, which I think I shall be, tell Etheridge² to send you my books, and hope that I am in heaven happier than all of you ; if for my sins I am condemned to hell, pity me, dear Robert, pity me.³ Let Milton be buried with me, as he has gone through all my hardships with me.

Writing a year later he says that though he still hates the place, he is not so rebellious as he used to be, and regards his prison house from a more philosophical point of view. 'I endeavour to find out the comforts, if any there be, and not the miseries of this place ; for as my dear and beloved bard, the honour of England and of the whole of this terrestrial orb, says,

¹ A technical Winchester phrase, signifying that the boy so placed was liable to answer any demand for fagging.

² The school butler.

³ How Robert was to know whether he was condemned to hell or not does not appear.

“the mind is its own place, and can make an Heaven of Hell, an Hell of Heaven.” Combined with his love of reading in retirement was a habit of meditation and reverie from which, though in itself of rather a melancholy nature, he seems to have derived a peculiar kind of enjoyment. Writing to his grandfather, Sir Walter Farquhar, in 1816, he says, ‘I would have you know that if you think nothing ill will turn out from this melancholy I should still like to be possessed by it, as I am exceedingly happy when I have it, owing to the amusing thoughts which come into my mind at such times.’

His grandfather, indeed, who had won his way from obscurity to the top of his profession by hard industry and talents of the most practical order, although he had formed a high opinion of the abilities of his grandson, was fearful of his becoming too poetical and dreamy to make his way in the world. The following letter, written a short time before that of his grandson’s just quoted, is a quaint illustration of this dread, and savours of that shrewd worldly wisdom, frugality, and caution to which he, in common with so many of his countrymen, mainly owed his success in life.

Conduit Street : June 8, 1815.

My dear Walter,—Your passion and steady attachment for Milton and Shakspeare I admire, but as I have not one single particle of poetic fire in my mind, and never had, I am not a judge of the justice of your adoration, and therefore you must forgive me for not entering keenly into your indignation at your tutor’s presuming to correct Shakspeare. The word ‘beteem’ I certainly should not have understood without your explanation, and I should have been considered a great blockhead by you enthusiasts, whom I, on my part, a man of plain common sense, deem a little mad when you get on your hobbies. However, I don’t mean to stop you full gallop. You may run on, and I will every year add to your library books worth ten guineas, as I am pleased that you have made so good an use of my first present. I therefore desire that you will rummage your poetic and critical brain, and let me know the authors that your next passion lead you to, and before 1815 is at an end I will furnish the next shelf in your library. Sometimes I would wish you to descend from the flights of poetry, and study those things that may be useful to you in life, and teach a poor

man how to live comfortably upon little, and I shall therefore add to the list you send me of books, Cocker's 'Arithmetic' and Euclid's 'Elements.' Spare half an hour now and then to look into them. You have a first cousin, W. Mathison, who has shown some talent for figures, mathematics, &c. I have consequently made him a present of Euclid's 'Elements,' and if you get over the fifth proposition, the Bridge of Asses, I shall conceive that with your assiduity and application you may even become a mathematician as well as a poet. My love to Robert. I don't know what he has done with his ten guineas, and when he tells me this, I shall then tell him what further I mean to do for *him*. I want to make him a plodding Dutchman, by which means he may make fortune enough to assist you and your family before you get rich in the Church, or become a Bishop; as a poet you will run the risk of dying in a garret excepting you bestow a little time occasionally on Cocker, and learn how to make a little money go far, and to manage the sober, dull realities of life in place of being in the poetical clouds for ever.

I have had a severe attack of cold and cough, and been confined to my room, but I am now much better. I am not quite clear that you would have had so long a letter if I had been able to trudge about as usual.

I am, with great attachment, my dear boy,
Your affectionate Grandfather,
W. FARQUHAR.

There was not, however, in Walter Hook any of that sickness and softness, either of body or mind, which is so commonly found in boys of a pensive, meditative disposition, who have no relish for the ordinary amusements of their companions. Although tall, gaunt, and so old-looking for his age that one of his school friends now living says that his face in mature manhood always seemed to him much the same as what it was in boyhood, yet he was muscular and vigorous in no common degree; none could swim further or dive deeper: and an audacious bully who once dared to say in his presence that Shakspeare was a fool, was instantly felled to the ground by the fist of the muscular devotee. Some soldiers also on one occasion having tried to usurp a bathing place belonging to the boys, he was selected to fight one of the intruders, and made very short

work of his antagonist. Few, if any, of the boys had such a peculiar kind of droll humour, and to spend an evening with Walter in the holidays was considered by his young cousins more amusing than a visit to the theatre. The matron who took care of the boys' linen at Winchester was celebrated for affecting knowledge on all conceivable subjects of inquiry, and it was his delight to put such strange questions to her as would elicit equally strange answers. 'Pray ma'am,' said he one day to her with an air of exceeding solemnity, 'what is your opinion of Charles XII. of Sweden?' 'Well, Mr. Hook,' she replied, 'I haven't been able to read the papers lately, and of course I am not personally acquainted with him.' No one watched with a keener vigilance for the extraordinary and ludicrous blunders made by one of the old minor canons of the Cathedral in his sermons. Two of these especially were never forgotten, and were often repeated by him, or, as will be seen, referred to in his letters: one of them was, 'What is impossible can never be, and very seldom comes to pass'; the other, 'O tempora! O mores! what times we live in: little girls and boys run about the streets cursing and swearing before they can either walk or talk.'

Again, although his religious feelings, and his affection for his relations and intimate friend are expressed in rapturous language most uncommon in a schoolboy, yet there is nothing unnatural, unhealthy, or effeminate to be detected in them. They were the genuine offspring of a heart warm and tender, yet manly and courageous. He was, in fact, in boyhood and throughout life, eminently English and eminently Christian; qualities which in their highest manifestation are incompatible with any tinge of morbid sentiment. And one of the reasons why he regretted the rigid restriction of school work to the study of Greek and Latin was that boys grew up knowing more about Rome than England, more about Paganism than Christianity. Not that he was narrow in his tastes; he read any history with great interest, and in good poetry he delighted in any language in which he could read it; but English history and English writers had a charm for him which the history and

the writers of other nations could not excite. Having been brought up, too, in the strictest and straitest school of Toryism, he fully believed that the British Constitution, alike in Church and State, was the most perfect thing which could be found under the sun, and in the beginning, at any rate, of his school days he was prepared sturdily to uphold the virtue of the Prince Regent and the wisdom of Lord Castlereagh against all assailants. In like manner he would scarcely allow a blemish in the moral beauty of Mr. Pitt, or a ray of light in the moral blackness of Mr. Fox. In June 1816 he writes to his mother :

At a party at Mr. Rickett's, in the course of conversation Mr. R. said that drinking was the chief thing which killed our great statesman, Mr. Pitt. I thought at first he made a mistake, and meant that fellow Fox, so I just asked him over again to see if he really meant what he said, but afterwards I asked everyone who was present, when Mr. R. had left the room, not to mention what had passed in Commoners, for it would cause much laughter against me, as I always call Fox a 'drunken beast'; and now I mean to ask you to petition grandpapa to dictate a few lines, as Pitt's doctor, and send them to me stating what really did kill him.

Combined with his intense love and admiration for everything English was a corresponding antipathy and contempt for foreigners and foreign institutions. He was quite prepared to accept the saying of old Meynell quoted by Sam Johnson, 'For all I can see, foreigners are fools ;' and he was fully persuaded of the truth of the tradition handed down from the days of Agincourt, that 'one Englishman was a match for fourteen Frenchmen.' Of course his estimates of public men and historical characters in many cases underwent great alterations with his advance in age, study, and experience, but foreigners as a class he always regarded with aversion ; and there was one eminent person of whose character his opinion never changed, and that was Napoleon Bonaparte. His only complaint, he says in 1816, of Scott's 'Life of Napoleon,' was that he had 'profaned British paper with the name of ex-Emperor,' and to the end of his life he never spoke of Napoleon by any other name than Bonaparte, regarding him as an unprincipled

tyrant and a heartless ravager of the earth, colossal indeed in intellect, but morally one of the meanest of mankind.

Although he did not obtain any classical prizes, except one for getting into the Sixth Form by a special effort, the nature of which is described in Lord Hatherley's narrative, he twice gained the silver medal for recitation on the Speech Day. The first was in 1816, when he recited the celebrated speech of Antony upon the death of Julius Cæsar. His voice already had much of that combined softness, flexibility, and rich volume of tone, for which he was afterwards so remarkably distinguished, and although he did not inherit any of his father's or grandfather's musical talents, and could not tell one tune from another, he was now as always very pure in his pronunciation, and skilful in the modulation of his utterances. His hearers on this occasion seem to have been completely captivated. Canon Nott writes to his father: 'Your son's speaking was admirable. It was neither acting nor declamation, but a chaste medium between the two. He himself felt and made others feel the beauties of his poet. You know the speech: the *gradual* introduction of the sneer, 'For Brutus is an honourable man,' was admirable. Had it been a sneer from the first, it would not have been in nature. Antony did not venture to insinuate anything against Brutus until he was certain he should not offend, and this he could not have been in the first instance.' He gained the medal also in the following year for his recitation of Satan's speech to the Sun in Milton's 'Paradise Lost.'

The perseverance with which he worked for the special examination already alluded to, in order to obtain his remove into the Sixth Form, was the first indication of that energy and industry in study which were afterwards so eminently characteristic of him. He sometimes rose at three in the morning to read his Greek play; and Dr. Gabell told his parents that the progress which he made while working for his remove was beyond what he could have thought it possible for any boy to make in the time. Having, moreover, once won his way to the highest form, he showed much anxiety to keep his position

with credit ; and the miscellaneous reading which had hindered his rise in the school, where so much depended on technical scholarship, now became an advantage and a help.

His mother writes of him at this period with mingled anxiety and pride. His irritable, choleric temper, his fits of melancholy, his tendency in many ways to impulsiveness and eccentricity, caused her some uneasiness ; but on the other hand, the warmth of his affection, his deep sense of religion, and the capacity which he had lately shown for working with dogged resolution when once convinced that duty demanded it, filled her with hope. Dr. Gabell also and all the masters spoke of his general character and conduct in terms of the most unqualified praise, and even admiration.

It had been intended that he should leave Winchester at the end of the year 1816, but at the urgent recommendation of Dr. Gabell, who thought that the delay would enable him to enter upon his Oxford career with better prospects of success, it was decided that he should remain another half-year. His grandfather obtained a nomination for him from the Prince Regent to a studentship at Christ Church, and in December 1817 he was admitted a member of that House.

Save for the parting with his deeply beloved friend, he quitted Winchester without a pang of regret. But that parting was a very severe trial to both. They had lived a life there which was all their own ; a life bound by the closest ties, not only of common interests, but of reciprocal obligations, for each had helped to supply what was lacking in the other. And though both felt sure that the friendship never could be broken, yet frequent intercourse was now to cease, and, as it turned out, for a much longer period than either could have forecast. Their favourite walk in 'meads,' the old tree beneath which they had compared their youthful attempts in poetry, and Hook had read his tragedy of James II., the chalkpit in which at 'Evening Hills' they used to sit each with his Shakspeare and read the dialogue by turns, the stroll home by 'Goddard's walk'—all these their daily haunts and occupations were to be abandoned, and bitter was the grief.

πόντοι κοίνοι λόγων,
 όμόστεγός τε καὶ συνέστιος βίος,
 νοῦς εἷς ἐν ἀμφοῖν οὐ δύω,
 διεσκέδασται πάντα, κάρρηπται χαμαί.¹

He began his residence at Oxford in Lent Term, 1818. A letter from his grandfather written soon after cautions him against allowing himself to be drawn into discussions about the character of the Prince to whom he owed his studentship ; advises him to keep a commonplace book, and to practise declamation before a looking glass, that he may study grace of action as well as eloquence in public speaking. Encouraged by his grandson's success in recitations at Winchester, Sir Walter Farquhar was at this time anxious that he should prepare for the Bar ; and no doubt with this view the recommendation to the rather clumsy youth to study gracefulness of action was not undesirable. His awkwardness was no doubt increased at this time by extreme shyness, of which the following letter, describing his first appearance as a Freshman in Hall, furnishes an amusing specimen :

Christ Church, Oxon.

My dear Brother,—When you went away I called on Mr. Goodenough ; but finding him out, I had an audience with Mrs. Bright, who was bright as usual in her conversation, promised to give me advice, and lend me ‘Anacharsis,’ &c. I then saw Mr. G., but all the information that I could get from him was, that I was to dine in Hall, go to Chapel, and hereafter write a Latin letter, all which I knew before. About an hour after this, I was seized with a violent fit of what we Wykehamists call ‘funk,’ occasioned (as learned physicians tell me) by the prospect of dining in Hall ; the symptoms at length began to grow alarming, for about one o'clock I could not read, write, or think, save of going up into Hall. About half-past, my memory began to fail, so much so that I quite forgot whether the dinner hour was a quarter to four or a quarter after four ; so I went to dress. Somewhere about three the bells began to ring for Cathedral, and as by this time I had entirely lost my memory, I began to fear that I must have made a mistake, and taken four for three when I was told the hour. Con-

¹ Greg. Nazianz. *De Vitá Suá*, vol. ii. p. 8, C.

sequently, I sallied forth, cap and gown, &c. &c., when finding no dinner, or thought of dinner, I retired again into my lurking hole, peeping out of my bedroom window to see if I could see any men going to dinner ; at a quarter to four I hurried out again ; no dinner ready ; looked out of window for another half-hour ; quarter past four sallied forth again, and in about five minutes walked 'with stately pace and slow,' into Hall, astonishing the weak minds of the inhabitants, who gazed with silent admiration on me, either captivated by the brilliancy of my head or the beauty of my person. Mortal dull at dinner. Nobody to talk to ; there were only two more Commoners besides myself ; blushed, looked sheepish ; tried to carve some veal for myself, failed ; at length pulled off some meat ; blushed again, looked more sheepish than before ; took courage at length, and called like a hero for some cheese ; looked for my cap, could not find it ; at length the servant discovered it ; I marched out of Hall, and here I am. This, my dear Bob, is all that I have done to-day, which amounts to nothing. I am very dull indeed, I should like never to speak to any one, as far as convenience goes, for it would enable a man to study double tides ; but it seems so horridly stupid, that I do not like it. I am rather grumpy, but I wrote this in good spirits, having just performed a wonderful adventure : but I am beginning to have a second attack, for how am I to know where to sit in Chapel to-morrow, and various other things. I wish very much that I knew somebody or other ; it would be very convenient, to say the least of it, but '*nihil est ab omni parte beatum,*' and I am so delighted with my room that I know not whether it does not make up for other inconveniences.

His life, indeed, at Oxford was more peculiar and isolated than it had been at Winchester ; and of course there were more opportunities for seclusion. He had no sympathy with the ordinary course of study, and had no longer a friend at hand to stimulate him in uncongenial work. He soon, therefore, abandoned all attempts to read for honours, and fell back with zest upon the study of his favourite English authors, to whom he now added Hooker and Jeremy Taylor. But his beloved Shakspeare still reigned supreme in his affections ; and it is not too much to say that the characters in Shakspeare's plays were by far the most real companions and friends of his Oxford life. With Newman he had little or no acquaintance. With Pusey

he had some degree of intimacy, yet his name is very rarely mentioned in his letters. Keble, who had taken his degree eight years before, he beheld with a kind of distant reverence and awe. The one unalterable friend to whom he turned for sympathy in all moods, whether sad or gay, was his Shakspeare. The following letters will forcibly illustrate this remark, which indeed is corroborated by the countless allusions to the same subject in his letters during this period. The first letter from which an extract is here given, was written on hearing that his grandfather was recovering from a serious illness :

. . . You cannot imagine how truly happy your kind letter made me. It set me quite in spirits. The minute I opened the letter and saw the news I pulled down my Shakspeare and had a very merry hour with Sir John Falstaff. I was determined to laugh heartily all that day. I asked Sir John to wine with me. I decanted a bottle of my beloved grandfather's best port, and Sir John and I drank his health right merrily. Perhaps you will want to know how my old friend Sir John drank my grandfather's health. Why I took care to find out the place where he drinks Justice Shallow's health. And so when I said 'Here's to Sir Walter,' I looked on the book, and the knight said 'Health and long life to him.' But perhaps you will think me a little cracked for opening my 'oak' to you, so I will talk more seriously. . . .

The next letter written to his father a month later, illustrates yet more vividly the manner in which he peopled his solitude with the characters of Shakspeare, so that never did anyone more completely make good the saying, 'Nunquam minus solus quam ubi solus.'

Christ Church, Oxford : April 27, 1818.

Corckran has gone out sailing to-day with Mr. Barrington, a son of Lord Barrington, so that I stay at home ; for to tell you the truth till Corckran comes, since Halliday left, I have taken no walks in the day-time, for it is impossible to take a solitary walk, as, in whatever direction you go, you must meet some man, and therefore it looks so spoony to be by yourself, that I do not like to walk out ; and I do not like to walk with any man I know here, for with the exception of Duncombe, Sandford, and Napier, who perhaps think the same of me as I do of my other acquaintance, the

men I know are such raffs in look and manner, that I do not like to walk with them, lest I should be judged by my comrades. I therefore go out at about eight o'clock, and run for about an hour up and down Christ Church walk (not meads), which is always deserted about that time, except once I met a man not of the University there ; but I do not think exercise agrees with me, for I had almost forgotten what a headache was till to-day, and yesterday I walked about seven miles with Corckran, and am fit for nothing but a long letter ; and yet I am as happy, if not more so (one single thing would make me more so), than I have ever been, except last summer. I have got into a very dissolute set of men, but they are so pleasant that they make me very often idle, when I otherwise should not be so. It consists of one Tuft, H.R.H. Henry Prince of Wales, and a gentleman Commoner named Sir John Falstaff, and a Mr. Poins, and we have several inferior associates such as Bardolph and Pistol, and some others ; and with these I spend most of my time : I breakfast with them, drink tea, and sometimes wine with them ; of course they sit at a different table from me at dinner.

Sir John, or as I call him (being great 'cons' with him), Jack, is very fond of a capon ; and I 'sported beaver' the other day, and went into the market to find one, but could not succeed. I have likewise been made acquainted by Mr. Richardson of Edinburgh with a Danish Prince, and I begin to think that I have mastered a knowledge of his character, which is most amiable. However, it is my intention to take all these to Whippingham, and there leave them till I have taken my Degree, as they make me very idle. I shall miss them much next term, for nobody at Oxford can suit me like them.

The general charm of his letters at this period is that they are not filled with the common gossip of an undergraduate about Oxford work, Oxford politics, Oxford amusements, but with subjects altogether peculiar to himself.

The characters in Shakspeare's plays being his most intimate friends, he was naturally very jealous of Shakspeare's honour, and watched with the keenest interest the manner in which he was represented on the stage. A mutilated version of 'King Lear' which had lately appeared having come into

his hands, he writes in a fury of indignation to his mother, November 1818 :

It is the veriest trash I ever read. Had I time I could point out hundreds of absurdities in it. I could turn myself into a brute beast, and gaze with pleasure at the men who pass off such stuff for our Shakspeare's, were they hanging on the next tree. This has plagued me more than you can imagine : it has been in my thoughts day and night since I first discovered it. I feel the pride of an Englishman in thinking that we can boast of Shakspeare, and consequently I feel indignant and exasperated at seeing our Shakspeare altered to the miserable taste of the French, who have no theatre of their own, but only a corruption of the ancients. . . . This preys upon my mind, and in good sooth makes me quite unhappy ; let us quit the subject.

The event, however, which most powerfully excited and engrossed his mind during part of the year 1818, was the great rebellion of the boys at Winchester, which led to the temporary break up of the school. His interest was owing partly to the peculiarity of the event itself, but more especially to the part which his friend Wood played in it. I have selected the following letter out of many which he wrote upon the subject because, taken together with the account given in Lord Hatherley's narrative, it forms an interesting original piece of evidence respecting a very curious episode in the history of Wykeham's great school.

Christ Church, Oxford : May 12, 1818.

My dear Mother, . . . Grievance upon grievance irritated them ; but the immediate cause was Gabell's threatening to expel Porcher for setting watches to find out when he was approaching, a custom handed down from our ancestors, and daily exercised during the six years which I had the honour of spending at Winchester. They tried remonstrance, which as usual only irritated Gabell. The spirit had been long concealed in the school ; this made it break out. Several patriotic songs were sung, and thus the lion in each boy's soul having been roused, a rebellion was openly proposed. Every single boy in Commoners assented. A message was sent into College, and all except — unanimously agreed. This was on Wednesday ; it was proposed to be carried into execution on Monday ; consequently deputies met, and every-

thing was privately agreed, and notice given for each boy to supply himself with a small pickaxe and a large club; but on Thursday information was given that Wickham, the surgeon, knew of the schemes, consequently open war commenced at a quarter to four. Thursday evening every boy was armed with a club; a patriotic song was sung. Etheridge was seized, licked, and the keys of Commons taken from him; the Commoners rushed into College, took the porter and his keys, and locked the great gates of the inner quadrangle. They closed them to all the masters and everybody, except David Williams and his wife, who passed unmolested on condition that he would bring nobody else in with him. A patriotic song was then sung, three cheers given, and they fell to work with their pickaxes, and dug up the great stones of the quadrangle, took possession of the towers, carried their stones to the top of them, and everything was prepared for a general siege. The Warden's door was blocked up, and all his windows broken. These proceedings went on admirably during the night, and College was so admirably defended with such regularity and order, that though Gabell, with John Williams as his aide-de-camp, and some constables, made several attempts to break into College, they were repulsed entirely. These particulars I have from Wood's letter to me, and Deane's (who did not join) to Heathcote. What happened in the intermediate time I have not yet heard, as Wood had not time to write a long account. All night those who were not on duty sat on the top of the different towers of the Chapel and College, singing patriotic songs. On Friday, Bernard, the brother of the Prebendary, came down to say that the military was called out, and all afterwards found resisting would be sent to prison. A conference was afterwards held with Urquhart from one of the Warden's windows, the boys, except those on duty, standing on the tower, in which he told them they might go whithersoever they liked. Afterwards they made an unfortunate sally, intending some of them to have a dinner at the 'George,' and then return; but they were met (notwithstanding the promise of being unmolested) by a body of soldiers, by Mrs. Heathcote's house. A little skirmish ensued. Two or three who had dirks rushed into the middle of the soldiers, and fought as brave men should do; they were, however, taken prisoners and secured in the Cathedral. The rest were then put to flight. They were persuaded to meet Gabell, who expelled a certain number, and the rest (having bound themselves to be expelled if

one was) likewise went; but some were taken by the constables, and some were persuaded to go back. However, the next day most of them rushed up to the 'George,' where sixty of them dined, and the rest went home. There are still between eighty and ninety who cannot escape; but who have broken every window in Commons, and refuse to go to chapel and school, who are only watching for an opportunity to keep their oaths. If I had been the leader, I should have managed better. There is a room in College where the wills and deeds of College are kept; having got them once in their hands, they could have threatened to destroy them, and made College listen to any conditions. A party of Wykehamists met last night, and drank the health of the rebels in three times three.

In another letter he writes that he was quite intoxicated with joy at hearing of the rebellion. 'All yesterday I was in such a fever of delight that I have now no small headache. I was running all over Oxford to get news, and then retailed them with a little bragging to all the men of Eton and Westminster that I know. The Etonians are full of admiration: the Westminsters are thunderstruck. Winchester will now be looked upon as *the* only school; it beats every other school in everything, except Westminster in rowing and Eton in putting on a neckcloth.'

In the following year, 1819, we find him just after passing his 'Little Go' more averse than ever from classical studies, more thoroughly wedded to his own peculiar and secluded ways of life. In a letter to his mother he declaims vehemently against mere scholarship, and declares his conviction of his utter inability ever to become a scholar in the technical sense. He would have written before but he had been reading hard, and his faculties and feeling seemed blunted by the labour. 'I hate verbal critics,' he proceeds, 'even on Shakspeare, and though they may be a useful, they seem to me to be a rather despicable, set. I shall never become a scholar, my memory is so wretchedly bad and I am so deficient in the art of acquiring the idiom of language; these, together with an inaccuracy as unaccountable as it seems incurable, and a slowness almost inconceivable in reading, are powerful enemies, and I am striving to conquer them, but hitherto in vain.'

The quaintness and oddity of his habits are indicated in the

following letter to his aunt Mrs. Mathison, written in the same year. There is a tone of philosophic irony also in his remarks upon the ways of ordinary men as contrasted with his own which has a Shakspearian ring about it, and sounds like the utterance of a disciple of the 'melancholy Jacques' in 'As You Like It.'

Christ Church, Oxford: 1819.

Not many years ago I thought when I arrived at the age of twenty-one I should entirely put away childish things. But I really find in myself no alteration from what I was twelve years ago. I know nothing, even the most childish thing, in which I used to delight and find amusement then, that I could not do just the same now. And my mind is just as wandering and unsettled. My ideas are more extensive, inasmuch as I know more; but they are cast in the same mould and run on the same subjects. I used to find great pleasure in taking a stick and flogging trees as if they were my schoolboys, and now I can find just as much pleasure in taking a stick and fighting through a hedge as if it were an army and I an Orlando; and there is not one of the many games which I used to invent for myself then that I could not enjoy equally now. And when I reflect coolly upon these things, I think that half the world, discovering the little things in which I can find amusement (which Heaven forbid), would put me down as the most consummate idiot and fool. And yet when, as I said before, I reflect coolly on the matter, I think there is no more folly in them than there is in the sports of hunting and shooting. I therefore think 'that all the world's a fool; its actions show it. I thought so once, but now I know it.' And I shall never look for wisdom in any man; I shall only respect the man who has less folly than others.

He had to live frugally at Oxford, for his father, notwithstanding his preferments, was a needy man. In the summer of this year, however, just before the end of term, he had an extra pound of pocket money sent him, and determined to spend it in making a pilgrimage to Stratford-on-Avon. What the delight of this visit was by anticipation the following letters will most clearly show; but I have not discovered any which were written soon after it had been made. I only know that in spite of the adverse circumstances mentioned in the second

letter, he did succeed in getting to Stratford ; and the transports of the enthusiast must be left to the imagination.

Oxford : June 1819.

My dear Mother, . . . So Mrs. Siddons has been on the stage. How unlucky I am never to be able to see her. I, who feel a filial affection for the stage, corrupted, depraved, and odious as it now is, yet I cannot but feel more than ordinary interest in it, and still hope that the time will come when the abominable, unconstitutional monopoly of the two theatres will be done away with, and that all theatrical talent will be employed in developing the beauties of the real English drama ; and then Shakspeare will shine forth in all his pristine glory. Indeed, it is not my least ambition to be able some day or other to acquire money enough to become a manager of some great theatre, as Sheridan was ; and I am vain enough to think that it would be a national benefit if I were to be so, as I should enter heart and soul into the cause, and that, not for the sake of filthy lucre, but merely to improve the taste of my country and enhance the glory of Shakspeare. On Friday week I start for Stratford, God willing, and return to Oxford Monday, to Winchester Tuesday. I might go on Thursday to Stratford, but I shall not, because I shall be more likely to meet an Oxford face on that day, and I shall want to settle many things. I have calculated the expenses on a liberal scale. It is more than I expected it would be ; but thanks to the kindness of my friends I shall be able to support it.

I shall not go to the 'White Lion,' which is a very excellent inn, and that at which the jubilee was celebrated. The 'Shakspeare Inn' is about the third. I did think once of going to that, and may now. But the house that Shakspeare was born in is divided into a butcher's shop and the 'Swan,' a public-house. Now if this last can give me only a clean bed, without bugs, which I hate, I mean to go undoubtedly to that. The only objection is, that it may make my friends think that they are justified in charging me with going there from some foolish feeling ; whereas I merely go in a quiet manner to look at the place, just as some people come to lionise Oxford. Now, I mean to take with me a Dutch cheese, which will save the expense of dinners ; for at breakfast I shall have two eggs, and cut off a large slice of bread, which I shall eat with my cheese, and my drink shall be the water of the Avon, which Shakspeare, I make no doubt, drank many a time before.

I do not suppose that I shall find all the pleasure which I expect. In thinking of it even, I have been so pleased, till pleasure turned to pain, and I ended with a headache. It is very foolish, but I always anticipate pleasure in this manner. I cannot read properly now from the very thoughts of it, and have not been able for a fortnight.

He worried himself as people so commonly do in the prospect of great pleasure by the dread of something occurring to prevent or mar it. 'I am always thinking,' he writes, 'of the many things which will happen to thwart me, and most of all I fear bad weather. I am something like my mother, who is angry at every fine day in town lest the weather should turn out badly when she gets into the country. So I am terrified at this most delightful summer weather.' Curiously enough his forebodings of evil weather were verified, as the following doleful letter proves.

Journey to Stratford-on-Avon.

Shipston : 1819.

My dear Mother,—Was ever anybody so unlucky? but I am not at Stratford. How do you think I intend spending my father's pound? Why, even by sporting myself a chaise to Stratford. I started at twelve last night from Oxford, and arrived here at five. As it began to rain prodigiously hard, and I was outside, as moreover I like to be quite by myself on my entrance to Stratford, I determined upon breakfasting here, ten miles from Stratford, and proceeding per chaise; still, however, this rain will continue pouring. What shall I do? I want not to enter Stratford till it is fine. It is now one o'clock; the rain has set in, and the provoking people here will not even say a kind word about the weather. When I ask them whether it will clear up, they with one voice answer, 'that it looks black.' Just heard of a return chaise; must start. I almost believe that this weather, beginning the very day of my intended excursion, is intended as a punishment for me, on account of some crime I have committed, or else some demon is willing to drive me mad with vexation. I have two days; one of them will, I hope, be fine. All my dreams have vanished with this, and I never shall again trust to the prospect of delight in this world. I knew it would be thus: I was sure of it. Well, all I can say is, that if Shakspeare's spirit could govern the clouds, I think it would

for me ; for I verily believe he has few more sincere admirers. Still, however, I feel a glow at approaching his birthplace, and I am as puffed with pride and vanity as I well can be. I despise the whole world, and now I feel as if I were a being of superior order.

In June 1820 he had looked forward to meeting with his great friend Mr. Wood, who had just returned to England from a two years' residence at Geneva ; but his father was averse to his meeting the son of a man who had so earnestly advocated the cause of Queen Caroline, and in fact for a time he forbade intercourse between them. His mother could not directly oppose his father's commands, but seems to have done her best to soften the severity of the trial to him. Of course the enforced separation only added to the warmth of the friendship, and the following letter shows that he was already shaking off the thralldom of that political school in which he had been brought up, and that even King George IV. was to him no longer such an impeccable being as in the simplicity of boyhood he had once believed him to be.

Christ Church, Oxford : June 15, 1820.

My dearest Mother,—I have to entreat your forgiveness, and my father's, for not having viewed the subject, which I certainly did not, in the same manner in which you have done ; and, though with the deepest and most acute sorrow, I willingly give up that to which for two long years Wood and myself have fondly looked : a meeting in June. But, I wish you to understand, I give it up on policy, not on principle ; for you tell me that I must not let my feelings overcome my principles. But what are, and (I appeal to you) ever have been, my principles ? Certainly to love my friend ten thousand times better than my king : and a friend, too, whom I think to be one of the cleverest, I know to be one of the best, and most pure in mind, of human beings, before a king of whose purity and virtue (though I yield to no one in loyalty and gratitude to him) I would not wish to speak. But I see thoroughly the impolity of it, though it struck me not before ; and I yield to your superior judgment without a murmur. I like consistency in politics, as in everything else, and surely Alderman Wood may do the same. For years he has supported the Queen : and although

he may have given her bad advice, and we may lament it, we surely are not called upon to abuse and insult him, as many papers have most illiberally done. I am not his advocate, and I agree not in his politics ; but as I abhor the Opposition when they charge every action of the Minister to corruption, so in common justice, I blame his advocates, when they call that man a rascal, who (with views never proved to be wrong) acts injudiciously. I have long determined never to meddle with politics and, by tying myself to a party, barter my liberty. We live in dangerous times ; there are revolutions all over the world, and doubtless England will suffer in her turn. It will therefore be my object in life to be friends with all—Tory, or ultra-Whig, or Radical. So may I live, in virtuous ease, like Atticus of old ; and surely his life was happier than Cicero's ; and, moreover, he had the privilege of dying in his bed, while Cicero fell a victim to the prevailing party.

I am of that disposition that I cannot live happily without a friend ; my chief discomfort here has been the want of the presence of one. The society of many, I neither seek nor like ; but that of one, who will be as devoted to me, as I to him, is the pleasure of life, and such a friend, for nearly eight years, have I found in Wood. And thus, though I will submit to almost anything, I cannot desert him who has ever been faithful to me, the only one person (out of my family) whom in this world I have found so. I know, my dear father and mother, you never would desire it, and I freely confess I would much, much sooner see the King hurled headlong from his throne, which God forbid, than act in such a manner. I willingly forego a long, long anticipated pleasure, on policy not on principle. It is for this reason and this only, viz. that he is my father's friend, that I like the King. If such had not been the case, I should not much have admired his character.

It was very probably owing to the bitter disappointment caused by the prohibition of this long desired meeting with his friend, joined to his increasing repugnance to Oxford life and studies, that he conceived about this time the very singular project of offering himself for the situation of second master in a school at Enniskillen in Ireland, which he had seen advertised as vacant. In a long letter to his parents he dilates on the advantages of this scheme. The salary was 240*l.* a year, which would be wealth to him and would make him independent of

them ; then he should take a quiet curacy in addition, study the habits of the Irish, become editor of some country journal and raise the tone of the local press : he would have leisure for pursuing his favourite studies, and executing his favourite design of bringing out a new edition of the sonnets of Shakspeare. In short, the unpleasant state of politics, and the degenerate state of the theatre, which he considered the disgrace of England at the present time, made him long to escape into a serene atmosphere of reverie and study all his own. I have not found any reply to this curious proposal or any further allusion to it in his own letters ; yet he was clearly very much in earnest about it at the moment.

The jealous anxiety with which he continued to watch the condition of the stage lest injustice should be done to his beloved Shakspeare, was intense. 'I am waiting,' he writes (March 1821), 'anxiously for the arrival of the newspapers to learn how Richard III. succeeded last night. Upon this depends everything to me. If the master spirits of a better age are once more to tread our stage, England will gain more true glory than she has done from all the victories of Wellington ; but if she refuses them she will be a degraded nation and a fit subject for the speculation of the Radicals.'

Next to Shakspeare there was no author whom he read at that time with keener relish than Walter Scott. He writes in several letters with enthusiasm of 'Kenilworth,' which had recently come out. Pilgrimages were being daily made to Cumnor from Oxford, and a subscription list had been set on foot to present the landlord of the 'Sun' with the sign of the Bear and Ragged Staff. 'Undoubtedly,' he writes, "'Kenilworth," is the finest poem of that "arch knave" and "mad wag" Watty Scott, and I shall not grudge my seven and sixpence to view the scene of Dudley's love and Amy's fate.' Besides the study of his favourite theological writers, he also gave considerable time to English history. He begs his father to get some copies of Malmesbury, Monmouth, and other early chroniclers, and declares that he will never again read the 'tasteless Hume.'

Greatly did he groan over the drudgery of reading for his degree during the spring of 1821; but that, to him, dreary season was brightened by one brilliant gleam. He put into a raffle for Boydell's illustrations of Shakspeare, and won it. His raptures of joy must be given in his own words :

Christ Church, Oxford : April 1821.

My dearest Mother,—I have only one moment to tell you some good news; I am almost intoxicated with joy. There was a raffle for Boydell's illustrations of Shakspeare, and though I could ill afford my guinea, with an almost superstitious feeling I did put in, and have just won; it is most glorious; if I believed in fairies, I should swear that Oberon and Titania and Puck guided my hand as I threw the dice. It is a glorious thing, bound in blue morocco; and if I had the text, it would be worth a hundred guineas. The bookseller has offered me twelve for it, but considering the manner I have won it, it would be sacrilege to part with it. You will blame me for hazarding a guinea; but since I have won, it does not signify. When I can afford it, I shall have my Reid's Shakspeare bound to match. I once thought of making my father a present of it, because it seems too magnificent a book for me; but I cannot make up my mind to do it, because I am so desirous of having everything belonging to Shakspeare. I threw the dice with so much confidence, I was actually superstitious about it, and I am now quite drunk with joy, so that you must excuse more. With most affectionate love to my dear father, to whom I cannot give the book without he wants it very much.

In Easter Term, 1821, he went into the schools. He had resolved to place himself in some way under the protection of Shakspeare as his tutelary deity. He therefore took with him a small head of the poet carved out of his mulberry tree—a precious relic which he had brought from Stratford-on-Avon—to hold in his hand during *vivâ voce*; and in his paper-work he adopted a singular device which the following letter will explain, and which it appears had been a practice of old standing with him.

Christ Church, Oxford : June 1821.

My dearest Mother,—I have only time to tell you that my cares are at an end and, as you would say, my education finished. I

did not take up enough books for a class, I am afraid; but I did what I did take up better than I could have expected, and was thanked and praised for my Divinity.

By-the-bye, I must tell you a circumstance which amused the examining masters not a little. I have had a custom of writing the name of W. Shakspeare on every paper which I think of importance, from ancient times. You see it written at the corner of this sheet in very small letters, *W. Shakspeare*¹ which very few people would discover; but it so happened that Mr. Cardwell, one of the examining masters, observed that this little Shakspeare was in all my copies, and they called me up to know if I meant it as a charm; which I could not quite deny, and it afforded them great amusement. This I have not told to any of my acquaintance here, who would think me a bit of a fool for my pains; but the report about the University is, that I was cutting jokes with the examining masters all the time. They, however, behaved very good-naturedly to me, except this morning, when one of them, to the great amusement of all the rest, made me prove the errors of the Roman Catholics in worshipping relics, and the folly of the Jews in wearing phylacteries; the absurdity of superstition, and inutility of charms, all of which subjects I knew pretty well; and this, with something about the doctrine of the Trinity, made up the whole of my examination in Divinity.

Now I must beg you not to tell this to my friends in town, but keep it to yourself, for some of them would think me an idiot; I am afraid it will soon spread over the University, for Cardwell seemed to think it a very good joke, and will tell it, I make no doubt. If so, I shall depart immediately from this place. It is my intention to stay here ten or twelve days, since, to my deep and unfeigned sorrow, I shall not be able to see dear Gilbert. I can come up directly if you wish it, but I shall write fully to-morrow. I shall not take my degree, I think, till just before the long vacation, when I shall return to Oxford. I am at this moment too happy to write sense. I am afraid the examining masters will think me a bit of a fool, but they showed that they thought it innocent and laughable folly. I would not, however, have yesterday over again, really, for a hundred pounds, poor though I am; I never was so miserable.

Classical honours he had neither desired nor sought. But

¹ Facsimile of the original 'W. Shakspeare.'

there was just one prize upon which he had set his heart : the Newdigate prize for English verse, and he resolved to compete for it. The subject for 1821 was Pæstum. 'With trembling hands,' he writes, 'and a throbbing heart have I consigned the child of my hopes to the Registrar.' He thought his good fortune in winning the Boydell Shakspeare in the raffle a bad omen ; it would be impossible to have another great piece of luck in the same year. And his apprehensions were fulfilled. His lines, which have come into my hands, are smooth, melodious, and free from the insipidity of thought and turgidity of language which are so common in Newdigate poems. But the prize was gained by the Hon. Mr. Howard, afterwards Lord Carlisle, who also carried off the prize for Latin verse in the same year.

His failure to obtain this prize was perhaps the most poignant disappointment of his life. At least there was none on which he expressed his feelings at the time in such inconsolable terms, although of course the trial could not have been a very lasting one. 'With indescribable sorrow' (thus he writes to his father) 'I sit down to inform you that all my hopes of gaining distinction at Oxford are now at an end ; I feel after all my failures that I should like a little quiet and retirement. I cannot pay my London visits.' And so he proposes to go to Whippingham, of which his father was now rector. The sweet air and scenery of the Isle of Wight would restore his spirits. 'I cannot now look,' he proceeds, 'for distinction in life, but a quiet and humble one is perhaps after all the happiest. I wish you and my mother would decide for me what line I should take, and I will endeavour—may God grant with success—to perform its duties.' And in another letter, 'I long to escape from this most odious place : I am disgusted with Oxford, and my heart leaps with joy at the thought of quitting it, I might almost say, for ever.'

LETTERS FROM 1813-1821.

An Ideal Country Parsonage.

Winchester : November 7, 1813.

Dear Brother, . . . I have only got to stay here two years more, though two years is no short time; then, I suppose, I shall go to Oxford and, when I am twenty-three, be made a parson. I do not intend to be minor canon, for when I get a living I must still be minor canon; but I intend to have a living just in such a village as 'sweet Auburn' was before it was deserted; but instead of 'passing rich with forty pounds a year,' I intend to have a thousand; and I shall divide it thus: three hundred for myself, three hundred for the poor, and four hundred for books. I intend to keep a horse, tax-cart, and donkey, one man servant, and one maid servant. I intend to have a good library, and there shall be one corner which I will call Poets' Corner; and in my grounds I intend there shall be a hill, and I shall build a sort of place like a temple at the top, that I may sit and read at the top in summer. I shall call it Mount Parnassus; it shall be something like Grongar Hill which Dyer so well describes. I shall have the busts of Milton, Dryden, Pope, Young, and Thomson there. In the morning I shall get up at seven in summer, eight in winter, and take a walk in the garden for half an hour; come home to breakfast; then I shall go to visit my poor people, and at ten come home and write some of my sermon; at eleven go out riding, or driving in my tax-cart; at twelve take luncheon, and go to Parnassus till two; at three dine; after dinner go to Parnassus, except in winter, when I shall sit over the fire, with wine on the table, reading. At eight I shall have prayers in my private chapel, when all those poor people who come I shall put down in my pocket book to be attended to. At nine I shall go to bed. My library will be open to all poor people. I shall recommend Milton to them; and I shall build around me a large place like 'St. Cross' for poor people who are too old to work. I shall be glad to see my dearest brother Bob, mamma, papa, or any of my other good friends. I shall always have a bed or two, not like Dr. Wavell's, but all well aired, for my servants shall take it by turns to sleep in them. I shall sport tolerable dinners; I shall have apples, and grapes, and all fruits, and gooseberry wine and currant, and meat when my friends come. I shall plant potatoes, and shall have a dog, a cat,

some rabbits and tame pheasants, and shall feed all young birds that choose to come. My sermons will be on an average about an hour long, never more, but generally as long. I shall preach very good sermons for the poor people, but not learned ones, as I do not want to be more learned. I shall have a pair of cotton stockings to go to dine with the squire or charity schoolmaster. I shall have a new coat once in three years. I shall have one hat and one pair of boots. My servant will have all my old clothes for his livery. I shall have a bank at the church, and be the warden to the charity school, which must attend my private chapel to answer the responses. I shall have a hand organ, and the clerk shall play it. I intend to have a river in my garden, and shall have written in large letters on a bit of board, 'At Parnassus. But mark what I areed thee, now avaunt!' That is to say, that nobody must disturb me when in solitude at my Parnassus. I shall keep wine to give to the poor people that are sick, and shall always have plenty on table at dinner, though I shall never drink more than a glass or two at the very most, for two reasons: one, because it would not be right to drink more, and the other, because it would be too expensive. I shall often go to the public-house to see that nobody is getting drunk. My dog will dine with me, except when I have company. Perhaps if it is not too expensive I will keep a mastiff too, to guard the house, and a Newfoundland I shall have little or nothing to be robbed of except my books, so the mastiff will live in the library. I shall have no plate, but will have pewter spoons; perhaps I may have a few plated ones, in case I should have company. I shall write to my dear Robert, and papa and mamma often. I shall always give the clerk a Christmas-box, and they shall sing the Christmas carols from Milton. I quite forget the beginning (you must remember); in the middle there is, 'Thou sun, of this great world both eye and soul;' and there is at the beginning, speaking of God, 'To us invisible or dimly seen in these Thy lower works, yet these declare Thy goodness beyond thought and power divine.'

I shall have a moss house beside my river, and I intend that there shall be trees about it, that my dear mamma may be able to sit there when she comes. Dear Robert, you shall have the best bedroom but one when you come to see me, because papa must have the best. I shall introduce you to the schoolmaster and the squire, and one or two of the farmers; and if grandpapa will be so kind as to come to see me, I daresay I shall be able to make up

a rubber of whist. Now, dear Robert, you see how I intend to live. I shall wish you good-bye. Perhaps you may be Lord Mayor some day or other ; but I hope never to be more than a country parson. Give my best love to papa, mamma, and receive the same from

Your very affectionate Brother.

A Schoolboys' Debate.

Winchester : May 2, 1816.

My dear Mother, . . . By-the-bye, I had an argument of an hour and a half's duration one day on politics : I and another of our club were the only ones against five collegians, all Opposition. They were very abusive of the Prince, whom we defended most properly : we drew up the Opposition one side of the table, my colleague and myself on the other ; we always, except once, called each other honourable gentlemen, but in the heat of argument, I could not help breaking through the rule, and saying the honourable blackguard opposite, which gave great offence, and was thought very vulgar. We at first agreed to conduct our debates as in the House of Commons, but I was the first who arose, and they declared (though it did not seem so to me) that I spoke for half an hour ; so they thought I should go on all night, and made it fair that we might talk as we chose, which brought us down to common argument. There were many boys standing round who were very much amused with our earnestness, but particularly with mine, for one of the fellows opposite asking, Can any one who admires the ministers ever so much, say that the Prince is not a fat, disgusting, and sinful, drunken beast ? I cried out so loud that Mr. Williams, who was at the bottom of the school, sent for me for making a noise, and I with difficulty got off an imposition. As we went on, I asserted that he did not drink at all ; for grandpapa had told me he did not ; but as I did not feel at liberty to mention his name, my assertion went as nothing, and one member of the Opposition bench quoted Bloomberg that he did drink manfully, and does so still. Now will you ask grandpapa if I may use his name next time we meet, which may be, by-the-bye, to-day in school, as we have nothing to do at that time, but talk or read ; but I must tell you who I was compared to—no less than Mr. Pitt, while my colleague was Mr. Canning. The leader of the party was Mr. Fox, because, owing to the violence of his action, he broke the boards of one of my friend's books. I would not trouble you

with this, but that I want to get leave to quote grandpapa, if they dare to touch on that head again. I was laughed at much, and it put me in a great passion, for while I was praising my Lord Castlereagh, one of the fellows asked me if I thought with papa on the Catholic question, for they remember his sermon on that head, I was glad to find; I answered in the affirmative, and they triumphed much, in saying that Lord Castlereagh did not. Will you tell me how to defend the noble Lord? . . .

*To his Brother,*¹ 1816—*Lord Chesterfield's Letters—The 'Spectator'—Sam Johnson—Poetical Justice.*

My dear Robert,—You say you have of late been reading Lord Chesterfield; he is an author of whom I am enabled to judge only by extracts that I have met by chance, and by quotations that I have found from other authors, but from what I have seen, he is very far from being a proper author for you to waste much time in studying, far from it; indeed, I should think that my mother would have a very reasonable objection to your reading it, and if, as you say, you have read it and cannot unread it, nevertheless, I am far from wishing you to pay so much attention to it as will, and must naturally, be the case in translating it from the French: he seems a mean, worldly, despicable nobleman, and he seems to instruct a person in a kind of egotism. Now if I were to advise you what to read, I should propose the 'Spectator;' that would not only exercise you in French, but would likewise improve your English style, for the style of the amiable Addison is truly divine, and were the gods to talk English, it would without doubt be the English of Addison; you would by that be able to see the whims and fancies and foibles of the last century, and see what we have improved, what corrupted. You would be able when you read Milton, to understand him, too, better by far after the annotations of the amiable, learned, and unpedantic Addison, whom I like far better than Sam Johnson, who, though he was of good men perhaps the very best, cannot have so much said of him as a critic; a sound moralist he was, but far, very far, from being a good critic. You have heard him extolled, so have I, not as the greatest moralist and wisest of the men of England, but as a superior critic. I must dissent from the general opinion, and as I write to you, I doubt not but you will excuse a boy objecting to the opinions of the

¹ Then in a house of business in Holland.

learned, but I have had a close intimacy with the Doctor, and tell you that I think he is (and it is the greatest fault in a critic) most partial; witness the criticisms on Milton, Gray, and, on the other hand, the unfortunate but unprincipled Savage. From his criticisms on our greatest poets, he seems not to have been able to feel any pleasure in the higher flights of poetry, and when he looks at verses on lesser subjects, on love, &c., he blames them for being unnatural, if they happen to mention a heathen god, not perhaps as a deity, but as a personification; this he does with our poet Hammond, who seems to be a very deserving bard, being the only person who has succeeded in the way of Ovid and Tibullus. But these are his lesser faults; as a critic in the higher flights, he was rigid, most rigid. If poor Horace was to have such a critic, one might well cry, 'Alack, poor Horace!' He believed in the divine right of kings—abominable! but he insists on poetical justice—worse and worse! In dear Shakspeare's 'Lear,' he quarrels with the 'Spectator,' who blames the alteration, and making of the piece end happy. May I ask what can be more unnatural and improbable than justice as administered in poetry? does the good man always go on well in this world? would not everything then be good, and shall then the poet of nature forget to be natural? Heaven forbid! if this should be debated in the House of Commons, and my Lord Castlereagh—should even that great, that wonderful man defend it with his Pitt-like eloquence, I would sit on the opposite benches.

Anxiety to hear from his Brother.

Winchester: May 12, 1816.

My dear Robert,—It is so long since any letter has been received from you, that I cannot refrain from writing, if it is only to ask and intreat you to write to us soon, to me, or to some other branch of the family. Any letter received from you, or known by me to have lately been received from you, would greatly ease my heart, for I must own to you that I am most excessively uneasy about you; the length of time that has expired since you last wrote is prodigious—write soon, I pray you—and your last letter told us of your having an asthma, so that I think there is ample room for my being uneasy about you. I hope to goodness that before you read this I shall have heard from you, or of you, my most darling brother. I did not intend writing to you before I

heard of you, at first, but now I must write to beg you not to allow us to be any more uneasy about you. To-day is a holiday, and I have leave out to your friend, Mr. Woodburn, for papa and mamma ('Alack the day!') are going from hence about the visitation business; you can easily guess how very and truly unpleasant it is to me to lose their society. I should, I trust, be more happy than I am to day, for I am at present in a low state, feeling very uncomfortable for more reasons than one, but what always comes topmost to my soul is the anxiety I feel on your account, my dearest Robert. I think it will do me good having leave out, it will raise my spirits. I was forced to stop a moment, for names have been just called in the hall to my great detriment, for my stupid fool of a fag left my boiler in the way, and Gabell has taken it as usual; he took all my mess things away the other day, and now the boilers, but I shall not lick Elliot (whom you remember), for he is my fag. I should have been bankrupt had it not been for the enormous goodness of my most beloved mother; for she made me a present of a pound when she went away, of which, when I pay for this boiler, I shall have only six shillings left, and that I must pay for a cheese, as I am 'in course' with that to-night for the rest of the half-year. It is really such nonsense of Gabell, allowing boys to have things, and taking them away when he finds them; but don't mention this in your letters, for this one I mean to seal with my own arms, which my most dearest mother has presented me with. I have shown it to most fellows here, and they all admire it so much, you cannot think, so that it won't be seen and read, for I should not like them to know of my extravagance, and by the time I want some more very urgently, I shall beg for an advance of my holiday money, which mamma is always kind enough to give me. You must mind to admire my seal, it is most beautiful, and the impression is magnificent.

Would to heaven that the time was come when I am to see you, dearest, most beloved Robert, again; pray, pray write, I long so much to hear from you, and tell me how your asthma is. If you knew the agony of mind which I now feel on your account, my sweet Robert, you would not delay an instant. You will think me a fool, but you cannot do so more than I myself do, on that account, but do what I will, the most horrid ideas haunt me in every place, so that I may justly feel desirous of hearing of you or from you, and that too, soon. Now I shall leave off writing. With my very best love to you, and praying you to write soon,

I shall remain, most dear and darling Robert, upon my honour, your most dotingly affectionate Brother.

Christ Church, Oxford : February 1821.

My dear Sister,—To so devoted an admirer of the fair sex, as you know I am, and every true and loyal knight must needs be, the letter of 'your naughtiness' was of course most acceptable, but I will confess that I shall find some difficulty in endeavouring to answer it, since its subject was nearly uniform, and that subject being my own praise, I am in modesty bound to be silent thereon. I beg leave, however, to state that though you should certainly have the most dutiful respect and veneration for the character of your elder brother, yet there is no necessity to make it the subject of your letters to him or of your conversations with anybody else, so that, in future I shall hope to hear more of papa and mamma, and less of myself; and indeed I shall have no very great objection to hear something about yourself (though you are nobody), and to know whether you are improving in your studies, and are more or less naughty than you were a few weeks ago. You must beg mamma to let you read the account of our good King's reception at the theatres. I have just been reading it, and it has rejoiced me so much that it has given me a headache, or I am not quite sure that you would receive this letter. It was one of the most glorious receptions, as represented in the new 'Times,' of which I have read or heard. There are, however, one or two points that have grieved me, but on which I will not dwell here.

You may nevertheless tell my father that the King of England gave his royal sanction to, and manifested his royal approbation of the vile interpolations which disfigure the 'Twelfth Night' as now performed.

This is so unworthy George IV. that I quit the subject. I like your idea of keeping my letters to show my grandchildren, they will no doubt form a fine red-headed family; and I hope that I shall be able to exhort them to follow the good example of their Aunt Georgiana. But if you are an old maid, I give you notice beforehand, that I will not permit you to enter into my house, with a whole aviary on your shoulders, and a pack of dogs of all sorts and sizes at your heels. And now my dear Demoiselle, your true faithful Sir Walter of the fiery plume has neither time nor inclination to write any more, but having assured you how highly I

appreciate the honour of having opened a correspondence with the fair sex, and having desired you to give my most devoted love to my dear father and mother, I beg you to

Believe me to be, my dear Miss Hook,

Your most attached and very affectionate Brother,
W. F. HOOK.

CHAPTER II.

ORDINATION—LIFE AT WHIPPINGHAM.

A. D. 1821—1826.

IT had been Sir Walter Farquhar's wish that his grandson should study for the Bar : but it was wisely determined that he should be allowed to choose his own profession after he had taken his degree ; and in the course of the summer of 1821 he declared his fixed and unalterable desire to enter holy orders.

He went to London in July and witnessed the coronation of George IV., but party spirit ran so high in reference to the Queen's case that he was not permitted by his father to meet his friend Wood ; a privation to which he submitted, but with resentment which he did not attempt to conceal. 'I lament,' he writes, 'that party spirit has now come to such a height that private intercourse between friends must be sacrificed to political feeling. It does not speak well for the times, and I could bring many instances to prove that there is no necessity for friends to part on account of diversity in their political sentiments ; though that of Addison and Steele will suffice.'

In fact his disappointment on account of his failure as he called it at Oxford, his dissatisfaction with the tone of politics and with the state of the English drama, and the continued prohibition of intercourse with his friend, all concurred to make him turn with a sense of relief from the world, especially the world of London, to quiet preparation for holy orders in the retirement of his father's rectory in the Isle of Wight. In the latter part of the summer the curacy of Whippingham became vacant, and his father was anxious that he should fill the situa-

tion and be ordained without delay. He was examined by his father and privately ordained by the Bishop of Hereford, who was also Warden of Winchester, in the chapel of the college on September 30, and preached his first sermon in the Parish Church of Whippingham on the following Sunday.

And now being no longer shackled and fretted by uncongenial studies, he threw the whole force of his intellect and affections into the work to which he had been called. While his well-beloved poets and writers of fiction were still the companions of his leisure hours, theology and ecclesiastical history occupied the foremost place in his attention. He had long delighted in these subjects, and he now pursued the study of them with increased ardour, because he felt it to be his duty as well as his pleasure. But although everyone who knew him intimately, believed, notwithstanding the comparative failure of his career at school and college, that his abilities were of no common order, probably no one had discerned the prodigious capacity for study and the immense practical energy which were to be manifested as soon as they had got a fair field for action. Probably also few were aware what a deep fund of tender, genial sympathy there was in one who had hitherto lived rather after the manner of a shy recluse, and few could have then foreseen what a spell he would henceforth exercise over the hearts of those who were confided to his pastoral care.

I propose to make a brief sketch of his character and manner of life during the six years of his curacy at Whippingham, reserving for a more particular account the only episodes of importance in this quiet period ; one of which was also the first event that brought him into public notice.

His father being Archdeacon of Huntingdon and Canon of Winchester, as well as a Royal Chaplain, fond also of London society, a keen politician and writer of political pamphlets, was often absent from Whippingham, and when he was there could rarely take much part in parochial duty from increasing ill-health and infirmity. His son, therefore, was practically curate in charge, and was often the only inmate of the rectory for weeks or months together. He seems thoroughly to have enjoyed his

seclusion and independence, although he had no lack of society if he wished it, being always a welcome guest at many houses, more especially Northwood, the residence of Mr. Ward, near West Cowes, and Norris Castle, the abode at that time of Lord Henry Seymour. Quiet English country scenery had always a peculiar charm for him, and he enjoyed it to the full in the Isle of Wight. An early bathe in the Medina, which flows at the foot of the hill on which the rectory stands, study from early morning till the beginning of the afternoon, visits to his flock, evenings spent with his kind and pleasant neighbours or in the society of his beloved Shakspeare or Walter Scott or Miss Austen, rambles on soft summer nights, sometimes prolonged till nearly dawn, to listen to the nightingale and watch the silvery light of the moon upon the river or the sea ; these made up the ordinary incidents of his daily life, a strange contrast in its calm and sweet repose to the years of turmoil and excitement in great smoky cities which were in store for him. Often and often in those later years, as will be seen, did he pine for the tranquillity of his Whippingham days, and look forward to the time when he might be able to retire to some peaceful home in or near the Isle of Wight. And one great reason of his contentment in old age with the Deanery of Chichester was its nearness to the island which he loved so well.

A few extracts from his letters at this time will best illustrate the foregoing remarks. Writing to his mother from Oxford, where he was staying to attend Lloyd's Divinity Lectures before taking priest's orders, he says :

My bowels yearn for our lovely island. To peace and quiet, to the parish that I love and the studies I delight in, to pursuits which are congenial to my soul and to that retirement for which I am best adapted, to divinity, to Shakspeare and the Muse, to green fields instead of dirty streets, to the calm of the country instead of the noise of the town, to the love of my simple flock instead of the heartlessness of the world, I shall return with increased joy and redoubled zest, there to lay deep the foundations for future distinction in the vocation to which I am heart and soul devoted.

Although he was now sociable on the whole in his disposi-

tion, yet at times a sudden and irresistible impulse seized him to spend part of his day alone with no society but that of his beloved poets. In a letter dated March 1823 he describes how he started one evening to dine at Northwood 'in my best hosen, best trousers, and best coat ; but when I had walked half-way to Cowes it occurred to me that it would be much preferable to return to my own fire-side and read Shakspeare, which I accordingly did ; and I had the satisfaction of hearing the rain come down in torrents just about the time I should have been walking home after my dinner.'

Those who know the Isle of Wight will recognise in the following letters a very fresh and life-like description of the sweet sunny days in spring, and the blustering rainy south-westerns, for which the climate there even in summer is equally notorious.

The Rectory : June 21, 1824.

I arrived here cold and chilly on Friday night at a house where I was not expected. Next day I woke early, intending to enjoy the delights of the country, but found it pouring in torrents ; I therefore tried to go to sleep, but failed. I know not anything more miserable than my condition that day : without any pursuit, all around dull, dark, and dismal, a strong south-wester howling and the pattering of the rain incessant. I was a perfect 'energumen,' if being possessed with '*blue devils*' as well as others entitle one to the name, and would have thanked our Bishop most heartily had he been at hand to exorcise me. Raining as it did, I was forced to go out in self-defence. I found the farmers grumbling because of the hay lately cut, and the labourers surly and wet, the matrons coming from market sulky and the maidens cross, the invalids doubly ill, and all the parish out of humour. When we do have bad weather in the island I verily believe that it is worse than anywhere else in the whole world. But now I have hit upon my line of reading, and it may blow tempests and rain cats and dogs for all I care.

May 2, 1822.

My dearest mother, . . . This is not Whippingham, it is Paradise ; and if you wish to form any idea of what it now is, dismiss all recollection of it from your thoughts, and read all the fine descriptions of gardens that you meet with in the poets, par-

icularly in Shakspeare and Spenser ; and then you may be able to form some (though a very slight) idea of what it is. I think all the birds in England are on a visit to the island—at least I will be bound to say that you never heard such a choir as we have here. One feels all this the more by living alone ; and, as I have no one else to talk to, and Heaven forbid that I should have any, I may truly say with my friend the duke that I find ‘tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything.’ Uncle Theodore would say that it would be more convenient if I could take the last assertion but one in a more literal sense. But really, you cannot think what an interest I take in inanimate Nature, and animate too. I begin almost sometimes to think that I shall grow sentimental, which is the very last thing I desire, and perhaps be inclined ere long ‘to hail the gooseberry bushes,’ which I trust you have already done at Sydenham. I generally take a stroll in the neighbouring fields about five o’clock, and return home to dinner between seven and eight ; and then read till about ten or eleven, when I go out again, and flirt with the moon and listen to the nightingale till one or two ; the moon is on the water about that time. Alas, yesterday morning I was wandering close to the Nashes (where there is a nightingale) between one and two o’clock, but never a youth or a lass did I meet going to the woods a-Maying ; all was as still and silent as ever. And yesterday I could not resist the temptation of galloping over the country in quest of a Maypole, but not one was to be found ; and I must confess, with all my attachment to the island, I could not conceive a place where there is less reverence for old customs, less of what you may call rural and poetic feelings in the peasantry, than there is here. There never was such weather as this is since the days of Dan Chaucer, and I do sincerely hope it may last. I was made to live alone ; and certainly if one can converse with trees and brooks and stones, they must be the most pleasant companions, because they cannot thwart you, dispute with you, or quarrel with you. And hence I am miserable at the intended visit of Duncombe and Pollen ; at least, if it continues fine like this ; however, if they come, why then we must do as well as we can. Did you ever read ‘Pride and Prejudice’? I sent for it a few weeks ago when I had a cold, which stuffed up my nose and caused a ringing in my ears, and the weather was rainy, so that I was too poorly to read anything serious, and not in a humour for poetry. It amused me very much ; it is a regular gossip throughout. I found myself in

a pleasant family circle, and listened to the gossip without having the trouble of joining in it; and at last became so interested in their welfare that the mamma herself could not have been more anxious about marrying her daughters than I was. I loved Lizzie; but I should have married Jane if I had had my choice. Altogether, for a bad gloomy day, and with a cold about one, it is a very good kind of book; but as to reading it in such weather as this, and in the merry month of May, it would be not only absurd, but impossible. Indeed, I suppose all the world, except people of fashion and business, are reading poetry and nothing else, without it is divinity.

His solitude at the Rectory was relieved by the periodical visits of his parents and sister, and occasionally of his aunt Miss Farquhar—Aunt Eliza as she was called, who seems to have been quite a type of the old maiden aunt of a family—very kind, but rather exacting, and somewhat overwhelming in her ecstatic affection and fussy anxiety for every member of the family; qualities which could not fail to provoke playful sallies of humour from her nephew. The following letter written during his mother's convalescence after a severe illness in December 1824, puts the worthy aunt completely before us:

I have no news whatever to tell you. Aunt Eliza was a little disgusted at my not bringing back particulars enough concerning you. Let Georgiana therefore inform us how many hours you usually sleep, how much pheasant you generally eat, and whether Lady Charlotte's society does not *particularly*, in a kind of indescribable *peculiar* way, suit you. She must tell us also whether you read, and what you read, and whether you feel exhausted after reading, as is sometimes the case, or whether, as is also sometimes the case, you do *not* feel exhausted. Because, if you do *not* feel exhausted, it will do you good; but if you *do* feel exhausted, Aunt E. 'hopes to God' that my father will prevent your reading too much. Aunt E. will not believe me when I tell her that you do not like to read. She says it is all very well for me to say so, or even for you, but with your *peculiar* temperament she knows that it is impossible. In short, Georgiana must send us more particulars.

P.S. Quarter past three o'clock.—Tell Georgiana that I am happy in knowing she will write a most beautiful hand. Aunt

Eliza can perceive it even now ; there were some letters and some words quite perfect in her last note. Aunt E. descanted on it for three-quarters of an hour 'by Shrewsbury clock' yesterday, and was quite angry with me, even to the stamping of stick authoritatively on the floor, when I was rather sceptical.

P.S.—I open my note again to say that Aunt E. says it is only just three, not a quarter past.

Some time after this, when his mother was still in delicate health, he accompanied her on the journey from Whippingham to London. East Cowes, the place of embarkation for the mainland, is about two miles distant from Whippingham, and whilst waiting for the boat the following report of their progress was sent back to the anxious aunt : words underlined after her own style.

Most confidential.

My dearest Aunt,—As it will be satisfactory to you to know how we are proceeding on our journey, I cannot resist the temptation of sending you word that we have advanced as far as Cowes most prosperously. My dearest, most beloved mother has borne the journey very well indeed.

Your most devotedly, adoringly affectionate Nephew.

Besides this playful kind of humour which was an essential part of his nature, and which, as will be seen, was constantly bubbling up and overflowing into all the action of his life, he at this time still practised many of the more whimsical kind of frolics which, as he mentions in one of his letters transcribed above, he had invented for his own amusement. His sister, who naturally came in for a full share of his raillery and banter, and whom he frequently addressed with mock solemnity as

Demoiselle buxom, blithe and debonair,
With a naughty look and auburn hair,

used often to accompany him in his walks and rides. Now and then he would suddenly dart from her side, make a furious rush

at trees or hedges and thrash them with tremendous violence, pretending that they were enemies.

As his sportive freaks were always of the most innocent and childlike character—the mere exuberance of animal spirits, so also his jocosity was now and always utterly free alike from coarseness and sarcasm or satire ; it never jarred either with the amiability or earnest piety of his character, but blended itself with these qualities and enhanced their charms.

His mirth was the pure spirit of various wit,
But never did his God or friend forget.

And this absence of discord in his character makes it the more easy to turn from the contemplation of him in his lighter moods to the consideration of that serious work as a pastor and a student to which he was now heart and soul devoted. The parish of Whippingham was at that time very extensive, and included East Cowes, about two miles distant from the Rectory and Parish Church, containing a poor seafaring population. No direct and separate provision for the spiritual wants of these people had been made. Many lived in a condition of godless ignorance ; a few who were more religiously disposed attended their parish church sometimes in the morning, and very commonly some dissenting chapel in the evening. Mr. Hook obtained the use of a large sail loft in which he held an evening service on Sundays, and catechised the children. These services were very largely attended by sailors, fishermen, and other poor people, and were productive of excellent results. When he was paying a visit to Whippingham after he had become Dean of Chichester, and was walking with the present Rector, Canon Prothero, about his old parish, an aged man came up and anxiously inquired if he remembered him. He said he did, and afterwards told the Rector that the man was one who had been a loose liver in his youth, but having been induced to attend the Sunday evening services in the sail loft had become an altered character.

Any man who has made the experiment will be ready to acknowledge that it is no small labour after two full services in

one church to walk two miles to conduct a third service in another place, and then to walk home ; and this not once or twice on special occasions, but every Sunday and all the year round. The number of communicants also increased so largely during his administration that on great festivals the intervals between his services on Sundays were very short. In May 1825, he writes, 'On Whitsun Day I was properly worked. We had a very fine attendance at the Altar. I was not out of church till a quarter to three o'clock ; went in again at three ; had five christenings and a funeral, and was not out till five, when I had to start immediately to be in time for the school at East Cowes at six, from which I was not released till eight.' His bodily strength, however, was a match for his zeal, and he rarely, if ever, complained of fatigue. One very hot evening, however, in June 1825, he arrived at Northwood rather weary and very hot after his service in the sail loft. His friend, Lord Henry Seymour, happened to be there and proposed that a chapel of ease should be built at East Cowes ; a practical suggestion which not long after, though not in Mr. Hook's time, was carried into effect.

As he always looked back to Whippingham with gratitude for the leisure which it had afforded him to lay deep the foundation of his theological and historical learning, so also did he regard his residence there as the period in which, more than in any other, he had acquired the pastoral tone of his mind and formed the pastoral habits of his life. When he was not in his study he was constantly engaged in visiting his people, and the parish, though extensive, was not so large as to prevent his becoming in this way the intimate friend of every member of his flock. His power of sympathy, the most indispensable qualification of a successful pastor, was in this manner continually being drawn out and strengthened, and became then and ever afterwards a principal if not *the* principal, source of his extraordinary influence over the hearts of those amongst whom he ministered. It was his belief that the larger scale on which work has to be carried on in towns, the multiplicity of business in which town clergy are involved, and the consequent distraction of their

energy and sympathy into a variety of channels, rendered a town parish an unfavourable school for learning the duties of the pastoral vocation. 'I say without hesitation,' he writes long after he had become Vicar of Leeds, 'that the very worst training a man can have is that which he receives if appointed early in life to a town parish. The strong pastoral feeling is generated in the country, and I attribute what little success I have had entirely to my country breeding.' Two or three extracts from his letters written during the Whippingham period will suffice to show how completely he had learned in the most genuine and literal sense to identify himself with the joys and sorrows of his people, to rejoice with them that rejoiced, and to weep with them that wept. The first is to his mother in December 1824.

Your permission and recommendation to have the feast on Christmas Day in the barn is in every respect agreeable to me. The children will think more of it—and if it had been given at the school the parents would have thought that it was done by subscription, and claimed as a right what they ought to receive as a favour. It really was gratifying to see the many happy faces which were there yesterday when I gave notice of our intentions, and it was comical to see the doubtful ones of those who were not quite sure but they had exceeded the number prescribed of bad tickets. I doubt very much whether the children enjoy the thoughts of it more than myself. I wish to heaven we could feed the whole parish, and that every day.

In like manner, attendance at a village club dinner, which to so many clergy is a vexatious and irksome business, was to him a real pleasure. 'On Easter Monday it would sadly grieve me not to preach to the club and dine with them. It is one of the days I enjoy most in the whole year.'

Then to take the other side of sympathy : the following is a specimen how thoroughly he entered into the trouble of others as if it was his own, and how his affection for his people and theirs for him had its root in the discharge of his pastoral duty amongst them ; so that it was essentially the love of a pastor for his flock and of a flock for their pastor. 'The

Tassels are going to Bideford ; they start to-night. You cannot think how sorry I feel at parting with them, for I had trained both of them for Holy Communion, and he took it for the first time on Christmas Day, and she on Whitsun Day : and she was a convert of mine from the Dissenters. Poor Tassel ; he cried like a child at parting with me, and so to keep him company I cried too.'

When he first made up his mind to take Holy Orders he declared his intention of dedicating two years entirely to a deep study of divinity, and to the foundation of his style. This intention was more than fulfilled, for he was a most industrious and laborious student during the whole six years of his curacy at Whippingham, laying up stores of knowledge and thought during that period which were of incalculable value to him throughout the rest of his life. In fact, whenever he was not visiting in his parish he was engaged in study, and in order to ensure complete privacy he had a little wooden hut set up near the corner of the churchyard, in which he used to read. He once asked his uncle Theodore what he should call it. 'I should call it Walter'S cot,' was the reply of the ever ready punster. In this cot or hut he worked at his books, often as many as nine or ten hours, sometimes rising very early and reading on, with only the interval of breakfast, till two or three o'clock in the afternoon. Sometimes, but more rarely, he sat up late at night, but in any case he usually spent a considerable part of the evening as well as the morning in this retirement.

In the first year after his ordination as deacon he seems to have read chiefly with a view to his ordination as priest, which took place at Christmas 1822, and also to fill his mind with matter for sermons, which for some time caused him no little anxiety and trouble. He was indeed so exceedingly distrustful of his powers that at one period he did not venture to preach his own, but having written one which he preached on behalf of some charity at Newport, and which was much commended, he plucked up courage and writes, May 1822, to his mother : 'I am now in such good humour with myself that I shall take

to writing my own sermons again, for during the last two or three months I have not dared even to attempt one.'

In 1824 he embarked on a course of reading according to a plan of his own, and completed it in 1826. The annexed chart of this course is a singular monument of industry, when the necessary avocations of parochial work and occasional interruption from other causes are taken into account. The piles of note-books also, in my possession, all bearing date within the space of these two years, are an evidence how steadily and solidly the work was done.

His primary object in following out this course was to obtain a clear and comprehensive view of the principles of the Church Catholic from the earliest times, to trace the introduction of errors into the Western Church during the period of Papal domination, and to measure the extent to which these errors were renounced by the Reformers of the sixteenth century, especially in our own country. And as the result of his researches pursued on this historical method, he was led to the conviction which all his subsequent studies strengthened, and to which he ever held with a tenacious grasp, that the Reformed Anglican Church was a pure and apostolical branch of the Church Catholic: that she was essentially Catholic, as being on all vital points of constitution, doctrine, and practice in harmony with the primitive Church, and on the other hand essentially Protestant, as opposed to the pretensions of the Papal power and to the corruption in teaching and practice of the Middle Ages. The close of his career of study at Whippingham left him with his antipathies matured against the Romanist who would corrupt the Church, against the Puritan who would destroy it, against the Latitudinarian and Erastian who would sacrifice its principles to considerations of expediency and worldly interest. And it was his destiny to carry on, throughout his life, a manful and almost incessant contest with these three great elements of danger to the purity and integrity of the Church of England.

After this general sketch of his life at Whippingham, into which it seemed desirable to enter in order to show how firm

A COURSE BEGUN BY W. F. HOOK JUNE 1824, AND FINISHED OCTOBER 1826.

Books of Reference.

Patrick, Lowth, and Whately; Theophylact; Critici Sacri; Schleusner; Cruden's 'Concordance'; Critnell's 'Concordance'; Horne's 'Introduction'; Calmet's 'Dictionnaire'; Jennings's 'Antiquities'; Spencer; Jahn; Lowman; Lock's 'Common-place Book of Scripture'; Josephus's 'Antiquities'; Horæ Paulinæ; Eisleby and Slade; Godwin.

Du Pin's 'History of the Church, and particularly his 'History of Ecclesiastical Writers'; Cave's 'Primitive Christianity'; Lives of the Fathers, &c.; Mosheim; Milner; Bishop Kaye's 'Tertullian'; Hammond; Mede; Saye's 'Cyprianic Age and Vindication'; Lardner; Pearson on Creed, *notes*; Saucer; Lloyd's 'Church History'; Bede; Lewis's 'Life of Wickliffe'; Sleidan; Mosheim; Paolo Sarpis's 'Council of Trent'; Wordsworth's 'Biography'; Strype's 'Craumer, Parker, Grindal, Whitgift, Annals'; Foxe's 'Martyrs'; Burnet's 'History'; Bishop Lloyd's 'Formularies'; Jewell's 'Apology.'

N. B. Two or three of the books in the above list appear to have been added at a later date.

The Course—Historical.

The Septuagint; Greek Testament; Shuckford; Pridcau; Josephus's 'Jewish Wars.'

Bingham's 'Antiquities'; Eusebius; Socrates; Sozomen; Theodoret; 'Evangelicus Scholasticus.*

Jeremy Collier's 'History of England.'

Digressions, or Works read on the different Controversies referred to in the History.

Bishop Marsh; Bishop Jebb; Butler's 'Analogy,' and his 'Rolls Sermon'; Isidore of Pelusium; 'Kypri Krebisus'; Pearce; Campbell; the Apostolic Fathers; Justin Martyr; Tertullian; Cyprian; Laurence's 'Lay Baptism Invalid'; Wall on Infant Baptism; Waterland and Young on Justification; Waterland; Bishop Bethel and Archbishop Laurence on Regeneration.

On the Church and Divine Institution of Episcopacy.

Hooker; Hickeys 'Constitution of the Catholic Church,' and his 'Christian Priesthood'; Hugh's Latin Preface to Chrysostom 'de Sacerdotio'; 'History of Episcopacy,' by Peter Heylin, under the name of Thomas Churchman; Bishop Hall's 'Divine Light of Episcopacy'; Archbishop Potter on Church Government; Law's Answer to Hoadley, and Lesley's Tracts, or the Scholar Armed; 'Church Considered as an Apostolical Institution,' by a Layman, published by the Society.

Liturgics.

Brett's 'Ancient Liturgies'; The Apostolical Constitutions; Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem; St. Cyril's account of the same in his 'Mystagogical Catechism'; Clementine Liturgy; Liturgies of St. Mark, St. Chrysostom, and St. Basil, Comber's Scholastic History of; Bennet on Precomposed Forms of Prayer; Sparrow's 'Rationale'; Comber's 'Companion to the Temple'; Wheatley; Sharp on Rubric and Canons.

Eucharist.

Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, Law on Waterland on; Jeremy Taylor; Mede; Skinner's Scotch Service; Waterland's 'Charges'; A Refutation of Transubstantiation, by Bishop Drummond of Edinburgh, in a Dialogue between Philalethes and Benevolus; Kidley's Protestatio in Kandolph's 'Enchiridion'; Stillingfleet.

Catholic Doctrine.

Some of the Tracts of Athanasius; Bishop Gastrell in the 'Enchiridion'; Bishop Stillingfleet on Mysteries, in the 'Enchiridion'; Allix's 'Judgment of the Jewish Church'; Bishop Bull, and Burgh's 'Enquiry,' and Burton's 'Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers'; Dr. Waterland; Bishop Horsley; Archbishop Magee.

On the Holy Ghost.

Ridley; Nolan; Gregory Naz. 'De Spiritu Sancto.'

On Tradition.

Bishop Jebb's admirable Appendix to his 'Sermons'; Kaye's Tertullian; Bull's 'Defensio'; Van Mildert's 'Bampton Lectures.'

* Irenæus I was unable to procure.

and deep the foundations of his future career, both as a pastor and an ecclesiastical historian and theologian, were laid, it only remains to relate in a few words the two incidents by which alone the calm seclusion of this period was interrupted.

His father had been appointed to preach at the Bishop of Winchester's visitation at Newport, in the summer of 1822 ; but as the time approached he began to shrink from the exertion owing to the feeble state of his health. He determined, to the no small dismay of his son, to propose him as his substitute. Remonstrances were vain: the Bishop gave his consent; the young deacon set about his task with the energy and perseverance which always distinguished him in a case of necessity or duty. July 2 arrived. The Bishop (Tomline) passed the night at the rectory, and on the following morning Mrs. Hook, full of maternal anxiety, drove him to Newport in her pony chaise.

The excellence of the sermon in itself, the perfection of the young preacher's utterance, and the musical tones of his voice made a very great impression upon all who heard him. The Bishop was especially warm in his praise of it, and made an exception to a rule from which he said he very rarely departed in requesting that it should be printed.¹

The sermon is entitled 'The Peculiar Character of the Church of England independently of its Connexion with the State.' A certain stiffness and formality of style betray the youth of the author and the painfulness and care with which he wrote at this time ; but the argument is neither crude nor feeble. It is sustained with the confidence of one who feels sure of his ground and sees his way. That it is the duty of Englishmen to belong to the Church, not because it is established, but because it is a pure branch of the Church Catholic ; that such a Church can exist in purity and vigour under any form of government, either severed from the state or connected

¹ It may now be found in vol. i. of the *Church and her Ordinances*, a selection of Dr. Hook's sermons recently edited by his son, Rev. Walter Hook, Rector of Porlock, published by Bentley and Son.

with it ; that the continental Reformers in their intemperate zeal founded new churches, whereas the English only cleansed and repaired the superstructure, leaving the old foundations intact ; that many of the leading foreign Reformers became as dogmatic and exacting as popes, whereas in England individuals, however eminent, had not assumed any such overbearing authority ; that the most dangerous enemies to the Church were still, and always had been, the conforming Puritans, men who adhered to the form but rejected the spirit of the institution, who, in the words of South, ‘live by the altar, but turn their back upon it ; catch at the preferments of the Church, but hate the order and discipline of it ;’ these were the principal topics of his discourse. These were positions which he maintained to the end of his life ; and the clear and bold assertion of them at this period proves that the laborious plan of study on which he was about to enter did but deepen convictions at which by previous reading he had already arrived.

The second episode in the Whippingham period, occurring near the close of it, was a matter of much more importance.

An old friend of his father’s, Dr. Luscombe, who had once kept the school at Hertford in which, as has been related, Walter and his brother Robert began their education, had been resident for five years in France, engaged in tuition, from 1820 to 1825. It was reckoned that about fifty thousand English were then sojourning in that country ; but the supply of clergy and places of worship for such as belonged to the Church of England was extremely inadequate ; they were not licensed or subject to any regular supervision, much laxity of practice prevailed, and young people grew up without receiving the rite of Confirmation. It seemed to Dr. Luscombe that some recognised, authorised bond of union was highly desirable to hold together these scattered congregations, and keep them true to the principles of the Church of their mother country. Such a tie he conceived might be found in the appointment of a bishop, or at least an archdeacon, to overlook and organise the clergy and their flocks. He consulted his friends in England on the subject as early as the year 1821, and there were none

of them who entered so warmly into the project as Archdeacon Hook and his son.

It was at first thought that the design might be effected by the appointment of a suffragan to the Bishop of London, to whose spiritual jurisdiction all British residents on the Continent were nominally subject. Dr. Howley, then Bishop of London, and other prelates, as well as Mr. Peel and Mr. Canning, the Home and Foreign Secretaries of State, were consulted, who after much deliberation and correspondence expressed themselves adverse to the proposal. They feared that the sending of a bishop by the Established Church of England to minister in France might be regarded by the Government of that country as an unwarrantable intrusion, and occasion jealousies and suspicions, if not difficulties of a more serious kind. The project accordingly languished and seemed likely to be abandoned. But meanwhile the young curate of Whippingham had been following out a line of study which, as we have seen, led him to discern clearly and to value deeply the essential principles of the Church independently of any connexion with the State. He had consequently learned to take a peculiar interest in the disestablished Church of Scotland, and the unestablished Church in America.

The past sufferings and the present poverty and obscurity of the Scottish Church kindled in him feelings of the tenderest compassion; its purity and zeal, feelings of the warmest admiration and respect. Suddenly it occurred to his mind that this despised and insignificant branch of the Church Catholic might execute the design to which the Church of England, hampered by its connexion with the State, had not dared to put its hand. As by the consecration of Bishop Seabury, the first American Bishop, in 1784, the little Church of Scotland had become the parent of a large and flourishing Church in the New World, so he trusted she might propagate another on the European continent. A request was therefore forwarded at his suggestion to Dr. David Low, Bishop of Ross and Argyle, that he would sound the judgment of his brother bishops on the subject. After much correspondence, lasting

over several months, and relating chiefly to the question whether an election on the part of the English clergy in France should be required, and also how far it would be prudent or gracious for the Scottish Church to send out a bishop to minister to British subjects without the direct sanction of the English Church and Government, the College of Scotch Bishops proposed to consecrate Dr. Luscombe himself as their missionary bishop to British residents on the continent of Europe: he on his part pledging himself to renounce all offers of preferment in England. Intimations were received from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Mr. Peel and Mr. Canning, that no obstacles would be raised by the Church or Government in England to this plan. Sunday, March 20, 1825, was fixed for the consecration, which was to take place at Stirling; and Dr. Luscombe requested his old pupil, now curate of Whippingham, to accompany him as his chaplain and to preach the sermon.

His visit to Scotland was always regarded by him as one of the most memorable events in his life. He deeply valued the friendships which he then formed, more especially with Bishops Sandford and Low, Mr. Walker, afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh, and last, but not least, with the learned, warm-hearted, and deeply pious Bishop Jolly, a model of primitive simplicity and poverty in manner of life, of whom Bishop Hobart the American remarked, 'Men go from the extremity of Britain to America to see the falls of Niagara, and think themselves amply rewarded by the sight of this singular scene in nature. Had I gone from America to Aberdeen and seen nothing but Bishop Jolly as I saw him for two days, I should hold myself greatly rewarded. In our new country we have no such men, and I could not have imagined such without seeing him.'

Just as Mr. Hook was starting on his journey an offer was made of a church in Regent Street, London, or rather a request that he would become a candidate for the incumbency by the detestable plan then not uncommon of preaching in the church as a specimen of his powers. His friends and, to some extent, his parents, who wished to push him forward at a speed

in excess of his inclinations, were very anxious that he should accede to the application, and even after his arrival in Scotland he was pestered with entreaties to return to London for the purpose. But he never wavered in his refusal.

‘I do not feel myself competent,’ he said, for the situation offered in London. It would necessarily lead to a superficial reading for a temporary purpose, and I should be unable to enlarge that platform upon which I mean to build my hopes. Besides which, I should not choose to undertake any office which would, as it were, limit my services to only a particular and inferior branch of my calling (*viz.* preaching). In addition to this, I have no notion of being chosen like a public singer or actor. . . . Here therefore ends this matter.’

His father, indeed, had been a little fascinated by the prospect of his son’s abilities being displayed in London, but his more sober judgment was adverse to the step. ‘Walter’s advance,’ he writes, ‘in his pursuits is extraordinary. He is up at six o’clock every morning in this month of February and lights his own fire, and I think it would be injurious to him should he be interrupted before he has completed the course of study by which he promises to become a most eminent theologian.’ His father thought also that, with the exception of Bishop Andrewes, few men had risen to distinction as divines who had begun as preachers only.

The following group of letters will furnish the best record of his visit to Scotland. The first extract, which is from a letter written at York, I merely introduce as an illustration of the wide difference between the tongue of the North and South of England before the days of railways and education acts.

You will be glad to hear of our arrival here, having travelled a day and a night, or rather twenty-six hours; if indeed this be York we are in. For I rather suspect that while asleep in the coach last night they must have carried me over to Germany, since the language here talked may be German or Danish, but certainly is not English. I heard the ‘Cryer’ just now pursuing his vocation, but I would defy those who live nearer the sun than York to understand what he intended to give notice of.

To his Mother.

Whippingham : December 20, 1824.

I am so full of ideas all bearing upon my Scotch sermon that I grudge every moment that I am not reading. I wish for a dozen eyes and a dozen brains and a dozen such memories as Woodfall's, for I could name a dozen books, all of which I want to read at once, and the difficulty is which first to choose; for as soon as I sit down to one I immediately wish that I had taken up the other. Had the good Bishop Low consulted me how best he could have gratified me, it would have been by coupling my name as he has done with my dear father's. There is a kind of beautiful rhythm in the sentence: 'To the two Hooks, father and son, though entirely unknown to me, I could wish my respects to be made through you for the public and honourable mention which they have made of our poor but still respectable Church.'

To that poor but respectable Church I last year became a subscriber of 1*l.* annual subscription, which when I become a Bishop I mean to make 100*l.* I think the correspondence which has taken place between the Scotch Bishops and Dr. Luscombe speaks volumes in praise of the former; the readiness, the zeal, the kindness, the true Christian feeling with which they have one and all entered into his views remind one of former and better times; of days when a Bishop was almost another name for a martyr. There is no single office that I would so gladly undertake as that of preaching Dr. Luscombe's Consecration Sermon, and I am sure there is none for which at present I am so well prepared.

His Vexation at the Application of Bishop Gleig to the Government for its Sanction to the Consecration of Dr. Luscombe in Scotland.

Whippingham : December 28, 1824.

I look upon the whole business as now at an end. I shall now cease from collecting materials for my sermon and return to my regular pursuits. I should have thought that experience would have taught Bishop Gleig the absurdity of applying to Government for its decision on a subject purely theological; a subject on which most of its members are probably ignorant, and in which in these days of liberality and conciliation they would certainly not willingly commit themselves. Is Government friendly to the

Episcopalians of Scotland? When has it proved itself so? Has it not always been the policy of every Government, Whig or Tory, to oppress, persecute, exterminate the Episcopal Church? Was not even their present bare toleration merely wrung from it, with a Lord Chancellor haranguing vehemently against them? But even look further, when the greatest and wisest and best of our prelates, when Wake and Potter and Secker, names ever to be honoured, were earnest with Government to permit Bishops *without temporal rank* to be sent to our colonies—what did Government do? It treated the application with contempt; or was deterred by political circumstances. It has been the work of *nearly a century* to wring from Government permission to send Bishops to our colonies.

He then goes on to admit that Dr. Luscombe being a presbyter, not of Scotland but of England, Bishop Gleig was quite justified in applying (privately) to the Archbishop of Canterbury for his permission to consecrate. 'It is strictly according to the courtesy of the Catholics (true Catholics, I mean) not to ordain ministers of another Church without permission from the Bishop at the head of it. As Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, was justly offended when the Bishops of Palestine ordained the celebrated Origen.'

Edinburgh—Stirling—Consecration of Dr. Luscombe.

Stirling: March 20, 1825.

My dearest Father,—I was delighted to find a letter from my beloved mother awaiting me here, and containing so good an account, on the whole, both of herself and you. I have seen much, and been much interested since I wrote last. I know not when I spent a pleasanter day than that in which I dined with Mr. Walker, who is a man superior both for his learning and piety. Bishop Low has been our constant companion; Dr. Russell, also, has amused and instructed us by his conversation. On Friday last I went to church at Bishop Sandford's, and was surprised to find a congregation of perhaps 150 persons attending, dressed mostly in mourning. This is the good old way of keeping Lent. The church is a most beautiful one, and the light is pleasing and solemnly deadened by the painted windows. It holds, without galleries, about a thousand persons: it is not so large as Mr.

Alison's chapel. There is close to it an ugly, tasteless kirk in which Sir Henry Moncrieff officiates; Bishop Low says it is compared to a handbox in which Bishop Sandford's Church came down from England. Bishop Low is old enough to remember when the penal laws, the 'accursed '46 and '48,'¹ as they are called, were in full force; and the marks of the chains are still left upon his mind. The true Episcopalians appear to be fond of dwelling upon the sufferings of their ancestors in the holy cause. Among the sufferers was old George Rose's father; he lived at Brechin in Forfar, and having a second charge fourteen miles off in the Highlands, he had to trudge there on foot, through rain and snow, with only a crust of bread and an onion in his pocket. He was apprehended after the '46 for reading Prayers to more than four persons, and put on board a man-of-war in his old age during the winter months. When Bishop Horne was told of this, 'Ah!' said he, 'I should not have guessed George Rose's parentage from his principles.' . . .

Poor old Bishop Gleig is seventy-two years old, breaking by age, and otherwise afflicted; but he is too poor to be able to have an assistant. This is permitted by a Government which intends to provide for the Papists; by a Government which yearly gives 8,000*l.* to the English Dissenters, which has long made an allowance to the Papists and Presbyterians in Ireland. Many Highland congregations are without ministers, because there are no funds to pay them with: congregations which would rather become Papists than Presbyterians. The case is at present before Government, but with little prospect of being attended to. Lord Bexley has interested himself warmly in it. This is creditable to his Lordship, as the Bishops here run into such an extreme against Calvinism as to be charged with Pelagianism by their enemies, but unjustly. Will you believe it?—an application was intended to be made to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for assistance with respect to the Highland congregations, when upon sounding previously some of the English Bishops, two of them dared, in the

¹ By the acts of 1746–48 anyone officiating as Minister in any Episcopal chapel in Scotland without receiving his letters of orders from some Bishop of the Church of England or Ireland, registering them, taking all the oaths required by law, and praying for the King and Royal Family by name, was for the first offence to be imprisoned for six months, for the second to be transported to one of His Majesty's plantations for life. These laws remained unrepealed, though not actively enforced, up to 1792.

hardihood of ignorance, to start an objection so infamously Erastian as to say that the assistance ought not to be afforded, since the Episcopal Church was a dissenting Church in Scotland. One blushes with indignation and shame, but I much fear that too many on the Bench are little better than Erastians. . . . Bishop Gleig has just sent to ask me to drink tea with him, so I must obey. Sunday : I have just returned from church, and I am able to say that at last Dr. Luscombe is a Bishop. We met at Bishop Gleig's Bishop Sandford ; he is the most delightful lovable old man you ever saw ; I never knew anyone who looked more truly what one would wish a Bishop to look. His voice is so soft, his manner so gentle, his demeanour so gentlemanlike, that he must win all hearts. He is always in full dress, with his short cassock and buckles, as all the Bishops here are accustomed to be. I never knew a more striking and solemn ceremony than that which I have witnessed to-day. As a sight, it would have been more affecting if it had been at Edinburgh in one of the magnificent chapels there. Stirling Chapel is an ugly building, much about the size of our Church at Whippingham, with rather a larger congregation. My sermon was about forty minutes long ; I was sorry for it, for Bishop Sandford is a great invalid, and could hardly remain out the service. Bishop Low was very much pleased with it ; and Bishop Gleig said he could promise me that he never heard a sermon more to his liking upon such an occasion. Bishop Gleig, though a most eccentric character, is a great divine ; so I consider this a great compliment.

Visit to St. Andrew's—Dr. Chalmers.

St. Andrew's : March 24, 1825.

My dearest Mother,—I am writing this in an apartment which once formed part of the palace of our unfortunate Archbishop Sharp. It is rather remarkable that the first thing which met our eyes upon entering Edinburgh was a placard, announcing the exhibition of Allan's picture of that most fiendlike act of Presbyterian intolerance and bigotry ; and upon our arrival at St. Andrew's we were forced into the house of that unfortunate martyr. Whether it forebodes ill to Bishop Luscombe or me, I know not ; but I believe that, as far as I am concerned, I could suffer martyrdom very decently, but then I should like it to be in the more regular way ; by the halter or the stake, not by the knife of the assassin.

The first thing we did this morning was to wait upon Dr. Chalmers, Professor of Moral Philosophy, a friend of Dr. Luscombe's, to request permission to attend his lecture ; he received us very civilly ; we shall meet him at a small party this evening. I was glad to attend his lecture, as it would be contrary to my principles to hear him preach. His lecture was a very good one, showing how the discoveries which have been made by geologists tended to the corroboration of revelation. He availed himself largely of Professor Buckland's works ; but it is rather surprising that while he referred to Cuvier by name, he omitted to mention that great English geologist. His style was rather too figurative ; one or two splendid sentences towards the close produced great effect. I was not aware that the force of a few words would be so great, for it was not the matter, but the words, which told. I shall in future endeavour to close my sermons with a few strong sentences. I understand that Chalmers has in his former lectures praised our English divines, and pronounced the hierarchy of England to have been the great bulwark against infidelity. Upon the whole his lecture was a good one ; but I doubt much if it had been delivered by an Englishman, whether it (or any of his works, if the works of an Englishman), would have obtained for the author that fame which the Whigs have bestowed upon Chalmers. He gave me the idea of a person who spoke more for effect than utility ; to produce admiration for himself rather than to afford edification to others. We afterwards viewed the ruins of the cathedral ; dauntless did I stand under them, for I am convinced, God be thanked, that I have not in my veins one drop of the blood of John Knox ; if I had, I would draw it from my body, at the risk of my life. I refer to a story which was told me by Bishop Low. When Dr. Johnson was shown the ruins of St. Andrew's they pointed out to him a part of them which was likely to fall, and for fear of its doing mischief, they were thinking of taking it down. 'No,' said the good Doctor, 'let it stand for the present, it may chance to fall upon the head of some descendant of John Knox.'

Visit to Bishop Jolly.

Aberdeen : April 12, 1825.

My dearest Mother,—When I wrote to you last I was about to start for Fraserburgh, from which place I reluctantly tore myself away yesterday morning, being under an engagement to dine with

Bishop Skinner here. Not arriving at Fraserburgh until ten o'clock on Saturday night, I did not wait upon good Bishop Jolly till the following morning. I knew that the Bishop rose at four o'clock; and therefore I called at nine: but I knocked at the door in vain. I was told by a passer-by that if I walked on the opposite side of the road the Bishop would probably see me, and speak to me from the window. No one, however, appearing, I began to fear that he was gone on a visitation; I knew that he kept no servant, and that an old woman in the neighbourhood took care of the house, who, after shutting the shutters and so forth of an evening, very often locked the Bishop in, and took the key with her to her own house. For this woman I inquired; she refused to disturb the Bishop before ten. I accordingly gave her my card to deliver to him when she went to him. He immediately sent me a note requesting me to call upon the Rev. Mr. Pressley, who would respectfully conduct me to the Bishop. At half-past ten therefore I saw the good old man. He was dressed in his canonicals, with the whitest and largest wig in Christendom. His room was small, with a small round table and a desk, and various books of reference on the surrounding shelves. He seemed truly glad to see me, and said, 'I am to understand that you are the son, the reverend and worthy son, of a dignified Archdeacon of the honoured Church of England.' He afterwards asked me whether that good worthy man, the Archdeacon, were well. I set him right of course, about my father's age, and told him that he had lately been very ill; he then adverted to the grand day at Stirling. 'I can assure you,' said he, 'my heart was with you. I read through the whole of the Consecration Service on that morning; and my reverend assistant, Mr. Pressley, and myself prayed together heartily that the grand design might turn out to the glory of God.' He then informed me that it was impossible for him to leave his parish during Lent, or he would have been at Stirling on that grand day, as he was preparing his young folk for Confirmation. In his own parish he has an annual Confirmation; in the diocese it is only triennial. In his own small parish he had nineteen persons to confirm, out of whom eleven were converts from Presbyterianism. The Bishop did not seek first to convert them, but they made the advance. Now this is very glorious and very striking. I asked him whether he did not think it necessary that they should be first baptized; he said that he would confess to me, as I was a friend, that they all were re-baptized, and this at their own request, since

they had scruples about lay baptism, and of course, when they were converted, they regarded, as we do, the ministers of the Scotch Established Church merely as laymen. Be careful not to talk of this ; for although it is always done, it is done under the rose, since the ministers of the Establishment are very irate indeed when they discover that we re-baptize the quondam members of their communion. The bishop would not permit me—a reverend clergyman of the honoured Church of England (and he said ‘we are very like the Church of England, almost the same’)—to sit without the rails of the altar, but I sat within with him, and read the Epistle. In the afternoon Mr. Pressley said it would be ‘brotherly to read prayers,’ which I did. Between the services, I was delighted with the conversation of the good, dear Bishop ; a biscuit and a glass of wine was all his dinner ; in general he takes a basin of soup, but, in honour of me he had some wine that day, which made his dinner. He has perhaps as good a divinity library as any clergyman in Great Britain ; some most scarce and valuable books are in it. It has been the collection of fifty years ; many of them presents, or bought when books were cheaper than they are now. It shows what a man may do on a little ; for this most apostolic bishop has only 60*l.* a year to live on, having by ill health been obliged to procure an assistant at 40*l.* per annum ; this 40*l.* is exclusive of the 60*l.* ; of this 60*l.* he spends half in charity. You can form no conception how he is beloved. It is a beautiful sight to see the children running across the street when he appears, and holding down their little heads while he lays his hands upon them and blesses them. Many of the grown-up people kneel down and receive his blessing also. Last year, when Mr. Walker was at Fraserburgh, some fishermen, going out on the whale fishing, walked six miles before they sailed to receive his blessing. It was the old custom in England, long retained in Scotland, for any person when waiting on a Bishop, to kneel down and beg his blessing. I lament, however, to say that it is going out here, and is retained only by Bishop Jolly, except on particular occasions. Mr. Pressley told me that he always knelt down and received his blessing on Sunday morning, or when he waited on him on clerical business, or to pray with him. This worthy young man, Mr. Pressley, is treading in the Bishop’s steps ; he was ordained deacon at nineteen ; he is now only twenty-four. His reading has been so extensive that he would shame many first-rate divines in England ; all our great English authors he knows well ; he has read the Fathers, that is,

the best of them ; he can refer to any sentence of Scripture, mentioning even the chapter and verse ; he can read any book in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew ; and this good young man is living contentedly on 40*l.* a year, out of which he has to contribute to the support of his parents. He is educating two young men gratis (for they cannot afford to pay him) for the Episcopal Church, and has a gentleness and urbanity of manners which is perfectly wonderful, considering that he has never been farther south than Aberdeen. For a few years Government allowed 100*l.* per annum to each of the Scotch bishops ; it was called a regium donum. Five years ago it was stopped, with no reason assigned, by this very Government who mean to pension the Papists. Mr. Pressley says this stoppage necessitated Bishop Jolly so much to curtail his charities that it weighed much upon the good man's spirits, and he has stinted himself ever since. At six o'clock I went to drink tea with the Bishop. The old woman brought a teapot with the tea made from her own house, wrapped in a pocket handkerchief, and having laid it on the table, begged a blessing and departed. The Bishop and I (for Mr. Pressley had gone to a Sunday school) then got the cups and saucers from the closet, and drank our tea. He said, 'You see I am a perfect monk, not from choice, but a wonderful train of Providence placed me in the situation I am in, and I am perfectly happy.' He talked of the reception the bishops met with from the good King George, a print of whom was given him at Edinburgh. 'But,' said he, pointing to a print of Prince Charles, 'he has been over my fireplace for forty years, and I could not find it in my heart to depose him.' So he has placed the king in the next honourable situation, between the effigies of Archbishop Laud and Archbishop Sancroft. I said that I wanted a copy of the Scotch Episcopal Communion Service, and asked where I could get one ; he said he had one by him, and would give it to me. 'I am ashamed,' he said, 'to give you only a little sixpenny pamphlet, but,' looking with affection on his books, 'these are to be a legacy to our poor Church, so I cannot part with them.' I insisted on his writing his name in the little book and this is what he wrote : 'Accepted with much goodness by the Rev. W. F. Hook, from Alexander Jolly, Bishop, whom he delighted by his company in Fraserburgh, Low Sunday, 1825.' I need not tell you that to my dying day I shall value this little book. I could write on this subject for ever, but my paper warns me to conclude. After shaking hands with the dear old Bishop, I knelt down, and never, never

shall I forget my feelings when, laying his two hands upon my unworthy head, he said, as if from his heart of hearts, 'My son, may God Almighty bless you by His Holy Spirit, preserve you from sin and danger, direct and prosper you in all your studies and holy duties, and keep you in His love and favour evermore.' I must add that he wishes that whenever that worthy and venerable man, the archdeacon, writes to the now Bishop Luscombe, he will state that he (Bishop Jolly) will think of him every morning, and pray in great truth for his success.

The four consecrators of Dr. Luscombe were : Bishop Gleig, the Primus ; Dr. Sandford, Bishop of Edinburgh ; Dr. Skinner, Bishop of Aberdeen ; and Dr. Low, Bishop of Ross and Argyll. The very sight of Dr. Skinner was interesting, for he was a direct link between these peaceful times and one of the most suffering epochs of the Scottish Church. His grandfather, the Rev. J. Skinner, for sixty-four years pastor of Langside, had been imprisoned for six months under the oppressive Act of 1748 for the crime of reading the English Liturgy to more than four persons, although he had taken the oaths of allegiance to Government. Large crowds, however, used to gather on Sundays round the Tolbooth, to whom he preached from the grated window of his cell. His son was afterwards Bishop of Aberdeen, and father of the Bishop who assisted in the consecration of Dr. Luscombe. The object which the Scottish Bishops had in view in consecrating Dr. Luscombe will best be understood from the concluding words of the Letters of Collation which they delivered to him :

He is sent by us, representing the Scotch Episcopal Church, to the continent of Europe, not as a Diocesan Bishop in the modern or limited sense of the word, but for a purpose similar to that for which Titus was left by St. Paul in Crete, that he may 'set in order the things that are wanting' among such of the natives of Great Britain and Ireland as he shall find professing to be members of the United Church of England and Ireland and the Episcopal Church in Scotland, and to these may be added any members of the Episcopal Church of America who may chance to be resident in Europe. But as our blessed Lord, when He first sent out His apostles, commanded them, saying, 'Go not into the

way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not ; but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel,' so we, following so divine an example . . . do solemnly enjoin our right reverend brother not to disturb the peace of any Christian Society established as the National Church in whatever nation he may chance to sojourn, but to confine his administrations to British subjects and to such other Christians as may profess to be of a Protestant Episcopal Church.

And we earnestly pray God to protect and support him in his arduous undertaking, and to grant such success to his ministry that he may be among those who, having turned many to righteousness, shall shine as the stars for ever and ever.

The sermon preached on this occasion ¹ elicited great praise from the Scottish Bishops and others who heard it, and was the first production which brought the author into public notice. It is entitled 'An attempt to demonstrate the Catholicism of the Church of England and the other branches of the Episcopal Church.' In force and freedom of style and weightiness of matter, it is a very great advance upon the sermon of 1822. The practical bearing of the sermon upon the matter in hand consisted in demonstrating that, if there was an essential unity between all branches of the Reformed Catholic Church, the appointment of a Bishop by one branch to minister to members of other branches hitherto destitute of such provision could be no intrusion or usurpation. Notwithstanding differences of nationality and position, such as the Church being established in one country and disestablished in another, yet in itself was it one and indivisible ; consequently the English, Scotch, and American members of the Church, clerical and lay, sojourning on the Continent might freely acknowledge the authority of a Bishop duly consecrated and sent forth by any one of the three branches. Neither was there any fear, as some had supposed, that such a Bishop would disturb the foreign Protestants or the Roman Church.

We seek not (he said), to interfere with, much less to overthrow, any Christian form of worship which may be established by

¹ No. 2 in vol. i. of *The Church and her Ordinances.*

its civil constitution, so long as it tends to promote (as every Christian mode of worship *will* in a greater or less degree promote) the great ends of virtue, morality, and religion. For ourselves, we lay claim to the privilege of worshipping the Almighty in the manner we conceive to be prescribed by Him, and of keeping clear from what we consider to be error on the one side or on the other, whether resulting from the innovations of the Protestant or of the Romanist. In this country (Scotland), grateful for the toleration which is afforded to the Reformed Catholic Church, its pious ministers, while they vindicate its doctrines and maintain its discipline, seek not to interfere with the Presbyterian establishment: but although they cannot enter into its communion or attend its services, they duly appreciate its merits in contributing to rear and foster a thinking and religious people. The same sentiments influence us when resident in a country where the Church of Rome is established. Far be from our views that misdirected and fanatic zeal which would seek at all hazards the downfall of even an erroneous mode of Christian worship, reckless of the consequences; which in removing one stumbling-block may open the door to a thousand others, and let loose passions which war against the spirit of Christianity itself.

The mission of Bishop Luscombe, however, harmless as such a proceeding would be considered in the present day, excited a great deal of controversy at the time, and was viewed with displeasure and alarm by many good Churchmen on the very grounds which were combated in the sermon quoted above. Many persisted in thinking that a Bishop consecrated by a dis-established Church could have no right to exercise authority over the members of an established Church, although residing out of their country; and also that his introduction into the dioceses of a Church which was in alliance with the State, and was also a branch, although a corrupt one, of the Catholic Church, could not be justified. Mr. Norris, rector of South Hackney, was one of the most eminent who held these views on the subject, and he expressed them in an article in the 'Christian Remembrancer' for December 1825. Had Christianity itself been in danger, then, since *salus Ecclesiæ suprema lex*, he thought the irregularity would have been pardonable,

but not otherwise. To this article and other adverse criticisms Mr. Hook replied in the same journal, May 1826. He points out that of the Catholic Church it had been an invariable tenet that the Episcopate was one, and that consequently a member of the Church owed allegiance, not merely to the prelates of the country in which he was born, but to the duly consecrated Bishop of the place in which he might happen to reside.

With that Bishop he is bound to communicate, notwithstanding differences in rites and ceremonies, except where, as in the case of Greece and Rome, they have degenerated into heretical and idolatrous superstition; for there, as it was ruled by Cyprian and thirty-six other prelates in the case of the Spanish Bishops, Martialis and Basilides, the clergy and people are not only authorised, but in duty bounden, to renounce their allegiance; and the orthodox Bishops of a neighbouring nation, acting not in their ordinary but in their Catholic character, are permitted to send one of their number to preside over those who may continue in the primitive faith. . . . If the Church of England were merely a sect, then indeed it would be necessary for the English abroad on all occasions to apply for sanction to the authorities at home; but being in fact, when once they have quitted the shores of England, members of the Church at large, their allegiance becomes due, as I said before, not to an English diocesan, but to the Ordinary of the place wherein they reside; if in Scotland to the Scottish Bishop, if in America to the American Bishop, and so on. When, however, they are resident on the Continent of Europe, there are few places where there is an authority established which they can conscientiously acknowledge, for, as Theodoret observes, 'where Christians are given to the worship of angels' (*à fortiori* of saints) 'they have left the Lord Jesus Christ.' They must therefore, in this case, apply to proper ecclesiastical authority for the appointment of an Ordinary, qualified for the discharge of episcopal functions. The question then is, In whom is that authority vested? 'Simplex'¹ would answer that they could only apply to the Bishops of England, whereas I contend that, though I should prefer it, yet this is by no means necessary, and in some cases may be an inexpedient course. Suppose, for instance, I were resident in a town in France, in which there were also resident several

¹ One of his critics who wrote under this name.

Scottish and several American Episcopalians, 'Simplex,' if not an Erastian, will allow that we should be all of the same communion, and that if any one should refuse to hold communion with the others we should be schismatics. Suppose, also, an American clergyman were to come to reside among us for the purpose of performing divine service, and that, convinced of the irregularities arising from want of an Ordinary, and desirous of securing the rite of Confirmation for our children, we should determine to apply in the proper quarter for the redress of the grievance; if the Englishman should contend that application should be made to the English bench, and the Scotchman should plead for the Episcopal College in Scotland, the American would think it necessary to uphold the dignity of the prelates in the United States. Each party would, in this instance, be acting on the narrow principles of a sect, and Catholic unity would thus be destroyed. But sinking all national distinctions, they would, if they acted properly and as *really Catholic* Christians, come to the determination of applying to *any* lawful authority, capable of judging of the expediency or in expediency of granting their petition and relieving their wants. Referring to the records of the Church in its primitive and purest ages, they would find that the Christians in those days, when they were in want of a Bishop, did not think it necessary to apply to any particular Church, but to a synod of neighbouring Bishops canonically convened.

It only remains to say that Bishop Luscombe met with a most cordial reception in France, from the British Ambassador at Paris, and from all members of the Reformed Church abroad; and if his mission was not ultimately so successful as had been hoped, the failure was due to causes which were not connected with the nature of the mission itself, and into which therefore it is not worth while to enter here.

LETTERS, 1822-1826.

Renewal of Intercourse with his Friend William Page Wood.

Whippingham, Isle of Wight : March 1822.

My dearest Mother, . . . I shall now proceed to my own business, which is, of course, quite and entirely confidential between you and me. After nearly eleven years' friendship, the better

half of Wood's life, and no small portion of mine, it would be useless to deny that we are both of us impatient to meet once more. If, therefore, the same objection do not still exist, I am sure you, my kind mother, will endeavour, if possible, to procure and accelerate that meeting. Had you not kindly mentioned the subject when last here, I should have given it up as a hopeless case for the present, but since by your mentioning it there must be a possibility, I cannot restrain my feelings so far as not to express my wishes, and to strive to promote an object I have so much at heart. This point, however, I leave to my father's decision, of course. If it is thought expedient that we should not yet meet, then I shall remain here ; for, except for that purpose, I would not sacrifice the solitude, peace, and quiet which I am here enjoying in perfection. But if (as God grant it may be) it is possible, or, rather, expedient, for me to see Wood, I will tell you the plan which sometimes flies athwart my brain as I compose myself to my evening's nap; though it will never be put in execution, forasmuch as I have already enjoyed it in anticipation. I should like to get a parson's holiday, and spend three days with you in town, that I may make a solitary expedition to the Tower, and pay my usual visit to Poet's Corner, and see the Panoramas, and go to Astley's or one of the minor theatres, which is a thing I want to do for sundry reasons. Then I should like to spend three days with dear Aunt Mathison at Hampstead, and after that to go with my father to the visitation ; from thence to Cambridge. All this is very fine talking, you will say, but it is prodigiously dissipated for a parson, and very expensive. And yet, if you except the three days in town, when I shall be on a visit to you, the week at Cambridge is not much after four years' absence to those who, for nearly seven years, were scarcely ever four hours absent from one another in a day.

Invitation to be Steward at a Ball.

Whippingham : April 1822.

Mr. H.'s note did not arrive till yesterday, but the answer was in time ; what it was I suppose you have anticipated. I should verily as much have thought, nay, even more seriously, of going to Jericho than of becoming steward to a ball. I should be worried and bothered myself, and worry and bother everybody else ; and as to my qualification, if I were to dress up one of my father's cows she would perform the duties with infinite more grace and good

humour than I should. Besides, the plague of it would be so great that I should die under it, and it would look very ill upon my tombstone to see 'Here lies Walter Farquhar Hook, B.A., student of Christ Church, chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Argyll, and sometime curate of this parish. He died of a ball, universally regretted, on the 23rd day of April 1822, in the 25th year of his age.'

Detestation of French Characters.

'Conduct is Fate' I cannot read. I am too much of a John Bull to take any interest in Monsieurs and Mademoiselles, and I suppose the heroine is a Frenchwoman; and how could I take any interest in the adventures of a woman born and bred in that country where Bonaparte tyrannised, and that atheistical villain Voltaire spat his dirty venom at Shakspeare.

Law's 'Serious call.'

Whippingham, Cowes, Isle of Wight: May 5, 1824.

My dearest Brother, . . . I have lately been reading a book the Dean of Winton gave me, Law's 'Serious Call.' I had not read it for several years; it is a book exquisitely written, and written in such a manner that I defy anybody to read it without being interested. Dr. Johnson when he was at Oxford took it up, expecting to find it a dull book, and perhaps to laugh at it. These are his own words, but, says he, 'I found Law an overmatch for me, and that was the first occasion of my thinking in earnest of religion, after I became capable of rational inquiry.' Now of this book I intend always to read a chapter every morning; I am sure it will be of advantage through the whole day; and if you will do the same, you have only to order it at Rivingtons, and place it on your bookshelf as a gift from a devotedly attached brother. You will think the first day that he commands impossibilities, but you will on the second day think those impossibilities less impossible; and I pray God to grant us both His grace that we may both go on thus improving every day. You will, I am sure, take in good part this wee-bit prose. You know me, you know how weak I am, how easily I have yielded, and still yield, to temptation. You have always been my friend and confidant. I tremble often at the thoughts of the future, and I have been tempted to despair of the mercy of God; but on that mercy I have now learned wholly and solely to rely, through my blessed Redeemer, and humbly I pray that I may finally be

triumphant over those evil thoughts and wicked passions which too often assail me. I pray the same for you, my dear Robert, and I entreat you to join in the prayer.

The three letters which follow relate to a visit to London to see Dr. Hobart, the Bishop of New York, and will perhaps be better understood if prefaced by a few words of explanation. Before the declaration of Independence in 1783, the Church in America had nominally been subject to the episcopal supervision of the Bishop of London. Commissaries were sent over by him from time to time, and very ineffectually as a rule did they discharge their work. After the establishment of the Republic it became necessary for the American Church, if it was to be episcopal at all, to obtain Bishops for itself. Dr. Seabury was sent over to England in 1785 to seek consecration from the Archbishop of Canterbury; but the prelates of the Established Church were afraid of taking the step, lest it should involve the English Government in difficulties with the American Republic, which had just been recognised. Dr. Seabury accordingly was consecrated by the prelates of the Scotch Church. Three other Bishops were afterwards consecrated in England, the political impediments having been surmounted. The American Church, thus refounded, set about adapting itself to the altered condition of things with laudable zeal and wisdom; but for some time it had to contend against misrepresentation, obloquy, and suspicion, and it was sinking into an unsatisfactory state of supineness when in 1798 John Henry Hobart was ordained to the ministry. He quickly began to rouse the Church into vigorous action, and in 1811, at the age of thirty-six, he was consecrated Bishop of New York. I will conclude these remarks by an extract from a lecture on the American Church given by Dr. Hook in Leeds, in which he alludes to the visit mentioned in the letters below.

‘For several years the moral persecution which Bishop Hobart had to endure depressed his spirits, but never for a moment slackened his energies. Every kind of falsehood was invented to blacken his name, and for a time he had to fight almost single-handed the battle of the Church. But by degrees

friends rallied round him, they increased in number, they gave him their confidence; he lived down his enemies. Long before his death he had the happiness—and a greater happiness man can scarcely enjoy—of counting among his supporters and friends some who had been at one time his bitter opponents. Even among those who still thought it their duty to pursue a course of conduct different from that which suggested itself to him, many regarded him in private with feelings of friendship; and in the various denominations which at one time had gone out of their way to oppose him, many so much admired his wisdom, his foresight, and his energy, that they were now ready to admit that they were prepared to take him for their model, and to bring his principles of energetic action to bear on those very denominational peculiarities which he most condemned.

‘In 1823, worn out and fatigued with his many anxieties and cares, he visited Europe; and he was received in England with those feelings of admiration and respect which he so fully deserved.

‘I was at that time a curate in the Isle of Wight. There were no railroads and very few steamboats, and travelling therefore was expensive; but though I could ill afford it, I journeyed to London on a cold November day on the top of the coach to receive at the end of my journey the blessing of a man whom I admired, respected, and revered. I found him in the grandeur of his simplicity as ready to open his full mind to a young curate as he would have been to a person of his own age and station. He prided himself, and went out of his way to show it, on being a Republican; and the mixture of Republican with High Church principles perplexed not a few among those who approached him, and who confounded the Church with the Establishment. He gave some offence by preferring his own branch of the Church to ours on those matters of detail in which a disestablished Church must differ from an Establishment. He told me that the cause of the Church was retarded in America at that time by the fact that many narrow-minded persons still felt that there must be, on the part of the Episcopalians, a secret attachment to the principles of the English

monarchy, which was treason to American republicanism. He wished, while showing and proclaiming his devoted attachment to the Church of England, to prove in his own person that he could be a loyal citizen of the United States. From that time the progress of the Church in the United States has been rapid and satisfactory.'

Bishop Hobart and the American Church.

16 St. James's Street, London : November 1823.

My dearest Father,—I write to request a very great favour of you. The Right Reverend Father in God John Henry Hobart, Bishop of New York, has arrived in England, and is, I hear, staying at Mr. Norris's. Now, as I know that you are acquainted with Mr. Norris, I should feel, if it is not improper, the greatest possible pleasure in having an introduction given me to him. If you think this no improper intrusion, and you can send me a letter of introduction by return of post, I can easily go by the stage to Hackney some day next week. Few people, I flatter myself, in England are better acquainted than I am with the history of the Apostolic Church in America. I have been making, since I have been in town, a close abstract of Bishop White's history of that Church, published only in America, and I think I shall be able to afford you some entertainment and information on that subject when we meet. It is so interesting a history that really, were I a little older, and a deeper divine, I should instantly set to work, and from my notes, the appendix to Bishop White, and my conversations with Mr. Wheaton, I should publish a short account of it. With these feelings, you will not wonder that I would strain a point to get an introduction to Bishop Hobart. I have frequently met the Dean of Winton, and I always join him to talk a little High-Churchery. He is quite as delighted with the Apostolic Church in America as I am. I am more particularly interested in the subject, as it will cause Episcopacy to be better understood in England by the generality of persons.

Mistaken for Bishop Hobart.

16 St. James's Street : November 12, 1823.

My dearest Mother, . . . I can give you but little family news. I went to Hackney yesterday. When I arrived at Mr. Norris's I was received by his servant with the most marked and peculiar

respect ; he told me that Mr. N. was out, but that he would return soon, and entreated me to sit in the library while he sent to town for his master. By this time several of the other servants had collected round the door, and the maids were looking out of window. I said that I would not permit Mr. N. to be sent for, when the servant told me that his master would never forgive him if he sent not for him express. I then said I would walk about Hackney and call again in the course of an hour, when the servant begged me to leave my name. Alas ! on seeing my card, and on finding that I was a simple presbyter, all his respect and admiration vanished. He then said that Mr. N. was gone to town to fetch Bishop Hobart, Bishop of New York. 'We thought,' quoth he, 'that you, sir, were the Bishop.' You cannot think how I was flattered by this, and no Bishop, of either Scotland or America, could have assumed more episcopal dignity when surrounded by moody Covenanters or hostile sectarians, than I assumed when perambulating the streets of Hackney. I called again on Mr. Norris, who had not met the Bishop, who was detained in town by business with the American ambassador. This, and the miscarriage of his letters, in which he had arranged that the Bishop should, like the apostles of old, be 'brought by the Church' all the way from Dover to London—that is, that he should sleep and stay at the houses of different clergymen on the road—these things, I say, had evidently put him a little out of sorts ; and although he was particularly civil, I did not get from him all that information which I expected, nor did he even offer me the loan of the official papers of the American Church. By the way, if my father thinks it practicable, and I can get at the 'Quarterly' through Croker, I think of drawing up an article for that review from my knowledge of the American Church. It can be done in the shape of a review on Bishop Dehon's sermons, and I think it may be rendered instructive, interesting, and useful.

Meeting with Bishop Hobart.

16 St. James's Street, London : November 13, 1823.

My dearest Mother, . . . I have just come from that great and good man, Bishop Hobart. To be sure, I went predisposed to like him ; but my expectations were surpassed beyond expression. His spirit, his vivacity, his judgment, are striking even in half an hour's conversation. His sober but zealous piety ; his strong

vehement, but tempered orthodoxy ; his veneration for our Church, his candour with respect to his own, have won my heart. And when he told me that he had read my father's charge, in New York, I could not help giving him an invitation to Whippingham ; when he expressed his pleasure at the prospect of an introduction to the archdeacon, but he feared that his health would not permit him to visit us at present, as he would have to go south ; but on his return he promises to come. Alas, I fear that you will be away at that time. There is no difference in his appearance from that of a simple presbyter, nor is his exterior very polished, but there is a strong, marked expression in his face which speaks of one who has stood firm in the hour of peril, and who has fought, and will fight, the good fight, ay, and (for God is on his side) will eventually prevail over all his enemies. Gilbert says that the respect with which he is treated at New York is wonderful ; that even the Evangelicals who differ from him are forced to acknowledge the pre-eminent sanctity of his character and the sobered zeal of his religion. Nay, Gilbert has even been asked by Presbyterians, 'Have you seen our Bishop?' and they spoke of him as a great man that he must see before he left New York. Now the Right Reverend Father himself told me in conversation that it was necessary that the character of the Bishop should be upheld, as the Republicans would all be very willing to carp at and deny the necessary respect due to the office. I felt, of course, the awe and respect which a presbyter ought to feel in the presence of a Bishop ; but he was very condescending, and seemed to think that the honour was rather conferred on him than on me. I wish I was settled in the neighbourhood of town, for I long to be dabbling in High-Churchery. However, my day is not yet come ; I shall one day or other hope to be a bulwark of the Church. In the meantime, I must lay deeper the foundation, which has been too much neglected.

I shall be glad to return to you all—sweet and peaceful Whippingham, my family, the school, the parish.

Whippingham, Isle of Wight : June 5, 1825.

My dearest Robert,—I do from my heart wish you many, many happy returns of the day, whether, as it is doubtful, to-day or to-morrow be your real birthday.¹ To-day I dine with Lord Henry,

¹ Because Robert was born so near midnight that it was difficult to determine to which day his birth belonged.

and I shall propose your health. To-morrow, to make assurance doubly sure, I will drink it in my toast and water, which is my strongest beverage, except on Sundays, when I take a glass of wine. I will do what is more, I will make peculiar mention of you, my dear, dear brother, in my private prayers, and especially to-morrow, which is, I believe, your proper birthday, when I shall have an opportunity of doing so in the most solemn rite of the Church, as I have appointed that day for the private administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to a rich parishioner. And if the present dissipation of London has not too much disordered your thoughts, if you are fully prepared, I would advise you not only to form good resolutions upon your birthday, but to confirm them by receiving that sacrament as soon after as you possibly can. There is an administration of it *every* Sunday at St. Martin's. If you are not prepared, then the question is, why are you not? and I would advise you just to look at the quotation from Dr. Andrewes's sermon as given by Judge Park in his excellent little work upon the Sacrament; at the end.

Advice to a Young Man of Business.

Whippingham, Cowes : December 6, 1825.

My dearest—,—If I may be allowed to give you a little advice, it is simply this, to confine your attention almost exclusively to one point and one subject; that is, your profession. No man ever succeeded in any one thing whose thoughts were not exclusively devoted to it. Let all your readings bear upon this point; make yourself thoroughly master of one subject (and no man can hope to be master of more), and general knowledge will flow in wonderfully, where you least expect it. I should say that your fault is a desire to be able to say something of everything. You have many irons in the fire, but not one red-hot. You dogmatise upon every subject, whether you understand it or not, and I think sometimes take up opinions at second hand. I was struck with this when you were with us; there were some points on which I had intended to have gained information from you, but whenever I alluded to them, I found that you knew nothing of *particulars*; and had only a *general*, that is to say, a confused notion upon them; I therefore did not press them. If you wish for proof of the truth of this charge, just ask yourself upon what single point I could consult you as an authority, and yet again on what single subject

would you not hazard an opinion. If you wish to succeed in any profession, the thing is, to make yourself completely and entirely master of every subject relating to it. This is, of course, the work of time ; and then upon that subject you may be justified in dogmatising if you please ; on all others be silent in most instances, in all speak with diffidence. There is another point on which I wish to prose you ; you have very good abilities and a very sound judgment, if you were pleased to exercise them, but you now seem to regard the opinion of any person of great name as law, and immediately adopt it as your own. When you are struck with any opinion or sentiment, ponder on it seriously, reflect on it, and judge for yourself whether there be not some error in it ; until you are able to decide thoroughly upon it, never sport it as your own. A man of real talents would never do so under any circumstances. You should always remember that pretenders to genius are fond of starting a paradox to make fools stare ; but they never do so without supporting it with a specious argument. He who professes to hold an opinion and yet cannot support it, is considered not very wise. Again, if a person lays down the law upon a subject, and when questioned is found to know really little or nothing upon it, that person is noted as a superficial fellow. All this lecture amounts to this : Human nature is such that it is scarcely possible for a man to be thoroughly master of more than one subject, though he devote his life to it ; if he is not master of some one subject, thoroughly master, he will not succeed, and is not wise. Circumstances point out the one subject to be studied ; providence has appointed you to be a man of business, and in so doing tells you what it is to which you are exclusively (always excepting the higher claims of religion) to devote your time.

You seem to wish to have that general knowledge which you hear great talkers lay claim to ; these great talkers are men of quickness who let fly at everything and astonish greater fools than themselves ; but they never fail to expose themselves when talking to those who have really studied any particular subject out of the many which they pretend to understand. I can only judge from my own experience. I know some men that pass for men of talent ; their knowledge of the law, of general literature, of physics, and metaphysics, &c., &c., has astonished me. They have had just as much pretension to theological subjects, the only one on which I am really capable of judging. I have found them upon getting on that topic overbearing and positive, but most awfully ignorant ; those men I

have of course set down as empty pretenders, and I consider them as ignorant on subjects relating to law, physics, metaphysics, &c., as I have found them to be in theology. These people are admired at dinner parties and so forth, but if they had to make their bread by their talents they would be found lamentably deficient. Now to shine in mixed companies is not to be your business, however much vanity may desire it; it is your duty to become a steady, unpretending, well-informed banker. I say, unpretending; for, depend upon it, where a man knows most there he will be most modest.

Whippingham: May 9, 1826.

My dearest Mother,—I have no patience with — in making such a fool of himself. A boy of sixteen, with his head full of Ovid, Tibullus, and Catullus, would not be guilty of such folly. I would advise him like Romeo to look out for a new mistress in the first pretty face he meets, and Rosalind will be soon forgotten in the superior charm of Juliet. ‘Tut, man, one fire burns out another burning; take thou some new infection to thine eye, and the rank poison of the old will die.’ Shakspeare does well to call such love ‘fancy.’ It is in my opinion all a pack of nonsense. I do not mean to say that *all* love is nonsense, but such a kind of ideal love as —’s, unrequited, and for a person whose character he does not know, is quite nonsense in any but a child. Tell — all this, and add with my love that I think him a blockhead.

Expected Meeting with Agents of Religious Tract Society.

Whippingham, Cowes, Isle of Wight: June 9, 1826.

My dearest Mother, . . . I so fully expected to have seen you to-day that I am sadly disappointed at your non-arrival. I am so full of St. Andrew’s, and am building such churches in the air, that I long to talk over all my schemes with you and my beloved father. Welcome, therefore, doubly welcome will you be to this beautiful abode of black-beetles and crickets; it will certainly reconcile me to our departure that we shall at least escape those odious companions, since one or two have paid me a visit in bed. I dread them as much ‘as a sick girl.’ I have much to say, but I cannot write now; I am in what we used to call at school ‘a blue funk,’ for I am to be attacked by two heretics to-day, at 4 p.m. The challenge was conveyed in the following anonymous note, received

yesterday : 'An auxiliary to the Religious Tract Society having been lately formed at West Cowes, the committee respectfully present the enclosed (to wit, a pamphlet) to the Rev. W. F. Hook, soliciting his approval and assistance. Two of the collectors will wait on Mr. H. to-morrow, at 4 o'clock p.m., to receive his answers.' Now as I live on very good terms with Mrs. —, Mrs. Gibbs, Mrs. Brown, &c., and even go so far as to shake hands with them, they suspect me, I suppose, of heresy ; but I shall content myself with telling them very plainly that I cannot, consistently with my principles, interfere with the religious institutions of any parish except my own ; or patronise a society established for religious purposes, unless it be under the official superintendence of my Diocesan ; and thus I shall decline all argument. But as the Apostle tells me to beware of false prophets who come to me in sheep's clothing, because inwardly they are ravening wolves, I have ordered the deacon, on his allegiance to a priest of the Church of Winchester, to attend the conference. These little breezes in a quiet life are very pleasant, but nevertheless, as I said before, I am in a bit of a 'funk,' and can write of nothing else.

Interview with Agents of Religious Tract Society.

Cowes, Isle of Wight : June 13, 1826.

My dearest Mother, . . . When I wrote to you last, I believe I informed you that I expected an interview with some schismatics ; at the appointed hour they came, and I asked them whether they had applied to the Bishop officially on their entering his diocese, and whether the Society was placed under his direction. On their answering in the negative, I told them that I could not, consistently with my feelings and principles as a clergyman of the Church of England, sanction a society professedly established for a religious purpose, unless it were placed officially under the direction of my Diocesan. I told them also that the Bishop is the ordinary minister of God over the whole diocese, and that we only preside over our respective parishes under his superintendence, and consequently that all things relating to religion through the whole district must be under his guidance. I quoted one or two passages from St. Ignatius, who was consecrated a Bishop by the Apostles themselves, to show that this was no new rule ; but that, in the very first age of the Gospel the law was, that nothing was to be done without the Bishop, that we were to obey the Bishop, &c. Thus I

gave them to understand that it was as much a point of conscience with me, when presiding over this parish, to oppose, as I had no doubt it was with them, to support, the Tract Society. As I said all this very civilly, wishing indeed, in a quiet way, while accounting for my own principles, to convince them of the error of theirs, they were not at all offended, but they stated, that owing to Mr. Nickson's having given his sanction at West Cowes, they had obtained so very many subscribers, that they were anxious also to obtain my support, and they hoped that (although they saw that I could not conscientiously belong to the Society) I would not oppose their proceedings, as they pledged themselves to circulate nothing but the essentials of Christianity. I then told them that I did not intend to discuss any particular points, but I was afraid that we could not agree as to what were the essentials of Christianity; for instance, I asked them if they worshipped the same God as myself, One Being in a Trinity of Persons, the Trinity in Unity. They seemed shocked at my doubting this, and I begged their pardon, telling them that I always act firmly upon the principles of the Church of Christ, and not troubling myself with the tenets of others, I might naturally be ignorant on that point. They held also the doctrine of the Atonement. But when I asked if they held the Sacraments to be ordinary means of grace, they were silent; and they were also silent, of course, when I asked them if they believed in the Divine Institution of the Church. I then observed that these were essentials, according to my faith; and I dared not presumptuously declare which, of things that God pronounced to be essential, is the most essential, although I would by no means condemn those who were so unfortunate as not to believe all. Yet, even if my former objection were overcome, I could not support a society which taught only part of what I believe to be essential, as sufficient.

They then described the mighty good which had been done, the number of drunkards reclaimed, &c., by the Society. Without denying that much good might have resulted, I asked them whether they thought that I might do what I considered evil that good might come. Besides which, I asked them whether these persons did not owe their conversion to the grace of God, at which they exclaimed yes; 'then I believe that He would not have left them unconverted, but other means would have been found if their minds had been prepared, even if this Society had not existed.' In short I told them that it was no use talking of the good done by

the Society when I thought it wrong to belong to it, for that would be, as I said before, to argue on a Popish principle (and I abhor all Popery), that the end sanctifies the means. I offered them refreshment, and lionised them all over the garden ; and we parted the best friends imaginable.

Whippingham : August 7, 1826.

My dearest Robert,—If tears were guineas, you should be relieved from all your difficulties immediately, for I cried very much at your letter. You must, however, keep your mind composed, for it is madness to add to real grievances by fretting about them. Do endeavour, my dear, to bear up like a man under your present pressure ; and to be able to do so, address your mind to God in prayer. It is of no use to fall down on your knees when you are visited by misfortune, unless you determine in your heart to lead a strictly religious life for the time to come. Recollect that by a religious man no one single sin is to be permitted, tolerated, or even winked at. Sins of weakness, sins unpremeditated, committed through the strength of temptation, will be pardoned upon repentance ; but he who does not *intend* in all things to strive to the utmost to do his duty, can have no pretence whatever to be called religious. I say this, because now is the time seriously to form good resolutions ; and because, in becoming religious, you not only lay up a store of happiness hereafter, but secure it here. Virtue, says a celebrated writer, is happiness in hand, and heaven in reversion.

CHAPTER III.

LIFE AT MOSELEY AND BIRMINGHAM.

A.D. 1826-1829.

IN the spring of 1825 Archdeacon Hook was appointed to the Deanery of Worcester ; and, although he did not take up his abode at Worcester before the following year, the pleasant home at Whippingham had to be broken up. His son's plans were unsettled for some time. It was at first proposed that he should be Curate of Stone (a country living near Worcester, held at that time with the Deanery), and also act as Chaplain to St. Oswald's Hospital in Worcester. His fancy was much captivated by this project ; it seemed to offer that combination of retirement and activity which was most to his taste. In May 1826 he writes, 'I know not any situation which is so likely to suit me. Whilst living in perfect seclusion—a kind of monastery—I shall yet be able, when I find it dull at home, to enjoy a little family society at the Deanery.' This plan, however, fell through.

The next scheme was to get the living of St. Andrew's in Worcester for him. To this also he was quite favourable, for he began to think that much leisure in a small country parish might foster in him habits of indolence and dreaminess, to which he still considered himself too prone.

My wish and desire is to be guided wholly by my dear father's judgment. I am, however, sure of one thing, that it is both for my interest and my happiness to be actively engaged in my vocation : for my interest, because being naturally of a heavy, indolent habit, I want continual excitement to keep me awake ; and for

my happiness, for I grow every day more and more exclusively devoted to my clerical pursuits ; so much so, indeed, that nothing affords me pleasure except as it is connected with them. I am afraid that a small parish, much as I have speculated upon it in lazy moments, would after all be the worst thing for me in the world ; for, although I should still employ myself diligently in the speculative, I should soon grow careless in the active, parts of my profession ; and habits are quickly formed.

The fact is that literary occupation to which he turned with such energy and zeal in his old age was always the kind of work to which his natural inclination most powerfully gravitated ; but the pastoral vein was also strong, and an equally strong sense of duty being thrown into that scale turned the balance in its favour. Hence that remarkable combination of literary and pastoral activity which we shall find so conspicuous in the whole of his subsequent career down to the time of his retirement from Leeds. He was first and foremost, from the time of which we are now speaking, a diligent parish priest ; but he ever considered it a principal part of his duty as a parish priest not only to exhort, reprove, and console, but also to teach, and he never forgot that he who would teach must learn. He was therefore an indefatigable student, and from his study, day by day, he went out into his parish full of ideas to be imparted to others, and carried forward to some practical issue.

After the failure of several plans, he was appointed to the perpetual curacy of Moseley, near Birmingham, to his entire satisfaction.

‘At the thought of Moseley,’ he writes in June 1826, ‘I felt the spirit (without the powers) of Athanasius and Horsley rising within me, and a very pugnacious desire of grappling with the descendants of Priestley and jousting with the humanitarians of Birmingham.’

In fact, he was getting so eager for work that he hardly cared where he went. Even as late as October there seems to have been some new proposal that Moseley should be given to a cousin, and something else found for him ; upon which he writes that he was quite willing to surrender Moseley ;

‘Only I am so tired of my holiday that a cure of souls I must

and will have ere long, even though I take it gratis. I should not at all object to taking a curacy in one of those delightful churches in Birmingham ; indeed I should particularly like it. For although there are good preachers in Birmingham the services of the Church are shamefully conducted. . . . I wish to goodness the rectors would think less of preaching, and more of having the liturgy rightly performed.'

The end of October, however, saw him fairly established at Moseley, now a suburb of Birmingham, but at that time a quiet country village nearly four miles distant from the town. He was delighted with the aspect of it.

It is just the place (he says) where I can live and die in peace and seclusion, which is all I want. We have a capital shop in the village where meat and beer, and cheese and eggs, and whipcord and thread, and tops, and gingerbread, and garden stuff and butter and milk and cream, and almost everything, are sold. Now I have turned these good people also into booksellers, and as soon as I have finished this scratch I am going off to them with the Society's Bibles and Prayer Books, and as I *will* undersell the Bible Society, even though the money comes, as it will, out of my own pocket, I shall persuade the 'Missus' to buy them of me, offering the books at 5 per cent. below the Bible Society's price.

His stipend was only 150*l.*, and as he wished to spend liberally upon parochial matters he measured his personal expenses on the most frugal scale. He drank raspberry vinegar instead of wine, and frequently eat pork instead of beef and mutton, which were then considered very dear, he writes, at 8*d.* and 7½*d.* a pound. He declared himself a confirmed bachelor, not only, however, because he could not afford to marry, but for another and singular reason : that he should wish his wife, if he had one, to conform to the model of George Herbert's pastor's wife, of whom one indispensable qualification was to be that she should cure and heal all the wounds and sores of the parishioners with her own hands. 'Now I never could bear to have these dressed with my wife's hands ; therefore I must remain a bachelor.'

With his sermons he began to take very great pains, especially as Socinians abounded in the parish and neighbour-

hood, and not a few came to his church.' 'I am now reading very hard,' he writes in May 1827, 'to prepare myself to state and enforce the Catholic doctrine concerning the Third Person on Whit Sunday, and that of the hypostatic union on the Sunday following. I am going to Birmingham this morning for the purpose of getting the works of Athanasius, and Bishop Horsley's tracts.'

The practical work which occupied him most during the summer of 1827 was the foundation of a village school. On June 18 he writes to his mother :—

I write a few lines lest you should be anxious, but I have not time for much. I have been on my legs since seven o'clock this morning all over Birmingham and its vicinity to persuade some landholder to sell us the eighth of an acre of land for building upon ; but I have not yet succeeded. We have a meeting on Friday, and what with computing the expenses, talking over my neighbours, preaching two sermons to convince the rich of the necessity of establishing schools, drawing up resolutions, superintending the plans and estimates of builders, applying to everyone who thinks himself a gentleman and soliciting his support, I am pretty busy ; but I never was in my life in better health and spirits, and I am sure that I never was happier, for I feel that I am just in my element.

It must be owned that the laity of the neighbourhood seem to have been far from enthusiastic in the work, but the energy and resolution of the young curate at length succeeded in breaking down all obstacles. 'I have at last persuaded the good people,' he says, 'that what is represented as utterly impossible does sometimes come to pass.' His squire, Mr. Taylor, let half an acre on a lease of ninety-nine years at a guinea rent, and the building was soon begun. His first experience of opposition from members of the extreme Evangelical party began in connexion with this undertaking. They are commonly designated the 'saints' in his letters of this period. There was no kind of opposition which irritated and vexed him more than this ; but he met it with much forbearance, and for the most part foiled his assailants with considerable dexterity.

One old Saint (he writes) has annoyed me much. He appeared to approve the plan until the day of our meeting, and then all at once he sent me a note containing a statement of sundry difficulties in the way of the proposed establishment, and resigning into my hands the accounts of the Sunday school and evening lecture. As to his objections I passed by them with contemptuous silence; and as to the accounts I returned them, stating that I had no intention to take upon myself the office of treasurer to the Sunday schools; that if he wished to call a meeting of the subscribers and resign his office into their hands, I should have no objection to permit a notice to that effect to be given in the church, and, upon *their* appointment, to take the office; but even then I would not receive any unaudited accounts, which has brought Mr. Saint to his right senses, and pleased the subscribers because it looks business-like. I have indeed stolen a march on the 'saints' by converting an old widow lately who was once their leader.

She had consulted him about supporting the Bible Society, and he had convinced her that it was based on unsound principles. He now intended to put her at the head of his list of school visitors, and employ her to counteract any interference on the part of others. It was his customary policy, as soon as he had made an impression on anyone's mind, to lose no time in giving him work of some kind to do, in which the newly inculcated principles might be strengthened by exercise.

In August of this year he paid a visit to his friends the Wards in the Isle of Wight, and assisted in the Sunday service at Whippingham, where the Rev. James Ward was now curate in charge. When he preached in the afternoon, not only the church but the churchyard was crowded; all the windows of the church being set open, so that many persons outside, owing to his strong, clear voice, could hear most of the sermon; and when he left the church the path to the rectory was lined with his old parishioners. An eye-witness said it was one of the most interesting and affecting sights he ever beheld.

About the same time he accepted the offer of a Lectureship at St. Philip's, Birmingham, Dr. Gardener, Canon of Lichfield, being the rector, and entered upon his duties there in September.

The stipend was 250*l.* per annum, so he was enabled to

keep a curate at Moseley ; though he did not spare himself, for, after walking or riding four miles into Birmingham, visiting the sick or the schools there, and returning to Moseley, he would frequently walk two miles or more about that parish.

One evil custom connected with the mode of conducting the Burial Service had prevailed in Moseley, with which he and his curate resolutely refused to comply, though it involved a sacrifice of fees amounting to about 20*l.* a year. That part of the funeral service which is appointed to be read in the church had been commonly omitted, unless the officiator received a hatband or half a guinea. The bodies of the poor were, as a consequence, very rarely taken into the church, until Mr. Hook abolished this odious and shameful distinction between poverty and wealth.

In the latter part of October 1827 Dr. Gardener was dangerously ill, and Mr. Hook thought that in the event of death it might be his duty to reside altogether in Birmingham. 'Dr. G.'s successor,' he writes, 'would do everything in his power to render my situation disagreeable,¹ and thus to force me to resign ; but of that I should be very regardless, and, to compare small things with great, I should, like old Hooker, take care that if "right Geneva" was preached in the morning, "right Canterbury" should be heard in the evening. . . . Old Gabell was one of my congregation yesterday. He was quite enthusiastic in his eulogy upon my sermon, criticising it just as he used to do my prose tasks at school.'

The work in Birmingham which engaged most of his time and attention was the establishment of a Penitentiary and the superintendence of schools. An extract from a letter descriptive of the proceedings at a committee in connexion with the former work, illustrates very well the attitude which on this and similar occasions he adopted towards Nonconformists.

I think I have gained some credit by the way in which I have managed the committee. I have insisted that the rector of the

¹ The appointment of St. Philip's being vested in the Bishop, then an Evangelical, Bishop Ryder.

parish in which the Penitentiary is situated shall *ex officio* be a member of any committee, and that the chaplain shall be licensed by the Bishop, which, though of slight use in the present reign, will be a wholesome check when it pleases heaven to remove our present most worthy Diocesan. . . . The 'saints' want to establish a committee of ladies. This I have resolutely opposed—a female committee always causes squabbling. The 'saints' thought I should oppose any co-operation with dissenters; when I observed that if they proposed any such resolution as the one in the Bath Penitentiary, which says that the parochial clergy *and* ministers of dissenting congregations shall be *ex officio* members of the committee, I should oppose them most decidedly, because I could not conscientiously admit any proposition which would go to assert the ministerial office of a dissenting teacher. But if they excluded the dissenters from *religious* interference, I said that I should be among the first to seek the support of that respectable body of men. I added that I would never refuse to co-operate with dissenters, when I could do so without compromising the principles of the Church, but that I would sacrifice nothing.

Once a month he devoted the greater part of a day to a careful examination of the schools for poor children in Birmingham. He mentions in one of his letters that he inspected the Blue Coat School from twelve to one o'clock, the Boys' National School from two to four o'clock, and the Girls' from four to five o'clock. How he won the hearts of many of the children may be learned from the following interesting letter, written to me by Mr. Peers, for many years a working silversmith in Birmingham.

I attended Pinfold Street School in 1828, which stood upon the present site of the London and North Western Railway Station. Dr. Hook was a busy, bustling man, full of life, and a great lover and forwarder of education. Once a month he came down to our school, and after going through it and looking into everything, he examined the first class. I was in that class, and we always did our best, because we knew the man and loved him. His examinations were thorough and searching; he warmed to his work, and so did we. When he had finished, he would say, 'Well done, my boys, you are a credit to the school.'

I never saw the good man again, since the last time that he

examined the school, but he always took an interest in any of the scholars. He sent me his portrait some years since, which I often look upon with pleasure. God bless him! I trust we shall meet again in heaven, where he is gone.

Since I received this letter, I have found another amongst Dr. Hook's papers, addressed to him in 1864 by the same person. It was called forth by a letter which had appeared in the 'Times,' and had been copied into the 'Birmingham Daily Post,' on the relation of political parties to the Church. This will be mentioned more particularly in its proper place. The first part of the letter from his old Birmingham scholar is concerned with that subject; but in the latter part he refers to his boyish recollections of the Curate of Moseley.

If I mistake not, sir, I have very old reasons to respect you. I can remember when I was a little boy, and you took a great interest in the Birmingham National School, and when you had examined the first class, in which I was a scholar, you used sometimes to show how pleased you were by emptying your pocket of all your loose silver, to be divided among us. Oh! those were glorious times. It sometimes came to as much as $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ each; and then the consultation as to what we should do with so vast a sum! No Privy Council was ever more solemn in their discussion; nor did the Rothschild family ever feel the weight of their riches more than we did ours.

But somehow the 'hot suck' shop, at the top of Lease Lane, generally got the lion's share of the money. Only once, I remember, we marched in a body to an empty house in High Street, which had been converted into a theatre, to see the 'Babes in the Wood.' That was my first view of scenic representations, and I have to thank you, sir, for many an hour's enjoyment, for it set me reading, and reading has been to me like an extra sense given by the Deity.

I think you were at the examination when two books were put up as prizes for competition, and I won the first prize. It is lying by my side as I write, and the date is July 20, 1829. I often think of you and the years gone by, and when you bring out a new work, I read the reviews of it in the papers with interest, as I am too poor to purchase the books themselves.

May God give you His blessing, and may you be led by His

hand still higher in His Church, to do good to His people, is the sincere wish of your humble servant,

A. PEERS.

In February 1828 his father died, and the family was left very ill provided for. His mother and sister resided with him for a short time at Edgbaston, and afterwards took a small house at Leamington.

Lord Lyndhurst, the Chancellor, who was an old school-fellow and friend of his father's, would have given him the rich living of Stone, had it not been promised to Mr. Peel, a brother of the Home Secretary. He offered him, however, the living of 'Stoke Bliss,' in Herefordshire (which was declined), and added, 'I shall be glad if it is in my power on a future occasion still further to assist you.'

His Birmingham friends, meanwhile, were in great dread of losing him. A 'round robin' was largely signed in May 1828, entreating the Bishop to give him the living of St. Philip's in the event of Dr. Gardener's death, which then seemed imminent. The committee which organised the movement was a mixed body of leading Tories, Whigs, and Dissenters; a very remarkable coalition in days just preceding the Reform Bill, when party strife raged with unprecedented bitterness. 'It is a curious thing,' he writes, 'that I am popular with the Dissenters, and a great number of them always form part of my afternoon congregation.'

In August 1828 a letter appeared in one of the Birmingham papers urging that the stipend of the lectureship at St. Philip's should be augmented by annual subscription, lest the present lecturer should be lost to the parish from the necessity of his seeking a more amply endowed post. 'In my own circle,' the writer says, 'I am acquainted with at least a dozen who eagerly wait for an opportunity of this kind to testify their admiration of the greatest genius that has ever graced the pulpits of our town. Let but the appeal once be made, and I am fully satisfied that it would not be made in vain.'

But if the people of one town were anxious not to lose him, the people of another town were equally anxious to gain him

Early in the autumn of 1828 the living of Holy Trinity, Coventry, became vacant, and some of the parishioners lost no time in seeking an interview with him, and begging him to apply to the Lord Chancellor for it. After going over to Coventry with his friend Wood, to survey the church and parish, he determined on making an application to Lord Lyndhurst, through his uncle, Sir Thomas Farquhar, and on October 3rd the Chancellor wrote to him in very friendly terms offering the living.

Having now completed these early stages in the life of our subject, two features in his character may be noticed which specially distinguish it during this period. First, his humble and reverent submission to authority; the more remarkable in one whose natural disposition was fiery and impulsive. However much his wishes were at variance with the decisions either of his schoolmasters or his parents in early youth, he never questioned the superiority of their judgment, and never hesitated to comply with it. And in like manner as a curate, first under his father and afterwards under Dr. Gardener, he never would act on his own responsibility, but before every step he took he had consulted and obtained the consent of his chief. Secondly, whatever position he was called upon to fill he made the best of it; he saw all its advantages and few of its drawbacks, and discharged the duties of his office with a cheerful persuasion that of all duties in the world they were the pleasantest which could be assigned to him.

LETTERS, 1827-1828.

*To his Father—Meeting with Mr. Wilberforce, the father of
Bishop Wilberforce.*

June 4, 1827.

And now you will wish to know how I, of all men in the world, should have fallen in with Mr. Wilberforce, or Mr. Wilber, as his intimates style him. Since I have been at Moseley, conciliation has been the word with me, and the 'saints' and I are on the best

possible terms—I, on the one hand, hoping to convert them, and they expecting, on the other, to pervert me; so a whole gang of their sanctities having come to Birmingham to a Jews' Society on Thursday, I was invited to meet the leaders at dinner at Mr. Palmer's on Friday. I accepted the invitation, and we really had a pleasant and even cheerful party. Mr. —, the leading 'saint' of Birmingham, and chaplain to my Lord Bishop, had previously called upon me. He is a most delightful man, and I should have some hope of him if his wife were not as full of spiritual pride as an egg is of meat. I wished to have a little conversation with Mr. Wilber after dinner, and we gossiped together for some time. He began by recommending me not to study or to take exercise directly after meals, but to take up one of Scott's novels! which I must own made me stare. We talked on till he alluded to the London University, which he said he had not supported because there was not provision made for religious instruction, although there was to be admission to all parties. He thought those evidences might be admitted to which even Socinians would not object. I told him that I hoped he would not consider me presumptuous, but I could not go so far with him as that, for the objections would not be removed in my mind if a false religion were allowed to be taught; that the step he proposed seemed to me to go towards the establishment of Socinianism; and that, besides, a Christian has no right to preach part of the truth—he must preach the whole or none; he must not only preach Christ, but Him crucified. So that I amused myself by attacking the *pseudo-Evangelical* on really Evangelical grounds, and almost to make him appear as the advocate of Socinianism! He then said that he would agree with me to a certain point, but he thought that since we could not do all the good we wished, we might nevertheless do all that was possible for us to do. To this I replied that I agreed in this doctrine, as long as we could do this good by lawful means; and here, I told him, appeared to me to be the grand difference between his principle and that of those whom I considered to be right; namely, that we do not solely regard the end, but also attend to the means—that to do a great good we do not consider ourselves justified in acting even a little wrong. He would not allow that such were his principles, but he could not prove the contrary. I then showed him that on his own grounds the good he proposed could not be obtained. The object he hoped to gain was this—that evidence should be brought to prove the

Scriptures genuine and authentic, and that then, this point gained, we might afterwards convert them by reasoning from Scripture genuine religion ; but, I said, suppose the genuineness of the Scriptures to be proved, a Socinian lecturer would persuade his auditory that our version is incorrect, and if they could not refer to the original they would then have recourse to Mr. Belsham's Bible, and thus be more hardened in their Socinianism. I concluded by stating it as my principle to do right, according to the rules of the Church, and I leave the rest to Providence. He seemed to be much interested in the conversation, for we stood for a long time by ourselves, and we then went to other subjects. He shook me heartily by the hand at parting. Miss Wilberforce received the Sacrament at my hands yesterday. I am afraid, however, that she will take but a bad account of me to her papa, for I gave them a most strong sermon against trusting to religious feelings, and showed that if a zeal for the promotion of religion was not accompanied with the regular discharge of other duties, or even if it led us into schism, it might be inspired by a lying spirit, and that by our conduct only we could judge of the influence of the Spirit.

Prospect of a Lectureship at St. Philip's, Birmingham.

Moseley, Birmingham : September 18, 1827.

My dearest Mother,—My spirit is quite up with respect to the Lectureship of St. Philip's, and many are the mighty castles of orthodox utility that I have been building upon the subject. I intend to recall, if possible, the remnant of Dr. Story's scattered friends ; I shall volunteer my services as secretary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and by my activity compel the Bishop to give it more decided support. When I am licensed, I shall speak to his lordship about establishing a branch of the Society for Propagating the Gospel. I intend to take the blue-coat school (which has been much neglected by the clergy) under my fostering wing. I shall tell Hodson that on all points where we do not differ I will go hand in hand with him ; and thus get my footing in the national and infant schools. I shall take also great pains with my sermons, and thus by exertion and prayer I hope to obtain God's grace, and to do some good in my generation. All this, however, will occupy my whole mind so completely as to render it necessary for me to decline engagements as much as possible, and my visits to Worcester will be like angels', 'few and

far between.' I am not quick, and require deliberation; in a bustle and confusion, also, I can do nothing; I require calm and retirement to collect my thoughts. I intend to devote all the energies of my mind, by God's blessing, to my new appointment, and I long to begin. I shall be obliged to keep a horse for myself and curate, which I think I can do at a neighbouring farmer's for six or eight shillings a week. I shall also get my curate to take a lodging with two bedrooms, and by paying him a small sum for one of them, I shall have an apartment in Birmingham; and I shall get Dr. Gardener to give me the key of the parish library, which can be my Birmingham study, in which I will make a point of passing one day out of the seven, so that people may know where to find me. Whateley tells me that my appointment has given much satisfaction, and that Dr. Gardener is very much pleased with it.

Blunders in Bishops' Titles.

8 Colmore Row : December 10, 1827.

My dearest Mother, . . . I wish a certain person would not trouble himself in matters ecclesiastical; he has made the most ridiculous blunder in censuring the writer of the 'Times' for calling the Archbishop of Canterbury the 'Metropolitan'; thinking, I suppose, that the Bishop of London, being bishop of the civil metropolis, must naturally be so of the ecclesiastical one. He said not long ago that the Bishop of Winton had refused the Metropolitan see, meaning the see of London. A censor of others ought himself to be correct.

Letter from Bishop Jolly on the Death of Mr. Hook's Father.

Fraserburgh : March 24 (Annunciation Eve), 1828.

My very dear reverend Brother,—Ever thinking of you with affectionate esteem, I felt how you must have been affected upon the demise of your most venerable and worthy father, now for ever happy. A heart so tenderly filial as yours (and the best hearts feel most) must have smarted under the stroke, while you kissed the rod with entire submission and resignation to the holy will of our Heavenly Father. I pretend not, therefore, to suggest topics of consolation to you, who have them for your own use in abundance, and minister them to others. And indeed, at present, I am very unfit to write anything upon any subject, being, upon the back of a heavy cold under particular oppression and languor. But

having a letter from our mutual dear friend of Fifeshire, in which he kindly writes of you, I could not forbear to give you the trouble of my line of condolence with the best wishes of my heart, which begs your prayers for me in return. The very title which your excellent father most worthily bore was endearing to me. His ever memorable predecessor, great and good Dr. Hickes, in his preface to Bishop Campbell's book on the intermediate state of the soul, writes and states that scriptural and truly primitive doctrine so as, in my opinion, to yield a vast fund of consolation under our momentary separation (and that only in respect of bodily intercourse) from our deceased friends. Bishop Hickes I consider and rank among the best writers against the corruptions of the Church of Rome. The truly Catholic practice of prayer for the advancement of the final consummation of the bliss of the faithful departed, plants a barrier strong against some of its most dangerous doctrines and practices.

That quondam dean, with whom the late good dean now is, drew up a prayer to be used for himself after his decease, which he put for that purpose into the hand of a friend; from that friend our excellent Bishop Rattray received it in London, 1717, and I have it in the handwriting of Bishop Alexander, Bishop Rattray's successor. As my paper may, I think, contain it by compressing, I will transcribe a copy which you will receive as a curiosity. I entertain no doubt upon the point; and my great favourite, Dr. S. Johnson, used such prayer, and would probably have done it with more confidence had he been as well versed in the ancient fathers as Dr. Hickes was. The phraseology is that of the Apostolical Constitutions.

'O God, who by Thy nature art immortal and everlasting, by whom all things mortal and immortal were created, and who madest Thy rational creature, man, the inhabitant of this world, subject unto death, but hast promised him a resurrection unto eternal life; O God, who wouldst not suffer Enoch and Elias to undergo the sentence of death; O God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who art the God of men, not as they are dead but as living; because the souls of all live unto Thee, and the spirits of the just, whom no torments can touch in any degree, are in Thy hand, they being all holy in Thy sight; do Thou, O Lord, now look upon this Thy servant, whom Thou hast chosen, and taken from this into the other state. O Thou lover of men, forgive him all his offences, which he hath committed willingly or unwillingly against Thee;

and send Thy benevolent angels to him to conduct him into the bosom of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles, and of all Thy righteous servants who have pleased Thee from the beginning of the world ; into that region of light, where there is no sorrow, no grief, no lamentation, but a calm and quiet place of bliss and blessed spirits, and a haven of rest, free from the storms and tempests of this world, and where the souls of the just converse together in a joyful expectation of their future reward, and behold the glory of Christ. In whose name, we beseech Thee, O Father of spirits, to accomplish the number of Thine elect, that we with this Thy servant, and with all who are gone before us, and who shall follow us to their promised rest, may have our consummation of perfect bliss, both in body and soul, at the resurrection of the just ; through our Lord Jesus Christ, who rose from the dead, and ascended into Heaven, from whence He shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead. To whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, the Lord, and Giver of Life, be all glory, honour, worship, thanksgiving, and adoration, now and for ever. Amen.'

In the above I do most humbly think there is nothing but what results from the blessed apostle's prayer for his dear Onesiphorus, which we read last evening, 'The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day.' The final blotting out of sin awaits His coming from heaven to raise and refine the body also, and make it a fit companion for the soul in eternal glory ! Meanwhile, although the body lies insensible, the fellowship of souls in the Communion of Saints, remains uninterrupted, and, defecated of corporeal affections, is the more spiritualised. The translation of our dear departed friends elevates our hearts more to the heavenly state, and to think of the bliss of Paradise. I ever read those words of St. Cyprian (in his sweet little book 'De Mortalitate') with tender emotion : 'Magnus illic nos carorum numerus expectat ; parentum, fratrum, filiorum, frequens nos et copiosa turba desiderat, jam de suâ immortalitate securo, et adhuc de nostrâ sollicita. In horum conspectum et complexum venire, quanta et illis et nobis in commune lætitia est !'

Accept now, my very dear reverend sir, this poor attempt of my goodwill to express the cordial attachment of your very respectful

ALEXANDER JOLLY.

I earnestly request a place in your prayers.¹

¹ The good Bishop lived ten years after the date of this letter, and died aged eighty-two. I cannot forbear relating the affecting circumstances of his

last illness and death as recorded by his chaplain, the Rev. Charles Pressley. A lay friend visited him in the summer of 1838, when a general synod of the clergy was about to take place. 'Tell Dr. Walker' (Bishop of Edinburgh), he said, 'that I am dying, getting weaker and weaker. I trust to his taking care that things are so managed at the synod that the principles of the Church may be preserved unimpaired. I am more and more convinced of the awfully responsible situation of the clergy, and I greatly fear that (not excepting myself) they fall far short of what they ought to be.' His friend remarked that if all the clergy performed their duty as he had done his, they might have confidence: to which here plied that he had no confidence in anything but the merits of his Saviour, on which alone he trusted. A few days after this, on the evening of St. Peter's Day, he seemed better than usual, and was left alone for the night about nine o'clock. When his attendant returned in the morning about seven o'clock he found the Bishop dead, lying in the most easy posture with his hands folded across his breast, and a most serene expression of countenance. Sutton's *Disce Mori* ('Learn to die') lay by his side.

CHAPTER IV.

STATE OF THE CHURCH—RISE OF THE ‘TRACTARIAN’
SCHOOL—LIFE AT COVENTRY.

A.D. 1829-1837.

WE have now reached the period when the subject of this memoir begins to occupy a conspicuous place, not only as an eminent parish priest, but also as an actor in the great ecclesiastical movements of the age. In order, therefore, to form a just estimate of the character and value of his work, it seems desirable to take a brief survey of the condition of the Church of England at this epoch.

She had but lately begun to shake off the lethargy by which she had been oppressed during the eighteenth century. The causes of that depression had been manifold. The unfortunate attachment of a considerable body of the clergy to the dynasty of the Stuarts shut out for more than half a century many men of ability, learning, and earnest piety—men devoted to Catholic doctrine and practice of the purest type—from positions of influence in the Established Church. In the reigns of the first two Georges, the energy of the Church, such as it was, had to contend, on behalf of the first principles of faith and morality, against a flood tide of Deism, Atheism, and profligacy. It was as much as she could do to stem the torrent ; she did not advance, and in many vital respects she slipped back. Whilst the reason was occupied with evidences and demonstrations the religious sentiments and emotions were comparatively uncultivated and the love of many waxed cold. It was the policy of the State to depress the Church, and to convert it as much

as possible into a servile implement for political purposes. Worldly-minded ministers conferred bishoprics on worldly-minded men, under whose misrule fearful havoc was made in the doctrine and discipline of the Church. Laxity and listlessness in the discharge of spiritual functions pervaded, but with many noble exceptions, all ranks of the hierarchy. In days when a Bishop of Winchester made one visitation only in the course of twenty-one years—when an Archbishop of York confirmed but once—when a Bishop of Llandaff, who never resided in his diocese, complacently thanked God that he had not spent his time in idleness, but had been usefully employed in writing many ‘seasonable publications,’ and building and planting on his estate in Westmoreland—when candidates were admitted to ordination, after a few hasty questions put by a chaplain, sometimes in the cricket field, or after his return from hunting, it is not surprising that parish priests, especially in rural places, might be seen smoking their pipes with village gossips outside the alehouse ; that they caroused with their squire or farmers over the punch bowl ; and that on Sundays they preached, what Samuel Pepys would have called ‘lazy, dull sermons’ in mouldy churches, to scanty congregations.

Such scandals were not extinct at the beginning of this century, but they were fast dying out ; for during the latter half of the former century, a noise and a shaking had been going on amongst the dry bones.

That great apostle of Christ, John Wesley, and his disciples, kindled a flame of piety in the land, although the Church in her coldness and pride repelled it. The spiritual work which the Wesleyans conducted, after their secession, outside the Church, was carried on by the Evangelical school which grew up within the fold. But the Evangelicals were unable to revive the Church, for the simple reason that they did not comprehend or enforce more than a part of her doctrine, while they were comparatively regardless of ecclesiastical discipline and liturgical ordinances. They had a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge. Their theology was based, rather on the teaching of Wesley and Whitfield, than on a study of the primitive

fathers and the history of the Church, or the great divines of the English Reformation ; while by their neglect of discipline and ordinances they confused the lines of demarcation between the Church and Dissent, and fed the ranks of Nonconformity instead of recruiting from them.

The revival of the Church was to come from men of another stamp ; from men who understood and taught and, as far as possible, practised the principles of the Church in their integrity and fulness. From the time of the Restoration onwards, such men had never been wanting ; even in the darkest days of trouble and rebuke, blasphemy and coldness, they were to be found, although like the seven thousand in Israel, who had not bowed the knee to Baal, they were often unnoticed and unknown.

Religious societies had been formed soon after the Restoration for the avowed object of 'promoting holiness of heart and life,' including amongst the means to this end daily services, weekly celebration of Holy Communion, a strict observance of the fasts and festivals of the Church, monthly conferences of the clergy, the establishment of schools, and various other agencies for reclaiming the vicious and ignorant. These societies gave birth to the 'Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,' whence proceeded the 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.' They were stifled soon after the Hanoverian dynasty came to the throne, but they had bred a race of men which never died out, Such, amongst bishops, were Wilson and Butler, Wake and Potter, Gibson, Berkeley, and Louth ; amongst the second order of clergy, Bingham and Waterland ; amongst the laity, Samuel Johnson. They were the successors, though at long intervals, in thought and feeling, of Collier and Ken, and Nelson and Horneck.

And when we pass from the last century to the present, the number of such men, especially amongst the laity and the lower ranks of the clergy, largely increases. William Stevens, the Treasurer of Queen Anne's Bounty ; Jones of Nayland ; Bishops Van Mildert, Lloyd, and Jebb ; Alexander Knox, Joshua Watson, and Henry Handley Norris, are only the most

conspicuous and able amongst many who studied, loved, and revered the principles of the Anglican Church and of the Church Catholic as it was constituted before the disruption of Eastern and Western Christendom. In this succession, for at present it was a succession rather than a definite school or party, the subject of this memoir is entitled to a niche. Bishop Jebb, indeed, Joshua Watson, and Mr. Norris were his personal friends in early life. He was a connecting link between such men and the Oxford Tractarian School, which was yet unformed.

The great and good men whose names I have just cited did much—some by their writings, others by their practical exertions—to promote the knowledge of sound principles and to engender that corporate feeling and action on the part of the Church in which she was as yet very deficient. By their efforts, the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church was founded in the year 1811, and the old Societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Propagating the Gospel were quickened into fresh life. But much remained to be done. By the end of that period to which the present memoir has been brought down, the organisation of the Church was still very incomplete. Episcopal Visitations and Confirmations were in many instances very irregularly performed. Agencies for sustaining the corporate life of the Church were in abeyance. Convocation, suppressed in 1717, was still silent. Congresses, conferences, and even ruridecanal meetings were as yet things unknown. There were earnest and enlightened laymen who have never been surpassed in their attachment to the Church ; but there were not those large bodies of hearty supporters which are to be found among the laity of the present day.

The clergy, too, as a body were very deficient in activity and such learning as belonged to their vocation. It was remarked by Dr. Hobart, the Bishop of New York, when he visited England in 1824, that while the best educated among the English clergy were good scholars or men of science, they were very commonly ignorant of the theology and the history of the

Church. There seemed good ground for such complaint, when for a long time it was found impossible to float a journal of sacred literature. 'The country clergy,' wrote Mr. Norris, 'are constant readers of the "Gentleman's Magazine," deep in the antiquities of the signs of inns, speculations as to what becomes of swallows in winter, and whether hedgehogs or other urchins are most justly accused of sucking milch cows dry at night.' It was not till the year 1818 that Mr. Norris and Joshua Watson induced Mr. Iremonger to start the 'Christian Remembrancer.'

The diocesan supervision of the clergy, in fact, was so imperfect, and they so rarely met in those conferences in which experiences are compared and emulation is kindled, that if a country parson was inclined to lapse into the easy-going country gentleman, there was no strong force of public opinion in the Church to hinder him. Sydney Smith's rhyming summary of Bishop Blomfield's first Charge in the Diocese of Chester in 1825 is a burlesque, but it indicates truly enough the kind of amusements to which the country clergy in that part at least of the kingdom were addicted.

Hunt not, fish not, shoot not ;
Dance not, fiddle not, flute not ;
But, before all things, it is my particular desire,
That, once at least in every week, you take
Your dinner with the Squire.

Moreover, even amongst High Churchmen, so called, both clerical and lay, the idea of the Church as a divine institution, rather than a mere department of the State, was very imperfectly formed ; while, even as a department of the State, its growth and action were hampered at every turn. Most of the parochial endowments remained as they had been in the days when the clergy were celibate, and the value of money was five times as great as it is in the nineteenth century. Out of a total of some 10,600 parochial benefices at the beginning of this century the incomes of more than half were under 50*l.* a year. The number of the parochial clergy was 10,300, actually smaller

than the number of parishes to be served ; hence a vast number of pluralist incumbents, parishes without parsonage houses, curates dividing their time between several cures, often considerable distances apart, Sunday services cut down to one in a fortnight, sometimes to one in three weeks, or on accidental occasions ; Holy Communion celebrated at rare intervals, and in some instances altogether dropped for several years. There were indeed churches where divine service was still carried on daily, sometimes even twice a day, but this was for the most part in towns where special endowments existed from ancient times for the purpose. It was suggested by some, as one inducement amongst others to Mr. Hook to take the living of Trinity, in Coventry, that the Wednesday and Friday services had been dropped since the death of the late Vicar, and that there was no need to resume them.

In the distribution of the clergy, there was the same kind of disproportion relative to the population as that which prevailed in Parliamentary representation. Just as great manufacturing towns, where the population had risen to 50,000 or 100,000 souls, returned only one member to Parliament or none at all, so very commonly were they provided with but one or two pastors. This was not the fault of the Church ; for before the Church Building Act of 1818 it was not possible to divide a parish without a special Act of Parliament, the cost of which was ruinously great. After the passing of this Act and the establishment of the Incorporated Church Building Society, a great spring in the direction of church extension took place. During the first seven years of this century only twenty-four churches were consecrated in the kingdom, whereas between 1821 and 1830 the number was 308, and Bishop Blomfield between 1828 and 1856 consecrated more than 200 in the diocese of London alone.

But while the Church had been heavily clogged in her endeavours to keep pace with the population, Dissent had been free ; Dissent, never powerful in the country, stepped into the great waste places in large towns, and planted strongholds from which it is now only beginning to be dislodged. During the

first two or even three decades of the century, Dissent did not take up a very hostile attitude towards the Church, because the Church was too feeble and inactive to provoke jealousy or alarm. It was not until the Church began to shake off her slumber and her shackles, and to do her duty by the nation as she never had done it before, that Dissent began to clamour for disestablishment and disendowment. While the Church 'was dying,' as Sydney Smith said, 'of dignity,' Dissent was quiet and content. Thus it will be seen that the most active opposition which Dr. Hook encountered in the earlier part of his career proceeded, not so much from the Dissenters outside the Church, as from the more fanatical of the Evangelicals inside her walls. This indeed was also due to the principle, which he always advocated and practised, of absolute toleration towards them 'that are without:' he neither denounced them nor molested them in any way, but left them to pursue their course without interference, and whenever it was possible, without compromising his principles, he worked with them. 'There is a line between us,' he used to say, 'but across that line we shake hands.'

The state of the country when he became Vicar of Trinity, Coventry, was not such as to render the pastoral charge of a large manufacturing parish agreeable or encouraging. The social condition of the people was one of deep and deplorable distress. The population had rapidly increased after the victory of Waterloo and the establishment of peace, while the duties on foreign corn hindered a supply of food adequate to the increased demand. The poor laws were ill devised and ill administered, and Parliamentary representation was so unequal that large masses of the people were unable to seek redress for their grievances through natural and constitutional channels. From all parts of the country during the years 1829 and 1830 innumerable petitions poured into Parliament representing the pitiable state of depression and distress which prevailed in every department of industry. Agricultural labourers were found starved to death. In spite of landlords reducing rents and clergy foregoing payment of tithe, wages fell. The peasantry

in their dense ignorance and mad despair took to breaking machines and burning ricks, and night after night the sky was lit up with the glare of the flames which were destroying the nation's food.

The distress of the manufacturing districts was less severe and was more patiently endured ; but frequent strikes, and occasional outbreaks of violence proved that it was keenly felt. The returns of the Coventry Union at this time illustrate the state of things in that city, and may be taken as a sample of the condition of large towns all over the country. The number of families receiving relief in Coventry in the year 1827 was 280 ; the number in 1830 was 1,312. The number of paupers in the house at the close of the year 1827 was 183 ; the number at the beginning of the year 1830 was 456. These statistics moreover were a very imperfect representation of the distress in Coventry. It is an ancient privilege of the inhabitants in that city that any man who has served an apprenticeship of seven years at one trade is entitled to the franchise, and the holders of this franchise are at all times very unwilling to forfeit it by falling upon the parish. Hence the distress of the operatives in Coventry, especially the weavers, during a depression of trade is always peculiarly great.

Although the clergy had done their utmost by the most self-denying charity to relieve the misery by which they were surrounded, yet their popularity was at a low ebb, owing to the unfortunate opposition which, as a body, they had offered to the national demand for Parliamentary Reform. The Bishops, who persistently voted against the Reform Bill in the Upper House, were insulted and threatened in public ; and in the riots of Bristol in 1831 the Bishop's palace was rifled and partly burnt. By not heartily throwing themselves into the cause of Reform the clergy lost a grand opportunity of attaching the people to the Church, and were too commonly regarded by the vulgar as opponents rather than champions of the great Christian principles of liberty and justice. The interests of Liberalism and Dissent came to be considered identical, although there is no necessary connexion between them. Deeply be-

loved as the Vicar personally was by the poor of his parish in Coventry, he owns in one of his letters that it was a rare thing to get a civil answer from a working man, if he was a stranger. Although theoretically a Tory, and as such opposed to the Reform Bill, yet he abstained from taking part in any public opposition to the measure ; he was not slow to recognise the justice of it when it had become law, and as time went on he became, especially on social and educational questions, a Reformer himself of a bold and advanced type. From political agitation of any kind he always held aloof on principle, and he was of too large and independent a mind to attach himself irrevocably to any party leader in the affairs of either Church or State. '*Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri,*' was a motto which he was accustomed to quote in reference to himself.

The throes and struggles by which the country was convulsed during the slow and painful birth of the Reform Bill, amongst other good results, completely woke up the Church. The events which her foes hoped, and which some of her friends feared, would effect her downfall, really turned out in many ways to her advantage ; they led to the removal or rectification of abuses, they caused her truest-hearted members to rally round her in force, to 'lengthen her cords and to strengthen her stakes.'

All kinds of schemes of Church Reform were afloat, ranging from the abolition of Church rates and the readjustment of ecclesiastical revenues to the expulsion of the Bishops from the legislature, and the complete separation of Church and State. Some, such as Dr. Arnold and Lord Henley, though they did not agree in details, would have united all sects with the Church by Act of Parliament, on the principle of each retaining its distinctive doctrines, and all using the buildings of the Church in common. The proposals for alterations in the Liturgy were countless, and would, if acted upon, have improved that venerable compilation off the face of the earth. The usual lies were diligently circulated concerning the 'enormous wealth' and 'State pay' of the clergy ; the usual 'scandals' were industriously sought out, or fabricated. On the other hand, the attach-

ment of many to the Church was wholly or mainly political : they viewed it as a department of the State, and were profoundly ignorant of Church principles.

The alarm of the friends of the Church, already excited by the Roman Catholic Relief Bill and by the Reform Bill, was brought to a height by the suppression of ten Irish Bishoprics in 1833.

It was then that a small knot of friends, men of mark indeed in the Universities, but otherwise little known to the world, began to take counsel together to devise means for helping the Church in the hour, as it was believed, of extreme peril.

At the beginning of the Long Vacation of 1833 the Rev. W. Palmer of Worcester College, Oxford, and Mr. Hurrell Froude met in the Common Room of Oriel, and resolved to form an association for vindicating the rights of the Church, and restoring the knowledge of sound principles. The design was communicated by Mr. Palmer to Mr. Hugh James Rose, then Rector of Hadleigh in Suffolk, and by Mr. Froude to Mr. Keble. Mr. Newman was at that time absent from England, but joined the party on his return from the Continent. The Rev. Arthur Perceval also was soon afterwards added to the number. A conference of the friends was held at Hadleigh, and they parted comforted in spirit and strengthened in purpose more especially by the influence of the learned, large-minded, warm-hearted rector, Mr. Rose, 'who,' to quote the words of the most illustrious of that company, 'when hearts were failing, bade us stir up the gift that was in us and betake ourselves to our true mother.'

Mr. Rose had started the 'British Magazine' in 1832, which, under his able editorship, and afterwards under that of Dr. Maitland, helped much to cultivate a spirit of churchmanship, and to extend a knowledge of sound Church principles. Some articles by Mr. Palmer had lately appeared in the Magazine calling attention to the increasing feebleness of Dissent. In July 1833, Mr. Hook had contributed a paper to the same journal, in which the absurdity of Dr. Arnold's scheme for identifying Church and State by the simple expedient of in-

cluding all denominations within the lines of the Church, were ably exposed. He pointed out that any such attempt to secure the Establishment by sacrificing the principles of the Church would involve the loss of nearly all the best of the clergy, who would never consent to minister in a Church so constituted, and that (to quote his own words) 'the sight would not be edifying of ejecting the most learned and devoted of the clergy to turn their churches into parochial Exeter Halls.'

He was not present at the conference at Hadleigh; but from letters written to him by Mr. Rose, Mr. Palmer, and Mr. Perceval, it is clear that he was kept well informed of the proceedings of the newly-created party. After the conference at Hadleigh, frequent meetings took place at Oriel College between Mr. Newman, Mr. Keble, Mr. Palmer, and Mr. Froude, the first result of which, and of correspondence with their friends at a distance, was, that a circular was printed, entitled 'Suggestions for the Formation of an Association of Friends of the Church,' which was sent to all parts of England in the autumn of 1833. The objects of the Association were defined to be:

'1. To maintain pure and inviolate the doctrines, the services, and the discipline of the Church: that is, to withstand all change which involves the denial and suppression of doctrine, a departure from primitive practice in religious offices, or innovation upon the apostolical prerogatives, order, and commission of bishops, priests, and deacons.

'2. To afford churchmen an opportunity of exchanging their sentiments, and co-operating together on a large scale.'

Mr. Palmer visited several of the large towns to enlist the sympathy of the clergy in the Association, and from none did he meet a heartier welcome or receive more cordial promises of support than from the Vicar of Holy Trinity, Coventry, and such clergy belonging to that city or neighbourhood as were under his influence.

One of the most direct fruits of the Association was an address signed by about 7,000 of the clergy, and presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Howley) in February 1834.

This address was a declaration, that amidst the growth of Latitudinarian sentiments and ignorance concerning the spiritual claims of the Church, the signatories wished to express their devoted adherence to the apostolical doctrine and polity of the Church, and their deep-rooted attachment to the Liturgy as an embodiment of the primitive faith ; but that while they deprecated any rash innovation in spiritual matters, the primate might rely upon their hearty and dutiful support in carrying into effect such wholesome reforms as the times might require, especially such as would tend to revive the discipline of ancient times, to strengthen the connexion between the bishops, clergy, and people, and to promote the purity, efficiency, and unity of the Church.

This address was signed by Mr. Hook. It was not long afterwards followed by a declaration on the part of the laity, which was mainly composed by Joshua Watson. Its language was similar to the address of the clergy, save that it insisted more forcibly on the importance of protecting the Church as an establishment, asserting that 'the consecration of the State by the public maintenance of the Christian religion is the first and paramount duty of a Christian people.' Many laymen, zealously devoted to the Church, abstained from signing the declaration on account of these strong expressions, and among them Mr. W. P. Wood. It received, however, the signatures of about 250,000 heads of families. The activity of the Vicar of Holy Trinity in obtaining signatures in Coventry may be estimated from the fact, that in his parish 1,120 names were appended to the document, whereas in the adjoining parish, though nearly double in population,¹ the number was only 529.

Although he did not object to the declaration, notwithstanding the prominence which it gave to the duty of supporting the Church as an establishment, yet he thought that many High Churchmen at this time dwelt too much on that aspect of the Church, and overlooked its higher and more commanding claims as a Divine Institution. On the other hand, he fully

¹ The population of Holy Trinity Parish was about 10,000.

allowed, and, with advancing years, became increasingly convinced of, the value of an Established Church in keeping religion alive in places where, without it, the people would probably relapse into total godlessness. Writing to Mr. Wood, in June 1834, he confesses that at one time he had been too much in favour of disestablishment, and says, 'My error consisted in thinking only of the purity of the Church. I would far sooner myself live in a Church unshackled by the State ; but then we must look to the indirect good ; to the forming a religious atmosphere. It is something to provide a religion for quiet, unreflective classes of society, who, but for an Establishment, would be respectable Nothingarians.'

The same argument is worked out at length, and with very considerable force, in the second of two sermons which he preached about this time on the 'Church and the Establishment.'

It is true (he says) that even though the Church were not established, religion would still have its influence. I will go even further, and add, that so far as regards those who are churchmen in *deed and in truth*, the Church itself would be benefited by a separation from the State : for she would regain those undoubted rights from which, for the sake of harmony, she now recedes : the right, for instance, of legislating for herself on all occasions, and of electing her Bishops without the interference of the civil power. The question with the legislator is not whether the Church would do *much* good, though unconnected with the State, but whether by an alliance therewith she cannot do *more* good ; and the question with the churchman is, whether, for placing in abeyance some of her spiritual rights, the Church does not receive compensation by the indirect influence she is enabled to exert. The Church may be less free, but is she not more efficient? . . . It is, indeed, not as churchmen but as patriots that we deprecate the desecration of the State ; that is to say, we deprecate it for the sake, not of those who are within the pale, but of those that are without : we deprecate it not because the Church would be a less efficient minister of grace to the *faithful* if, driven from her glorious cathedrals, she summoned her children around her in the upper room of a hired house, or the caves of the desert, but because she would be a less effectual preacher of morality to the unenlightened and the unbeliever

Her voice would still be the voice of the charmer, but it would not reach so far. . . . The strong would have their meat, but how would the babes be supplied with milk? . . . In short, where there is no national establishment, they who require instruction least receive it most ; and they who require it most receive it not at all. And therefore, whether we look at the fact with the eye of the legislator or of the Christian, the circumstance of stationing a man of education, respectability, and religion in each parish where the inhabitants are too poor to support, or too ignorant to desire, an instructor, is an advantage to the country which will only *then* be properly appreciated when it is lost.

Thus he held the balance between those who, in their zeal for the Establishment, underrated the claims of the Church, and those who, in their zeal for the purity of the Church, underrated the value of an establishment. This last was the error, he conceived, of Mr. Hurrell Froude and some other enthusiasts of the new movement, who were amongst the writers of 'The Tracts.' These Tracts, which afterwards became so celebrated under the name of 'Tracts for the Times,' began to appear towards the end of the year 1833. Mr. Newman was their editor, and in a great measure at first their author. Dr. Pusey made his first contribution to the series by the Tract on Fasting in the end of December. The writers were generally known to be Oxford men, and the tracts themselves were commonly called 'the Oxford Tracts.' The originators of the new movement had always contemplated the necessity of using the press for the propagation of their views : but when the Tracts began to appear Mr. Palmer, Mr. Perceval, and some others, were anxious that they should be subjected to a committee of revision, and thus go forth stamped with the authority of the whole school or association. Mr. Newman, however, Mr. Keble, and Mr. Froude were wholly opposed to this proposal. 'If we altered to please everyone,' wrote Mr. Newman to Mr. Palmer, 'the effect would be spoiled. They (the Tracts) were not intended as symbols *e cathedrâ*, but as the expression of individual minds ; and individuals feeling strongly, while on the one hand they are incidentally faulty in mode or language, are

still peculiarly effective. No great work was done by a system ; whereas systems rise out of individual exertions.'

From this point the leading men of the new movement, although maintaining then and long afterwards the most friendly intercourse, were fairly divisible into two classes. There were those who, by age, position in the Church, or family associations, were closely connected with the old school of High Anglicans. They were men who, although they would not surrender to expediency the smallest atom of what they deemed essential, nevertheless valued the Establishment ; and in all matters relating to the revival of forgotten doctrines or abandoned customs were inclined to proceed with caution and judgment. Such were Mr. Palmer and Mr. Le Bas. Some of them, especially those who were incumbents of parishes, were eminently practical in their views of things ; they were men of tact, accustomed to feel the pulse of their people ; and knew the risk of putting new wine into old bottles. Eminent in this class were Mr. Rose, Mr. Paget, and the subject of this memoir.

In the other class, were some who had been originally brought up in the Evangelical school, and who now embraced High Church principles and sentiments with all the ardour of men who have discovered a new treasure : others were young, few of them had pastoral cures, some of them were resident in Oxford. Amongst these were the Tract writers. Full of intellectual vigour, learning, and piety, full of hope and even confidence that they were destined to work out a second Reformation of the Church, they wrote unfettered by such restraints as are felt by men who move in a practical sphere, and have to consider what is possible rather than what is absolutely best. Hence, although it was a long time before Mr. Hook and others like-minded publicly expressed their disapproval of any of the Tracts, believing them to be beneficial on the whole, yet even in the earlier Tracts, which were the least open to objection of any, they detected expressions which they regretted as unseasonable, incautious, and liable to misunderstanding. They watched them as they came out with interest, with much sympathy, but

with no little anxiety. In the earlier numbers, Mr. Hook for the most part rejoiced, as teaching what he had long been endeavouring to inculcate ; he distributed them among his flock, but warned those who read them against particular parts which appeared to be inconsiderate or overstrained in expression. Nevertheless, he seems to have been regarded by the Tract writers for some time as the principal, almost the solitary, instance of one who worked out in a large parochial sphere fully and freely the principles which they taught. Mr. Newman, in a letter congratulating him on the recovery of his health in the latter part of 1834, begs him not to risk it by a repetition of overwork. 'Your being obliged,' he says, 'to retire from parochial duty would be a calamity *we* ought to try to prevent, as we have no specimen (so far as I know) but that which you supply of the influential nature of true Church principles on a town population.'

On the other hand it must be carefully borne in mind that he was neither a colleague nor a disciple of the Tract writers. He was for a certain time *with* them, but he was never *of* them. He had advanced some distance upon his career, with clearly formed principles and aims, the result of patient study and practical experience long before many of the most eminent of the Tract writers had settled their opinions and line of action. Presently they came up with him ; he welcomed them as fellow travellers, and for a while they journeyed side by side. When they diverged from his path and got into difficulties, he defended them as long as he conscientiously could ; and when their most illustrious leader fell away from the ranks of the Church, when the Tracts came to an end and the party was shaken to its foundation, he went on his way at the same steady pace and with the same undeviating straightforwardness, as before his connexion with them. The painful contact into which he was afterwards brought at Leeds with some extreme disciples of this party will be described in its proper place. It will suffice to close this general sketch by remarking that to extremes in every direction he was always steadily opposed. Whichever school was for the time being most dominant, aggressive, and

dangerous to the highest interests of the Church, whether it was the Puritan, the Latitudinarian, or the Romanising school, received the full force of his attack. And this was the reason why, whilst really being in the mean, he often appeared to superficial observers to be gravitating towards one of the extremes; so that when he attacked Puritans or Erastians he was denounced as a Tractarian, and when he attacked Romanisers he was upbraided for deserting the ranks of High Churchmen: whereas, in fact, he remained steadfast, only facing first in one direction and then in another. As Bishop Wilberforce once happily expressed it, 'Hook is like a ship at anchor, which, without moving from its anchorage, always swings round to turn its breast to the tide.'

The letters written during his Incumbency at Coventry are so numerous and full that they supply a chronicle of his life, almost month by month, and I have not found it necessary to do more than to add a few details which they do not contain or to explain some matters to which they refer.

He read himself in at Holy Trinity, Coventry, on Sunday, December 14, 1828, and on January 4, 1829, he preached his farewell sermon at St. Philip's, Birmingham, on the text 1 Cor. xiii. 1, 2, 3. One of the Birmingham papers, in reporting the sermon, remarks, 'We can give the matter of his discourse, but the charm of his manner and voice must be left to the imagination or the memory, for it is indescribable.'

In the same month the congregation of St. Philip's presented him with a service of plate, bearing an inscription which stated that it was given 'in testimony of their respect and of their gratitude for his zealous services as Lecturer during the past fourteen months.'

On February 15 he preached his first sermon in the church of Holy Trinity, Coventry, and began to enter on his pastoral labours there.

He had now a sphere of work adequate to his powers, and those powers were soon to be alike quickened and chastened by coming under the influence of her to whom not only the happiness but also the success of his future life was very largely owing.

He had become acquainted in Birmingham with Dr. John Johnstone, a physician of very high reputation, a man of great ability and scientific knowledge, a Fellow of the Royal Society, the intimate friend and biographer of Dr. Parr. Dr. Johnstone's eldest daughter, Anna Delicia, was only seventeen years of age when Mr. Hook was appointed to his living in Coventry, but beneath the most girlish playfulness and sparkling vivacity of manner was a deep fund of sound practical wisdom and earnest piety. He had not been slow to discern and to be captivated by this combination of high qualities, but her extreme youth and his own want of means until he had obtained a living deterred him for some time from declaring his attachment.

In February 1829 she wrote a valentine in verse to a lady with whom he was acquainted, under the assumed name of 'John Bright.' The handwriting, however, was detected, the verses were shown to Mr. Hook, and he composed the following reply for his friend, which was in fact the first approach to an open declaration of his sentiments. It is dated February 15, the very day on which he officiated for the first time as Vicar in his church at Coventry, and it is therefore a curious illustration of the natural and innocent way in which he passed from things grave to gay.

Lady, I think that you are right,
 When valentines you would indite,
 Under fictitious names to write ;
 And upon none could you alight
 So well appropriate as 'Bright.'
 Between yourself and all that's bright,
 You thus comparison invite ;
 Let us examine then your plight.
 Winning the heart of many a wight,
 Those soft dark eyes are beaming *bright*
 And far eclipse the orbs of night ;
 The Pæstan roses are less *bright*
 Than th' hues which on your cheek unite.
 Upon that neck—(itself as *bright*
 As alabaster's purest white)

The locks that hang in ringlets light
As ebony are black and *bright* ;
When you are smiling with delight,
Your smile is as the sunbeam *bright*,
Revealing to the enraptured sight
Those teeth than ivory more *bright* ;
While the two pouting lips they bite,
Are as the coral red and *bright*.
But brighter far, O far more *bright*,
The charms within ! if brought to light,
They'd prove that you're perfection quite :
A mind with wit and talent *bright*,
A soul so pure, that well it might
Be deemed the soul of angel *bright*.
Hence, lady, I must think you right
When you assume the name of *Bright*.

It was perfectly true ;—' Brightness ' was eminently characteristic of his future wife. The freshness and buoyancy of her spirits never forsook her to the end of her life, although that life was shortened by care, anxiety, and toil which overtasked her physical strength. Naturally elastic, however, as her spirit was, the invariable and equable cheerfulness which she exhibited was partly sustained from a sense of duty. Her husband was attacked by some alarming epileptic fits soon after his settlement at Coventry, and she was then informed by the doctors that his future health and, perhaps, his life would depend upon his preservation from those moods of undue depression to which impulsive and irritable temperaments, such as his, are especially liable. Thus her original and natural disposition to cheerfulness was cultivated and trained into a habit, but at times the maintenance of this habit, as one of the duties of daily life, was a severe strain. There was no doubt a considerable fund of common sense and practical wisdom in her husband, but there were also some of the eccentricities which belong to that order of mind which we call genius, and the very warmth of his affections and vehemence of his impulses which, on the one hand, constituted his strength, on the other overbore at times his calmer judgment, and hurried him into acts of which the

consequences were embarrassing. By her superiority in discernment of character, and in the affairs of practical life, his wife was constantly engaged in saving him or extricating him from the awkward situations into which his reckless generosity and his violent fits, either of affection or antipathy towards individuals, were constantly urging him. To make both ends meet with a large family and small means, to mediate, to conciliate, sometimes to soothe and encourage, sometimes to warn and repress, was the daily task of her life, and nobly did she discharge it. He himself knew his failings, and he had prepared her mind for the work she would have to do. In one of his letters, written before their marriage, he says, 'I never can or will intentionally hurt your feelings ; but I am rather an uncouth being whom you must polish and tame. I am a kind of Cimon and you must be my Iphigenia.' Having to deal with one who was always very irrepressible in the expression of his feelings, and occasionally allowed them to outrun the bounds of discretion, she was as a rule reserved and undemonstrative, although this habit was partly also due to the circumstances of early life.

I was very timid (she writes) in my early youth, and used often to get put down if ever, conquering my shyness, I uttered anything sentimental ; and these early influences wear deeper into the character than people are commonly aware of, even to quenching sometimes what was originally a prominent part of it. I think there is a great deal of self-knowledge required to discover how far we may indulge our feelings, and when we ought to repress them ; but perhaps in this we may take our common duties as a measure, and whatever unfits us for them we may suppose to be undue.

How admirably and wonderfully these 'common duties' were discharged, alike in the household and in the parish, cannot be adequately understood save by those who actually witnessed the execution of them ; but the depth and fervour of her religious feelings may be known to all who read the 'Meditations for every day in the Year,' which were composed by her, or 'The Cross of Christ,' which she compiled, although, appearing as

they did under the editorship of her husband, they have commonly been ascribed to him. There are few women who could turn from the drudgery of account-keeping and other matters of domestic and parochial business to the composition of manuals of devotion, which have been the refreshment and consolation of thousands of pious Christians. In a letter written late at night from Leeds, she says, 'I have a great bundle of proofs at my side, and account-books frowning at me in the distance and threatening an hour or two of calculation and puzzling. How I hate them ! being in a constant apprehension of spending too much and not having enough to meet all demands.' The close juxtaposition of her Book of Meditations and of her account-books alluded to in this letter is not a bad key to the character of the writer : she was eminently devout and at the same time eminently practical.

And this union of qualities was the great secret of her remarkable influence alike within the circle of her family and beyond it. She was, indeed, at once the fresh and cheerful companion of her children, entering with keen relish into their amusements and pursuits, especially music, in which she was uncommonly skilled ; and also the counsellor on whose sound judgment they could always rely for instruction and advice respecting their duty in this world and their preparation for the world which is to come. And in like manner, outside the walls of home, the curates who looked up to her as a mother, and a large number of friends, young and old of both sexes, were wont to turn to her before all others for the Christian sympathy and the wholesome counsel which were never asked in vain.

Few, indeed, have more nearly fulfilled the description of the virtuous woman drawn long ago by the Wise Man :

She openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue is the law of kindness.

She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness.

Her children arise up and call her blessed ; her husband also, and he praiseth her.

Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all.

And not less applicable to her are the words of one of our wisest and noblest poets :

A being breathing thoughtful breath,
A traveller between life and death,
The reason firm, the temperate will,
Endurance, foresight, strength, and skill :
A perfect woman, nobly planned
To warn, to comfort, and command :
And yet a spirit too, and bright,
With something of an angel light.

I have dwelt thus long upon the character of Mrs. Hook, not only because it deserved some special notice, but also to impress on the reader of the following pages that although comparatively few direct allusions to her may occur, it must never be forgotten that, while her husband is the prominent actor in the foreground, she is always a controlling regulating principle in the background, and that without her it is not probable that he ever would have become what he was, or have accomplished the things which he did.

They were married on June 4, 1829, and in the latter part of the summer the bells of Holy Trinity Church rang to welcome the arrival of the Vicar and his bride. They took up their abode in one of a row of small red brick houses in a by-street called St. Nicholas Place. The street itself is rather gloomy, but the situation is high, and the back windows command a good view of the ancient city of Coventry, out of the midst of which rise conspicuous the two noble churches of St. Michael and Holy Trinity with their graceful and lofty spires. The house soon became too small for their needs, and they then moved to a larger one in the Leicester Road, just outside the town.

As the temporal condition of the people of Coventry was deeply depressed when he entered upon his pastoral charge, so also was the spirit of churchmanship at a low ebb. That kind of irreverence towards holy places and holy things which is bred partly of ignorance, partly of that indifference which is the result of ignorance, or at least of low and feeble ideas on the whole

subject of religion, was prevalent and startling. He found that it was the custom at vestry dinners to propose as the first toast 'Trinity in Unity,' which was considered a pleasant punning allusion to the dedication of the Church to the Holy Trinity; and no one seemed to have any perception of the profanity of the practice until the new Vicar pointed it out and put a stop to it. On such a subject he could speak with a dignified sternness and a force of resolution which few dared to resist or disobey. On one occasion a vestry meeting was so largely attended that it was adjourned from the vestry to the church. Several persons kept their hats on. The Vicar requested that they would take them off, but they refused. 'Very well, gentlemen,' he replied, 'but remember that in *this* house the insult is not done to me, but to your God;' and the hats were immediately taken off.

In the arrangements of the church, the chief alterations which he made consisted in removing a painting at the east end which represented a kind of Moorish Temple, and placing a simple Reredos in its stead, filling the east window with stained glass, detaching the prayer desk from the pulpit, beneath which it had stood facing the people, and turning it round so that the officiating priest looked eastwards. On this subject there is a very excellent letter by him in the 'British Magazine' for October 1833, in which he points out that 'confined in a narrow box, the officiating minister cannot perform his various offices as he ought to do; with his face always turned to the people, most of the people, listlessly lolling in their seats, seem to think he is reading *to them*.' The points on which he mainly insists are: that when the priest is praying he ought to be as low as possible in position, provided he can be heard; and when preaching only so high as conveniently to overlook his flock. He also proves that the chancel is the proper place in which to say the prayers; but concludes, 'I am not visionary enough to suppose that in these days we shall be permitted to go back to the chancel, though I trust that I have shown that if we *must* have a reading desk, we ought not to make it look like a pulpit.'

He found that it was a common practice with his parishioners to attend church on Sunday morning and to go to some Dissenting chapel in the evening. He therefore began evening services on Sunday during the summer of 1830. These were very largely attended, nearly 2,000 being generally present; and the people were so unwilling they should be dropped, that in the month of August a meeting was held in the vestry, at which it was resolved that the church should be lighted with gas. The resolution was carried into effect, and on November 7, 1830, evening service was held for the first time in the newly lighted church, being the first church ever opened for evening service in Coventry.

In Lent of the following year he gave a course of lectures, which were delivered on the morning of each Wednesday, and so great was the interest which they excited that, as I have been told by an aged parishioner, who was then a young man in a house of business, he and many others similarly occupied used to get permission from their employers to leave their offices to attend them. Others, who were unable to quit business at that hour, entreated the Vicar to deliver the lectures in the evening instead of the morning. Several anonymous letters to this effect have come into my hands. In one of these the writer concludes, 'with many, many thanks for your unceasing attention to our spiritual and also our temporal welfare, and trusting that you may long be spared to dwell among us, I remain, reverend sir, Your dutiful servant and parishioner.'

In Holy Week of the same year, or as it was then more commonly called, Passion Week, he delivered day by day the lectures which were afterwards published under the title of the 'Last Days of our Lord's Ministry.' This was his first literary venture, and not one of the least successful. He was encouraged to undertake the work by the learned and pious Bishop of Limerick, Bishop Jebb, who had now been residing some time for the sake of his health at Leamington, where he had first formed in 1828 an acquaintance with Mr. Hook which had soon ripened into a close and affectionate friendship. The Bishop corrected the proofs of the volume, suggested the

title, and in part composed the dedication, which runs thus : 'To William Page Wood, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, this volume is inscribed as the record of an early and unintermitting friendship.' He received letters expressing high admiration of the work from Southey, Wordsworth, Joshua Watson, Mr. Le Bas, Dr. Butler, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield, Bishop Monk of Gloucester, and Judge Alan Park, who took a kind of fatherly interest in his career.

But perhaps the testimony which he valued most of all was that of good Bishop Jolly, who in writing to thank him for the copy which had been presented to him, said, 'You have traced the adorable steps of our Divine Redeemer dying for us, in such a manner as has affected my heart and repeatedly sent me to my prayers.'

And the following acknowledgment of a similar gift from one of his churchwardens, who made it his special business to keep all the parochial accounts, was just the kind of evidence that he had not laboured in vain in which his pastoral heart especially delighted, and which, more than any other kind of praise, stimulated him to further exertions.

If at any period I have in the least degree contributed to your comfort and convenience, I am amply rewarded by your confidence and esteem, and by the advantages which I have derived from your ministerial instructions.

That you may long continue to be our pastor and guide, is the earnest prayer of your devoted, faithful servant,

JAMES WALL.

This course of lectures, like so many other things which he said and did, would scarcely deserve special mention, save as an illustration of the manner in which he led the van in the reformation and revival of the Church, anticipating to a great extent that more general revival which was afterwards the result of the Tractarian or Oxford movement. And this indeed is the impression which his ministry at Coventry seems to have left most deeply engraven in the minds of those who lived under it.

Aged parishioners, to whom I applied for information respecting his work amongst them, while in some instances unable to recall many particulars of it, were all unanimous in saying, 'He was the *beginner* of all things here ; he set everything a going.' And this is a truth which cannot too constantly be borne in mind in reading the record of his early life. Sunday evening services, frequent communions, Saints' day services—these are wonderfully common things now, but they were rare novelties then. The voice of the Church had been almost dumb during the season of Lent, and

He was the first that ever burst
Into that silent sea.

The multiplication therefore of services and sermons by the Vicar of Holy Trinity may well have been deemed amazing. He did not, however, multiply services without seeking so to instruct and train his flock that they might comprehend and value them. This he did by frequent explanations in his sermons of the several offices in our Prayer Book, more particularly in the year 1834 by a complete series of lectures on the Liturgy. His Sunday evening sermons almost always consisted of an expository course upon some subject, or upon some book of Holy Scripture. For several years he was engaged in this manner upon St. Matthew's Gospel, and the sermon, afterwards so notorious, 'Hear the Church,' was originally composed for this series.

Thus he gathered around him a body of *intelligent* as well as devout worshippers ; persons who felt the influence of his learning as well as of his piety. How intense his own devotion was, those who saw and heard him minister in the services of the Church could best understand ; and how deeply he felt his responsibility as a leader of the devotions of others may be gathered from the following letter to Mr. Wood.

I find it always wise to keep quiet in my study on Monday. The increasing excitement and fatigue during twelve hours on the Lord's Day demand that kind of rest which I can only find in my study. A layman is not aware of what a High Church parson

goes through on a Sunday. To say nothing of the noise of schools, and the fatigue of catechising and preaching, a layman has in church to do little else than join in the devotion. But a clergyman, besides praying, has also the excitement of endeavouring to set off the glorious services of the Church to the best advantage. Even if he does not officiate at the prayers, still he has to respond loud, and to take the lead, so as to excite others to do their duty—that duty which Protestants so sadly neglect. Then if you find your congregation joining well, there is the excitement of joy: if not there is the annoyance; and all this coexisting with one's own devotions, with the feeling that you are in some degree responsible for the deficiencies of the congregation;—all this quite knocks me up, *not* on the Sunday, but on the Monday morning, and I consequently feel it quite important to remain quiet.

The rapid and steady increase in the number of children attending the Sunday schools is a powerful indication of the progress made in this most important branch of pastoral work. In the summer of 1829, when the Vicar entered on his charge, the total was 120. In August 1834 the number had risen to 524 boys and 407 girls; fifty-two adults also were instructed on Sunday evenings, and before the Vicar quitted Coventry in 1837 the total number of Sunday-school children considerably exceeded 1,200. His old scholars retain a lively impression of his teaching and catechising; he was never dull and heavy, and whilst severe in the repression of levity or irreverence, he at times rallied the interest of the children and won their sympathy by mingling fun with his reproofs. 'Why, what is the matter with you?' he said one cold winter's morning, when he thought the children of his class were slow in answering; 'I think the frost has got into your throats.' There was something in his tone and manner, as he said it, which tickled the fancy of the children, and their wits and voices were effectually thawed for the rest of the school hour. How complete was the control which he exercised over them, was curiously illustrated one day in church. They had been noisy and ill-behaved during the service, and consequently in his sermon he addressed them in a particularly grave and earnest manner, ending with an appeal to their good feelings, and saying, 'I am sure, my dear children,

you won't do this again ;' whereupon they stood up in a body there and then, and replied, 'No, sir ; we won't.'

Besides reviving and extending the Sunday schools, he was the principal founder of other useful institutions, some of which continue in a highly flourishing condition to the present day.

I am endeavouring (he writes in 1830) to establish an infant school, a dispensary, and a savings' bank ; on the first I am opposed by Dissenters because I insist on the master being a member of the Church, but I have triumphed gloriously, as I have 300*l.* and they only 100*l.* On the second, I am opposed by the doctors ; and on the third, by the bankers, publicans, and brewers. We are all, however, very good friends.

The infant school was opened in January 1831. The dispensary was started in 1830, but owing partly to the depression in trade and the secretary becoming insane, it remained for some time almost in abeyance. At length in 1834, trade having become more prosperous, Mr. Dresser, a gentleman who to this day takes an active part in the management of the institution, suggested to the Vicar that the opportunity was favourable for reviving it. The Vicar took up the matter most warmly, and became himself one of the six trustees. The thing was established on a sound, self supporting basis, and is perhaps the most thriving institution of its class in the kingdom. The free members subscribe a penny a week ; the number of free members is about 13,000, and their subscriptions amount to 1,500*l.* a year, enabling the committee to pay three surgeons at the rate of nearly 300*l.* a year each.

The savings' bank also was established mainly through the exertions of the Vicar in 1834. The balance in the first year was 124*l.* : the present amount of deposits from 7,300 depositors is about 225,000*l.* with a surplus fund of 4,300*l.* Of course the lasting prosperity of these and similar institutions has been due not only to the sound principles on which they were originally based, but also to the skill and energy of those who have been concerned in the management of them ; but all who recollect their foundation agree in attributing it to the

activity and perseverance of the Vicar. In matters of this kind his power consisted not in working the practical details of business, for which he never had any aptitude or liking, but first of all in getting hold of the right workmen, and then interesting them in their duty and animating them with zeal to discharge it.

The institution in which, from the nature of the case, he took the most lively interest was the Religious and Useful Knowledge Society, which was founded in May 1835 for the purpose of forwarding such knowledge by means of a library, classes of instruction, and periodical lectures. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge made a grant of books to the value of 25*l.*, which was the starting-point of the library. The Vicar was indefatigable in securing lecturers and giving lectures himself, which were delivered during the first winter in St. Mary's Hall. The subscriptions to the society were one shilling, half-a-crown, or five shillings a quarter, and the society was so popular that in January 1836 it was resolved that a room should be built or bought in which the library might be kept and the lectures carried on. This society and the Mechanics' Institute were afterwards united under the name of the Coventry Institute, which still exists, but is used more as a reading room and club than anything else ; the Free Library, School of Art, and Science classes having superseded the more educational purposes to which it was formerly devoted.

One of his last acts on behalf of the society before he left Coventry was to write an application for support to Sir Robert Peel, as being an owner of land in the neighbourhood, to which he received the following reply.

I am afraid my local interest in connexion with Coventry is too remote to enable me *on that ground* to accede to your request, without the establishment of rather an inconvenient precedent. But the insufficiency of that claim on my contribution is amply supplied by my respect for your character and for your unremitting and successful exertions to promote the moral and religious instruction of the people committed to your spiritual charge. I have with

pleasure, therefore, enclosed the sum of 10*l.* in aid of the object in respect to which you have addressed me.

The origin and early progress of this society are described by the Vicar in the following letter, dated June 1836, to the Dean of Hereford, who seems to have applied for information concerning it as a guide to himself in establishing something of the same nature.

Very reverend and dear Sir, . . . As this society has gradually arisen from the circumstances of this place and not from any particular plan devised by me, I must trouble you with a little history in order to enable you to perceive its nature ; and at the same time I must disclaim any wish to hold it forth as a model. It is adapted, I think, to our position—in another place it might require various modifications. Indeed, it has been always my rule of conduct not to adopt any general theory as to the management of a parish or the regulation of schools : but, having formed certain principles (from which I never permit any notions of expediency to lead me to deviate), to take the materials I find, and to mould them, not into the best shape I can imagine, but into the best that circumstances will admit. I have invariably maintained strong Church principles, and declared my resolution never to act on any others : and then I leave them to do their work. Of these principles this society is the fruit—as will now be seen.

When first I came here about eight years ago, I of course catechised the children regularly at church. As the children in the upper classes became too old for school, they many of them requested permission to stay as teachers. To this, of course, I readily consented. Their number increasing, they formed themselves into a society under the superintendence of the clergy of the parish. And now we have a Sunday school of nearly twelve hundred children, managed almost entirely by these teachers, about fifty in number. The clergy have only to look into the school for a few minutes before church to see that all is going on right, and the teachers bring what classes they think fit to be catechised at church. With these persons of course a familiar intercourse has taken place ; and with the clergy of the town and neighbourhood, churchwardens, &c., we go out into the country in the summer and dine together, while at Christmas they all dine with me. These are all very zealous churchmen,

and *they* are the originators of the society in question. About twelve months ago they came to me, and said they were much in want of the means of self-improvement, and that young persons who had left school had only the resource of the Mechanics' Institute, which having been started by the Political Union was managed by Radicals and Dissenters, and where all the good principles imbibed at school were destroyed. They complained also that the Church was continually attacked by persons in their own line of life, and that they had no books to refer to for the defence of their principles. They suggested, therefore, the establishment of a Mechanics' Institute on right principles. I accordingly called them together, asking one or two other friends to attend, when they proposed that the Bishop should be President, the Archdeacon Vice-President, and that every clergyman in the town should be *ex officio* on the committee, which would consist besides of fifteen members. The property was vested in four trustees, who have a veto on all proceedings of the committee. To exclude politics, the trustees consist of two Tories and two Whigs. There are three classes of subscribers, 5s. per quarter, 2s. 6d. per quarter, and 1s. per quarter—thus to admit all orders of society. The first class have tickets of admission to all lectures, transferable, and may also introduce a friend; the second class, transferable tickets; the third class, non-transferable tickets. The object is here to bring all kinds of people together. There is a reading-room open every evening from seven to nine o'clock, an important arrangement, as many young apprentices go to an alehouse merely because they have no comfortable apartment in which to sit. On the table we have the 'Saturday' and 'Penny Magazine,' the 'British' and the 'New Monthly,' 'Chambers's Edinburgh Journal,' &c., and any books may be had from the library. Classes are formed for reading history, for arithmetic, and drawing. I conduct one myself of divinity; chiefly of young shopkeepers, and relating to Church history and those questions in religion which cannot be conveniently handled in the pulpit. We have already about nine hundred volumes in the library in various branches of literature. For I am very desirous of cultivating among the people not merely a *scientific* but a *literary* turn of mind, to induce them to relish poetry and works of imagination: for the civilised mind is best prepared to give the heart to religion. We have had lectures given, twelve on experimental philosophy, twelve on physiology, two on perspective, one on the origin and progress of society, and I am now preparing

one on the history of literature and science. We have upwards of six hundred members. We have met with most violent and furious opposition from Dissenters of all classes except Wesleyans. I have been abused most fiercely in the Radical paper, and the Mechanics' Institute, from a spirit of opposition, has increased from sixty members to two hundred. But this only shows that we are doing good. Such is our history.

The remarks at the close of this letter are eminently characteristic of the writer, and illustrate his favourite maxim, that plentiful abuse partly indicated, partly promoted, the prosperity of the cause which was attacked. His parting words to the members of the society, in which he sketched the history of its progress, were to the same effect. 'At first the members had pursued the noiseless tenor of their way unmolested, an insignificant body. But the little society had grown into a large and important institution, and then like all other prosperous parties they were surrounded with a host of opponents and revilers. But the society when reviled reviled not again, and the good policy of this conduct became apparent, since their opponents saved them the trouble of advertising.'

The manner also in which the society grew up, as described in the beginning of his letter, is a good example of the way in which, alike at Coventry and Leeds, he always adapted his action to circumstances and never forced circumstances to square with some preconceived plan of action. He inculcated principles and left them to work. The consequence of this wise policy was, that to a great extent the action of the Church in his parish proceeded from the laity; it was the spontaneous fruit of the spirit and of the principles which they imbibed from him. Hence, also, they took an uncommon pride and interest in things which were their own production. Writing later in life he says, 'My plan has never been to force a practice, but rather to have things forced upon me. My aim has been to lay down principles and encourage a certain kind of spirit: then, after a time, as men love to find fault, they have blamed me for not acting up to my principles. The answer is then ready: "Oh! very well; if *you* wish it, I will do it." Thus a

choral service at Leeds was actually forced upon me.' And here we have a key to the meaning of his famous saying many years afterwards at the Church Congress in Manchester, where he had been asked to describe how he managed his parish : 'I did not manage it; the parish managed me.'

After this general sketch of his work at Coventry it only remains to mention, in their chronological order, a few events which seem to require a more particular notice.

First among these must be placed the remonstrance which he addressed, in 1830, to his diocesan, Dr. Ryder, the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, for presiding at a meeting of the Bible Society in Coventry. The letter has a twofold interest, because it was employed as a weapon against him, seven years afterwards, by the party which vehemently opposed his election to the Vicarage of Leeds.

The following is a copy of the letter :

My Lord,—We feel it to be our duty respectfully to represent to your lordship the mischief that is likely to result to the cause of religion in this city, from your determination to preside at the meeting of the Bible Society on Thursday next.

Surrounded by Dissenting teachers, your lordship will not be supported by the clergy of this town, with perhaps one solitary exception. And we do earnestly request your lordship to reflect on the impression which will be made on the minds of our people when they see their Bishop co-operating with sectarians in promoting measures uncalled for by the exigencies of the place, and inconsistent with the principles inculcated by their more immediate pastors. As far as our own parish is concerned, if your lordship's object is to supply us with Bibles, we can obtain all that we require from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; if it be to levy contributions for the speculations of the society in foreign parts, we beg to inform your lordship that the demands upon the charity of our more opulent parishioners for local purposes are already greater than can be easily met, and that the poor will be injured in proportion as the society is benefited. We will take the liberty further to observe that your lordship compels us, in self-defence, to state to those persons committed to our charge what our reasons are for declining to support a society at which our

Bishop presides. If we fail to convince them that we are right, we shall expose ourselves to their contempt, and our ministrations will become ineffectual ; if, on the other hand, we succeed, we shall do what is equally to be deprecated, by rendering our Bishop obnoxious to their censures ; or, at all events, those who hold to the one side will despise those who hold to the other ; and while we are humbly endeavouring to promote harmony and goodwill in our parish, your lordship will, unintentionally, be the means of exciting a party spirit, than which nothing can be more detrimental to the sacred cause in which we are engaged. So important it is, in an extensive parish like this, to maintain unanimity and concord, among Churchmen at least, that we seriously and solemnly, in the name of our common Lord and Master, entreat and implore your lordship not to sow among us the seeds of discord.

Your lordship is so honest in the discharge of all that you conceive to be your duty, that we feel assured you will not be unnecessarily offended at our maintaining our own principles with equal honesty and zeal, or at our endeavouring to avert what we have reason to know will be attended with the most mischievous consequences, by causing a division in our flock and by affording a triumph to Dissenters.

On the merits or demerits of the Bible Society we at present say nothing. Our observations have reference only to your lordship's supporting it, so far as our parish is concerned, in opposition to our wishes, and in spite of our well-known opinions and principles. With our humble but hearty prayers to Him from whom all good counsels as well as all just works do proceed, that He may vouchsafe to direct your lordship to a wise decision upon the subject, we have the honour to remain

Your lordship's obedient servants.

In 1831 he was attacked with fits of an epileptic nature, in which he lost his consciousness and lay to all appearance as one dead for five or ten minutes. They were attributed by the doctors to over anxiety and excitement of the brain. His first seizure was during the Archdeacon's visitation in June 1831. He turned faint while reading the prayers in his church, and was carried in an unconscious state into the vestry, where he recovered, and wrote a note to his mother, who was then at Leamington. Fearing lest she should hear an exaggerated

account, he makes as light of it as possible, and attributes it mainly to a little worry and nervous anxiety lest the Archdeacon, an Evangelical, should say anything unorthodox in his church, and so interfere with his usefulness.

His father-in-law, Dr. Johnstone, insisted on his abstaining from all parochial work for a time, and the greater part of the summer was spent under Dr. Johnstone's roof, where he gradually regained his nervous power. The preparation of his lectures on 'The Last Days of our Lord's Ministry,' for publication, was his chief occupation during this period of enforced leisure. He was not permitted to return to his parish before September. The enthusiasm with which he was greeted by his flock filled him with delight, and made him set about his work again with renewed energy and spirit. 'On coming out of church,' he writes to Mr. Wood, 'the first evening that I preached, there was quite a mob round the door of people rushing forwards to shake hands with me, and my hand, though a good stout one, was nearly squeezed to a mummy.' And the following letter to his mother describes the occasion more minutely.

September 1831.

My dearest Mother,—You will be glad to hear that I am wonderfully well this morning; I only went to church once yesterday, that is to say, in the evening, when I preached. Delicia had made me go on Saturday morning by way of a break, and it was lucky I did, for the manner in which I was received as I drove through the town, and the way all the old people came up to shake hands with me, with tears in their eyes, quite affected me; nothing could have been more gratifying to my pastoral feelings than my reception yesterday; there was an immense congregation, and as I left the church there was quite a mob collected round the door to shake hands with me, and bless me; it was indeed one of the happiest moments of my life; may God Almighty bless them all. How much has poor Coventry been maligned. I was affected when I began my sermon, but soon took courage and proceeded right well, although to add to my nervousness someone fainted almost as soon as I commenced. I took for my text Psalm cxix. 71: 'It is good for me that I have been afflicted.' Coker Adams and his warm-hearted family were all present, and nothing could have been

kinder. The churchwardens are to apprehend me if I go into the town on week-day duty, and to take me before Coker Adams as a Justice of the Peace.

He was not wholly free from epileptic attacks for three or four years, and sometimes had to suspend work to recover his strength, and for a time the thought of resigning Coventry and seeking a rural parish was seriously entertained by him and his friends. But gradually the attacks abated, until he attained that singularly robust state of health which he continued to enjoy far into old age. The recovery and subsequent preservation of his health were due day by day to his wife, in a measure which can hardly be over-estimated. By her union of cheerfulness, common sense, and piety, she exercised that calming, soothing influence which had a most salutary effect, physical as well as moral, upon his sensitive and excitable temperament.

I am very sorry to think (she writes during one of his absences from home) of you as being so languid and nervous. It is a sign of an overwrought mind. I, too, have suffered 'no end' from my nerves, and have come to an idea on the subject which, I think, has helped me more than anything else to act against the malady. It seems to me that when we are placed in a situation tolerably free from temptation of an ordinary kind, and when God has blessed us with a frequent and free access to the means of grace, by which we have been enabled to subdue our passions and submit our wills to His, He allows the devil to work upon us in another way, by turning the very sensitiveness which God has given for a special blessing, into a temptation. I have endeavoured to battle and subdue these feelings in every way in my power, and have found if I take them in that light, that I can put aside the perplexing feelings. Here is my philosophy; and from what I have observed of your cranky fits, I am almost sure a similar course would answer. Never allow yourself wittingly any contortions of feature or body, they only add to the misery; and set about doing something quite in an opposite line to that which worries you.

By the close of the summer of 1834, his health seemed to be re-established—his wife writes in July that he was in 'monstrous spirits, and had not been so well for ages,' and that he

had left off the wig which he had worn since his first attack, after which his head had been shaved. Some persons in Coventry have a lively recollection of his wig, for in his fits of boisterous mirth he would sometimes take it off and kick it across the room.

In the autumn, however, of this year, his health was again a cause of uneasiness. There was a slight recurrence of the fits, and he again went for rest and retirement and medical care to his father-in-law's house. He preached two sermons at Oxford in November, having been appointed one of the select preachers for the University, and it is not improbable that this effort, which seems to have caused him much nervous anxiety, may have partly occasioned his relapse. He did not, however, betray any symptoms of weakness during his visit to Oxford, and the sermons were considered eminently successful. His cousin, Walter Hamilton, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, writes to Mrs. Hook: 'He was looking very well, was in excellent voice, and commanded the most complete attention. I never recollect so strong an impression created. He preached in the morning on the Glory of God, and in the evening on the Special Providence of God. His matter was most eloquent, and his manner very impressive and effective. In the evening the church was crowded to excess.'

The following letters, however, show that his health was unsettled throughout the latter half of the year 1834, and that he still clung to the idea of retirement to a country living.

To Archdeacon Hamilton.

Coventry: August 5, 1834.

My dear Uncle,—When I was at Leamington on Friday, my mother showed me a copy of the note you wrote to the Chancellor, requesting him to give me St. George's, Bloomsbury; and I cannot refrain from expressing to you my warmest and most grateful thanks for your consideration of me. Your kindness to me on this and very many other occasions I feel indeed most deeply. About the same time I had been privately informed my dear friend Archdeacon Bayley was trying to obtain for me St. Margaret's, Westminster; but the Dean of Ripon will not now resign, as the

Bishop of Lichfield threatens, in the event of a vacancy, to hold it *in commendam*. But the object of our wishes is a country living ; and if I might name a living, it would be Hertingfordbury. Delicia and I are quite agreed on that point ; and the innocent pleasures of a country life are those most to be desired for my little ones, to whom is due my first and dearest duty. I have been thirteen years in holy orders, and seven of these I have spent in situations as difficult and laborious as any in England ; and if I live for two or three years longer I shall think myself privileged to retire, for I am come to St. Basil's opinion that happiness is to be found in quiet. Fervour and zeal are providentially ordained to set us a-going on our Christian course ; but the perfection of a Christian life is to be found in calmness and peace. Give my love to Walter, and tell him how happy we shall be to see him here, though our cool temperature will but ill accord with his boiling heat. From what I have heard and seen of my reverend cousin, I suspect that he has taken his place in his friend Wordsworth's boat, 'in shape a very crescent moon,' and gone up into the clouds, looking after what he will not find, the goddess Perfection. If this be so, I am glad of it ; few men are worth anything who have not wandered a little among the clouds ; and then by degrees they come down, and find that men, though not perfect, may gradually pass from dutiful sons to affectionate parents and kind masters, and die good honest Christians, and that such are the characters to be valued.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Sermons at Oxford.

Oxford : November 3, 1834.

My dearest Friend,—Although I have so much to do, say, and see, that I cannot write a long letter, yet I know that you will like to receive a line from me, and to hear that I am passing well. I preached twice yesterday, and although I did not preach as well as I could wish, yet I hope I may have set some young heads a-thinking in the right way, which is what I aim at in my sermons, since two undergraduates have called upon me to request permission to read my evening sermon. As they are perfect strangers to me I shall refuse to lend the sermon, but I am going to their college (Lincoln), and shall read it over to them with my comments ; thus I am going to give a divinity lecture.

I have been amused (and so will you be) at finding in a French paper ('L'Univers,' just brought to me by an acquaintance at

Worcester College) a quotation from my sermon on the Church, almost every word, by-the-bye, spelt wrong. I am classed with Bishop Jebb, Reveridge (*sic*), Joseph Méde, Hammond, and others among the great divines of the Church of England. I was going to return home to-morrow, but having received an invitation from Dr. Burton, I thought it right to accept it. The Dean of Christ Church has also invited me, which is very civil, for Oxford is a perfect aristocracy; the heads of houses keep entirely aloof from the masters, and the masters from the undergraduates; which is, I think, on the whole, a good thing. It was rather awful to sit in a large kind of chapter room, before going in to sermon, and to see the heads of houses one by one come in, not deigning a look, each silently taking his place till the procession was prepared to move into church. It is a good thing to find how infinitely small one really is, after having played the great man in a parish. My reception in Oxford, after so many years of absence, has been very gratifying and, indeed, flattering.

To the Bishop of Lichfield.

Coventry : December 29, 1834.

My Lord,—The kindness of your last letter encourages me to make a request to your lordship. My medical friends concur with your lordship in thinking it to be essential to my health that I should quit the noise and oppositions of this place; and although I should regret to leave a parish where I am now enjoying the fruits of my past labour, yet, with an increasing family, I think it my duty to listen to their advice.

It is not, indeed, to be supposed that anyone who has a pleasant country living will be willing to exchange it for this; but I have sufficient interest with Lord Lyndhurst to feel sure that on my resigning this piece of preferment, he would be willing to present me to some other of equal value, upon my application.

The difficulty is, to know where an eligible rectory within reasonable distance of London is, or is likely to be, vacant. And my request, therefore, to your lordship is, that you will have the kindness to inform me whenever you know such to be the case. I beg to apologise for this intrusion upon your valuable time, an intrusion which may be considered as the penalty for having made me what I most sincerely am, my lord,

Your lordship's ever obliged and dutiful servant.

But before the offer of the country living came, he had shaken off the malady (which never returned) and was physically prepared for the gigantic labours which he was destined to undertake and accomplish.

On the complete restoration of his health in 1835, a very handsome and costly testimonial of plate, to which the poor subscribed in large numbers as well as the rich, was presented to him. In the course of his reply to the address made at the time of presentation, the Vicar said, 'It has been my endeavour to unite with the firmest and most uncompromising adherence to the principles of that blessed Church of which you are respected members, and of which I glory in being a minister, the greatest courtesy towards those who unfortunately differ from us, the greatest charity in judging of the motives of others, and goodwill towards all men. By this public mark of your approbation I presume that you desire me to persevere in this course, and by God's help so I will.'

The only remaining event of importance which deserves a separate notice was the visit, in the summer of 1833, of Dr. Low, Bishop of Ross, Moray, and Argyll, whose friendship he had formed on the occasion of the consecration of Dr. Luscombe in 1825.

The last relic of oppression of the Church of Scotland was not yet removed by the repeal of the Act which prohibited anyone who had received holy orders in that Church from ministering in England.¹ The Vicar of Trinity shortly before the arrival of the Bishop was dining with his old friend Judge Park. 'I told him,' he writes to Dr. Low, 'with some complacency that I was expecting a visit from your reverence, when he reminded me of the iniquitous Act of Parliament which prevents your officiating in England. I replied that I should elevate a seat within the rails of the altar for the Bishop, and though the *State* might silence him, the *Church* should receive him with the same episcopal honour as she would offer to our own diocesan. You will be received in this house by as firm and true a body of the clergy as any in England, many

¹ This Act was repealed in 1840.

of whom are devoted admirers of your Church—some, indeed, made so by me, for I speak of my visit to the Scotch Church wherever I go, and I have lent all the books bearing upon your history to the right hand and to the left.’

The Bishop accordingly was welcomed at Coventry with all the honour which the clergy could pay him. Besides being conducted into the church with the reverence usually shown to episcopal visitors, and being placed in the seat of dignity within the sanctuary, he was also entertained at a public dinner which all the clergy of the neighbourhood attended. The event was thoroughly gratifying to the Vicar, who delighted in any opportunity, however small, of testifying to the unity of the Reformed Catholic Church by paying equal honour to all branches of it, whether established or disestablished. To enlighten the profound ignorance which then commonly prevailed respecting the Episcopal Churches in Scotland and America, to kindle an interest in their welfare, and to promote their prosperity by every means which lay within his power, was in fact one of the labours of his life. The condition indeed of the American Church about this time was viewed by him, and some of his Oxford friends, especially Mr. Newman and Dr. Pusey, with considerable anxiety. The opinions and the tone of some of the American clergy and Bishops who had recently visited England seemed to them far from satisfactory. On the subject of Baptismal Regeneration, especially, there seemed reason to fear that the American Church might split into two sections—the western taking the extreme Protestant view, the New York connexion following the Catholic doctrine. Mr. Newman thought it would be highly desirable that two or three able and learned men of sound views should go over to New York and make it their head-quarters for several years, for the purpose of propagating Catholic truth; but it seemed impossible to find men who combined ability, leisure, and means to undertake the work. Mr. Hook proposed sending books instead of men; and started a subscription for purchasing a complete set of the Fathers to be presented to the library of the Episcopal College at New York. ‘It is obvious,’ he writes

to Mr. Newman in April 1835, 'that surrounded as the Church there is by papists and fanatics, our grand hope under God must rest with a learned clergy. . . . Certainly the divinity of some of our Transatlantic brethren (and fathers even) is somewhat crude.'

As he lived to see his fears dispelled, and to esteem some of the American clergy and Bishops, especially Dr. Doane, the Bishop of New Jersey, as distinguished ornaments of the Church, it was no small pleasure to him to reflect that he had ever striven to promote intercourse between the English and American members of the Church, and had thus helped to keep the Transatlantic branch steadfast in the faith.

The year 1836 was the last of his ministry at Coventry, although there seemed every prospect of his remaining where he was for some time to come, his health being now re-established and all idea of seeking a country living being abandoned. He was thoroughly contented, thoroughly happy. His habit indeed of making the best of his circumstances whatever they were, which was due partly to his sanguine, manly, and cheerful disposition, partly to his trust in the providence of God, had never failed him even when the state of his health seemed to indicate the expediency of rest and change. 'Thank you,' he wrote to a friend in the midst of that crisis, 'for wishing what I wish myself—a country parish; not, however, that I wish to leave my own dear parishioners, for I do really love Coventry from the bottom of my heart, but I long to see woods, hills, and lakes; I quite pine for all this. Nevertheless, God's will be done. Determined I am of one thing: to take things as they come, to look on the bright side, to thank my Saviour and my God, and to endeavour to show my gratitude by my obedience.' And his obedience was rewarded by finding himself, after eight years of labour in Coventry, the vicar of a grateful parish, and triumphant over the opposition which he had encountered in the outset of his career. This, of course, had proceeded from Dissenters and extreme Evangelicals, though it was never comparable in vehemence to that which he afterwards experienced in Leeds. A Nonconformist minister in the city, a man of

some ability, attempted, by delivering a set of lectures in his chapel in 1834, to confute the lectures on the Liturgy which were being given by the Vicar in his church ; but, as the Vicar remarked, the attack upon his series had the effect of an advertisement, and increased the number of his hearers.

On the first Sunday in each month he, at one time, omitted a sermon owing to the large number of communicants. Some jealous Evangelicals represented this to the Bishop as a great dereliction of duty, although at that very time, being the season of Lent, he preached thrice every week. The Bishop, however, although himself an Evangelical, was an extremely kind and fair man, and dismissed the complaint with the contempt it deserved.

There was one source of annoyance to which the Vicar never was reconciled, and which I have often heard him say was the only reason why he really was glad to leave Coventry. The income of the living depended on a rate levied on all householders in the parish. The system was so distasteful to him that he never would push his rights against defaulters, and consequently seldom received more than half the amount to which he was entitled. The assessors of the rate were appointed at a parish meeting, and, on one occasion, soon after he became Vicar, the Dissenters procured the nomination of one of their party with a view to annoying the Vicar and keeping down the rate. But they had mistaken their man. The Vicar met him soon after his appointment, shook hands with him in his heartiest manner, saying, 'I am very glad you are appointed ; I shall trust you to do all that is just and right, and that is all I care about.' The man, however, did not relish his office and resigned.

The year 1836 ended in grief. Mrs. Hook's father died on December 28, and a few weeks before this event their eldest and, at that time, their only boy was taken from them after a lingering illness. The brief reports of his condition, written by his father from day to day to various relations and friends, are deeply affecting in their expression of passionate affection for the child, coupled with meek submission to the will of God.

And now and then, even in the midst of his anxiety and distress, the irrepressible vein of his playful humour comes to the surface, as in one of the reports which is cast into the shape of an official medical bulletin, and is addressed to his brother Robert and Mr. and Mrs. Wood, as

MESSRS. ROBERT, WILLIAM, CHARLOTTE, & CO.
Sympathisers,
London.

The invitation which he received to become a candidate for the Vicarage of Leeds, early in the following year, was a salutary diversion to the thoughts of the sorrow-stricken parents. But a more particular account of his election to Leeds and departure from Coventry must be reserved for another chapter.

LETTERS, 1829-1836.

To his Curate, Rev. E. Gibson.

Coventry : March 10, 1829.

My dear Sir,—I am extremely sorry to be obliged to quarrel with you so early in our acquaintance, and especially after the very kind and gratifying note which I have just received.

It is lucky that we are both parsons, or a duel would probably ensue ; for you have treated with the greatest contempt one part of my note yesterday—that which requested the pleasure of your company at dinner. This is a kind of insult which can only be atoned for by your making a point of dining with me in spite of any other engagement which you may have. No excuse whatever can be admitted, and therefore no further answer is required. Come you must, or we must fight in private—without seconds, to avoid the scandal.

To the same—written during his Wedding Tour.

Rue Castiglione, Paris : June 29, 1829.

[After asking for information about the Parish]—I am heartily sick of Paris ; hate France, and think Frenchmen the most detestable of human beings. In three weeks I hope to be in dear old

England, and never shall I wish again to quit her shores. I particularly feel the want of clerical employment, and of books of reference when reading the Bible. Should I not, however, return before the Archdeacon's visitation, will you have the kindness to make my apologies, and to take care that every kind of attention is shown him? I dislike the man's principles, and think the man himself a humbug, but I should not like him to have it in his power to say that I had shown any disrespect to his office; I wish, therefore, to be particular on this point. . . .

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Character of George IV.—Charitable Judgments.

July 6, 1830.

. . . I have felt much the death of poor King George, for he was so kind a friend to my father and my grandfather, that I looked upon him with something like family affection. When we consider the faults of his education, the talent which was early used to corrupt him, and the strength of the temptations to which he was exposed, I think the judgment which has been passed upon him by the London papers in general, harsh and unchristian. In such a case especially, I hold that the rule 'Judge not' is peculiarly applicable. You, of course, have had other feelings towards him than I have had, but now he is gone I dare say you feel as I do.

What a blessing it is to have been well and piously brought up in middling life, and thus unexposed to those temptations to which the extremes of high life and low life are so peculiarly exposed. When we take eternity into consideration I think that this is a blessing, the extent of which cannot be too highly estimated. The very circumstance of being obliged to labour for subsistence is the source of many virtues, to which a higher station would render us strangers; while the being exempted from actual penury enables us to encourage those tastes and feelings, without which the moral man cannot be brought to any degree of perfection. The more I see of the world, the more am I impressed with the advantage of being placed in that station of life which leads a man to labour in a liberal profession rather than in a trade; though I consider a trade, in nine instances out of ten, to be preferable to an independent fortune.

To some few persons an independent fortune is an advantage; but how many does it ruin? while the number of persons improved by professional avocations, and even by professional ambition, is

incalculable. Your Charlotte may complain that your professional business takes you too much from her ; but perhaps (tell her not this, lest she utterly discard me), the very fact that you are obliged sometimes to leave her renders the moments you spend in her society doubly dear.

To the same—Recollections of School Days—Contentment—Foreign Churches and Sects—The Bible Society.

July 19, 1830.

My dearest Friend, . . . The disposition of my mind is to revert to old times and old friends with more than usual fondness ; I forget the discomforts of the former and the faults of the latter, and love to remember them, and to cherish their memory. When I think of Winchester I put out of consideration the floggings and bullyings and revilings, which rendered me miserable on first going to school ; and think only of the happy hours I used to pass with my friend, with whom I did, indeed, take sweet counsel, and who was always ready to sympathise with me under discomforts to which I was more sensibly alive than most boys of my age. And when I remember good old Gabell, I think only of his great kindness, his very great kindness to me, and of the admirable manner in which he instructed us, without reference to his occasional mismanagement out of school. I have seen him several times since, and I love him the more, from the deep interest he seems always to take in the welfare of his quondam naughty boys. Under these circumstances, nothing touched me more than the delightful picture you have drawn in your letter of the old man sitting in the House of Commons, like a patriarch, surrounded by his children. I wish I had been with you ; indeed, I wish more and more to be settled in London. I should so like to mix under altered circumstances with my contemporaries ; moreover, a little clerical and literary society would do me good, in addition to the immense advantage—leaving pleasure out of the question—which I should derive, as I have always done, from a nearer intercourse with you. I think my mind has much improved of late, and, I begin to hope that I could stand my ground in such a field as London, without disgracing myself or doing injury to the Church. I should have shrunk from it a year or two ago. But, after all, what am I saying ? I scarcely know whether I am speaking the truth ; I sometimes sit me down and think that I am the most contented of human beings, since my

church is just the kind of church I like, and my parish suited to my abilities ; while my new curate suits me in every way. But at other times, when I try to wish for something, I wish for London. This is a kind of contradiction, but it is that kind of contradiction which, I presume, exists occasionally in all minds in a healthy state. My notion is, that we should always be so contented as never to envy anyone else ; and yet not so contented as to prevent a proper degree of emulation. While acting from the higher motives of religion, we are not to eradicate but to direct the inferior motives which set human nature in motion ; character is to be continually improved, and as long as this process is going on, no matter how it is accomplished ; for the glory is to be ascribed to God, whose providence ordains those circumstances under which we are placed.

With respect to your observations about the circulation of the Scriptures in Greece, &c., you, by taking a view rather inclining to one side, and I, by taking a view rather inclining to the other side, without materially disagreeing, would perhaps arrive at an opinion in which there would be a shade, and only a shade of difference. My studies have lain among the primitive writers, and in the study of the early antiquities of the Church ; and my principle, perhaps originating from that circumstance, is this, to endeavour to render the Church as conformable as possible with the primitive model. Hence, I differ from such divines as Paley ; he would make such alterations in the Church as would render it more comprehensive, taking, if I may so say, a political view of it ; and this seems to be the object with most of the Church reformers of the day. For this purpose he would do away with many primitive customs, to which those who think with me are attached. Thus he looks to what must be impossible, owing to the lax state of discipline, a union with Protestant Dissenters. Now we look not to this, but by (if any alteration is necessary) even a return to some of the usages discarded at our Reformation, to conform more and more to the primitive model ; that thus, when the Roman Catholic Churches abroad gradually attempt to reform themselves, or what is yet more likely, when the Church of Greece, to which I mainly look, begins to reform, they may see that this can be done without running into that discord and confusion which is certainly the disgrace of Protestantism, and which as certainly makes it stink in their nostrils. The Greeks abominate the Pope ; but our disunion they abominate equally. They dread Reformation on this account ;

ours is the only Church which shows that the Church can be *reformed*, not as in the case of most other Protestants—I ought to except those of Denmark and Sweden—that to correct abuses it must be first overturned and then rebuilt *de novo*; and we prevent them from feeling an inclination to reform, by so many of our countrymen in those parts making common cause with all Protestants. Let us leave events, say I, to Providence; let us bring ourselves as near to perfection as we can; nor would I ever for one moment admit it as a ground for any concession, that the safety of the Establishment is concerned. Concede, in God's name on all points where concession is innocent, but never from the worldly consideration of sustaining the worldly pre-eminence of the Church. With respect to the circulation of the Scriptures in Greece, . . . you can have no conception of the mischief done there and elsewhere by the circulation of Bibles by the Bible Society, translated imperfectly and, I may say dishonestly, or at least unfairly, by Socinians.

The traveller Macfarlane, whose work on Constantinople you have probably read, asserts that the Bible circulated among the Greeks is written in such strange Romaic that they cannot read it.

Visit to the Bishop of London.

10 Dean's Yard, Westminster: October 1830.

Wife!—Learn to treat your husband with the respect which is due to a man of his consequence. When the Lord Bishop of London invited the Rev. Vicar of Holy Trinity, Coventry, to dine with his lordship, at his lordship's palace at Fulham, who do you think was the *only* person (with the exception of the chaplain) that the said Lord Bishop thought worthy to be invited to meet the said Rev. Vicar, your honoured lord and master? hear and be confounded—His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan!!!!!! Your poor weak little bit of a mind would indeed have been astonished and astounded to hear how these three pillars of the Church (for I consider the chaplain as a nonentity) discuss affairs ecclesiastical; yet, without a joke, it was an awful solemnity. The poor Vicar was quite dumbfounded till he had refreshed his nerves by a glass of the Bishop's best wine. Things were going on smoothly after this, when, lo and behold! in a meek and gentle voice the Lord Archbishop challenged the poor priest to take a glass of wine, and

the said priest was again overpowered : he spilt the wine, first on the table-cloth, then on his coat, and forgot to bow to his grace. Luckily 'Piety without Asceticism'¹ was named, and the very thought of his dear, kind, apostolical patron, the Bishop of Limerick, inspired the poor priest once more with courage. We all chanted the praises of the work ; and then the poor priest was listened to with interest, as he could give the latest account of Ireland's best Prelate. Indeed, he could not help thinking that his grace the metropolitan seemed to treat him with more respect, when he remembered, probably, that he, the said priest, was immortalised by being mentioned in 'Practical Theology,' as Bishop Jebb's friend. At ten o'clock the three assembled pillars, accompanied by Mrs. Blomfield, went to the chapel, where upwards of fifty servants were assembled ; this was indeed a sublime and touching sight. A delightful chapel, the prayers read by a Bishop, and the Vicar kneeling at the side of an Archbishop. Well, here ends the history : how I have lived to write it I know not ; but I can say no more, for by eleven o'clock I must attend the meeting of Convocation at St. Paul's, thence I shall have to hurry to the levee.

To his Wife—First Sermon at the Chapel Royal.

16 St. James's Street, London : November 1830.

My dearest Love, . . . I had the honour yesterday of preaching before their Majesties. Bob says I delivered the sermon well ; but I do not think the sermon itself was a good one. I trust, however, that I may have touched the hearts and roused the feelings of some of my congregation ; for I warned them in pretty strong terms of the danger, as well as the sin, of denying God and deserting the cause of religion. The Bishop of Chichester² came into the vestry after service, and introduced himself as an old friend and schoolfellow of my father's ; he said he could not mistake me from my likeness. His lordship told me that in the bidding prayer I ought not to name the Bishop of the Diocese when preaching in a royal chapel, since such chapels are considered as peculiars. 'And,' said he, 'I may without fear of offence point out one fault, when there is so much to admire, both in matter and manner.' I made one great, uncavalierlike mistake. The etiquette is, to walk down from the pulpit backwards,

¹ Title of a work by Bishop [Jebb.

² Dr. Carr.

and I was told of it twenty times at least ; but when the sermon was ended I forgot it all, and in my eagerness to escape, down I ran with my back to his Majesty. I have heard of various eulogies (the abuse, of course, not being reported to me) from persons who are so ignorant of ecclesiastical affairs as not to know so wonderful a person as myself, for one person to Gilbert Mathison called me Mr. Wood ; another to Mr. Tupper, Mr. Cook. But I see the Court circular, in the newspapers, sets the matter right. Upon the whole, I am not pleased with myself ; I have seldom been more discontented with any of my performances of any kind.

From W. P. Wood, Esq.—Sympathy between Rich and Poor.

Lincoln's Inn : May 21, 1831.

. . . I do not intend to trouble you with politics, but I am sure that a great proportion of the troubles which disturb old-established governments arise from the want of sympathy between the rich and poor. I mean that real sympathy which consults the feelings, and the mental as well as bodily wants of the sufferer ; that truly Christian spirit of benevolence which prompts the more favoured individual to lower himself as far as possible to the level of the poorer classes in his intercourse with them ; to convince them that he regards himself standing before God as humbled a creature as the meanest of his brethren, and that he feels his worldly wealth only entrusted to him as a means of effecting the most extensive good ; whilst, after all the good which he can effect, he is but an unprofitable servant. It is not enough to say that in England more is done for the poor than in any other country by gifts : the question is *how* is the wealth given ? and if it should ever be shown that more of actual intercourse with the poor exists among the gentry of this country than of any other nation, yet is it after all but comparative ; and I fear we are very, very far below what might be expected, after eighteen centuries of instruction in real wisdom have been vouchsafed the world. In one respect we are decidedly behind our continental neighbours, and that is in the ineffable distance between master and servant. It is impossible you can work upon the minds of those who regard you with no affection ; and I would ask if anyone can point to more than half a-dozen instances of attached domestics within his own knowledge I would follow up my inquiry by asking him the reason. I do not think that foreigners, in general, sufficiently avail themselves of

the advantages they have over us in this respect, by influencing the minds of their dependants ; but I can safely say that we can never hope to effect much benefit in our families while this barrier exists. . . .

I fully agree with you in the excellent view you take of the gradation of duty. An instance of perverted feeling on this subject was shown the other day in this great mart of all extravagance. Crowds had attended meetings held in the new hall in the Strand, for *converting the Continent* by 'Sabbath Societies,' and various other contrivances ; but at a meeting for the promotion of 'district visiting,' the only really efficacious means of bettering the temporal and spiritual condition of the poor, but a few stragglers could be collected. Those who are thus usefully employed were perhaps better engaged than in contributing to the parade of a public meeting, but where were the customary haunters of these exhibitions ? preaching in imagination to the Chinese, or weeping tears of joy over a letter from Otaheite.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Parochial Work—Opposition from Dissenters.

January 31, 1831.

. . . This letter only comes a month after the time ; it ought to have been received on the first of January. I hope it will be received on the first of February, and though it would not be according to etiquette to express what I heartily wish, that you may pass a happy twelvemonth, yet, here are from me and mine, to you and yours, most hearty wishes for a happy elevenmonth. Christmas time is among the parsons, as you well know, no holiday time ; much extra duty always awaits us ; and the delightful task of dispensing charities, feeding the national school children, &c., &c., consumes time most voraciously. In addition to this, ours has, till within the last ten days, been the city of the plague : small pox, measles, scarlet and typhus fever have been raging around us ; and God Almighty be thanked that we, of this household, have hitherto escaped. I have likewise had the very disagreeable duty of having to beg, from house to house, to get support for our intended infant schools. I am beginning to be a little vain, for I cannot but suppose, as all my friends assert, that the bitterness, I may say the fierceness, with which I am assailed by some of the Dissenters here, must arise from having emptied their shops by establishing

an evening service, and stirring up the Churchmen who were before permitted to go to sleep. Every kind of abuse, the most personal, has been heaped upon me, on account of this infant school. I was told that it was expected that the Church should come forward, and that the Dissenters would contribute. Together, therefore, with all the beneficed clergy of the city, we call a meeting, only insisting that the children should be taught the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, and that the master should be a member of the Church. It was necessary to do this before calling a meeting, because we knew that, while Churchmen would supply the money, the Dissenters would be able to outnumber us by resorting to measures for packing the meeting, to which we would not condescend. We thought it right, therefore, to state what we should consider a *sine quâ non*. At the meeting, if the Dissenters could not conscientiously support our plan, I intended to propose that we should raise a subscription together, and establish two schools; one to be superintended by the clergy, the other by the Dissenters, with an understanding that neither party would receive the children dismissed for ill-conduct from the other establishment. But a violent Dissenting teacher, abetted by as violent an Evangelical clergyman, chaplain to the Bridewell, called an opposition meeting, branded us with the title of intolerant bigots, and determined to crush us. We have let them have their way; when reviled, we have carefully abstained from reviling again; and the consequence has been that we have raised nearly 300*l.*, and their subscriptions are, I suspect, so inconsiderable that they have hitherto refrained from publishing them.

To the same—Foundation of a Dispensary.

Coventry: March 14, 1831.

My dearest Friend,—I lose no time in thanking you and your wife for your kind letter of congratulation, if it be a subject of congratulation, that I have entered my thirty-fourth year and am no better than I am. I am at present a bachelor, my spouse having run away from me, with the heiress of all the Hooks, to pay a visit to her father and mother. I am too busy to go, and I am at present almost too nervous to write, for I am to make my first—no, my second (after a long interval)—appearance as an extempore speaker to-morrow. The thought of it, strange as it may appear, in one who preaches so often, makes me ache all over. The meeting

is called for the purpose of establishing a self-supporting dispensary, and I am to move the first resolution. We shall be opposed by a host of medical men ; but a dispensary of some sort or other shall be established ; they may bully, but we are determined not to yield. You tell me you shall write to me on politics ; remember, Sir Radical, that I am a Tory ; so moderate your tone of triumph, if it be from mere compassion. But, in truth, I am too much occupied in parochial details to be able to busy myself in politics ; and the state of politics is such at present as so to sadden my poor Tory heart that I avoid the subject as much as possible, seeing that I could do no good. I seldom indeed advert to them, except when I offer the prayer for Parliament, which is offered from the heart.

*To the same—Lectures on the Last Days of our Lord's Ministry—
Change of House—Foundation of a Dispensary—Calumnies.*

Leicester Road, Coventry : April 13, 1831.

. . . I delivered my lectures every day in Passion Week to a very attentive and devout congregation. Indeed, I have reason to hope that they were of service, not only to myself, but to many who heard them. On one person in particular I know that they have made a serious impression, and a Socinian lady who was with me all the week presented herself at the altar on Easter-day. I have indeed been very successful in my ministry of late, for two of the leading surgeons in my parish have not only become regular attendants at church, but have received the Sacrament. . . All this has been highly satisfactory, and I am in good humour with my parish. It was nevertheless hard work, for I had only written one of my lectures when I commenced, and had in consequence to sit up late and rise early ; besides which, I started one evening to see my little wee bit of a wife (she is only about an inch taller than yours), and having found her as well as could be, I returned in the morning. Then I have been very busy in moving from St. Nicholas Place to this house. I have been labouring night and day to get it ready for Delicia, so that she may have no trouble or fatigue when she returns, which I hope will be on Friday. I have seldom felt so anxious for any day since I left Winchester ; my feelings are just those with which we used to look forward to the holidays : I have been so busy about all this, that I have not seen her for a week. I must tell you that this house, though in the

parish, is in the country ; quite rural, with a garden and all. I have been studying the art of gardening too ; I can give you the history of gardening, from that of Paradise to that described in the Canticles ; and from that of Alcinous to that of Academus, and so on to Sir William Temple and Kent, down to our own times, not forgetting the hanging gardens of Babylon. This morning I have been sowing peas ; but there has arisen a very disagreeable sect of Dissenters in my little plantation ; they are known by the name of slugs, and have opened a conventicle in the very heart of my cabbage-bed. I am a bigoted, intolerant wretch, as you know, and mean to burn them, not with fire and fagot, but with lime. I must narrate another grievance. In endeavouring to establish a self-supporting dispensary I have incurred the wrath of all the doctors in this place ; I know not whether I mentioned this before, but so it is, and thus I am placed between two fires. In the Coventry papers the doctors are attacking me as a hypocrite, &c. &c., and all the time a Dissenting teacher is publishing every week an ecclesiastical lecture, in which he holds me up to censure for various iniquities ; one, in particular, is rather amusing : he accuses me of avarice, and calls me 'the holy minister of Holy Trinity.' Now avarice is certainly not one of my faults ; and if he inquired further he would find that while by my rate here, at the lowest valuation, I ought to receive 49*l.* a year, I only in fact receive 25*l.* ; and when some of my parishioners found fault with my collector (for the business is not managed by me), he told them that the blame did not rest with him, but if anyone goes to the Vicar he not only excuses them but gives them something for the trouble of calling. However, so it is with my Dissenting friends ; many of my real faults are passed over, and things are brought against me of which my conscience does not accuse me.

To the same—Abstinence from Politics.

May 16, 1831.

My poor dear Friend, . . . At Worcester you carried all before you, but I voted of course for Lygon. In Coventry I never meddle with politics. My principle is this : to do those duties, or rather attempt to do them, which Providence points out to us, by the circumstances under which we are placed, always remembering that the nearest and easiest duties are to us the first in importance. Thus, I consider my first duty is to my family including my servants ; my

next to the parish, over which the Holy Ghost has made me overseer ; then to my diocese, my country, and so on to all mankind. It is that which our hand findeth to do that we are to do with all our might. And the mischief of the present age is that every one is striving to do some great thing ; while those minor points, which are first to the individual, are neglected. Men are devising schemes to convert heathens, while their own families, and perhaps themselves, are quite as much in need of conversion ; they are anxious to waft the Scriptures from the Ganges to the Mississippi, but forget to make the Bible their own companion and familiar friend. It would be well for England if, instead of clamouring for reform, men would do (as Rickman, the Quaker architect, observed to me the other day) their own business, and reform themselves. It was on these principles that I voted at Worcester, having a vote for the county. I thought myself in these times called upon to exercise my privilege and, consequently, I voted like an obstinate old Tory (as Lord Lyttleton, who brought in his brother-in-law, called me). I take a gloomy view of things. It is at the same time a comfort for me to feel that you, who are so much wiser than I am, and are not a party man, at least, not violently so, think otherwise. I consider you as a thoroughly honest politician. The men I dislike are those who support the Reform Bill simply because it was introduced by their friends.

To Hon. and Rev. A. Perceval—Advantages of an Establishment.

Coventry : May 25, 1831.

I am now become a waiter upon Providence. For some inscrutable purpose the country appears to me to have been demented ; the afflicting hand of Providence is upon us, and we must diligently labour to ascertain precisely what our duty is, both in bearing and forbearing, and then seek for grace to perform it.

As Churchmen, we have the blessed conviction that the Church will flourish more under oppression than at any other time. St. Hilary says ‘Hoc habet proprium ecclesia, dum persecutionem patitur floret, dum opprimitur proficit, dum læditur vincit, dum arguitur intelligit, tunc stat, quum superari videtur.’

But as patriots and as Englishmen who but must weep ? let the Church be unestablished and infidelity will be rampant. I am one of those who think a little religion better than none at all. And I regard the establishment of the Church to be one of the means ap-

pointed to lead men gradually to a serious sense of the faith. A man may love the Church at first merely because it is an institution of his country. With an honest mind, like the apostles when first called to be disciples, their principles may be too secular. Too many do not advance at all, but many more come by degrees to see how the Church is the mystical body of their Saviour, and glorying in their privilege, they not only abide in Christ but Christ abides in them. From fruitless they are pruned into fruitful branches of the Vine. That God will devise other means for bringing those who are of honest and good hearts to the truth, no one will deny, but no Christian can contemplate without sorrow the withdrawal of one of the visible means hitherto ordained for that purpose, even though the Church itself be purified, while depressed, thereby. As a Church, the Reformed Catholic Church in England will be benefited by its disunion from the State ; but, as the Bishop of Limerick observes, the question is not whether the Church be *less* pure, but the country be not *more* pure. And one of the offices of the Church is to be the salt of the earth, and indirectly to purify even worldlings. I refer our calamities to the Repeal of the Test Act; for then the State *virtually* renounced every connexion with religion. It pronounced religion to be, so far as the State is concerned, a thing indifferent.

England is now in the position of a man who has excommunicated himself. To the special protection of Providence and of grace it has no longer a covenant claim. Our legislation is, in fact, of *any* religion, which is the same as saying of *no* religion.

Convalescence.

Birmingham : June 14, 1831.

My dearest Mother,—Although I am mending fast, the doctor entirely disapproves of my leaving the Monument at present, and my system is, strictly to follow the advice of the doctor under whose care Providence, by the arrangement of circumstances, has placed me ; then, as our good Lord of Limerick says, if I die, it is his fault and not mine. That I am better will appear from this, that I am growing hourly more impatient to return to dear Coventry ; happy I never can be out of my parish, and I long to offer my prayers once again in my noble church. There is no church in England that suits me so well. ‘Say not this is lame devotion that cannot mount without the help of such a wooden stick ; rather ’tis lame

indeed which is not raised though having the advantage thereof.' This sentence is from Fuller, whose 'Holy State' I am reading, much to my edification and delight. I am going out a-fishing to-day!! but truth to tell, I should be more in my element if I were at Coventry trying to catch men; the fact is, that I am so identified with my parish that if too much duty knocks me up, a little duty is essential to amuse me. Without parochial duty I feel much as a dram-drinker must do when robbed of his morning draught.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.

Coventry: December 1, 1831.

My dearest Friend, . . . Now for your letter;—thank you much for the delightful pouring out of your feelings; and believe me, that when I read the sentiments of humble piety which you therein express, I am more proud of the friendship which has ever been my honour as well as my delight. Thank God it is not on our own works that we depend for hope as to everlasting bliss. Christ is our all in all, and to Him we can only approach by faith. Now it is on this doctrine of justification by faith alone that I delight to dwell when I am inclined to despond; I then throw myself without reserve at the feet of Christ. . . . As to prayer, I suppose every person has some different method of elevating his soul to communion with the Deity. For my part, I find I can pray best when I am walking in my garden; indeed, I am generally a peripatetic in my devotions, and I find the open air my most delightful temple. Again, I know nothing more conducive to bring me to a devotional disposition than to read some portion of the Bible, till I gradually sink off into a holy reverie. I throw out these hints, because when first I became seriously impressed with religious feelings, I had some of those difficulties of which you seem to complain. And even in those days when we cannot take the usual delight in prayer and praise, we ought to remember that our Saviour knows our hindrances, and that by Him the will will be taken for the deed; when we have struggled much without success, faith will, in this sense, be counted to us for righteousness.

From W. P. Wood, Esq.—Uses of a Belief in Angels—Irvingism.

Lincoln's Inn : March 1832.

. . . I thank you for your beautiful hint as to the Angels.¹ It is curious that I have two or three times said to my wife that I thought we were too much in the habit of neglecting the clear doctrine, as laid down in the Bible, of spiritual agents subordinate to the Deity, and of their interference with the events of this world. There is certainly a degree of danger in dwelling too much on such a subject if the mind be predisposed to enthusiasm ; but at the same time I think that the great caution of many preachers has led to a carelessness even as regards the restless machinations of our great spiritual adversary. You will recollect that you told me an anecdote of a Unitarian saying 'nobody could believe in the devil.' Still more may have been deprived of great spiritual consolation from the neglect of those many beautiful passages in Scripture which represent the watchfulness of the angels over those who serve God, and their great interest in all that concerns our welfare. People are very apt to imagine that their deceased friends take an interest in their conduct, for which we have no direct Scriptural authority (the parable of Lazarus being, perhaps, only a parable), and which may prove a dangerous conceit as tending to saint worship. Now the clear knowledge afforded us of the ministry of Angels ought to be no less consolatory.

My mind has been brought to dwell upon many of the deeper points of the 'mystery of Godliness' owing to a visit from two young friends, who have been, to a certain extent, led away by the enthusiasts of Irving's school. With regard to the alleged *miracles*, I think it is at once an answer to say that no *miracle* has yet been even *stated* ; for the uttering of sounds which no one professes to comprehend is so far from miraculous that any of us could do the same thing for hours together ; and I think I satisfied our friends of the wonderful difference between such quackery and the stupendous miracle of the day of Pentecost. But the greatest difficulty I met with was on the subject of election. My own views on this subject do not quite coincide with Whately's. I think a little more is meant than the simple fact of election to privileges which may be accepted or waived, and I confess I rather lean to the doctrine

¹ That the knowledge of their sympathy should be an auxiliary to our devotions.

of those who think that God, foreseeing who will accept the conditions of salvation, and having promised that all who do so accept them shall be saved, may be said in that sense to have *elect*ed the *save*d. But then I am quite certain from Scripture that although God knows this, no *man* can know it, no man can see the end of his career, which God does see, and therefore no man can be assured that he will continue in a state of grace. A man may perhaps feel an assurance that through Christ's mercy, if he were to die that moment, he would be saved, but he can say nothing more.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Christian Sympathy.

Leamington : March 1, 1832.

. . . I intended to answer your last most interesting letter fully, but I have forgotten to bring it with me. But I remember well one topic to which you refer, which is, the want of Christian sympathy which you seem to experience when worshipping in church. This is a subject on which I have had very many conversations with my reverend brethren in this neighbourhood ; for fifteen or twenty of us frequently meet, not to discuss, but to converse ; being happily of pretty nearly the same principles in religion, though there are slight shades of difference in our politics. Nothing fills the Dissenting chapels so much as their being able to remedy the defect of which you complain. When a man has seriously turned his thoughts to religion, he comes to church and finds no one sympathising with him, no one, under circumstances somewhat similar, ready to communicate his thoughts. He goes to a meeting house, he is immediately hailed as a convert ; he is flattered, calmed, and soothed. Now we have considered whether some such steps as these might not be profitably adopted in the Church ; it would immediately increase its popularity with some religionists ; for man is an aristocratic animal, and sectarianism flatters the aristocratical feeling. Everyone in religion, as in everything else, likes to be a peg above his neighbour, and to be one of a party superior in purity or in wisdom to those around him. If, then, we were to consider merely the religionists, if merely the popularity of the Church, it might be well to adopt some such classification as prevails with the Methodists. But the Church of Christ, I conceive, is not intended to be confined as to its benefits and advantages to those who are true Christians : here is the mistake with the sectarians. There is a yet more extensive object,

though less flattering to human pride ; it is to act as leaven and as salt by which the mass of society may be gradually purified ; it is indirectly to benefit those who are without as well as those that are within the pale ; to improve men's morals, when it cannot prevail upon them to become Christians in very deed. Thus it has been shown by Bishop Jebb that, in the commission of the Apostles, our Lord commanded them first to convert individuals, and then to convert nations ; to have to do with whole masses of society. While the Church was composed merely of individuals, as was the case till the time of Constantine, it was in its purest state ; when it was allied with the world, its discipline was relaxed, and consequently it became less pure. But the question is, not whether the Church be less pure, but whether the world by this contact be not more pure ; and of this no one, I presume, can doubt. We ought, therefore, always to recollect this secondary but very important character of the Church, this leavening and salting purpose for which it is intended, and not to administer it so as to seek the gratification of those only who are really pious in their feelings. The advantage of this indirect influence on society is great. Suppose I prevail upon a man no further than to respect the common decencies of life ; as to his fate we dare not decide, God alone can judge ; but this I see, that his children being brought up morally and orderly are prepared to embrace the whole faith, as it is in Jesus. Pray read Bishop Jebb's beautiful perfect sermon on transmissive religion in 'Practical Theology' ; if you have not the book, say so, and I will send you a copy.

*To his Wife—Account of Visit to Lincoln to be Installed as
Prebendary of Caistor.¹*

Lincoln : Trinity Sunday, June 1832.

My dearest Love,—I wrote to you chiefly to state my intentions with respect to my movements. I hope to leave this early on Tuesday morning, and to reach London the same day ; but you must not be alarmed if I do not make my appearance till Wednesday. My journey here was prosperous ; I got on to Loughborough from Leicester, in a return chaise, for two shillings. With the collegiate church of Southwell I fell desperately in love ; it is really beautiful, with fine old Norman arches. I attended service there,

¹ The stall had been given him by the Bishop, who was a friend of his father

and found the choir well managed. The town itself is pretty, and I should not object to have a stall there, with a living attached. From Southwell to Lincoln the journey is easy; but I was obliged after all to post one stage. Arrived at Lincoln, I found the inn in much confusion, for there was a visitation dinner. 'Whose visitation is it?' I asked; 'The Archdeacon of Stow's,' was the answer; and sure enough I saw his reverence, at no great distance, giving a jobation to a churchwarden. 'Give the Archdeacon this card,' said the Prebendary elect; on receiving which, forth comes my kind friend Archdeacon Bayley, pulls me into the room, and says, 'Gentlemen, allow me to introduce our new Prebendary; you have all heard of Mr. Hook;' and then a long eulogy was pronounced. 'For his own sake, therefore,' said the Archdeacon, 'and his admirable father's sake, let us drink his good health in a bumper.' The Dean was present, and invited me to dine with him to-day.

In the autumn of 1832 his mother and sister spent some time in the Lake Country near Rydal. They became intimate with the Wordsworth family, and paid almost daily visits to the poet's house. One day, during the severe illness of his sister, Miss Wordsworth, they found the poet sitting by her side, where he had been for hours rubbing her feet. Miss Hook wrote a letter to her brother full of enthusiastic admiration for this trait of fraternal affection on the part of Wordsworth; to which he replied in the following strain:

I wish you could read Quintilian or Longinus, and then, as in times past, I should set you a portion to learn by heart, and initiate you into the arts of composition. Most horrible was the bathos into which your last letter plunged. Having descanted not only on the genius but the virtues of the poet, having entered into 'your little boat, in shape a very crescent moon,' and carried me into the third heaven, you then introduce me to the venerable bard—surrounded by the Muses—doing what? striking the silver lyre? no! rubbing his dear old sister's cold toes. O fie! Miss Hook! fie! as a punishment I shall put down my pen, and conclude this letter just when I please. I should not, indeed, write to you at all, but that I should like to earn another such letter, excepting that part which descants on brotherly affection towards cold feet in a sister. I hope that you will always be able to keep your feet warm

with exercise, and your heart still warmer by enthusiasm, kept of course under the fraternal control of good sense. . . .

The Lakes—Wordsworth.

Coventry : September 8, 1832.

My dearest Mother, . . . How I do envy you your delightful visit to the Lakes ; no, envy is not the right word, for I should like to enjoy it with you. I think as one grows older, and becomes more christianised (almost all other terms have been so wrongly applied, that it is scarcely lawful to use them), as the natural man goes down hill, and the moral man learns to take higher and higher flights towards those heavenly regions where he humbly hopes to live for ever with his Saviour and those who were worthy of his love on earth ; so do we feel more deeply, more intensely, the beauties of inanimate nature—that nature to which your honoured friend Wordsworth has, more than any other poet, given a voice ; a voice which speaks to the very heart of hearts. In early youth there is an enchantment in the scenes of nature which makes every lad, worth anything, think and hope that he is born to take station among the poets of his country. How beautifully are these feelings described in the ‘Excursion.’ But the boy tries his hand at expressing his thoughts, and finds in despair that language fails him : he cannot say all he feels, and rushes out from the Temple of the Muses in despair. Encouragement no one can give, for he who feels strongly will most likely feel awfully sensitive in permitting his feelings to be known ; they can only be fully opened to a person of the same age, a wife, or such a friend as Wood. Then other pursuits engage the attention, the feelings are chilled by a cold world ; worldliness of mind ensues, ambition urges on to exertion, and the soul is more and more alienated from heavenly aspirations. After this comes disappointment and misfortune ; those blessings in disguise, when religion becomes once more a reality, when the soul becomes elevated, the affections spiritualised, and the mind no longer earthy ; and it is then that nature in her grand and in her calmer scenes once more speaks to the heart. Having diligently marked not only the progress of my own mind, but that of many of my contemporaries, and having also had minds opened to me by persons who have wished for spiritual consolation in my parish, I am so convinced that this is the usual process with such as become rightly religious, that the tone of my sermons is always

in accordance with these notions. I don't like violent philippics against vice, or those feelings which *will* have their way. I like to paint the loveliness of religion, to call back the mind to those calm joys it experienced, before worldliness, or inordinate ambition, or the passions, assumed their tyranny; and then to show how by degrees God's grace will not only restore those amiable sentiments of childhood, but give them a vigour and a holiness of which the worldly can form no conception. Now, as I humbly hope that my mind has become spiritualised, I feel that I am just in the condition to profit by those delightful views which you and dear Georgiana so well describe. I should indeed delight to wander over your mountains, and pour out my thoughts, not in poems, but in sermons. I am weary of towns, and especially of manufacturing towns, and I sigh for the country.

Delicia and I agree that of all places we have seen Hertingfordbury would suit us best, yes, even more than Whippingham; she likes the retirement of Hertingfordbury, and I confess that the dark, shady walk by the river has fresh charms for me as I grow older. I am, as the good dear Bishop would say, something self-complacent, at the praise you tell me has been bestowed on me by Wordsworth; Delicia and I have guessed the truth. It is so utterly impossible that he should ever have heard of me, that we conclude thus: One day Mrs. Hook was talking to the poet, and, in the overflow of her maternal fondness, she told him that her son was the finest preacher and best parson, &c., &c., in England. Well, many days had elapsed, and the poet had meanwhile been in the third heavens. When Mrs. Hook calls on him again, the name of her son is mentioned: 'Oh,' says the poet, 'I have heard that your son is a very fine preacher, and a very good divine.' 'Who told you?' 'I quite forget,' replies the poet, 'but I am certain that I have heard it.' I am so convinced that this, or something like it, is the fact, that I am not vain, as I otherwise might be, at the eulogy. But I am indeed complacent at the idea of my being known, even by name, to the living poet of England. I have in my time so worshipped poets, that the very thought of being known to such a poet as Wordsworth stirs up the enthusiasm which the noise and smoke and bustle of a large town has well nigh quenched. By-the-by, I do not at all approve of Mr. Macaulay's criticism; I hate to hear people call Wordsworth 'the modern Milton,' as they so frequently do: it gives one the idea of his being one of the servile herd of imitators. Now, of all poets

that ever existed, saving only Homer, and my old friend, Shakespeare, Wordsworth is the most original. He has shaped out a line peculiarly and entirely his own ; and one of the reasons that for a long time he was not popular with the mob of readers, was this very circumstance—he was so different from the nambypamby poetasters they had been accustomed to admire, that they could not relish him ; or else, because he was so different from other poets, they knew not by what rules to try him. But Wordsworth was a true poet, and those many hearts he touched by his poetry soon learned that he was to give laws, or rather to provide materials from which future Aristotles might frame laws, and not to receive them from pedants.

Publication of Lectures on ' Last days of our Lord.'

Lichfield : November 1, 1832.

My dearest Mother, . . . The work is to come out this week, and therefore your country bookseller will have no difficulty in obtaining copies from his agent in London. I think you had better send the copy to Mr. Southey, and all others, except to Mrs. Grant, from yourself ; I will be your debtor for the last, and also for one which I should like to present to Mr. Wordsworth if he will accept it. Tell him that it comes from one who venerates his character and who has derived not only intellectual pleasure, but moral improvement from his immortal writings. I am afraid, however, that neither he nor Southey will approve of what was written, not by a retired scholar, but by a clergyman, who has never known what leisure is, since he entered into holy orders, and who is therefore guilty perhaps of unpardonable presumption in thrusting himself into the republic of letters. I certainly wish for the success of the work, not because it deserves success, but because, if I am not severely cut up, I may be able to do something better. I am glad to hear you talking, or rather to read you writing, of settling at the Lakes : we might easily arrange matters, so that we could spend two or three months with you in the summer, and you two or three months with us in the winter. I only wish that we had commenced housekeeping less expensively than we did, for though our expenses are less than those of most persons in our station of life, yet they leave us not the means of travelling, or indulging our wishes on several other points. From various circumstances, our income, which I once thought would be 800*l.* a year, and thus very plentiful

has fallen down to 500*l.*, which is certainly more than many of our betters possess, but is, nevertheless, only barely equal to the many demands upon us. If I can but make 200*l.* by my book, it will be glorious. Delicia could then have a piano of her own ; I would get a Benedictine Chrysostom ; my church should be presented with a painted window ; and you and Georgiana should have our company in your visit to the Lakes next year.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Different Classes of Writers—Letter from Wordsworth.

November 27, 1832.

It seems that we, once the most prolific of letter-writers, are now compelled to commence each epistle with an apology. But as Thompson said when writing to his sister, we know one another better than to interpret our silence into any decay of affection. It seems to me that the intellectual world may be divided into two parties ; first, there is a class consisting of those whose talents are ever ready, whose armour is ever bright and polished. Such was Shakspeare, such was our dear lost Sir Walter Scott, such are those, differing infinitely in degree but not in genus, whose pen is at all times prepared to write a letter, or to chatter and gabble in society on every subject. The next class consists of those who have the pen of a ready writer, but who can only use it when the fit of inspiration is upon them. At the head of this tribe, according to his biographers, was Milton ; and, though infinitely beneath their great masters, such are they who can sometimes write with a vigour and energy and zeal and enthusiasm for which at others they sigh in vain. In the latter class I rank myself : my vigour is at all times but weakness, but yet comparatively it is vigour when contrasted with the listlessness and lassitude with which I am occasionally oppressed for weeks and months. Some months there are when I pen off a sermon at a sitting, and can write a fresh one every day in the week ; while there are many weeks when my poor head conceives, but brings forth nothing. So also is it with respect to letter-writing, I have been long waiting till the spirit would move me to unburden my mind to you, but alas, my spirit is for the present quite immovable, and I therefore compel myself to write merely on the principle, that even in such friendships as ours a discontinuance of intercourse for any great length of time is dangerous. My mother and sister have also formed a bosom friendship with the great poet Words-

worth, who appears to be as heavenly-minded, as pure, and as Christian in his daily intercourse with society as I think him to be pre-eminent in his poetry. At my mother's request I presented him with a copy of my Lectures ; and so complacent am I at the autograph letter in which he acknowledges the present, that, at the risk of being accounted rather vain, I shall copy it.

' Dear Sir,—I cannot but avail myself of the present opportunity to thank you for the very valuable volume of lectures which I have had the honour of receiving from you through the hands of your excellent mother. Having been absent from home I have not had opportunity yet to read more than the two first discourses, with the matter and manner of which I have been exceedingly pleased. The first and paramount importance of the subject cannot but recommend to general notice, at least so I trust, a work executed with so much sincere piety and fervour, and with learning and ability of so high an order. Wishing you earnestly success in the labours of your ministry, and health and life to prolong them,

' I remain, dear Sir,

' Faithfully your obliged,

' WM. WORDSWORTH.'

' *Judge not.*'

March 22, 1833.

My dearest Brother,—I must beg to thank you for your great kindness in writing to me, notwithstanding the many claims upon your time. In all your excellent sentiments I most cordially agree. Christianity, while it enjoins us to threaten with severity the living, teaches us to hope for the best with respect to the dead. ' Judge not,' says our Saviour. His words are not Judge not harshly, but ' Judge not'—judge not at all. And why? Because, as you very justly observe, you cannot tell what disadvantages, from internal weakness or the force of external temptation, another person has had ; you cannot tell what disadvantages were opposed to his apparent advantages. You can tell to a certain extent with respect to yourself what advantages have been afforded you, and you know that for the neglect of them you will be punished : but the Searcher of hearts, and He only, can tell this with respect to others. Be this, however, as it may, sure I am that the wretched sinner who dares to judge another with respect to his eternal state places himself on the same footing as the most determined

profligate ; and certainly, unless he repents, excludes himself from any part in Christ.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Calvinism—Wesley.

April 13, 1833.

My dearest Friend, . . . So much have I to say to you, that I know not where to begin. In your first letter I perfectly agree with you in your opinion touching those dogmas which are usually called Calvinistic ; but which might perhaps with equal propriety be called Augustinism, as Augustine was their first promulgator. I think that, even admitting them, they need not perplex a humble-minded Christian. But alas ! this is not always the case ; a clergyman finds in his intercourse with his flock that these opinions lead to the most fatal consequences. I do not think much of what polemics say against them, with respect to their encouraging men in sin. However theoretically this may be a legitimate consequence from the doctrine, it is not practically found to be the case, or, at least, not often.

The way they operate for evil is through the awful despair to which they depress some, and the awful presumption to which they excite others. If all men were men of sense it would not much signify ; we could easily satisfy them. But you can have no conception of the difficulties we sometimes find in quieting unnecessary alarms. I have heard it said that men of business lay it down as a rule that when they deal with a man they always treat him as a knave. Sure I am that a pastor must, if he wishes to do good, treat men as fools. It is not till men arrive at my age that people unburden their minds to their pastor ; but I have now had many consciences, the consciences of educated persons, laid open to me, and have had in some degree the advantages of a confessor ; and I am inclined to think that the fools far surpass the knaves. Oh, the difficulty of knocking a foolish idea out of some persons' heads ; it is quite surprising. It is only surpassed by the difficulty of knocking in a right idea. So that you must not always think that a poor parson is fighting a shadow when he is combating a doctrine, which to you may appear to be a matter of indifference ; for it is not for the wise alone that we write and preach and think. Still, I regard these points merely in the light of preventing persons from enjoying those comforts of religion which they would otherwise have. So long as a person is brought to Christ, and

gives his heart to Christ so that it may be prepared for heaven by the Holy Spirit, so long, I think, he is safe ; though the devil may have power for a while to torment him. A clergyman, in my humble opinion, is to be regarded as much as a comforter as an adviser.

I like what you say of Wesley. Intellectually and morally, he was a great man ; his latter days were his worst, for this plain reason—he was worshipped as something more than human ; and whose head would not be turned by such adoration ? A great man of the world feels that most of his worshippers are worshipping him chiefly with a view to their own interests ; but Wesley must have felt that among his adorers were some of the best of God's creatures. That he erred, grievously erred in his conduct, I think. That religion, before his day, had become too much a business of the head alone, I admit ; and that he was a main instrument of restoring it to the dominion of the heart must ever be acknowledged. But the believer in a providence must ascribe the consequences of all events to God, and God alone ; he must not permit the good that has been deduced from an action to bias his judgment in deciding on the nature of the action itself. Wesley might have been as much the instrument of good without his schism as with it. We can never too constantly bear in mind that we are not to look to the end, but, leaving all events in the hands of God, take the circumstances which He provides for us, and then ask, What under those circumstances is my duty ? *That* it is which God tells me to do : in *that* way it is that I am to advance His glory.

To the same—Importance of Encouragement.

May 8, 1833.

. . . I think that the system adopted by Evangelical preachers, and to which Benson would seem to incline, is a very bad one, viz. to divide their people into two parts, the saints and the sinners. For my part, I know that my own growth in grace has been very slow and gradual ; and therefore I am desirous of encouraging others, who though perhaps not quite so far advanced as I am now, are still going on, and yet feel something like despair at the slowness of their progress. Few are they who come regularly to church who have not some feelings of religion, some wishes to improve. Encourage, excite, animate such persons ; don't say to

them, 'You must be damned, because you are not better than you are;' but say, 'I am glad to see that God is so merciful to you: now try if you cannot make a little further spring in the straight and narrow path.' O encourage, encourage, encourage one another! I hate your preachers that are always dealing in hell and damnation; I am sure that they can have never experienced the difficulties with which most people have to contend, and I am doubtful how far you can account that as a virtue which it has required no difficulty to acquire; while I am quite certain that the wickedness is great to regard with self-complacency what is merely a gift. For a man to say, I am never in a passion, therefore how much better a man I am than so-and-so, is, of course, absurd, if he has never been tempted by the passion or anger. But he who, being naturally an ill-tempered man, has overcome the wicked passion, may say, God has given me proof that He is assisting me with His grace on this point, and therefore I have full confidence, that confidence which experience gives, that He will likewise assist me on others, where now I am almost inclined to despair.

To the same—Extremes in Religious Feeling—Over-estimate of Preaching—Keble's 'Christian Year.'

June 1, 1833.

. . . You can hardly imagine the difficulty there is in keeping people just at the right heat. It is a fact, that Dissent generally abounds in those parishes where the clergy are most active, and insist earnestly on the necessity of sanctification; and I conceive the reason to be that they warm up the cold hearts to a certain heat, and then many of them boil over. Of persons whom I have been permitted to be the instrument of awakening to a lively sense of religion, I feel morally certain that several, though so attached to me that they will not desert me so long as I remain among them, would, in the event of my leaving them, seek 'to sit under' an Evangelical preacher. You will not misunderstand me in what I have said. I do not like the one class of preachers more than the other, for I think the medium between the two that which is right. But if driven to the choice, I would prefer him who is rather too cold to him who is rather too warm, as giving though not the most pleasant, yet the most wholesome food. For, after all, the right religious heat is to be kept up in our own hearts by ourselves, and chiefly by the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. It is a

dangerous downfalling in the present age to exalt the ordinance of preaching unduly, and to make it, as some do, a third Sacrament. The being moved at a pathetic discourse is no more proof of our being in a right religious tone of mind than the crying at a tragedy is proof of a tender heart. Bonaparte could deluge the world with blood for his selfish purposes, and yet weep over the sufferings of a wounded soldier. Sensibility does not necessarily imply a kind disposition. Talking of sacred poets, I hope you have read and often recur to the 'Christian Year,' written by a most holy man, an acquaintance of mine at Oxford, Mr. Keble. He is a man the most meek, the most humble, and yet the most gifted with genius and learning, of any I ever met with. He went to Oxford at fourteen, and carried away all the honours and prizes; and lately refused to stand for the Headship of his College, though almost certain of succeeding, that he might be the comfort and support of his aged father, and relieve him from the cares of his parish by acting as his curate.

*From W. P. Wood, Esq.—Christian Ethics—Brewster's
Life of Newton.*

Lincoln's Inn : August 1833.

. . . I agree with you certainly on the point of conscience, and detest Paley's chapter on the Moral Sense. The question is not, whether it be thought right in one country to kill your aged parents and in another to cherish them, but whether there be, or be not, a principle within us which occasions uneasiness when we do that which we *think* wrong, however erroneous our estimate of right and wrong may be. I have not read Brown's 'Philosophy of the Mind,' but have read his 'Cause and Effect,' a work undoubtedly of great merit and some originality, but falling into the general error or vice of the Scotch school—abusing Berkeley, and at the same time pillaging him most unmercifully, so that one cannot but suspect them of Voltaire's course with Shakspeare—thieving, and throwing filth upon their booty to conceal it.

I like your suggestion of Scripture Ethics, the more so because, in my vanity, one of my favourite plans, if ever I became rich, and free from the necessary drudgery of a profession, has been to write on what I meant to term Christian Ethics. . . . My scheme would be to draw out a system, as near as possible resembling those of the heathen authors, whose *heads* were by no means deficient;

and thus to point out more clearly in what they were really deficient in each branch of duty ; for though my principles would be essentially different, and therefore the results would be correspondingly modified, yet, no doubt, the *principle* of conscience has been too strong to be, in *fact*, obliterated, and therefore the details of right and wrong in the several relations of life would not vary so much as might be at first imagined. . . .

I have been pleased lately with the life of Newton, by Brewster. Brewster is, I am happy to find, a sincere Christian, and as such takes great pains to clear up the question of Newton's alleged insanity, of which some infidel French philosophers (as they style themselves) have made use, in order to effect a wider breach than already too often exists between intellect and religion, and to prove that none who have eaten the tree of knowledge can ever be desirous of approaching the tree of life. These miserable men seem to envy the blissful serenity which religion alone was able to impart to Newton's naturally irritable temperament ; and have asserted, first, that he was mad during the latter half of his life ; second, that he wrote his theological works during that interval. Brewster has demonstrated from published and unpublished documents, first, that he was never deranged, though he suffered a short attack of extreme nervous excitement, occasioned by the loss of his papers by fire ; and second, that one of his principal theological works was written before even his alleged madness, and that he was also before that time in correspondence with Locke on the Book of Daniel and the Book of Revelation.

Zeal for God, not according to Knowledge.

Birmingham : August 23, 1833.

My dearest Brother, . . . The error of ——— lies not in his religious principles, but in weakness of judgment, and consequent obstinacy of character ; it is his logic not his religion which is to blame ; not his principles, but his wrong application of them. His position is true, that if the commands of his God and the wishes of his father are at variance, the former are to be obeyed rather than the latter ; but he does not see that it is, in the first place, important to be morally certain as to what the command of God in any particular case is ; for a man may (as he has done) mistake for a command of his God what is, in fact, merely the surmise of his own mind. He thinks it to be his duty to God to attempt the

conversion of his sisters ; but who commissioned him to do this ? who gave him authority over his sisters ? If he looks to the Bible, he may be certain that it is his duty to honour his parents ; if he appeals to his common sense, he must perceive that he cannot dishonour them more than by leading their children to infer that they have neglected their education, in the most essential of all points. He thus neglects a duty of which he may be certain, to perform a duty which he cannot prove that he is commissioned to perform. For again I ask, who gave him such commission ? all he can say is, that he *feels* it to be a duty ; but I remember a poor man who felt it to be a duty to send the first good man he met to heaven, and consequently he killed him. To trust to mere feeling is absurd ; we are always to do what our conscience thinks right, but we are to inquire whether that is right which our conscience thus thinks. That it would be his duty, if he had children of his own, to seek for God's grace to instil into their minds the doctrines he believes to be true, there can be no doubt ; that he is thus to promote God's truth wherever Providence affords an opportunity for doing so, without the violation of any known duty, is also not to be doubted ; but here Providence does not open a door to him ; he cannot attempt this without dishonouring his parents. As Lady — observes, the children are theirs, not his ; if God intends him to be the means of awakening them (supposing that they are not awakened to a proper sense of religion), he will call their parents to himself and put it into their minds to leave him as their guardian. Then what is now presumption will become a duty. He is now acting as if he were without faith in the special providence of God. I say all this because I am sure he will only be confirmed in his errors if they are ascribed to his religion. Religion has nothing to do with them. He would be indignant at the idea ; but I think that between his religious principles and mine there can scarcely be a shade of difference ; the grace of God has softened and sanctified his heart, and his affections are right with his Saviour. It is the head that is the source of all the mischief. I have known him quote texts of Scripture in a sense directly opposed to what is correct, from mere ignorance of the Greek ; he converses on religious topics only with persons as ignorant as himself : he learns to dogmatise on his own imaginations ; he becomes self-sufficient and soon learns to think all the world wrong except the few weak but well-meaning characters who love his virtues and have not the skill to discover that he is no wiseacre.

From W. P. Wood, Esq.—Berkeley's Philosophy.

Lincoln's Inn : December 7, 1833.

. . . I am glad you are about to read Berkeley. There was never, I think, any man since Plato who was gifted with imagination and reasoning power in so high a degree; and if he, like Plato, occasionally let his imagination run wild, yet I question whether Plato ever, like Berkeley, practically acted on the views which were deemed visionary, and thus gave evidence of sincerity and singleness of heart. I am always in love with Berkeley when I think of his proffered resignation of the bishopric to ameliorate the condition of the unhappy Bermudians. . . . You will feel the great value of Berkeley as giving a sound resting place for the mind amid the bewilderments of metaphysics. It is quite false to say that Hume has demonstrated that there is no such thing as spirit; on the same principle Berkeley had shown that there was no such thing as matter. In the first place, Berkeley makes no such assertion, but simply that matter, considered *independently of mind*, is a nonentity. That all those sensations we daily experience from objects termed external, are *real*, Berkeley, who is eminently an experimental or Baconian philosopher, was never absurd enough to deny. For external, read independent of *us* or *our* minds, and you will have Berkeley's notion of matter as regards man; but he boldly asserts that matter cannot be conceived of by us as independent of *a* mind. The Scotch metaphysicians to a man either wilfully or stupidly jumble *a* mind with *the* mind, meaning each individual's mind, whilst by *a* mind, Berkeley means *some* mind or other; and admitting that the table at which I am now writing will exist when I do not think of it, the question is, Can it exist if there be no mind to limit out its nature, which is but an aggregate of sensations? Berkeley says, No; and experience, I think, demonstrates that what can only be known as an object of sensation, owes its existence to a sentient power; not mine or yours, because experience shows the sensations to exist independently of your will or mine, but to the Eternal sentient power by whose will our minds perceive it as that which is created or willed by Him. This is always to me the most beautiful demonstration of a God, and most satisfactory refutation of the eternity of matter which is, according to Berkeley, an absurdity, matter being but the stage in which certain volitions of the Supreme Mind are exhibited to man.

The resurrection of the body also becomes thus at once intelligible, because He who wills us to perceive the efforts of His will in a certain manner now, may cause us to perceive them in a similar manner at any future time, blessing us probably with additional pleasure by a more thorough perception of the beauty of His work. By 'us' you will see I consider the mind alone, regarding the material *about us* as no other than a combination of God's impressed thoughts (if I may so say) which affects our minds with various impressions, such as pain and pleasure and their infinite varieties. . . .

I have not time to write to you about Miss Martineau's Tales, of which of course you have heard, and we have read many. Some are, I think, excellent, and all are powerful where her imagination comes into play. Her reasoning is not and does not pretend to be original. It is taken verbatim from Malthus and McCulloch, a bad school, and her sectarianism not unfrequently peeps out; but I would recommend you strongly to read the 'Manchester Strike,' which might I think be useful to your poor people at Coventry hereafter, if the time should come when any such folly should be meditated.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Attitude towards Dissenters.

December 20, 1833.

During the season of Christmas—sermons, sacraments, and holy rejoicings, you cannot expect a long letter. But yet I cannot refrain from expressing to you how heartily and entirely I concur with you in all you say in your last. The comparison between the worshippers on Mount Gerizim and the Dissenters is admirable, and is precisely the view I have always taken of the question. We are, moreover, always in speaking of an action to make the distinction between what is absolutely and what is relatively right or wrong. It is for the intention only, i.e. the relative rightness or wrongness, that a man will be judged, if he has properly inquired, as far as his abilities permit, as to the absolute nature of the action. That schism is a sin, we know, but that every schismatic (so called) is a sinner, I by no means admit, for he may not act with a schismatical intent. And yet it may be charity in me, in some instances, to tell him that I think him a schismatic, in order to awaken him to inquiry. In *some* instances I say; for my rule is never to disturb the faith of those who have been educated in

Dissent, if they hold the doctrine of the Atonement, *if* they are persons not qualified to judge of the differences between us. . . . I believe that our position is this : you *may* be going in the right road, and I hope you are ; but I feel more certain that this is the right road, and therefore I remain in it ; my assurance is stronger.

To the same—The Good and Evil of the Established Church.

February 4, 1834.

. . . I perfectly agree with you in thinking that a man may be attached to the Church and opposed to an establishment ; Bishop Hobart was so, and most of the very high Churchmen in England are so : it was, indeed, chiefly with a view to them that I have printed the second sermon.¹ If you look to the religious public only, I should agree ; but, looking to the irreligious also, I do not agree. I know that you think an establishment tends to secularise the clergy ; but I see quite as much, and more, secularity among the Dissenting ministers. If the clergy are too much inclined to Toryism, the Dissenting ministers are to Radicalism, and some of the Dissenting meeting-houses in this city are, every Sunday evening, converted after service into political debating societies. Is not the Dissenting teacher as secular when seeking to fill his pews by preaching, *not* truth, but popular doctrine, as the clergyman who makes unworthy compliances to conciliate a patron ? Both are to be condemned ; but while the world lasts some degree of secularity in twelve thousand men there must be ; the only question is, whether it matters how it shows itself ? Mind, my dear friend, I do not quarrel with you for taking just the opposite view, I only state what occurs to me : my prejudices may induce me to exaggerate the advantages of an establishment, and yet the time was when I preferred being without one.

From W. P. Wood, Esq.—Advantages and evils of an Established Religion.

Lincoln's Inn : February 1834.

. . . I think you have brought forward every argument in favour of an establishment with the greatest force. You tell me you hope to convert me, and will, I dare say, think me an obstinate creature if not *quite* a convert. However, I will acknowledge that you

¹ ' On the Church and the Establishment.'

have confirmed my perhaps hesitating opinion that where we find a Church established we ought not to lend any assistance towards *unestablishing*. I am not a lover of change at any time for the sake of change (though you may smile at this, looking to my Radicalism); I ever consider change as a positive evil, for assuredly happiness consists in tranquillity, and He who is all wise and all happy is immutable; but there are cases, as all must admit, where the evils of abiding in your actual state and the advantage to be derived from a change fully justify the effort and sacrifice required for alteration. Such, however, is not, I think, the case with regard to the Establishment. Amongst the evils, which I cannot but yet think incident to the compulsory support by the State of any religious doctrine, there are to be found unquestionably great and perhaps counterbalancing benefits, and I would not root up the tares lest the wheat be rooted up also.

Of course I do not think an establishment unscriptural, that is, forbidden by Scripture, or I should consider the question settled. 'Unscriptural' is one of those convenient words for controversy which allow the opponents of the Church the widest possible field by keeping off any close attack. In one sense, unquestionably the Establishment is unscriptural; that is to say, the early Christian Church as delineated in Scripture rested, from the necessity of the case, upon no support from the State, and this the Dissenter falls back upon when pressed by argument. I think your argument as to the Jewish Church a very good one against the Establishment being unscriptural in any other sense, but I do not think it equally good as a positive reason to urge us to an alliance of Church and State, for there was a direct temporal covenant between God and the Jewish nation. The Government remained in some sense a theocracy even after St. Paul's conversion, and where God was the temporal monarch it was almost a necessary consequence that His ministers would be temporal governors also. My objections, or rather, I should say, my difficulties, as to establishments are several: first, political, the difficulty of choosing your establishment, for I incline to think that the forcing of six millions in Ireland to pay for the maintenance of the religion of one million is almost unscriptural in the worst sense. In Scotland we have acted differently; treating Ireland as a conquered country, that is, by the rule of force. I think an establishment of our Church in India, supported by forced contributions from the natives would be monstrous. To this I know you will answer that the tithes are a gift by Christian

possessors. This may, and, I think, does apply to England ; but consider how the possessors acquired their property in Ireland—by nothing, in fact, but brutal violence done to the large majority of that nation, though a weak minority as compared with the overwhelming forces of England. My *second* objection to establishments is, their effect on the clergy, but I will not enter into a long disquisition on this point ; and my *third* objection is, the effect on the laity, who become members of a Church because it is established, and make no further inquiry. I admit great force in the arguments you bring forward as to the indirect effect on families, and I admit also the difficulties entangling the whole question ; but I should ever wish, above all things, to see the questions kept separate, for there are not many who have your liberality in thinking one can belong to the Church of Christ without being over anxious as to the seats of Bishops in Parliament, and the other consequences of a union between Church and State ; and this species of bigotry is itself one of the evils of that union, for I fear many give the State at least *equal* consideration.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—A busy Week.

Coventry : Easter Monday, March 31, 1834.

I write to you to thank you for your kind letter, though I cannot write much ; for although my hard work of Passion Week is over, yet my feasting work of Easter Week has begun. My curate, Mr. Crawford, this day regales the girls of our blue-coat school ; to-morrow our vestry dine together ; next day I feast fifty young operatives, who assist in the management of our Sunday schools ; Thursday, I suppose I shall be sick with all this festivity ; Friday, I must visit my poor ; Saturday, write my sermon ; so, you see, though very pleasant, my hands are very full.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Correspondence of Alexander Knox and Bishop Jebb—Henry Martyn—Lucas on Happiness.

September 22, 1834.

. . . I exhort you very earnestly to read the correspondence of Knox and Jebb, because it is a book well calculated to calm your mind at the present time, and to set one a-thinking in the right line. I am rather urgent upon this subject, because, moreover, while Mr. Knox frequently reminds me of you, while he

was to Bishop Jebb nearly as much as you are to me ; their system of Christian philosophy is one peculiarly adapted to you. I think that of late (and under your present afflictive circumstances it is natural that it should be so) your views with respect to religion have taken a less bright turn than I could wish ; I mean that you seem to despond too much about the capabilities of renewed human nature, and, falling a little into the spirit of the age, to rate too highly the active, and too lowly the contemplative life. On all these points the words of Knox and Jebb appear to me to be the words of soberness and truth. We are not to underrate, and we are not to overrate, the persons of active life, the practical men as they are called ; but the meditative Christian may, perhaps, be able to draw nearer to perfection than the other ; though the meditative Christian philosopher would scarcely in these days be called a Christian at all. I would not have you measure yourself by Henry Martyn, nor would I have held you up to Henry Martyn as a model. I think that Martyn, by-the-bye, committed a grievous error in throwing himself out of that sphere to which Providence assuredly called him ; and hence, probably, his want of success. I wish not to detract from the virtues of so admirable a man ; but I should say to another, if God has caused you to be born in a Christian country, has put it into your parents' minds to give you a learned education, and has so far blessed your exertions as to enable you to become a senior wrangler, you should read in that circumstance His command to serve Him as a man of learning and reading. Practical work may be performed by an inferior intellect, not only as well but better ; the religious cultivation of intellect is a duty to those who have the time. Again, I would say that those who find themselves engaged in a secular profession ought not to torment themselves because they are not directly engaged in God's work ; they may do more good by the rhetoric of their good example. Knox and Jebb are great perfectionists ; religious *edification*, not religious *excitement*, was what they sought ; and feeling sure that the Scriptures could not urge an impossibility, they fully expected to reach, and I really believe they did reach, what the Scripture means by perfection ; although, because not a bustling, practical man, Bishop Jebb was much abused by the Evangelicals. If you wish to see what the Scripture means by perfection, I would refer you to a book recommended in their letters, the second volume of Lucas upon Happiness ; a work which is so strictly devotional that it would be a good one for your Sunday

readings. I delight in it; you will there find it, I think, satisfactorily proved that when the Scriptures speak of perfection, they mean habitual righteousness. Conversion begins, perfection completes, the habit. Habit is second nature, therefore the habitually righteous are called new creatures, partakers of the Divine nature, &c. Lucas shows how a man, in this world, can live without sin, that is, mortal sin; venial sin or imperfections of course there are, but these he would style frailties: I perfectly agree with him. If you look upon sin as unconnected with a Saviour, there can be no such thing as venial sin; sin is the transgression of the law, and the soul that sinneth it shall die. But what has Christ done for us? He has procured heaven for the habitually righteous; they are thus freed from the penalty of the original law; and being under the Gospel their occasional infirmities are either not to be called sins, or to be classed as venial sins, not having in them any longer the sentence of death. Connected with this subject Lucas and the correspondents would open a *via media* with respect to Romans vii., neither agreeing with those who would apply the passage to the renewed Christian as long as he is in the flesh, nor agreeing with those who would have applied it to the unrenewed. They would apply it to such as are in a progressive state, who are in progress to renovation; to the babe in Christ, the young man of St. John, not to the perfect man, not to the fathers.

*To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Sermon-writing—Knox and Jebb—
Regeneration and Renovation.*

September 31, 1834.

I avail myself of a wet day and a little *poorlytude* to have a little coze with you. I very often feel inclined to write to you, indeed I always do when I am in meditation mood; but that is the very time, of course, for sermonising also: and as duty must yield to pleasure, so my correspondence with you flags that sermons may exist. For my part, I think one sermon per week for a man of moderate abilities, and with three days entirely devoted to practical work, during which writing and reading must be suspended, is quite enough. I write my sermon at a sitting, at least generally, and I find those extempore discourses tell best; but then I have to think it well over during the early days of the week, and to consult commentators when there is need; and sometimes one cannot help feeling, as one advances in learning oneself, that it would be

pleasanter to have a more intellectual congregation than I have here. It is not pleasant, and perhaps not profitable, to be obliged to check one's thoughts, and to blot out a page because you feel it to be above the reach of any of your hearers. But then, on the other hand, the moral discipline is very useful; and when a man begins to think that he could do better in a more extensive sphere, the probability is that there is a spirit of pride lurking in the heart, and 'Get thee behind me, Satan!' ought to be resolutely said, with a prayer for grace.

Delicia and I are reading together the correspondence of Bishop Jebb with Mr. Alexander Knox; it is a work which no one can read without improvement. The natural, fervent, glowing eloquence of Mr. Knox is sometimes very striking. In the use of some terms he is unfortunate; e.g. he uses the word regeneration for what we should call renovation, making, as the apostle does, a distinction between the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost. Both are needful to make the complete Christian, but the renewing of the Holy Ghost may not be, as we too sadly see, where the regeneration has been. Regeneration was the term applied to baptism by all the Fathers; by every writer, I believe, till the Reformation; and it was used to denote, not the final triumph of grace over the heart, but the primary operations of the Spirit in the scheme of man's redemption. The Puritans used the term to signify the final triumph of grace over the heart; and then, giving a new meaning to the term, abused the Church for using the word in the old sense.

*To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Suffragan Bishops—Admission of
Laymen to Convocation—Church and Dissent.*

April 1835.

. . . I cannot help saying how entirely I agree in all the sentiments you so well express, except in your allusions to the Bishops. I consider it important in this age, when political power is everything, that there should attach some degree of political power and consequence to the heads of the Church. I do not say that the attachment of the peerage to the bishoprics is not attended with some evil, but I think the good preponderates, and I hope that there will be instituted suffragan bishoprics, for which the constitution makes provision without peerages, and this will bring the bishops and the people, as you wish, into closer communion. I

perfectly admit what you say touching the propriety of an occasional national synod ; say, a synod to be held once in three years, together with annual diocesan synods ; and I should wish to have the laity represented in them. My former objection was to Convocation, which is, in fact, not an ecclesiastical synod, but merely a convention of ecclesiastics, originally called by the King to tax themselves, and afterwards—first from convenience and then from custom—formed into an assembly for the discussion of spiritual affairs. I am an advocate for the introduction of laymen, though I think the proportion is too great in the American convention, to the constitution of which there are some objections. It is a curious fact that, when the attention of the laity is called to such matters, the laity always become higher Churchmen than the clergy, the latter generally, I suppose, feeling a fear lest they should appear to advance their personal claims when defending the rights of their order. Our two great High Church authorities are, Robert Nelson, Esq., and Henry Dodsworth, Esq.; and it is a curious fact that, when it was lately proposed in America that the pulpits of the Church should be opened to all sectarians holding the doctrine of the Trinity, the clergy yielded, but the laity resolutely resisted the shameful propositions. So again, when it was proposed to let the Wesleyans unite with the Church on condition that their existing ministers should not be episcopally ordained, here also the clergy, looking to the immense accession to their numbers (not, of course, to their principles, or what ought to be their principles) which would thus occur, gave ground ; but the laity would not consent. Anything which would bring these subjects under discussion would be a good, at least in our opinion, who believe that we have the truth ; and it is lamentable to see how ignorant the clergy are, even good, pious, hardworking men, on the commonest points of discipline. I agree with you also in what you say of Brother Jonathan ; with all his faults he is our brother, and if I am driven from England, I shall hope to abide with him. America is the next best country to our own, and as to what travellers say of the Americans, we may always reply : the wonder is, not that they are behind us, but that so new a country should have come so near to us.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Calmness and Confidence in the Discharge of Duty.

Leanington : May 6, 1835.

. . . The cure of twenty thousand souls would not be to me more arduous than of nine thousand ; for why? in either case it is

impossible to attend to them all, and God does not require impossibilities at our hands. I should feel then as I feel now, 'All that the Father giveth to me, will come unto me'; there will be a special providence over those who are prepared to embrace the means of salvation, and either they will be led to me, or I to them. It is the fault of the present day, to think and to act as if man could do everything, and certainly to forget God's special Providence. Hence that busybodyness which distinguishes the religious world, and prevents that depth of piety which is the result of sober, calm reflection, and which shows itself in doing calmly, and unostentatiously, not what seems likely to be attended with the greatest results, but simply the duty our hand findeth to do. What does God require of me? is the question to be asked; and the answer is, Nothing that can interfere with any immediate duty. Your immediate duty, for instance, of a Sunday afternoon is, as you say, with your father; you would be wrong then to omit this, even were the entire welfare of the school to depend on your individual exertions; for God can provide teachers for the school without your aid. In the morning, no immediate duty claims your time, and you therefore devote it to a work of charity. Now with these principles, I should not feel any fears in undertaking any parish; and though I do not see any objection to the plan you propose of licensing rooms for divine service, yet I would never do anything irregular for any object whatever, under the conviction that the times and seasons are in God's own hands.

*To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Youthful Dreams—Advice to
Young Poets.*

October 14, 1835.

. . . Yesterday I returned, and this my first holiday I dedicate to my friend; for though, after a day of labour, I cannot sit down to write a letter, because the stooping tries me, I know no recreation greater than that of writing to you. I always in doing so regain some portion of that boyish enthusiasm for which, as we advance in years, we so often sigh in vain. I remember well the days when the highest object of my ambition was that we should be famed in story as the modern Pylades and Orestes, and appear as twin authors, the rivals of Beaumont and Fletcher. Those were days when I thought no one worthy of consideration except a poet; and I fondly dreamed, what I found out, to my great comfort, in good time to be only a dream, that I was born to be one whose

eye should be always in a 'fine frenzy rolling.' I have this day thought of this the more, since I found awaiting my arrival from Oxford a small volume of poems by a very youthful poet, requesting me to give my advice as to the publication of them. This kind of thing has often occurred to me, and it places one in a most awkward predicament. If you advise the author to publish, you only send him to the flogging form to be scourged to death by the critics; and if you tell him honestly that the thing will not do, you seriously hurt a mind which must be sensitive (*must* be, or it would not overflow in poetry), and do injury to feelings which are for the most part amiable. I do cordially enter into the feelings of the poor young writers, for I have felt as they feel, and had I been in their situation of life with a friendly pastor to consult, I should most likely have written the same kind of warm-hearted, respectful, tremulous letter as those are which I am frequently in the habit of receiving. The volume now before me is accompanied by a letter, which, as it gives me archiepiscopal honours (bishops having succeeded poets in my love), styling me 'most reverend Sir,' is very flattering. But, poor lad, what am I to do for him? with much poetical sentiment he has much bad grammar, with no power of expression: that is, he is born to admire poetry, not to write it; although he expects clearly that when his volume sees the light some future Johnson will contend for his admission into the assembly of British poets. I must do to him as I have done for others: after a civil word or two, I must assume the look, not of a critic, but a friendly adviser, of a Mæcius or a Horace, and say of the poem,

Nonumque prematur in annum,
Membranis intus positis; delere licebit
Quod non edideris. Nescit vox missa reverti.

This must be the text, and I must expound it; happy I, that my *protégés* understand not Latin, or perhaps their minds would go a little higher up the page and understand my hint too clearly, upon seeing

Qui nescit, versus tamen audet fingere.

*Luther and O'Connell compared—Catholicism most potent
against Popery.*

October 1835.

My dearest Mother, . . . I am glad that Georgiana so thoroughly understands the principles of the Church of her Saviour,

and is not ashamed of them. The danger now is, not from Popery, but from that snare of Satan, ultra-Protestantism. Perhaps, if she had read as much about Luther as I have done, she would have floored her antagonist by stating her abhorrence of that man's principles. I am amused to hear those who abuse O'Connell eulogising Luther; for Luther's line of conduct, his violence, his insubordination, was precisely similar to that of O'Connell. Luther was certainly a most ultra-radical, and he certainly permitted the Elector of Hesse to marry two wives in order that he might secure him for a political partisan. Both he and O'Connell have made religion their pretext; but whether they were not both rather influenced by a factious spirit, may be doubtful; the only difference between them is, that they have taken the opposite extremes. I am a lover of truth wherever it leads, and therefore I will not seek to whitewash Luther merely because he was a useful instrument against Popery. I am rather amused at your saying that you would not receive the Sacraments from a Popish priest, and in the same sentence professing admiration of the Church; for if the ministrations of Popish priests be not valid, how do you prove the validity of your own orders, descended as we are in regular line from Popish priests?

Let Georgiana glory in being called a Papist, while she holds not Popish, but Catholic principles. All the great divines of the Church of England, from the blessed martyr, Laud, down to Bishop Butler, and from Bishop Butler down to our own times, to Mr. Rose, all have been called Papists, though they have hated the Pope, and done more service against Popery than all the Ultras, who really act on Popish principles. Tell her that when a man in argument urges *extreme cases*, it is a sign that he is a blockhead, and I always cut the matter short by saying: 'Pray, what would you do if you were a horse? When you have made up your mind on that point, then I will tell you what I should do were I placed in circumstances in which I never expect to be placed.'

Contentment with Coventry.

Coventry: October 21, 1835.

My dearest Mother, . . . As to any change in my preferment, I speak the sentiments both of Delicia and myself, which we often express to one another in great sincerity, that we should contemplate any change with sorrow. Here we are as perfectly happy and as

nearly contented as mortals can be. Two hundred a year, to enable me to buy a few more books and her to have a little carriage, would be the very summit of our wishes ; and if that wish were granted, other evils would attend. If we improve our condition in one way, we should only injure it in another ; we have here a union of perfect retirement in one respect, with just sufficient excitement in another. I hope you will persevere in your course of saying nothing about me or my affairs ; as the good old Bishop used to say, ‘ The less we hear of ourselves, either in praise or dispraise, the better.’ As regards myself, my system has always been to act according to my own views, to do what I think right, without the least regard to the opinions of others, to evil report or good report ; this is the only way to obtain peace of mind and consistency of conduct. I find now that those who were at one time very angry with me, seeing they cannot alter me, are beginning to praise me ; to wit, our kind-hearted Bishop. I will not budge a step to go over to others, and therefore many others of my acquaintance have come over to me, while all do me the favour of leaving off any attempts to convert me. I have always determined to be independent, to go my own way to work, and consequently I am as obstinate as a pig ; unless a friend chooses to call my obstinacy perseverance in a good cause. I never care for censures, and when I am praised, my chief rejoicing is, if I know myself, that my principles have prevailed. For as to the praise of man, I know its worthlessness, for I find in general when it is bestowed upon me it is a bitter satire, alluding rather to what it is supposed I have done than to what is really the case.

I heard to-day from my friend, my very kind friend, Mr. Rose ; by the way, his is a very flattering letter, as he expresses his great wish that nothing may take me away from Coventry. When people say this, it is a real compliment ; and dear, dear Coventry, I never wish to leave thee. I confess I feel what the good Bishop would have called a little sinful pride, at having the title of ‘ Mr. Hook of Coventry :’ my ambition is to be known in after times in the catalogue of our Vicars as ‘ the painful preacher of Coventry.’

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Sermons, Means of Instruction rather than of Grace—Dr. Moberly—Sermon at Oxford.

November 21, 1835.

. . . I do not look upon sermons, as people in the present day too frequently do, as direct means of grace, but simply as means

of instruction. The ultra-Protestant notion, that preaching is a direct means of grace, was unknown to the ancients; they taught men to seek for grace chiefly in the two Sacraments, and then in prayer.

When I was at Oxford, I had the pleasure of hearing the new Master of Winchester preach. He was select preacher in the morning, I in the afternoon. I afterwards met him at Dr. Burton's, and he told me he remembered my last half-year at Winton; I suppose, therefore, you knew more of him. His name is Moberly; he is a delightful preacher; his discourse was deeply metaphysical, on Predestination, and I thought he handled it admirably. I certainly never preached to such a mob before, not even in my own church; not only was the church crowded with gownsmen up to the pulpit stairs, but the townspeople presented in the distance quite a sea of heads. You will perhaps think that I was appalled at the sight; but no! I am very nervous when I preach in a place for the first time, but when I am accustomed to it my nerves become hardened. It is not from nerves that I suffer so much as from great excitement, and as I am excited just as much when I write what I am to speak, as when I speak what I have written, sermonising does not particularly agree with me. I find that I can put myself in precisely the same position of mind when delivering my sermon as when writing, and consequently can add extempore bits. And this is in fact all that extempore preachers really do, if they are speakers worth anything; they have a speech by heart, of which they are so thoroughly masters that they can add to it, take away from it, or partially change as they go on. If the speech is their own, the overflow of their own thoughts, they can do this; if, as is generally the case, they have only worked up other people's ideas, they cannot do this, and consequently they fail; is not this the case?

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Argument—Prejudice—Religious and Useful Knowledge Society.

February 1, 1836.

. . . You say that my argument about the Reformation is monstrous, and that it will convince no one. My dear friend, did you ever know anyone convinced by argument? it is a thing I never attempt. All that I attempt is to confirm those in their opinion, whose opinion I believe to be correct; and this you seem to admit will be done. My own conviction is, that men never entirely quit

their hereditary opinions and principles, except from interest or passion ; I look upon the Whig son of a Tory, or the Tory son of a Whig, as an ill-conditioned cur. All that I should attempt to do would be to modify : to make a man less vehement and violent, and so to prepare the next generation for an imperceptible change. If a Whig turns Tory, or a Dissenter a Churchman, I rejoice, but it is generally speaking merely because his family will be educated in what I think right principles, that their prejudices will be in favour of the truth ; the convert himself in nine cases out of ten (mind, I make exceptions) has been influenced by some passion or pride. We inherit in like manner our religion, and it was intended that we should do so. Christianity was taught by word of mouth before the Scriptures were written ; what we receive by tradition, we correct and improve by reference to Scripture. No man takes his religion from Scripture only ; it would take a lifetime to do this ; he is what he was brought up, and corrects himself by the Scriptures, which were given for that purpose. And I look upon the advantages of an Establishment to consist greatly in this, that it secures a wide spread of traditionary religion, creates a prejudice in favour of religion. I put down a man who pretends to be unprejudiced as a humbug. The great thing is, to create *good* prejudices : this is what the Bible tells us to do, when it bids us bring up our children in the 'nurture and admonition of the Lord.' It is through the spectacles of prejudice that we look upon facts the most clear ; for instance, and with reference to that which has given rise to these observations, what different impressions are made on your mind and mine by certain facts.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Accused of Intolerance—Sermon at Oxford.

Shrove Tuesday, February 17, 1836.

. . . I am rather amused with our opponents having styled me the Rev. Autocrat of Coventry ; my autocracy simply consisting in always doing what I think to be right, without regard to consequences, and the result being, as it generally is, that, as I will not go over to others, others come over to me. I have a strong feeling that I will not belong to a society from which my Saviour and my God is virtually excluded. I belonged to a rather good library and reading-room in this town, from which I withdrew on that account, viz. that no religious books were admissible ; the object of course being to obtain the support of all sects. I did not

state, and have not stated, this to be my reason, but simply retired, not having sufficiently examined the subject to urge the principle upon others; but the more I reflect on it, the more inclined I am to think that I am right. An express exclusion of the Master we serve ought to be a virtual exclusion of ourselves. I mention this because I should like to know whether and what you have to object to it. If things go on as they now are, I shall be obliged in self-defence to assert my principles. Our position is this: we are accused of intolerance and I know not what all for not having acted with the Mechanics' Institute; and as to religious works, it is asked, Why could not the Rev. Autocrat establish a Church lending library? and we are assailed with all manner of abuse. Now, it certainly seems to me that the intolerance is all on the other side; for it is intolerance to try to compel another, no matter how, whether by ridicule, abuse, or force, to walk in my way; but it is not intolerance for me to refuse to walk in the same path with another if I disagree with him, or if I cannot conscientiously do so. You are kind enough to ask how my sermon went off at Oxford, and I hope by the attention that is paid to me, that by the blessing of a good God my labours in the University will not be vain. My brother was there, and he was told that the church was fuller than it had ever been since ——'s memorable sermon, in which he attacked the Church just before he quitted our communion. It was indeed a grand and imposing sight, as one stood in the pulpit, and until I got well into my subject I was very nervous and, as I was afterwards told, looked deadly pale. From the pulpit you see nothing but men, and the black gowns give a sombre appearance to the scene. There is, too, a most awful silence, occasioned doubtless by the absence of children, and of the rustling of silks and satins.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—A Drifter into Romanism—Transmissive Religion.

April 18, 1836.

. . . And now for Minchin. I predict that he will become a Romanist, because his affections are engaged on that side. He is disgusted with the illiberality of ultra-Protestants, which is doubtless great, but he does not perceive the illiberality of Romanism, which is yet greater. See particularly Pope Pius's Creed and the Canons of Trent; his one-sided view of that question shows the predilection, and when that is the case, Romanism has much

to say for itself. My opinion is that God intends that religion shall be as the general rule transmissive ; and that we are to take the religion we inherit, and examine it by the Scriptures, adhering to it if we find the Scriptures in great degree confirming what we have received, correcting and improving what was deficient in our father's creed or practice ; but in doubtful cases interpreting Scripture so as to lean to the side of our ancestors ; thus using our reason but acting with humility. This makes it important for us never for the sake of peace to shrink from the assertion of truth, since it is most important to make the traditional religion of our country what it ought to be. Now it appears to me that to Minchin very little religion was transmitted ; what he learned was very imperfectly learned at Winchester. He has lived chiefly abroad, and there the religion transmitted to him has been Romanism ; it has had attractions for him, and he is much in the condition of a man who has been born and bred a Romanist. When he examines, he will incline to the side of Romanism ; doubtful points will receive force from this prejudice, he will often see the weakness of an argument on our side, seldom on the side of the Romanists. I think, however, the best book you can send him at present is a little work I republished a few years ago with notes : ' Friendly Advice to Roman Catholics.' It is by the celebrated Dean Comber, and is written in a very mild, conciliatory tone. If this makes an impression, I will think of some other works for his edification. I like your idea of Hooker ; it is always better to explain the nature of true Churchism than to make a decided attack on Romanism ; to assert the truth than to combat error. Palmer has a work in the press, perhaps the most important on this subject since the days of Hooker, and intended to meet the modern objections of Romanism ; I wish it were out. You know I am an unflinching asserter of what I believe to be the truth, regardless of persons and consequences, and I am therefore called illiberal and bigoted, &c. But I never condemn an individual who piously belongs to the system I may censure and oppose. I would stay the progress of an erroneous system, even sometimes when I should refrain from seeking to make a proselyte of one who belongs to the system ; for unless that proselyte can be made by sound reasoning, you gain nothing by winning him, and perhaps injure his own character ; saving that you secure the better education of his children, which is sometimes to be considered. I can thus oppose Romanism, but love a Romanist ; and I should rejoice to renew my

acquaintance with old Toody, of whom I can never think without affection ; even though we could not prevail upon him not to take this false step, to which, as I conceive, I can trace the circumstances which led him.

To a young Clergyman—Opinion on Lay Baptism—Advice about Private Life Treatment of Dissenters.

Leamington : July 27, 1836.

My dear —,—The question you propose is a difficult one to answer. So far as argument goes, it appears to me that the line of argument adopted by you is correct, and lay baptism ought not to be considered valid. But I am inclined to think that the practice of the Catholic Church has been on the other side, and that lay baptism, though considered uncanonical, improper, and much to be censured, has not been treated as invalid. When heretics were received into the Church they were not *baptized*, but *confirmed*, and by the act of confirmation the previous uncanonical act was made canonical. But here we may observe that all the ancient heretics had, in some sense, the Apostolical succession : they had Bishops, though not canonical ones. To this, however, it is replied that heretical orders were never regarded as valid. In short, the whole subject is a difficult one. Some divines make a distinction between *lay* and *unauthorised* baptism—lay baptism when the Bishop sanctions it being accounted valid, but Dissenting baptism, not having secured the episcopal sanction, invalid. The Church in this country, from the period of the Reformation, and indeed before that time, till the reign of James I., undoubtedly sanctioned lay baptism by licensing midwives to baptize. When that rubric was altered and we were directed to send for a minister, it would seem to decide that it ought to be a ministerial act. I remember two strong instances in the primitive Church on the other side. St. Athanasius was baptized by his playfellows in sport, and this baptism was deemed sufficient ; and so was that of an actor who was baptized in the regular form on the stage in a play written to ridicule Christianity.

Being removed from all my books I cannot enter more fully into the subject, but you will see it incidentally discussed in Dr. Pusey's admirable treatise on Holy Baptism, published among the Oxford Tracts, to which I particularly invite your attention. You may consult also on the one side Lawrence, on the 'Invalidity of Lay

Baptism,' and on the other Bingham's 'Scholastic History of Lay Baptism.' As to the practical point, I am in the habit of telling people that at least there is some *doubt* on the subject, and if they received lay baptism, and are fearful on that account, I use the conditional form, 'If thou hast not been before baptized,' &c., as found at the end of our Baptismal Service, and this is the course pursued by the Bishops and clergy in Scotland when persons come over to them from the Established Church. . . . You may depend upon it that nothing is to be done in a parish without a patient care of the schools. It is by patience only, a patient continuance in well-doing, that you will be able to make your present situation an agreeable one, always remembering that permanent comfort and happiness are not intended for this world. *Peace* is the reward of our labours here, in the world to come, purchased for us by our Lord. You must also remember that you let many precious years pass by, to say the least of it, in carelessness, for which you ought to make up by humiliation, mortification, and other holy exercises. If you have not strength of mind to do this for yourself, you ought to pray that God may take the discipline of you into His own hands—that He may so order things that your pride and vanity may be mortified; that while in His hands you are an instrument of good you may not for a season witness the effects of your labours. To a man who ought like you to seek for mortification, who ought to take the lowest seat at the heavenly banquet, I should say that your present situation *because unpleasant* is a very proper one. And perhaps it may be well after a week of such fasting and prayer to ask earnestly and seriously *why* it is unpleasant. Seek not the *pretext* but the *real reason* of your present discontent. Particularly be sure that vanity, pride, presumption have nothing to do with it. I mention these faults as being those of young men very frequently which can easily be masked by an appearance of religious zeal.

I sincerely hope, as you say, that the cause of Catholicism is prospering everywhere, though I am inclined to take a less sanguine view of our present position than you do. As to Dissenters I literally know nothing of them. You speak of a schism among the Methodists. I am sorry to hear of it; for all schisms, even schisms among schismatics, engender bad feelings. Sure I am that we shall not profit by any such evil deeds. Those who quit Dissenting congregations are far more likely to turn infidels than Churchmen. A true Churchman will feel that to him a high trust

is committed, viz. the preservation of God's truth. It may be that in maintaining God's truth he may have to fight single-handed against a multitude. Still he will be unmoved. In God's good time His Holy Spirit will bring over the people to the side of His truth, and till that time comes we must keep our souls in patience. One of the worst things a man can do is to try and make converts; one of the next to attack Dissenters, or to have anything whatever to do with them. Keep aloof from Dissenters as persons of a different religion, and try to build up the two or three God sends to you in the principles of the Holy Catholic Church.

To his Wife during a Tour in the Autumn of 1836 with a Lady and Gentleman in the North of England.

I was amused with something Mrs. B. told me on the way, which accounts for a very warm reception I met with at the inn at Matlock. The landlord's daughter there gazed on me with an admiration which much perplexed me. The servants followed the mistress's example. I was removed to the best room in the inn, and everybody seemed delighted to serve me. They had caught my name, and the fair daughter of the landlord said to Mrs. B., 'Excuse me, ma'am, but I suppose Mr. Hook is the great Mr. Hook.' 'Yes,' said Mrs. B. 'Ah!' said the fair Maid of the Inn, 'I have just been reading his beautiful work, "Gilbert Gurney."' 'Oh!' quoth Mrs. B., '*this* Mr. Hook is nephew to *that* Mr. Hook; and though his works are very celebrated, they are of a different kind;' but, alas! my friend confesses that the young lady was sadly disappointed.

To a young Clergyman—Study and Dissenters.

Coventry: November 2, 1836.

My dear Friend,—I have just received your delightful and gratifying letter, and though I am rather overwhelmed with my correspondence, having sometimes to write eight or nine letters in a day, I shall always be glad to hear from you if you will kindly permit me to take my own time for my answer. . . . There are two points in your letter to which I must now address myself.

It seems clear to me, in the first place, that you require somewhat hard study; something rather dry. If you were near a library, with plenty of time, I would mark out a course for you. As it is, I recommend you to read *through* Bingham's 'Antiquities,' to be

followed by Palmer's 'Origines Liturgicæ,' and then I would have you go on with Jeremy Collier's 'Ecclesiastical History of England.' By these means you will lay in a vast store of useful information ; you will be giving to yourself a habit of study, and you will overcome a habit of self-indulgence which may creep on us even in our studies. During the first seven years that I was in orders, I was a hard student, and I used to rise at four o'clock in the morning. This, perhaps, would not suit you ; but when you are at these studies, it might be well to read standing, or in a part of the room far from the fire. This keeps up attention, and is a little useful bodily discipline. I agree with you as to what you say with respect to works on personal devotion in your particular case. Your heart *is* right, and what you now chiefly want is self-discipline.

In the next place, if the Methodists do attend church, and do *not* attend meeting, they are clearly not Dissenters. The original Methodists under Wesley were on very many points much to be admired. Their doctrine of Perfection is good, and has been of great use against the prevailing Calvinism of the day. I am afraid that in my last I did not express myself quite clearly. What I mean is this, that we ought to look with a single eye to *the truth*, not to the filling of our churches, and decreasing Dissent or anything else. What we are required as preachers to do is, to declare all the counsel of God, reckless of consequences. If people take offence, they must do so ; if not, then give God the praise. Our business is to state fairly the tradition of the Church as it is preserved in our Ritual, Liturgy, and Articles (learned men go to the fountain-head at once, the primitive Church), and then to prove that the tradition of the Church is scriptural. We *receive* our religion from the Church, we *prove* our religion from the Bible.

Your affectionate Friend.

I would advise you always to read with a pen in your hand, noting down everything remarkable in a common-place book.

To the Rev. T. H. Tragett—How to Refit a Church—Catechising.

Coventry : November 5, 1836.

. . . And now let me congratulate you on your parish—I wish it were entirely your own, as it is unpleasant to depend on the life of another ; I have often dreamed of retiring upon just such a parish ; about 2,000 people. Yours is doubtless a holy ambition,

to make your little parish a perfect model of what a parish ought to be; such a parish I have in Utopia, and I will tell you what I would do with it. If the walls of the church are strong, I would gut it. I would beg of my friends and acquaintance till I obtained 200*l.* (if you should think of anything like this, come to me for 1*l.* 1*s.*), I would then entirely refit the interior, having no pews, and erecting in the chancel an open seat, like one of the stalls in a cathedral, for my reading-pew. I would then observe who were regular attendants at church, and at Christmas give them a good dinner. This would soon increase the congregation; and why should we not act thus? Our Blessed Lord fed the five thousand before He began to teach them; and if we can bribe people to hear us, they may afterwards stay without a bribe. But indeed, with such a parish you might give them all a good dinner of roast beef and plum-pudding for as much as two dinners to your equals would cost; and the surest way to men's hearts, as old Hammond used to say, is down their throats; and when you have their hearts they will patiently hear you, while you endeavour to cure their souls. As to the children, they are certainly the first and grand consideration. You say you are a wretched catechist, but the art of catechising does not, any more than that of reading and writing, come by nature; but to become a good catechist you must catechise, and it is astonishing how rapid is the improvement, both on the part of the catechiser and the catechised. And the first boy or girl who smiles at any little pleasantry of which you may be guilty, will deserve a reward, as giving proof that the intellect is beginning to thaw. I have found it best to stick to the Church Catechism, as by a little skill you can put questions from all the books they may have learnt, without much forcing; one question leads to another. It is impossible, however, to draw too largely on the bank of stupidity, and the same questions must come perpetually over and over again.

From W. P. Wood, Esq., to W. F. Hook—On the Death of his Infant Boy.

Lincoln's Inn: December 23, 1836.

. . . It is a great comfort to know that you are thus upheld in the hour of need. Doubtless our God is a 'very present help in trouble,' and it should be at once a confirmation of our faith and an exhortation to abide in it when we see that so severe a dispen-

sation can be softened and tempered to you both. I sometimes ask myself under such trials, what would my situation be if I believed not in a hereafter? I am not at all surprised that the heathen should have so often resorted to self-destruction. But to the Christian the heaviest affliction is but a cloud, or at the most but as a thick mist; and if he cannot always see that God hath 'set His bow in the cloud,' yet he knows that the hour of the power of darkness is measured, while his hope is unbounded as eternity. 'Heaviness may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning.' . . . One sometimes feels it a happiness to be *permitted* to retire from the bustle of life under domestic affliction, though of course such feelings must not be indulged beyond very moderate limits, as we are readily tempted to sink into morbid indolence. The daily labour we are called upon to perform seems mercifully ordered, in a world where death prevails, to tear away our minds from too deep and overpowering a sorrow for the dead, and to divert them also from an appalling fear of death. The poor, who have so much to contend with, find, I have no doubt, great relief in the necessity of constant occupation. You will have a comfort, which none but those of your vocation can enjoy, that while your occupation will allay your sorrow, it will not tend to separate you from God. For the great danger with men of other professions is that they will try to bully their feelings by over-activity and bustle; and instead of casting their cares upon God, try to forget them, and in the experiment too frequently end by forgetting Him also.

CHAPTER V.

THE ELECTION TO THE VICARAGE OF LEEDS.

A.D. 1837.

IN the year 1836 Mr. William Page Wood and his wife paid a visit to the Vicar of Trinity at Coventry. Soon after their return to London they were invited by Dr. Williamson, the Head Master of Westminster School, to meet a Barrister from Leeds, Mr. Robert Hall, who had recently taken a house in Dean's Yard, where they also at that time resided. When the day for dining at Dr. Williamson's arrived, Mr. Wood was unable, owing to a feverish cold, to fulfil his engagement, and his wife was very unwilling to leave him, but knowing that ladies would be wanted to make up the party, she thought it would be selfish to decline at the last moment. At dinner she sat next to Mr. Hall. He was not only an agreeable and able man, who had taken first class honours at Oxford, but a zealous Churchman, and he therefore listened with interest to an account which Mrs. Wood gave of the great and good work which had been, and was being, done by her husband's friend at Coventry. To this conversation, so accidental, as it would be carelessly called, so nearly being missed owing to the reluctance of one of the parties to leave home on that particular evening, the appointment of Mr. Hook to the Vicarage of Leeds was, under God, primarily due, so that to the end of his life he was accustomed to call Mrs. Wood his 'patroness'; and that the wife of his deeply beloved friend should have been unconsciously instrumental in sending him to the place where he

did his greatest work and won his greatest fame, was a circumstance on which he reflected with delight to the end of his life.

In January 1837, a few months after the meeting just mentioned with Mr. Hall, the Vicar of Leeds, Dr. Fawcett, somewhat suddenly died. The patronage of the living is vested in twenty-five trustees. The senior trustee at that time was Mr. Henry Hall, father of Mr. Robert Hall, who also himself was a junior member of the body. No sooner had Mr. Robert Hall heard of the death of Dr. Fawcett than his mind reverted to the description which he had heard of the hard-working Vicar of Coventry. He is the man for Leeds, thought Mr. Hall, if he is all that he has been represented to be. So he instantly hastened to Coventry, verified by private enquiry and observation the account which he had received of the man and his work, and on his return called upon Mr. Wood to tell him that if his friend would become a candidate for the vacant living he would do his utmost to secure his election. But he added that great opposition must be expected, as Mr. Hook belonged to a school in the Church totally different in thought, feeling, and practice from any which prevailed in Leeds—a school, moreover, which at that time, owing to its supposed connexion with the ‘Oxford movement,’ was regarded with peculiar suspicion. Mr. Hall, therefore, was anxious that no time should be lost in ascertaining whether he would consent to be a candidate for the living, in order that the largest possible number of testimonials might be got together from persons representing various shades of opinion in the Church. How the application was made and received will be seen from the following letter to Mr. Wood. The absence of Mrs. Hook, who was staying with her mother, increased the difficulty of coming to an immediate decision.

Coventry : February 22, 1837.

My dearest Friend, . . . On Sunday I received, quite unexpectedly, from Oxford a letter stating that I had been recommended in several quarters to the trustees of the Vicarage of Leeds, and that the trustees wished to ascertain through my kind friend Dr. Barnes, Sub-dean of Christ Church whether, if the living were

offered to me, I would accept it. It is a great calamity to be separated from Delicia at such a moment ; but, in order that we might communicate with one another by letter, I took two or three days to consider the business, and I have now written to say that if offered the appointment I would accept it, but that I should decline presenting myself as a candidate, or adopting any steps for procuring it. My rule has been this, not to shrink from any duties to which I may be providentially called, having full reliance on the grace of my Saviour ; on the other hand, in humble distrust of myself, not to seek any responsible office. Delicia tells me that, if our family increase, we cannot go on long as we now do, and that if her health fail we have not the means of educating our children according to their condition ; I see, too, that her anxiety lest we should not be able to make the two ends of the year meet is weighing on her health and spirits ; so that I think I am justified in the step I have taken. Leeds is valued at 1,257*l.*, the average of three years before the last Parliamentary returns. If I do not obtain the appointment, my pride will be mortified, a very good thing ; I was not aware of the existence of the evil passion in me till, on self-examination, I found that my chief wish to obtain the living is to prevent the mortification : it will be a good Lent exercise therefore. If I get it it will be sad not only to quit a people whom I love, and by whom I am loved, but to leave many kind friends ; and not least, to move far away from those still loved remains which are deposited in Trinity Church. From you and yours, to be removed 190 miles, will be like banishment ; I confess that the objections were so strong on my mind that I had fully determined to refuse the thing out and out, but Delicia, together with her mother and sister, urged the thing upon me, and I have done as I have said. I am sore perplexed ; I dread the thing. Did I ever tell you that the Bishop of Worcester told our friend, Lord Eastnor, that there were two livings likely to be soon vacant, to the first of which he would present me ? St. Philip's, Birmingham, is one, the other I do not know ; I should like to wait for these birds in the bush, for at my time of life, just forty, I do not like breaking new ground.

The conflict of arguments and feelings in his own mind was so great that from the first he declared to his wife the decision must rest with her, not with himself.

I have, really and honestly speaking (he writes to her on March 2),

no wish upon the subject. The worldly considerations weigh not with me in the least. The only thing that makes me hesitate to say no is this—there is no Church feeling, no Catholic feeling, as I am informed, in that part of the country. People there do not know what the Catholic Church is, and if I may be honoured as an instrument to introduce Catholicism there, as I have done here, I should feel that I have not lived entirely in vain. Then on the other hand we must remember that I should probably have a bad successor here :¹ one who would undo all that I have been doing during eight years of labour, so that when the one thing is weighed against the other I think I should not be induced on these grounds to make the change. You now know my feelings on the subject : yours, I repeat, must lead to the decision, for it is mere matter of feeling, not of duty.

His wife and her mother were in favour of his consenting to become a candidate, and so one step was gained. But the inflexible resolution of the candidate on another point threatened to be a formidable, if not fatal, obstacle to further progress. He flatly refused to go to Leeds to present himself to the trustees ; still less would he consent to preach a ‘trial sermon,’ or to canvass on his behalf, as most of the other candidates had done. Here was a dilemma which at first caused no small vexation and perplexity to Mr. Robert Hall and his father and some of the other trustees whom he had inspired with an enthusiastic desire equal to his own for the election of his candidate. Mr. Wood, however, suggested as a solution of the difficulty that some of the trustees should go to Coventry unknown to the Vicar, and he promised that he would not give his friend any intimation of their visit. Some old people in Coventry can remember the curiosity which was excited on Sunday, March 12, 1837, by the appearance in Trinity Church of six strange gentlemen at the morning and evening services, who had requested that they might be placed together in a position favourable for hearing the reading and preaching of the Vicar. Who they were and what they heard will be learned from the following letter, written by the Vicar the day after to Mr. Wood :

¹ The Whig Ministry being then in office.

Coventry : March 13, 1837.

My dearest Friend,—Wearied with the labours of yesterday I cannot write *con spirito*, but still I must make you acquainted with the state of affairs. Yesterday Coventry was filled with trustees, Hall, Becket, Gott, Banks, Tennant, and one from the enemies' camp, Atkinson, to spy out the nakedness of the land.

They all in the morning spoke to me of what would happen if I went to Leeds; in the evening it was 'when you go to Leeds.' Mr. Gott said, 'I suppose you must be aware that many of the trustees are favourable to you.' 'Pooh, nonsense,' quoth Mr. Banks, 'you have the very large majority.' The prudent Mr. Hall, however, only reckons on twelve. But we were talking of Dr. Thorpe, and Sheepshanks was saying something not quite complimentary, when Mr. H. said, 'We will say nothing about that, as we mean him to vote for us, but he is not one of the twelve certain.'

I verily believe that the sermon I delivered in the evening I wrote under the special direction of God; it was written quite *extempore* and in a hurry on the Saturday, but if I had laboured to preach at the trustees I could not have done so well. You know I am preaching on St. Matthew's Gospel, and the text that came to me was Matthew xxiii. 8, 9, 10, when I was naturally led to explain in a simple manner the impropriety of choosing for an authority in religion either the Pope or a Protestant Reformer, and how we took for our guidance, in doubtful points, the customs of the first Churches. This explained to my friendly trustees (though I did not in the least expect to see them) my views as they are, and not as they are misrepresented. I then branched off into a discourse on justification by faith, making the law our rule of righteousness, but not our means of justification, in a manner that could not but appease the fears of my opposing visitor. One of the trustees, Mr. Gott, who seemed very much impressed with the sermon, and asked me to lend it, which I thought better to decline, said to Sheepshanks, 'That sermon ought to be published.' 'Oh,' exclaimed my enthusiastic partisan, 'if you think that, every sermon preached every Sunday evening ought to be published; this is by no means the best we hear here.' Dear good Sheepshanks is almost mad with zeal. With Mr. Atkinson I had some conversation in the vestry; of course I could not give him entire satisfaction, but he was more favourably impressed than he had been before; I assured him I did not hold the doctrine of Transubstantiation. He is a nice, pleasant, well-informed man; I told him that I would not discuss, but I was fully convinced of the truth of my prin-

principles, and would answer him any questions he might like to ask. He cross-examined me, but in a pleasant, gentlemanlike style.

The reader will perceive from the foregoing letter that, however puzzled some members of the congregation at Holy Trinity may have been by the visit to their church of six inquisitive strangers, the Vicar himself was not equally taken by surprise. The fact was, that four out of the six trustees had called upon him the night before, not however so much to make known the purpose of their coming to Coventry, as to entreat that he would consent to go to Leeds for a few days, not to preach, not to canvass, but merely to be seen. Mr. Hall, indeed, had written to the same effect a few days before : ‘The wish to hear you preach is given up. I find that the opinion is gaining ground that it is improper for a man to get up into a pulpit for the purpose of preaching not Christ crucified, but himself and his preferment. There is, however, a strong wish to *see* you : some of the trustees have declared their determination not to vote for a man they have never seen.’

To these solicitations, which were backed by his uncle, Archdeacon Hamilton, and Mr. Wood, he yielded, and writes to the latter that he has accepted the invitation to be the guest, for two days, of Mr. Henry Hall, the senior trustee, ‘to exhibit my fat carcass at Leeds; and I certainly look what the people here call jolly.’ But the prospect of the tremendous responsibilities which would fall upon him in the event of his election deterred him from any enthusiasm in his own cause. ‘I felt interested in my success,’ he writes, ‘as I should do in that of the respectable Mr. Richard Roe or John Doe if they were engaged in a contest, and I was of their counsel. But when I think of the thing itself or the pang of parting with old friends, and the annoyance of breaking up new ground, my heart becomes sick, and I ask why I consented to embark in this affair.’

Meanwhile, those who were eager for his success had collected a mass of testimony in his favour from very various sources, in order to prove that he was respected and admired

not by one school or party only in the Church, but by many, and had 'won golden opinions from all sorts of people.'

At the request of his friends he asked Sir Robert Peel whether the letter which he had written in answer to an appeal on behalf of the Religious and Useful Knowledge Society¹ might be used as a testimonial. To this he received the following reply. It was one of the few testimonials for which he made personal application, and was probably one of the most telling.

Whitehall : March 1, 1837.

Sir,—You have my full permission to make whatever use you please of the letter to which you refer. It contains a sincere and disinterested testimony to your character and acquirements, from one who has not the pleasure of your personal acquaintance, and who had no conceivable motive for bearing that testimony, excepting the firm impression that you had, as a preacher and minister of religion, essentially served the cause of religion and of charity, in two great manufacturing towns, and under circumstances of no ordinary difficulty, by a rare combination of ability, firmness, and devotion to the duties of your spiritual office.

I am Sir, with much respect, your faithful Servant,
ROBERT PEEL.

One of the warmest testimonials was from the Bishop of Lichfield, Dr. Butler, formerly Head Master of Shrewsbury, a man of critical mind, and not addicted to lavish praise.

As a parochial minister he is considered an example, not only in the district to which he belongs, but far beyond it, of what an indefatigable, pious, and strictly conscientious clergyman ought to be. His immense church at Coventry I have witnessed full to overflowing. He has inspired into that large parish under his care, containing about 10,000 inhabitants, quite a new life ; and the example has widely spread through the city, which is becoming full of attachment to the Church, though previously remarkable for Dissent. I may appear to have written strongly, but I am quite sure I have written only the truth, and I ought to say that in political opinions Mr. Hook and I do not perfectly agree ; you may

¹ Quoted above, p. 126.

therefore feel assured that I have not been influenced in my testimony by any party feeling.

Mr. Le Bas pronounced him to be 'the fittest man in England to preside over such a parish as Leeds. Let Coventry and Birmingham be appealed to. If the former place is silent it would only be because it could not raise its voice without danger of losing the spiritual guide who has bowed the hearts of his congregation towards him as the heart of one man.'

Mr. Keble wrote :

I was acquainted with Mr. Hook when he was an undergraduate at Christ Church, and I believe that his conduct was then as blameless and exemplary as his heart was unquestionably always open and generous. Since that time I have not often met him, but I have read his publications, and I should say that for eloquent persuasiveness and soundness of principle, they certainly rank among the first of the age, to say nothing of the rare theological learning which they exhibit. As a preacher I need only refer you to the fact that no one draws such crowded congregations among the young men of Oxford : no bad test, perhaps, of the qualities which make a person effective in that duty.

A large number of the clergy in Coventry and the neighbourhood signed an earnest declaration of their affection and esteem. 'We have witnessed in him,' they said, 'a combination of ability, zeal, and spiritual-mindedness in the discharge of his parochial duties such as is seldom met with, and we see the fruits of it in a very greatly increased and increasing attendance in his parish upon public worship and the Lord's Supper. The younger portion of us have looked up to him in every duty as an exemplar, and in every difficulty as a kind and faithful guide ; and those amongst us who are his contemporaries or his seniors have beheld with heartfelt respect and approbation his apostolic zeal for his Master's glory.' This collective testimony from the clergy was clenched by a private letter to the trustees from his great friend Mr. Tragett, who had held a cure in Coventry. 'The clergy,' he writes, 'of the city of Coventry and its extensive neighbourhood looked up to him as their head and chief ; and his learning, wisdom, and discretion

formed the bond of union and zealous co-operation by which we were all enabled to act in harmony amongst ourselves, and to the general benefit of the community.'

Such are a few specimens out of a great multitude of testimonials which poured in thick and fast from persons of various positions in the Church.

There was one enthusiastic partisan, however, whose zealous activity occasioned some anxiety and annoyance to him for whose benefit it was intended. Mr. Theodore Hook announced his intention of writing to Sir John Beckett, who had great influence in Leeds, on behalf of his nephew. The nephew deprecated the application, and suggested that it should at least be made through Mr. Croker, a common friend, rather than directly by Mr. Theodore Hook himself. But the uncle was not to be thwarted, and replied to the remonstrance in the following characteristic letter :—

I dare say I have done wrong—I don't care if I have. I am sure I haven't done harm. I really don't see why *I* should not write to Sir John, or why I should ask Croker to ask him. I do *their* jobs : why the deuce should they not do mine? It is not as if I asked them to prop up a stupid, ill-conditioned cur, because he happened to be my relation. It is *I* who do them a favour in giving them the opportunity of getting such a clergyman. If you are angry, I can't help it. I *will* have my own way, so I don't care. . . . Come now, none of your nonsense—don't be angry and look cross ; the mouse may do good to the lion.

The last clause in this letter indicates the humble respect and almost reverence with which the celebrated humourist regarded his clerical nephew. His warm-hearted and generous disposition was susceptible of religious feelings, and capable of admiring in others that strength of moral purpose which was unhappily too much lacking in himself.

The supporters of Mr. Hook had good reason for making very strenuous efforts on his behalf. In the first place there were many competitors, the most formidable being Mr. Molesworth and Mr. Hugh Stowell, and they had been present in the town and had preached in some of the churches long

before Mr. Hook had been brought forward as a candidate. The election was to take place on March 20, and it was not till the beginning of March that his name appeared in the published lists of candidates. And then a fierce storm of opposition burst forth, and every effort was made to prejudice and alarm the electors. The 'Record' wrote in an agony of fear, and sought to persuade the religious world that he was a very monster of Tractarian iniquity. 'He professed that kind of modified popery with which the "Tracts for the Times" were filled. For his fierce bigotry and intolerance he could be compared only with Laud: he consigned all Dissenters to the uncovenanted mercies of God, and denied the right of private judgment, which the "Record" considered the fundamental principle of the Reformation. A Jesuit in disguise could not do more mischief to the Establishment than one who in spirit and doctrine seemed as if he had been brought up within the Holy Inquisition.' In short, it would be impossible to imagine an appointment more fraught with disaster to Leeds and to the Church of England.

These pleasant remarks in the 'Record' were followed by a sharp attack in the 'Christian Observer,' directed against his statements in two of his Oxford sermons on the value of Catholic tradition and the authority of the Church. Feeble as the criticism was, his supporters dreaded the effect it might produce on the minds of some of the trustees, especially as it insinuated that his views were identical with those expressed in the 'Tracts for the Times,' and it was thought expedient that Mr. Wood should address a letter to one of the Trustees, exposing the fallacies and misrepresentations of the article.

As the time for the election drew nearer, the strife of parties in Leeds waxed very hot. The papers were filled with all kinds of statements, true and false, concerning the candidates, and the trustees were inundated with letters, many of them anonymous, until it was not easy to keep their heads clear or their tempers cool. Those who were known to be favourable to Mr. Hook, especially Mr. Robert Hall, were subjected to

inquisitorial examinations respecting his character and opinions by the evangelical leaders in Leeds. Mr. Hall in one of his letters gives a specimen of a cross-questioning which he endured. What were Mr. Hook's opinions on baptismal regeneration? Did he preach the necessity of a converted heart? Did he make justification and sanctification prominent points in his preaching, or did he merely concede them? Did he support the Church Missionary Society? Was he of holy life and conversation? Of course he did not play cards or countenance gay amusements himself, but did he permit his family to do so? and so on for nearly two hours, until Mr. Hall's patience was fairly worn out, and he declined to be tormented any longer.

Mr. Hook himself was so much distressed at having become the occasion of contention and ill-will that about this time he announced his intention of withdrawing from the contest.

His friends, however, unanimously insisted on his retracting this decision. 'We must, if possible,' wrote Mr. Robert Hall, 'have the best man in the kingdom for Vicar of Leeds: you must therefore suffer me for the present to consider you as not having retired from the contest.' And Mr. Henry Hall wrote to the same effect.

Not long after this, in compliance with the request of the deputation which went to Coventry, Mr. Hook paid his visit to Leeds, and on Wednesday, March 15, he was introduced to the trustees at their weekly meeting in the vestry of the parish church. The following letters refer to the event:—

First visit to Leeds—Machinations of the Hostile Party.

My dearest Friend,—I send just one line to say that I have returned from my northern expedition in good case. I wish I had gone to Leeds before, for my mind is now quite at ease. If I am to stay here, the comfort, a little quiet, and the regular routine of my duties, will be delightful; if I am to go to Leeds, now that I have reconnoitred the country, I know that I shall not enter upon duties for which I am wholly disqualified. I feel quite up to the work, by God's grace; depending on the Divine assistance, I shall embark in it, if at all, with vigour and confidence. We arrived, as

Hall will have told you, on Tuesday. On Wednesday morning I saw most of the clergy, all of whom but two are on my side, and one of whom had generously drawn up a vindication of my doctrines. I stated to the trustees that I had come to Leeds at the request of certain of their body, not to canvass, but to be able at once to deny certain charges, if brought against me. To avoid all appearance of canvassing I left the town on the Wednesday evening. The clergy seemed to think me their Vicar, who is spoken of as somebody next in importance, if not to the king, at least to his prime minister. Several trustees told me that I might consider myself as elected; even Hall seems to be in good cheer; but I know the party I have to deal with too well to feel anything like confidence. They have to meet on Wednesday for the purpose of memorialising the trustees against me; they have represented me, as I suppose you have heard, not only as a Papist, but as a drunkard, a gambler, &c., &c. How I bless God that He has given me a heart that never bears malice or hatred; irritated I may sometimes be, but these kind of things do not irritate me. I have many, very many difficulties to contend with from a nature desperately wicked; but this is one of my advantages, that I scarcely notice and immediately forget injuries. I should think that my best chance is, that the opposite party have no distinguished person to bring forward; and the town clergy very properly say that, if they are passed over, they ought, at least, to have put over them a man of eminence; and such, I presume, from the abuse heaped on me, they suppose me to be. I suppose you have seen Stowell's letter following the attack upon me in the 'Record.' I told the trustees that I should regard an attack in the 'Record' in the light of a testimonial. I was told that some of the opponents threatened to withdraw their accounts from Beckett's bank, if they voted for me. Since writing this, the Coventry paper has come in; by whom the Leeds paragraph was written I know not, I suspect Sheepshanks. I am deeply gratified by the conduct of the people here; they are all anxious for my welfare, and yet sorry to part with me. Is not this nice and kind and generous? This, too, will render my remaining here the more comfortable, especially as they will know that it is only party violence that will exclude me.

From Mrs. Hook to Mr. and Mrs. Wood.

Coventry: 1837.

My dear Friends,—I received your letter during my solitude,

and was quite comforted by it. Though I felt desperately anxious all the time the old boy was away, yet he is come back so well, so pleased, so frisky, and so tiresome, that I can hardly write a word for his coming and making impertinent remarks. His account of Leeds is satisfactory, and I feel that as a home it will be pleasant, though its distance from London must be a drawback. I suppose you will hear the result as soon as we do. I really cannot help feeling anxious, in spite of my determination to think either way the best.

There remained only three days between his departure from Leeds and the 20th, the day appointed for the election, and in this little interval the opposition fired their last and largest gun. This was a petition to the trustees against his appointment, signed by 400 persons. A copy of his letter to the Bishop of Lichfield in 1830, deprecating his presiding at a meeting of the Bible Society, was appended to the document. The following is the memorial:—

To the Trustees of the Advowson of the Vicarage of Leeds.

We, the undersigned inhabitants of the parish of Leeds, and members of the Established Church, beg leave respectfully to memorialise you upon the pending election to the vacant vicarage. We have heard with considerable alarm that there is every probability that the Rev. W. F. Hook will obtain a majority of your suffrages. We beg to submit to you our decided opinion that, on account of the very peculiar tenets maintained and published by that gentleman, such election will be attended with the most mischievous consequences to the interests of the Establishment in this parish.

The following are some of the doctrines which Mr. Hook avows in his published works, and which we consider in the highest degree objectionable. He denies the right of private judgment in matters of religion. He maintains that Holy Scripture is an insufficient guide to salvation; and that no man ever did, and few ever could, form their code of faith and morals from the Bible, and the Bible only. He virtually excludes Methodists and Dissenters of every name from the pale of Christianity. He is the avowed opponent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and we have reason to believe that he is unfriendly to the Church Missionary

Society and to the Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. He addressed an expostulatory letter to the Diocesan of his present Incumbency upon the occasion of his taking the chair at one of the meetings of the first, a copy of which we beg to subjoin.

Your memorialists observe, with unfeigned satisfaction, a growing disposition in the members of the Church of England, in this parish, to unite, as in a common cause, in the advancement of its interests. They beg respectfully, but firmly, to avow their conviction that the immediate effect of Mr. Hook's election will be to interrupt this holy harmony, by reviving those irritating discussions, the existence of which between her members has so long been the subject of regret with every true friend of the Church; thereby not only to open again that division within her own bosom which they had hoped would soon have been altogether obliterated, but ultimately to widen it into a hopeless and incurable schism. It is also observable, and your memorialists allude to the fact with the utmost pleasure, that the asperities of other classes of Christians in the parish against our Church have of late been considerably modified and softened down, and that many among them are disposed to listen to the strong arguments which may be adduced in her favour, and to attend upon her services. The effect of the election of a clergyman of Mr. Hook's avowed opinions upon such persons is sufficiently obvious. Having only been attracted thither by the prevalence of sentiments diametrically opposed to his, they will with proportionate force be repelled, and finally estranged, from her communion.

We do not wish to go too minutely into matters of objection; still less do we desire to take an offensive attitude, or do anything that may wear the appearance of dictation. We disclaim all motives save those arising from what we believe to be a Christian duty. It is in this spirit that we would respectfully call upon you to consider the appointment about to be made, not merely as one of taste or expediency, not as one of personal feeling, but as one involving the everlasting welfare of souls. We would venture to add that your office was instituted for the benefit of the inhabitants; and we earnestly hope and pray that you may so fulfil it as to promote the paramount object which we trust we all have in view.

This memorial, however, was instantly followed by a counter-declaration signed by about 300 persons.

To the Trustees of the Advowson of the Vicarage of Leeds.

March 17, 1837.

We, the undersigned frequenters of the Parish Church, and other friends of the Establishment generally, beg leave respectfully to address you on the subject of certain recent measures which have been taken to influence, if not to coerce, your choice of a Vicar for this extensive parish. We wish to express to you that we have viewed the proceeding with considerable regret ; and that we utterly disclaim and disavow any participation in it. We sincerely trust that in the execution of your high duty you will set aside all such representations ; and we can assure you that we rest with the most perfect confidence in the rectitude of your judgment, and in your well-known and long-tried attachment to the doctrines and principles of the Church of England.

On Monday, March 20, the trustees assembled in the vestry for the purpose of election. All were present except Mr. John Hardy and Mr. Peter Rhodes. Each wrote his own name on one side of a card, and on the other the name of the candidate for whom he voted. One of the trustees collected the cards, the sides on which the names of the electors were written being uppermost. When handed to the chairman they were reversed, so that he saw the names of the candidates only. Having examined the cards, the chairman, Mr. Henry Hall, said that the Rev. W. F. Hook was elected by sixteen trustees out of twenty-three. He then went into the choir and announced the result of the election to a large crowd of parishioners. He declared that the trustees had been influenced by the purest motives, and deprecated a hasty judgment of their choice. They had sought, and believed that they had found, a man of piety and learning, of amiable disposition and literary attainments : one who in the late scene of his labours had been indefatigable in ministering to the wants, spiritual and temporal, of all his parishioners.

The announcement and address was received by the assembly with much applause, only mingled with a few murmurs and faint cries of 'Stowell.' The church bells rang out a

joyful peal, and Mr. Henry Hall started with a full heart to carry the good news to Coventry.

How the recipient of the tidings was affected will best be gathered from the letters placed at the end of this chapter.

The feelings of his old parishioners were well expressed in one of the principal local journals.

It is with mingled feelings of triumph and regret (wrote the 'Coventry Standard') that we announce that the Rev. W. F. Hook was on Monday last elected Vicar of Leeds by a very decided majority of the trustees. He will carry with him not only the respect and good wishes, but the warm gratitude, the individual personal affection, of a large portion of the inhabitants of this city, both rich and poor; and although his future lot be cast far away from those among whom he has ministered for several years, yet he will ever live in their memories as a most zealous and indefatigable minister, a judicious and affectionate friend.

This prediction has thus far been verified. In the brief but excellent sketch of his life which appeared in the 'Parish Magazine' of Trinity parish, Coventry, in November 1875, one month after his death, the writer says: 'Thirty-eight years have not effaced from the grateful minds of his old parishioners the remembrance of their Vicar. A generation has indeed grown up which knows him not, and yet his name is so familiar to us all that we find it difficult to realise the long lapse of time since he was living and working in our parish. The work he did in Coventry has been permanent and abiding; . . . it is almost impossible to over-estimate the manner in which he quickened Church life.' These are not vain words. How vividly he is remembered and how deeply honoured by the aged, the writer of this memoir can testify, being under obligation to many who have been as eager to give information concerning the work of their former pastor, as during his lifetime they were zealous to assist him in that work. The stained glass in the great west window of their magnificent church is the visible proof of the affection, gratitude, and respect of the parishioners of Holy Trinity for that Vicar who, in the words of one who preached on the occasion of the window being com-

pleted,¹ 'undertook his ministry in days when earnestness in Church life was rare,' and where manifested 'was frequently received with aversion if not with contempt': who, 'in much difficulty, misapprehension, and misrepresentation, laid here the sound foundation of Church principles, and commenced the system of parochial administration which has become more and more firmly established under his successors.'

He was instituted Vicar of Leeds on April 4, and the next three months were occupied by the painful and harassing process of severing his connexion with one place and forming it with another.

On Sunday, the 16th, he 'read himself in.' His rich, powerful, melodious voice produced its full effect upon the musical ears of the northern people, and he had not proceeded far in the prayers before a godly old Dissenter present was heard to say, smiting his knee with his hand, 'He'll do ; he'll do.'

On this Sunday he preached twice, enormous crowds being present at both services. He was labouring under a heavy cold, a very rare occurrence with him, and had difficulty in speaking so as to be heard, which was a great vexation to him in the morning, as his sermon was mainly a declaration of his principles, and of the line of conduct which his parishioners were to expect from him.

You see before you (he said) a firm, determined, consistent, uncompromising, devoted, but I hope not uncharitable, son, servant, and minister of the honoured Church of England. It is as a minister of the Church of England that I am placed here. I am *not* placed here to indulge in speculations of my own as to what *I* may think to be useful, or what *I* may think to be expedient—I am instituted under the Bishop to administer the discipline, the sacraments, and the doctrines of Christ as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church and realm hath received the same. I am to labour for the salvation of souls and the edification of the Church, but *not* in ways and modes of my own devising, but according to the laws, the regulations, the spirit of the English Church. And immediately that I find that I cannot conscien-

¹ Rev. H. W. Bellairs, June 24, 1877.

tiously adhere to those rules and act in that spirit, I shall tender my resignation to the Bishop, and feel myself bound, not only as a Christian, but as a man of honour, to retire from a situation the duties of which I am unable to discharge. The Church is not infallible ; but as we find her now existing in this country I believe her not to be in error, and my conduct shall always be regulated by her authorised decisions.

After pointing out the value of tradition as elucidating Scripture, and the supremacy of Scripture as the test of tradition ; after declaring his intention not to 'select one or two doctrines, and, representing these as all-sufficient, to overlook in carelessness or reject in rashness all the rest—for if this kind of preaching would suffice, why should the Bible be so thick a book, or rather such a large collection of books?'—after maintaining that through an unbroken episcopal succession the three Orders in the Church of England could satisfactorily prove their commission to act as ambassadors of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God,—he concluded :

And in asserting this shall I give unnecessary offence to my Dissenting friends, and many such I hope to have? I say, No. For my part I think better things of the candid, honest, conscientious Dissenter. By vindicating the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England I do indeed by implication assert that he is in error. But does he not do the same by us? Does not he imply that we are in error, when he secedes from our communion, or refuses to conform to it? This he must do if he would justify his secession. And if he does think us in error, he will never find in me one who will censure him for explaining to his hearers the grounds of his dissent. However erroneous I may consider those grounds, I shall ever contend that he is more than justified, that he is *bound* to state them honestly and fairly to his people : only let all things be done in charity, gentleness, and courtesy. What I ask then for myself is no more than what I am fully prepared to concede. . . . One of the great blessings of a full and free toleration is this : that we may now all of us contend fully and freely for the truth, and the whole truth. As a lover of truth then I am a friend to toleration. When the law assumed that all men were Churchmen, and on that account compelled all men to attend the service of the Church, the charitably disposed would, of course, be

ready to sacrifice many portions of truth to satisfy the scruples of weaker brethren. *Now* we are not required to make *any* such sacrifices : we may now keep our eyes steadily fixed upon the truth, and if any man think that the truth is not with us, he suffers no hardship in withdrawing from us. And as a lover of peace, as well as of truth, I thus openly, fairly, and honourably avow my principles. Depend upon it we promote peace, not by falsifying facts, and telling men that we *do* agree when we do *not* agree, for this only leads to endless disputes, but by stating clearly and firmly what our differences are, and by then agreeing to differ thereon. Those persons who thrust themselves into a promiscuous throng are liable to inconveniences and quarrels : but draw a line decidedly between disagreeing parties, and then over that line of demarcation opposite parties may cordially shake hands. With Dissenters, therefore, in religious matters I may not act, but most readily will I number them among my private friends. Never in my almsgiving will I make any distinction of persons : in such cases Samaritan and Jew shall be both alike to me. I *will* say to them, and I will *not* take offence if they retort the saying upon me, that I think them in error : but every person who happens to oppose what we hold as the truth is not of necessity a wilful opposer of truth as such. Their love of truth may be as great as ours. Our *principle*, therefore, will be the same, though the application of that principle may be different, and for our common principle we may love and respect, while we may sometimes oppose, each other. We must indeed all of us learn to forbear one another and to forgive one another, even as Christ our blessed Redeemer, who died for our sins and rose again for our justification, hath forgiven us.

By this bold and manly declaration of his principles, at the outset of his career, he secured the respect of adversaries with whom he might otherwise have been brought into unpleasant collision. He adhered without wavering to the principles thus early avowed, and was consequently saved from the misery experienced by amiable but vacillating characters who seek to conciliate and too often end in exasperating all.

The month of June was the last of his residence at Coventry. A parting address in May, signed by thirty-three male and thirty-two female teachers of the Sunday school, ended with these touching words :

We cannot omit to congratulate you upon the success with which your exertions have been crowned by the great increase in the number of communicants, and the flourishing state of our schools ; and at the same time to express our warmest thanks for the spiritual instruction and consolation we have received from you as our revered pastor and affectionate friend. That the blessing of the Lord God Almighty may rest upon you and yours, that the Spirit of Truth may guide you even to the end, and that you and we likewise may be of that happy number who shall be blessed at the coming of our Lord, is the hearty desire and humble prayer of the teachers of Trinity Church Sunday School.

The Vicar ended his reply by saying :

My parting injunction to you is, Love the Church. You live in evil days, when evil tongues are railing against all that is great and good and holy in the land. May I always hear that the teachers of these schools continue to be what they now are—loyal, dutiful, zealous children of the dear old Church. May you grow in grace as you grow in years. May you increase in faith and all the fruits of faith, and to this end I exhort you to be earnest in prayer, regular in your attendance on the duties of the sanctuary—frequent communicants. Let us all persevere in this course, and then our parting will not be an eternal one : we shall all meet before the throne of God and of the Lamb, where those who meet meet to part no more. You have often received my blessing, and you have been taught to regard it as the blessing of one commissioned by God to bless His people. With my blessing therefore I now conclude. The peace of God, &c.

On June 12 he preached his last sermon at Coventry. There were not many dry eyes in the vast congregation when in the well-known voice, unrivalled in sweetness and pathos, to which his feelings on the occasion lent an additional tenderness, he said :

And now I have finished my ministry in this parish. My friends—for you are my friends, and, thanks be to God, I know not an enemy in the parish—my friends, who have made so much allowance for my many deficiencies, who have received so very kindly the little good of which God in His mercy has used me as the instrument ; my young friends whom I have trained in the way

of truth ; teachers of the Sunday school, members of the vestry (may you always continue to be as united a body as you have been during the last nine years) ; you who have assisted me in visiting the sick and needy ; you, with whom in your sorrows I have wept and who in my sorrows have wept with me ; you whom I have been the means of reconciling after disagreements ; my poorer brethren whom I have ever held in honour ; my elderly friends with whom I have taken sweet counsel ; my Christian friends, whose sacrifice of prayer and praise it has been my blessed duty to offer to the throne of grace, whom through my ministry Christ has fed with the bread of life—friends one and all—my prayer to you is, may God deal kindly with you, as ye have dealt kindly with me and mine : my exhortation is, those things which ye have learned and received and heard of me do, and the God of peace shall be with you, for you have heard of me, not my own conjectures, but the words of truth as the Church has received them.

Capacious as is the church of the Holy Trinity, it could not contain all the people who thronged to it on that Sunday evening, and hundreds waited outside to give their Vicar a parting shake of the hand, and to exchange a few farewell words. And so he departed, full of zeal and energy, full of high aims and aspirations, full of confidence, not in himself, but in the Master whose he was and whom he served. The Evangelical party in Leeds and throughout the country were dejected and apprehensive, but the ‘Record,’ writing more in sorrow than in anger, counselled quiet resignation to the inevitable : they had done all they could to prevent so calamitous an appointment, and now that it was made in spite of them, it only remained for them to pray that it might be overruled by God for the good of His Church and the spiritual welfare of the great community at Leeds. The gratitude of the Church is due to the ‘Record’ for recommending a prayer to which such an abundant answer was vouchsafed.

To his Wife—A Day of Discomfort.

Coventry : February 23, 1837.

My dearest Love,—If you were in the dumps when you wrote I shall be able to pay you in kind. I have a cold, which always de-

presses me. Mr. Minster is out, and all those who help me in visiting the sick are ill. Sixteen sick persons demand what I have not physical strength to give, daily visiting. I have just returned, completely wet through, from trudging all over the parish, after having performed services, baptisms, and funerals. At the last the pitiless storm drenched me. I think I should have been in despair, if Russfield had not very kindly offered to visit some of the people for me. I had come home, hoping for two hours' rest before going to deliver my lecture ; but I have come to a fire nearly out, and have letters to answer, not all of them the most agreeable. Here is one from my mother, saying that Georgiana has been seriously ill. I should certainly go over and see them, but, besides my lecture to-night, I have a sermon for to-morrow, and three in prospect for Sunday, for Woodward is engaged, and Sheepshanks is unwell. . . . Here is also a letter from a Mr. Robert Hall, another of the trustees, asking whether if I were appointed I should consider it 'a call.' I shall answer him much in the manner I answered Dr. Barnes. At my time of life, approaching forty, with a constitution of fifty, and nerves shattered with those dreadful fits, it is natural to think twice before I determine to break up entirely new ground. I had never thought of going north. I had always expected to settle either in this neighbourhood or in London. But I now heartily hope that we may obtain Leeds. I foresee that if we remain here, the cares of a straitened income will be fatal to our happiness. . . . I do not expect to see you back next week, for I am morally certain that you will soon quite break up. You have undertaken more than you can get through. But I will not go on in this melancholy strain. I am worried, overworked, chilled, and, in short, as you were when you wrote. By the time you receive this I may be better. I am almost sorry I let Minster go. I had not a single holiday the first four years I was in orders.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Self-examination.

Coventry : March 10, 1837.

My dearest Friend,—The questions put by his catechist to Mr. Hall¹ have sent me to the duty of self-examination. His catechist is a right worthy man, such as my heart loves ; he has heard that I am an ungodly wretch, and he wishes to prevent my doing mischief.

¹ See above, p. 203.

Surely he is justified in this. I have carefully examined myself as to the motives he attributes to me; I will tell you the result. 'Party-spirit': now I do confess that I find myself to be a little too much influenced by that; mine is a falling party, and I feel a little complacent in adhering to it; and I fear that I might do as the worthy catechist has done, occasionally attribute a wrong motive to another, in the heat of my zeal; of this I repent, and by God's grace will amend. But certainly party-zeal has not been for sixteen years my motive, in labouring as I have laboured for Christ and His Church, for if ever party-feelings are excited, they almost immediately cool, and I feel sorry for any excesses of which I have been guilty. However, the imputation of this motive to me, though incorrect, shall make me very watchful for the future.

Next comes 'restlessness of temperament;' here I am certainly not guilty, for indolence is the besetting sin of my natural man. You know not how very loth I am to quit my easy chair, to go about my Father's business in my parish: you cannot conceive the pain it frequently is to me to act the prominent part I do in the clerical affairs of the district.

'Ambition': when I was ambitious, it was of literary fame, which was the only fame I cared for; to renounce all hopes of literary distinction as I did, when I entered into orders, was pain and grief to me, but I had grace to do it. As to professional honours I value them not a rush; were I desirous of them, I should be much more likely to attain them by staying where I am, than by seeking to go to Leeds. I am not insensible to the advantages of station, but my sole wish for any advancement of that kind would be not selfish, but to extend my usefulness, by giving greater weight to any arguments among those of my younger brethren whom it is my great delight to lead. You cannot imagine a person who cares less for these things than I do.

'Vanity': on this point I have suspected myself, but certainly my vanity would never lead me to any great exertions. I rather pique myself on having formed a just estimate of my own powers, and that is a very low one. I fall so infinitely short of what I intend in all that I do, that I have never done anything without being plunged into despondence; and therefore a little praise instead of puffing me up encourages me. It makes me feel that while I know that I have failed, yet that I have not failed so entirely as I feared; I dread disgrace more than I covet praise. Now in whatever degree those faults may influence me, unknown to myself, we may

easily find other motives for my sixteen years of labour. You know what my temper was in boyhood, and you know what it is now ; it seems to me sometimes as if a miracle had been wrought in me, my temper has become so improved. People will not believe me sometimes when I tell them how bad my temper was ; and they see how well I am able to keep it under severe provocations. I have had other passions in my time to contend with ; I had a very bad soil to cultivate, but by the grace of God I am what I am, still a sinful, alas ! my dear Wood, a very, very sinful creature, but one who has found grace, and who has grown in grace ; and when I feel and know what great things the Saviour has done for me, I have only to ask you not to consider me as a brute beast, in order to make you certain that I must be actuated by zeal for my dear Master's service. Gratitude alone would inflame my love, and love inflamed would urge an eager mind on to action. Indeed I think at times that nothing but a regular education and a keen sense of the ridiculous would keep me from fanaticism. Gratitude to my God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is sufficient to inflame my love for Him, the Holy Trinity, and His Church ; and common feelings of humanity would urge me to endeavour to procure for others the great blessings I have enjoyed and do enjoy myself. If Mr. Hall's catechist knew how much more has been done, because needed, for my poor soul than for that of most men, he would not have sought for inferior motives to account for my conduct. To me much has been forgiven, and therefore I love much. Will you pardon all this egotism? you have always been my father confessor, and I think it right to lay the whole case before you now, because, as you have doubtless been sponsor for my piety to Mr. Hall, I wish to let you see whether you can safely stand up for me. But I am still so very conscious of the indwelling of sin in this mortal body of mine, that I would not have you say much. I know that many better persons may be obtained for Leeds than I am, but certainly there can be none more desirous of doing his duty to his God, his Saviour, and his Church.

To Rev. E. Gibson.

Coventry : March 23, 1837.

My dear Friend,—Understanding that you were apprised of my success by my most kind and zealous friend Sheepshanks, I did not write yesterday, as I had many friends at a distance impatient

to hear from me. But did you argue from this that I am ungrateful for all your judicious exertions on my behalf? No! or you would not be the Edward Gibson I love—and love especially because he always finds out the virtues and is rather blind to the faults of his friends. Believe me that I shall never forget your kindness.

To my wife and me this is not pleasure without alloy. The thought of leaving dear Coventry, where we have so many friends, where we have spent so many happy years, where we have so many kind parishioners, where one blessed child is buried, is a thought full of grief. But so is everything in this world; all happiness must be of a mixed nature, or this world would be heaven.

Remember me, dear Gibson, in your prayers, and pray that I may bear in mind the verse of Gregory Nazianzen :

ὄτ' εὐπλοεῖς μάλιστα μέμνησο ζάλης.

To Rev. T. H. Tragett.

Coventry : March 23, 1837.

My dear Tragett, . . . Be it known to you that out of twenty-three trustees sixteen voted for me, though there were thirty-five candidates. The 'Evangelicals' represented me to be a gambler, a drunkard, and a Papist; at last they found out that I was a Whig! They were most fierce against the Oxford Tracts, making them speak all sorts of heresies; but then one of my supporters silenced them by saying that I was not one of the writers of those Tracts, and that therefore I was not to be judged by them: but it was urged, 'He is known to be the friend of Pusey, Keble, and Newman.' 'Yes, and this is one of his testimonials.' What higher honour can a man have on this earth? Will you thank that apostolic man Keble for writing in my favour, as I am told he did.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.

Coventry : March 30, 1837.

My dearest Friend, . . . I cannot but think it very mean and paltry, if not something worse, on the part of your wife, to presume on her merits as being my patroness and as having got me a living for the purpose of indulging in gross personalities. The trustees who came here had indeed received such accounts of my personal appearance that one of them said, 'We expected to see a Saracen's Head get up into the pulpit, whereas we found *rather a good-looking*

man than otherwise.' So to settle disputes I thought, I'll paint it, and shame the fools. The likeness is considered admirable. An ugly fellow I must confess I am. The artist came to me and asked me to sit, as he wished to publish the engravings. I said, No. He said that if he succeeded it would be a very great thing for him ; and then charity whispered, why should not he as well as I have some of the good things of Leeds? He was to give me the painting ; but as I will not give you what costs me nothing, I shall make him a present of his ten guineas ; what is the use of having money, but to make those around us happy? and how pleased Mrs. Rosenberg will be when Mr. Rosenberg goes home and counts out the money he did not expect to receive ; and then who knows but what they will remember their benefactor in their prayers ; and thus I shall have made a righteous use of mammon. Though I write pleasantly, I am very much depressed with the thought of what is awaiting me. Firmness, gentleness, patience, these are the weapons with which I shall have to fight. When my firmness is displayed, then there will be fierce attacks, foes will rage, the crafty will try flattery, friends will frown and call me obstinate ; you will hear all manner of evil against your friend. Then I shall up with the shield of gentleness ; they may rage, but I shall seek for grace to remain calm, firm in principle, courteous in conduct. At last patience will have her perfect work : the good among my opponents, seeing that I will not go round to them, will come round to me. I have confidence in my success, if only I have health and strength for two or three years. My only annoyance is about that dear good man Robert Hall ; he thinks that I have only to go to Leeds and all the Evangelicals will be at my feet. I know them better ; when they find that I do not renounce my principles and embrace theirs then their fury will be great ; by gentleness I intend to appease it, but do impress upon dear excellent Hall's mind that I must have time ; perhaps two or three years.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—First Sermon at Leeds.

Armley House, Leeds : April 19, 1837.

My dearest Friend,—I send a line because I know that you and your lady will wish to hear of us. Most calamitously, I was so hoarse on Sunday that, though surrounded by an immense mob, I could not do more than whisper my sermon. To my annoyance, however, there were reporters present from the three newspapers,

and I was strongly urged to print my sermon by Mr. Hall, on behalf of the trustees. As I had not the remotest idea of printing it when I wrote it, this is a bore ; but as it will most likely be misrepresented in the newspapers, I thought I had better send it to the press, which I have accordingly done. After so much success and flattery, I look upon this failure (for a complete failure it was) as a merciful Providence ; it is a warning to me not to be too confident in myself ; it tells me on whose strength I must wholly and solely rely. I am happy to say that I did not feel any annoyance whatever from such feelings as might arise from mortified vanity ; I have regarded the failure as a mercy, and not been annoyed at it the least, except so far as I failed in my wish to let my mode of conduct be known. This will be remedied by the publication.

CHAPTER VI.

SETTLEMENT AT LEEDS.

JULY TO DECEMBER 1837.

IN May 1837 the new Vicar took his degree of D.D. at Oxford, and preached twice on Sunday at St. Mary's, the church being thronged with an immense crowd up to the very steps of the pulpit. The beginning of July saw him and his family fairly established in the house in Park Place, Leeds, which was to be their happy home for twenty-two years. There were no buildings at that time on the opposite side of the road ; the situation was airy and pleasant ; within easy reach of the heart of the town, yet not so near as to be overwhelmed by the smoke of its multitudinous factories and mills.

And now the gigantic magnitude of the work which lay before him became day by day more clearly visible. It was enough to appal the stoutest heart, and bewilder the steadiest brain. In the character of its inhabitants, and in the condition of their religious life, Leeds was a typical specimen of a West Riding town. The common people were rough, uncouth, headstrong, and independent in a degree calculated to daunt and repel a stranger, until he discovered that below this rugged surface there often glowed warm hearts, generous feelings, and strong earnestness of purpose. John Wesley owned that at first he had been startled and dismayed by the wildness and rudeness of the inhabitants of the West Riding, but he soon perceived that nowhere would a heartier response be made to his awakening appeals ; nowhere was he destined to reap a richer harvest of disciples. While the spirit of the Church was

torpid, and her outward development was hampered by causes already mentioned,¹ Methodism grew and flourished ; Methodism alone kept pace with the rapid and enormous increase of population in the northern manufacturing towns, and struck its roots deeper and deeper year by year into the affections and understandings of the people. The Evangelical pastors of a former generation, such as Henry Venn of Huddersfield and William Grimshaw of Haworth, had helped rather than hindered the growth of Dissent, and the religion of pious Churchmen was of a Methodistic type.

The Church had now just become alive to her responsibilities. The See of Ripon, after much vexatious opposition in Parliament, had been founded in 1836, so that Bishop Longley and Vicar Hook almost simultaneously began the labours by which they were destined under God to win back for the Church her long-lost supremacy in that part of the country.

It was indeed none too soon to begin the work ; for there were enormous arrears of duty which nothing but the most persevering and energetic industry could overtake ; there was ignorance on the part of Churchmen which only patient teaching could enlighten ; apathy, which only burning zeal could quicken ; and, on the part of political and religious opponents, there were prejudice and suspicion which only the most forbearing charity could surmount.

The conditions then which the Vicar of Leeds was called upon to face at the outset of his ministry were briefly these. First, a huge and rapidly increasing population ; secondly, ignorance ; and thirdly, active opposition.

The population had risen from 53,162 in 1801 to 123,393 in 1831. The provision on the part of the Church for the spiritual necessities of the place was and had long been miserably inadequate. The parish comprehended the whole of the town and a large portion of the suburbs. In 1825 there were only four churches in the town besides the parish church, and nine in the suburbs. The total number of the clergy was

¹ Chap. IV. page 103.

eighteen. Ten years later the town churches had been increased to eight by the erection at considerable cost of three large and ugly Peel churches, which proved to be total failures. They were without endowment, the congregations were very scanty, and the stipend derived from pew rents was next to nothing. The town churches were mere chapels of ease to the parish church ; no districts were assigned to them, the patronage of nearly all was vested in the Vicar, and most of the baptisms, marriages, and funerals were performed at the parish church, the fees for such offices amounting to about 600*l.* a year.

The Vicar of Leeds in 1837 was patron of the churches of St. Paul, St. James, St. Mary, Christ Church, Armley, Beeston, Bramley, Chapell Allerton, Farnley, Headingley, Holbeck, and Hunslet. He had the joint patronage of St. John's with the Mayor and the three senior Aldermen, and of Trinity Church with the minister of St. John's and the Recorder. With the exception of the districts of Woodhouse, Christ Church, and St. Mary's, he was responsible for the entire pastoral charge of the whole township. Yet the clerical staff of the parish church for a long time past had consisted only of the Vicar, one curate, and a clerk in orders. Nearly the whole of their time was occupied in discharging the mere mechanical functions of the clerical office. They were at the parish church from eight to half-past eleven every morning for marriages. They baptized twice and churched twice every day, and burials were performed daily ; in winter twice a day, and in summer three times. One of the curates of the late Vicar who remained in charge of the parish during the vacancy, observes, in a letter to Dr. Hook, that the want of districts to each church in the town and the inordinate labours consequently heaped on the Vicar and his curates, prevented the successful prosecution of any plans for bringing the Church to bear on the people: the schools were only in the proportion of one in twenty-three of the population. 'Had we ten new churches,' he writes, 'with a corresponding staff of clergy, and ten new schools, we should not have one too many.'

Weak, however, as the Church was, the Dissenters and Socialists entertained the most implacable animosity against it, and the appointment of a Vicar reputed to be bold and lofty in his aims, and indefatigable in energy, provoked them to put forth all their strength. The contest began immediately after his election and before his residence in Leeds. The opposition called loudly upon the people to muster in force at the vestry meeting in April for the election of churchwardens, and to take good care that only such men were appointed as would act on a system of rigid economy and pay deference to the wishes of the vestry. A set of High Church and extravagant churchwardens might be the means of imposing a heavy church-rate on the parishioners against their will, might sanction or introduce strange or distasteful practices, and involve the parish in most vexatious and costly proceedings in the spiritual court.

The result of this appeal was that a large mob attended the vestry meeting in the parish church. The parishioners chose the seven whom they were entitled to elect. Most of them were Dissenters, or men otherwise unfavourable or indifferent to the interests of the Church. The Vicar had the right of choosing one for Kirkgate ward ; but the Vicar was not present. Mr. Taylor, the curate in charge, occupied the chair, as his representative, and nominated Mr. Garland—a good Churchman—for the office of Vicar's churchwarden. A turbulent scene ensued. It was alleged by a large section of the meeting that, in the absence of the Vicar, the right of electing his churchwarden lapsed to the vestry. The curate and a few supporters maintained, on the contrary, that it devolved on him who acted as the Vicar's delegate. The chairman acted with spirit and firmness. The opposition proposed a resolution embodying their view, but he refused to put it to the vote. He was bullied for two hours, but held his ground ; and finally, amidst groans and hisses, entered the name of Mr. Garland in the minute book as having been duly appointed by the Vicar's representative. The opposition appended a protest to this entry, and the meeting was dissolved.

The parish churchwardens proved true to the spirit in which

they had been elected. The Vicar on his arrival found the surplices in rags and the service books in tatters, but the churchwardens doggedly refused to expend a farthing upon such things. When they assembled at the church for a vestry meeting, they and others like-minded piled their hats and coats upon the holy table, and sometimes even sat upon it ; but the new Vicar with stern resolution quickly put a stop to such profane outrages. He told them that he should take the keys of the church, and that no meetings would be held there in future. 'Eh !' said one, 'but how will you prevent it? We shall get in if we like.' 'You will pass over my dead body, then,' replied the Vicar. Archdeacon Musgrave also paid a visit to the church, met the churchwardens in the vestry, and told them that unless the necessary things were provided, within a given time, steps would be taken to compel them ; or if they called a vestry and a rate was refused, the vestry would be proceeded against. The churchwardens grumbled excessively at these demands, and complained more especially of the increased expenditure for sacramental wine, owing to the weekly celebration of Holy Communion. It was their custom at this time to remain in the vestry during the administration of that Sacrament, ostensibly to guard the wine, but the Vicar had reason to suspect that they themselves occasionally consumed it.

The malignant hostility to the Church and the Vicar, of which the seven churchwardens were the official instruments, came to a head at a church-rate meeting held on August 19. The building in which the meeting was convened could not contain the masses who thronged into it, and it was proposed that they should adjourn to a large oblong enclosure, surrounded by the buildings of the Cloth Hall, and commonly called the Old Cloth Hall Yard. Here, on being called to the chair, the Vicar found himself confronted by a mob of nearly 3,000 persons. A statement was made of the probable expenses for the coming year. They amounted to 355*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* A half-penny rate was proposed and seconded. A Baptist preacher named Giles then rose and delivered a furious harangue, directed partly against church-rates and partly against the Vicar. At

the conclusion of his philippic the Vicar got up and began by observing that the speech of the gentleman who had just sat down might be divided into two parts, one consisting of an attack upon the system of church-rates in general, and the other of abusive language towards himself—the Vicar. ‘Into the general question of church-rates,’ he continued, ‘I shall not enter upon this occasion.’ ‘Eh! why won’t ‘ee?’ shouted a thousand sturdy Yorkshire voices. ‘Because, my friends, you wouldn’t listen to me if I did (laughter). I will only observe that the settlement of this particular church-rate rests entirely between yourselves and the churchwardens. I personally am not concerned in it. You have elected your own churchwardens. You know they will not do more than the law requires, and that the law will compel them to do what the law requires to be done. Therefore if you do not grant the church-rate the Church itself will sustain no injury, because the money will come out of the churchwardens’ pockets (laughter). With regard to the second part of my friend’s speech, that which consisted of personal abuse, I would remind you that the most brilliant eloquence without charity may be but as sounding *brass*’ (the tone of his voice and the twinkle in his eye as he uttered these words are described by an eye-witness of the scene as irresistibly comic), ‘and,’ he proceeded, ‘I am glad to have this early opportunity of publicly acting upon a Church principle—a High Church principle—a *very High Church principle indeed*—’ (a pause, and breathless silence amongst the expectant throng)—‘I forgive him ;’ and so saying he stepped up to the astonished Mr. Giles and shook him heartily by the hand, amidst roars of laughter and thunders of applause from the multitude.

The day was gained. The rate was passed, and a vote of thanks to the chairman was carried with loud acclamation. None could appreciate better than a crowd of Yorkshiremen the mixture of shrewdness, good humour, and real Christian feeling by which he had extricated himself from the difficulties of his position and turned the tables against his opponents. It was the first great public occasion, outside the walls of the church, which enabled the people to see of what stuff he was

made, and it did much to gain for him that sympathy and respect from the working people which he continued to enjoy to the end of his career at Leeds. Meanwhile, both by his ministrations in the church and by pastoral and social intercourse he was rapidly winning over large numbers in all ranks, not only to himself, but to the principles of the Church. Even before he had taken up his abode in Leeds Mr. Robert Hall had discerned with delight evident symptoms of coming success.

So you have made up your mind (he wrote) to a three years' martyrdom. Believe me, unless like the ranter in the play you 'love to be persecuted,' you will either manage very ill or you will be agreeably disappointed. At present, let me tell you, you are almost more popular than, as a politician, I could have wished. The reason is, in part, that those who condemned you *unread* are, most of them, compelled to absolve you *read*: in part, it is common reaction; in part, that the Wesleyans of Coventry have sent a high character of you to the Wesleyans here, so that the Evangelical attempt to awaken the antipathy of that body has signally failed. You really would admire the commendable appetite with which some of them are eating their own words. . . . On the other hand, I cannot but look upon the late opposition as almost a providential means of awakening the old High Church principles, which had been slumbering in the hearts of the congregation of the parish church, and though even they will require gentle treatment at first, you will find them prepared to listen to you with docility.

The congregations at the parish church soon became so large that scarcely standing room could be found at the Sunday services. Much space was wasted by the large appropriated pews and galleries with which the church was encumbered. The poor sometimes went an hour before the time of service, yet were unable to get in. Some of them would go to the afternoon service, which was less fully attended, and sit on for the evening service, when the church was most densely thronged. The old parish church was a very large, and in many respects a very handsome, fabric, but singularly ill adapted for public worship. It was a great cross church of extraordinary breadth in the nave—ninety-seven feet, owing to double aisles—and

with a chancel of extraordinary length, which for practical purposes was completely severed from the nave, not only by the bulky piers and arches, which supported a massive central tower, but by a heavy gallery built across the eastern arch. The double rows of columns also which supported the nave and aisles were such serious obstructions to sight and sound that most unseemly behaviour often occurred in those distant parts to which the eye and even the powerful voice of the Vicar were unable to penetrate. Early in the autumn of 1837 an address was presented to him, signed by 640 parishioners, praying for the improvement of the parish church, and a subscription list was shortly afterwards opened, headed by the Vicar, Mr. Benjamin Gott, and Mr. Christopher Beckett, with donations of 200*l.* each. According to the plans first prepared by Mr. Chantrell, the architect, it was proposed to take down the tower and rebuild it on the north side, to widen the chancel and fit it for service, to remove the galleries and great pews from the nave, and generally to repair the whole structure. The estimate for carrying these alterations into effect was 6,000*l.* In any case it was necessary to remove the tower, for on examination it was discovered that the piers, two of which were cracked from top to bottom, rested on a shallow and rotten foundation of loose stones and rubble ; and the safety of the fabric could not be ensured from one day to another. On further consideration, also, the inconveniences arising from the great width and obstructive columns of the nave appeared so serious, the foundations and walls of the whole building were discovered to be so insecure, and the cost of restoration seemed likely to be so much greater than was at first expected, that the plan of remodelling was abandoned, and it was determined that a wholly new church should be erected.

Probably in the present day some parts of the old structure, and the general character of the whole, would have been preserved ; and the extreme dislike of the Vicar to the church, which is so strongly expressed in the letters at the close of this chapter, arose from his inability to detect the real beauties which were concealed beneath deformities of modern growth.

But he was also convinced, and perhaps rightly, that the construction of the building was very ill adapted for the proper and devout celebration of the services of the Church of England. Any attempt, moreover, at what is now called 'restoration' would probably, at that time, when the revival of architectural knowledge and taste was in its infancy, have proved a complete failure; and the new church, although it doubtless deserves, from a purely architectural and artistic point of view, some of the severe criticisms which have been freely bestowed upon it, possesses several great merits to which attention will be drawn in the proper place.

Feeling strongly as he did that a due celebration of Divine Service was impracticable in the old church, the Vicar devoted all his energy and resources to promote the successive schemes of alteration and rebuilding. Trade was in a deeply depressed condition, but he knew well that there was wealth more than sufficient for the purpose, and he was determined that the rich men should do their duty. One of the most eloquent and successful speeches which he made in the first year of his appointment was at a great meeting, held November 8, to consider the best means of rendering the church suitable for public worship. The plan for shifting the position of the tower and remodelling the interior of the church was at that time the only plan which had been brought forward.

'The Parish Church of Leeds,' said the Vicar, 'has been described by Thoresby as "black but comely." Black, I am sorry to say, it still is, but comely it has ceased to be, because, owing to various alterations which have taken place from time to time, not upon any fixed plan, the convenience of individuals rather than the accommodation of the public has been considered. As the church at present stands it is almost, nay altogether, impossible to perform the services of the sanctuary with that order and decency with which we ought to perform them.' After observing that the Communion Service could not be performed in the chancel, and that the church was the most difficult for the voice of all the churches in which he had ever officiated, he proceeded :

At present it holds about 1,500 people : by the proposed plan we shall get 1,200 more kneelings. I use the word in preference to the term sittings, that persons may be reminded that they come to church not to sit and hear a sermon, but to kneel before their God in prayer. And of these 1,200 fresh kneelings, 700 will be free for the use of the poor. I think I have stated reasons sufficient to convince anyone who may be tempted to ask the Judas question, To what purpose is this expense? I think I have used arguments sufficient to convince the utilitarian ; but I must remember that I am addressing Churchmen—men accustomed to take a higher aim, to be influenced by a holier sentiment and a diviner principle. To them I say, Go and look at the parish church, and then tell me if that be a church befitting a parish so distinguished for opulence as this. I bid them leave their homes, decorated by every art which elegance, refinement, and taste can suggest, and I tell them to go look on the Church of God, and I think the blush of shame will mantle on their cheeks when they reflect that while they are dwelling in their ceiled houses, the tabernacle of God is dwelling behind curtains. I consider a handsome church to be a kind of standing sermon, saying to the people, See how Churchmen love and honour their God, oh come hither and worship in the beauty of holiness ! I trust we shall be animated with the spirit of David, who desired to build a house for the Lord ‘exceeding magnificent, of fame and of glory throughout all countries.’ I trust we shall be animated with the spirit of Solomon, who loved the House of God, and the house which he built was great, for he said, ‘Great is my God above all gods.’ I trust we shall be animated with a desire that when the children of our people go forth to distant parts of the land, or to foreign countries, they may cast a longing, lingering look upon their native town, and speak of the holy and beautiful house where their fathers worshipped. I trust we shall be influenced by the Spirit of that Blessed Being of whom when He became incarnate and died for our sins it was said, ‘The zeal of Thine house hath eaten me up’ : and I trust it is under the influence of His Holy Spirit that I now say to you, in the words of the prophet, ‘Go up to the mountains and fetch wood, and build the house of the Lord, and the Lord will have pleasure in it, and I will be glorified, saith the Lord.’

The conclusion of the speech was followed by loud and prolonged cheering; and Mr. Christopher Beckett, in seconding a vote of thanks to the Vicar as chairman, observed that it was

impossible to estimate the value to the town of such a man : for the good influence which he had in six months exercised on all classes of the community in Leeds was indescribable. The meeting testified its approbation of these remarks by passing a vote of thanks to the trustees for having elected such an excellent Vicar for the town.

The enthusiasm kindled at this meeting for the work of remodelling or rebuilding the parish church was never suffered to flag. A committee of sixteen, with the Vicar as chairman, was formed, who carried on their labours with unabating zeal until the completion of the new church in 1841.

An unusual number of important speeches were made by the Vicar during the first two years of his ministry at Leeds ; and they were probably the most eloquent and effective which he ever delivered. It has commonly been said that he was not a good speaker. This statement, however, must be taken with great reservations. It is true, if by a good speaker is to be understood one who can be depended upon to speak eloquently on all occasions and on any subject, whether he knows much about it or not. It is not true, if the designation may be extended to those who, though they may be unable to speak well always, everywhere, and on all subjects, nevertheless can at times speak powerfully, and even brilliantly, upon subjects with which they are thoroughly acquainted, and in which they feel a deep interest.

The Vicar of Leeds was one of this class. There were two conditions under which he could speak eminently well. One was when he was thoroughly roused and put upon his mettle by the presence of a multitude either warmly sympathetic or fiercely antagonistic. 'Large mobs,' he once remarked to me, 'inspired me to speak ; under excitement and before a large multitude, when I got into a declamatory and rather rhetorical vein, I could go on unceasingly ; but I never could speak much or fluently at small private meetings.'

The second condition which enabled him to speak effectively was when his interest and feelings were thoroughly enlisted in a subject, and the speech itself was the outcome of much pre-

vious thought and study. The preparation of such speeches cost him much labour, but they were for the most part very telling in delivery. 'I have made three or four great speeches,' he said, 'in the course of my life—speeches, I mean, which took more than an hour to deliver, were much applauded at the time, and frequently quoted afterwards; but the effort of mind was very great to me, because I am not naturally a speaker, and my memory is not good. My plan was to have a distinct outline in my head, a peroration, a certain number of points prepared and assigned to particular parts of the speech, and others to be brought in as well as I could.' Speech-making at meetings was a part of his duty which he never relished, and would often gladly have avoided, had it been possible or right to do so. But as it was an unavoidable necessity, especially at the outset of his career in Leeds, he girded himself to discharge this, like every other duty, with all his might.

At the time that he became Vicar of Leeds and Dr. Longley Bishop of Ripon, very great ignorance prevailed in the West Riding concerning the true principles, and the deep claims upon Churchmen, of the two venerable Societies, for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. One of the Leeds parish churchwardens who had attended morning service at St. John's observed to a friend as he came out: 'We have been having a sermon and collection for a Christian Knowledge Society: can you tell me what the Society is for?' A very great increase in the support given in Western Yorkshire to the two Societies dates from the zealous and eloquent pleading of their cause by Vicar Hook and Bishop Longley; and the local papers between 1837 and 1842 contain reports of many long, vigorous, and able speeches made by the former on their behalf.

But speeches would have availed little had they not been followed up by action. Before the close of the year 1837 a scheme had been devised for dividing the whole town into twelve districts, in each of which a branch of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was to be established. The

committees of these branches were to consist of a chairman, the clergyman of the district, and two visitors for every thousand inhabitants. A Depository was to be established in each district, where specimens of the publications of the Society should be kept and exhibited, and notices placed in the window directing the attention of the public to the name, nature, and design of the Society. The duty of the visitors was to call upon persons of all classes, in order to discover who were in want of Bibles and Prayer-books amongst the poor, and amongst the richer people to advocate the claims of the Society upon their support. Once a month they were to report progress to the chairman, and once a quarter the chairmen of the several districts were to meet the general committee for the transaction of business at the Central Depository. The first of these branches was opened in December 1837, in St. Mary's Bank School, which was densely crowded, when the Vicar as chairman explained the nature of the work which this and the other branches would have to perform. And from this time forward, as branch after branch was formed in this district and in that, the Vicar was always at his post as president, making his addresses a vehicle of instruction in the primary principles of the Church generally, as well as of the Society, and thus casting the net of the Church's influence further and further into the broad and deep waters in which he had been called to labour.

But the most direct influence which he exercised upon the minds and hearts of his people was of course through his sermons and pastoral intercourse. Seldom did any preacher so happily blend instruction with exhortation in his sermons. Sunday by Sunday, with great weight of learning and with great force and perspicuity of language, did he unfold the true nature and principles of the Church of England; her apostolical succession—her foundation by St. Augustine, her purification by the Reformers of the sixteenth century, her harmony in creed and practice with the Primitive Church. Sunday by Sunday did he, in his sermons and in catechising the school children in church, exhibit the

meaning, the beauty, and the value of the Anglican Liturgy. But with the didactic he never forgot to mingle the hortatory and practical; he never forgot for a moment that the supreme duty of the pastor is to win men to Christ, and to lead them to cast their sins at the foot of His Cross; and all his teaching about the ordinances of the Church was intended to show that they were, when rightly and faithfully used, means to this great end; that they were the hem of Christ's robe, through which men might touch Him and be healed of whatsoever spiritual disease they had. No Evangelical—no Methodist, ever preached 'Christ crucified' more fully, freely, fervently, constantly than he did; he only differed from them in pointing out the rich provision made by Christ in His Church for aiding men in drawing near to Himself, and in exhorting believers to look to a steady course of obedience rather than feelings and frames of mind as tests of spiritual growth.

The effects of such teaching became visible in the course of even a few months. The whole number of communicants when he entered on his charge at the parish church was little more than fifty, and amongst these there were no young men, and very few men of any age. One who had been the Vicar of St. John's for thirty years declared he had never seen a young man at the Lord's Table. A steady and rapid increase set in after Dr. Hook's arrival, and in the course of two or three years we find him speaking of 400 and 500 persons communicating on Easter Day. The more frequent confirmations which were instituted after the establishment of the See of Ripon were of course a great assistance in promoting this improvement. Formerly they had taken place once in seven years only, when a vast number of ill-prepared young people were brought together from great distances. They were frequently the occasions of scandalous festivities and improprieties, and many of the candidates returned to their homes initiated in vice instead of being confirmed in goodness. After the appointment of the Bishop of Ripon the confirmations were at first triennial and ultimately annual. The first confirmation at Leeds after the election of Dr. Hook took place in October

1837, when upwards of 1,000 candidates of various ages were presented by him and the other clergy of the township.

But the most remarkable result of his teaching this year was the conversion to the Church of three Methodist preachers, with a certain number of their followers. The movement was purely spontaneous on their part, for it was not the custom of the Vicar to allure proselytes from the ranks of Nonconformity. His business, he conceived, was to proclaim truth rather than to combat error.

The Methodist teachers came to him and informed him that, having become convinced of the truth of Church principles by his sermons and speeches, they wished to be received into the fold; but there was one difficulty which weighed upon their minds and the minds of their followers. They felt unwilling to abandon the practice of class-meetings—a practice to which they had always been accustomed, and which they considered to be salutary in its effects. ‘Do not let this be an impediment,’ said the Vicar; ‘by all means have your class-meetings, and I shall be delighted to become one of your class-leaders.’ To this they readily assented. The first meeting, however, at which he was present, he attended more as a distinguished visitor than as a leader. It was held at the house of one of the principal members of the connexion, who presided at the head of a long table in the middle of the room. The Vicar, and one of his curates who accompanied him, were invited to occupy chairs near the leader, while the members of the class sat round the walls facing the table, until the leader gave out a hymn, when they all turned their faces to the wall. The hymn being ended, the leader read and expounded a portion of Scripture, after which the members of the class were called upon to ‘tell their experiences.’ For some time there was no response to the invitation, although it had been made in the most encouraging tones. At length a man got up, and beginning, ‘This night I set up my Ebenezer,’ proceeded in a declamatory style to inform the meeting how he had formerly believed that he saw the light of truth and followed the path of righteousness, but how he had been smitten by ‘t’Vicar’s

sermon t' other night,' and now perceived that he had been all the while walking in darkness and ungodliness. This experience having been related, and no more being offered on the part of others, the Vicar was invited to 'improve the occasion.' He had discerned clearly enough that the intention of the speaker had been to gratify him by paying compliments to his persuasive preaching, and to magnify himself in the eyes of all present by getting credit for his superior discernment of the Vicar's great powers. The Vicar, therefore, began by observing that his visit to the class-meeting had been most interesting and instructive to him, for he now saw the full value of the practice of telling experiences. Here was a man who had himself believed, and had led others to believe, that he was a pillar of truth and a pattern of godliness, but who now came forward to declare that all this had been a mistake and an imposition. 'So now, brother,' continued the Vicar, 'we see what your fault has been—self-deceit, brother, and hypocrisy, too—yes, hypocrisy, brother. Oh! what a hypocrite you have been, brother; you must repent of your hypocrisy.' The feelings and countenances of the assembly, especially of the member thus addressed, may be better imagined than described, as the unmerciful Vicar ran on in this strain. To bring matters to a close the leader proposed that the Vicar should 'engage in prayer,' upon which he took out his Prayer Book and said the greater part of the Litany in a tone and manner described by an eye-witness as peculiarly impressive and affecting, after which he shook hands with the leader and departed with his companion, to discuss at the Vicarage the singular scene at which they had assisted.

The result of his deliberations was a resolution that, while willing to allow class-meetings, under the superintendence of himself or one of his curates, the 'telling of experiences' should be absolutely forbidden, as likely to minister to spiritual pride and presumption. Many of the Wesleyans, however, were not content to enter the Church on this condition, and only a few of the more sober kind actually came over. The Church 'class-meeting,' which had its origin in this occurrence, became

a weekly meeting of communicants and church workers for instruction and counsel under the Vicar, and has been carried on from that time to this.

The following is a copy of rules for the class, which I have found in the handwriting of Dr. Hook.

1. This class consists of persons who are communicants, or preparing to become so, and is to be regarded as a private meeting of my friends: as private as if we were to assemble at the Vicarage.

2. Strangers, therefore, can only attend when introduced by a member, and any person becoming a member will be considered as such for half a year at least.

3. Those members of the class who are willing to take or distribute tracts will signify their desire to do so to me, and will pay a penny a week to the treasurer of the fund. But it remains optional to any member of the class to become a tract distributor or not.

4. For those who undertake to distribute tracts I shall provide a fresh tract every week. They will lend the tract among their neighbours as they shall see fit, and then they may keep the tract to form part of a library for the use of their servants.

5. Covers are provided for those who wish to lend their tracts.

6. Many of the tracts will be of a superior description, for sending, not merely to the poor, but to better-educated classes of society, who may be prejudiced at present against the principles of the Church, or who may require confirmation in the principles which they profess.

The meeting was in fact a weekly instruction by the Vicar in some book of Holy Scripture, or some portion of the Liturgy. It was one of the principal means by which he rallied round him a body of earnest and intelligent workers, so that it became a centre in which religious light and warmth were generated, and from which they were diffused to others.

CORRESPONDENCE, JULY TO DECEMBER 1837.

To his Sister—First impressions of Leeds.

The Vicarage, Leeds: July 5, 1837.

My dearest Georgiana,—We this night sleep for the first time in the Vicarage, and as you have been a good girl, and written to me (for you) very well of late, I will indulge you with a letter. Things are now beginning to be very comfortable: the house is a delightful one, just the kind of house I particularly like—lofty rooms but not too large. I have a delightful study, which is the only room completely furnished, besides our bedroom. Pratt is like a brother, and seems highly pleased with everything. He manages to understand the Yorkshire lingo better than I can. To Yorkshire manners I am becoming a little reconciled. I am beginning with the greatest delicacy to hint to the people that this house is not quite public property. Hitherto everybody seems to have thought himself justified in entering it, and in criticising all that the Vicar has been doing; while sturdy beggars, men out of work, meet me at every turn, and almost demand relief. I am now in full work; the poor curates, sexton, clerk, &c., are surprised: they evidently thought that I should let them go on in their own slovenly way, while I should be employed in some grand undertakings, such as building new churches and schools; whereas the learned doctor (they doctor me here, 'Yes Doctor, No Doctor, at almost every second word) says, 'fair and softly,' one thing at a time. They heard nothing of me the first week. I first set my study in order, and next the parish church must be put in order; so to show how things shall and must be done, I am taking all the full curate's duty; I have this day offered the prayers three times, besides burying, baptizing, and churching. The stated services in this church are prayers three times a day; and instead of seeking for a congregation the curates, sexton, clerk, &c., have endeavoured to prevent one being formed, and then used that as an excuse for having no service. I have ordered the sexton whenever there is no congregation to go into the street and give two old women sixpence a-piece to come in and form one; so that no sham excuse can be tolerated. The curates have now but little to do, though I make them attend; for when I have ordered the funerals to be properly performed, they have urged that it was impossible, so with baptisms,

&c. ; and therefore, in order to refute them, I have taken the duty myself, just to prove that 'what is impossible can sometimes come to pass.' The black looks with which I am regarded, notwithstanding the soft words used, are rather amusing ; but the services of the Church *shall* be performed as they ought to be, before anything else is done. I am also busily employed, with an architect, devising some plan to make decent my nasty, dirty, ugly old church. I am determined to get that into something like order, if possible. The difficulties are tremendous, but I am in good heart.

To the Rev. J. W. Clarke—Nature of the Work to be done at Leeds.

Vicarage, Leeds : July 7, 1837.

My dear Clarke,—I write to you again to say that now you are appointed lecturer, you may entirely suit your own convenience, and what you think to be due to your two parishes, about the time of your coming here. The curates and clerk in orders make not a little fuss about the work they have to do, which, nevertheless, is but little ; and your absence does not add to their labours, though your coming will diminish them. My system is to do one thing at a time, and not have too many irons in the fire ; and my business now is to get the ministerial work at the parish church properly performed ; I am therefore myself undertaking full curate's duty. Nothing could have been more slovenly than the proceedings at the parish church—baptisms, marriages, funerals, all slurred over ; this I am resolutely reforming in spite of the curates, clerk, sexton, &c. Their system has been not to consult the convenience of the public, but to save themselves trouble. My system is not to care for the trouble of the clergy, but to consult the convenience of the public, and to enamour them of our services by having them solemnly and devoutly performed. In this good work I shall look forward to your kind and cordial co-operation. If you and I show that we attach importance to the solemn performance of even the slightest duty connected with our dear Master's service ; that we consider even the office of a doorkeeper in His house an office of honour ; that, convinced of His presence, we are as devout in offering the prayers when only two or three are present as when there are two or three hundred ; we shall find His blessing attending us, and we shall be the means of converting others. I confess I attach the very greatest importance to the solemn performance of

the occasional duties. As in this respect you will have to act as my strict ally, I wish, if you have time, you would read again and attentively Wheatley on the Common Prayer, and any other similar work. I prefer Wheatley to Shepherd, because the $\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ of Wheatley's teaching is more Catholic, more in accordance with the Church spirit. It might be well also to read over the Oxford tracts; not that I care whether you agree with them or not, but because the people here are all reading them, and it would be expedient to know something of them, and because, however you may differ on particular points, you cannot but be delighted with the fine, noble, and truly Christian spirit with which they are written.

To the Rev. Samuel Wilberforce—Clerical Meetings—Character of Churchmanship in Leeds.

Vicarage, Leeds : July 1837.

My dear Friend, . . . My next object in writing is to request you to give me a few hints as to the rules of your clerical society, with a copy of the prayer you use at meeting. There are altogether twenty-two clergymen in this parish, who are somewhat under my jurisdiction, and I propose giving them a breakfast once a month at my house, where we shall form a kind of club. There are three 'Evangelicals' of the old school, about four or five high Establishment men, beginning to understand a little about the Church, and the rest are 'orthodox-men' of the old school; all steady, quiet, but (except the four or five I have alluded to) illiterate men. These are my materials: my wish is to infuse into them a Church spirit. Any advice will be gratefully received from you, who have succeeded so well in the Isle of Wight. The announcement of my intention to give these breakfasts has given much satisfaction. I prefer breakfasts, not only because it will be most convenient to all parties concerned, but because in a town great clerical dinners would give rise to evil report. I do not find my position here an easy one. As to Church feeling, to Catholicism, the thing is utterly unknown to clergy and laity. The *de facto* established religion is Methodism, and the best of our church-people, I mean the most pious, talk the language of Methodism; the traditional religion is Methodism. An Independent teacher of some celebrity remarked to me the other day, that his sect is affected by this fact just as we are, so that I have to begin and lay a new foundation. I intend, please God, to begin soon a course of

sermons on the Liturgy, and I fancy some persons who think themselves good Churchmen will rather stare when I speak of the Liturgy as absolutely good, their mode of defence having hitherto been that it is not absolutely bad; that it needs great reforms, but still it is not so bad as to force them to desert the Establishment; which is here the all in all of Churchism.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—First Impressions of Leeds.

Vicarage, Leeds: July 1837.

My dearest Friend,—I am in your debt for two letters, and perhaps they will long remain unanswered if I do not avail myself of the present half-hour to write to you; not that I can answer for having so much time at my own disposal, the interruptions here being incessant. Trade is so very bad that half the population are begging; such sturdy beggars as the Yorkshire beggars it has never been my fortune to meet; in Coventry, in the worst of times, I never saw the like. But let me begin at the beginning, and tell you first how I like Leeds, that parish in which you, under Providence, have placed me. On the whole I am well pleased, though the labour which I anticipate is great. The house is airy and pleasant, and this is with me a great point; I really think that if I had had a good airy study at Coventry I should never have left it. I am disappointed in the country round; indeed one can hardly get into the country till a horseman, not of the first order, is prepared to return to the town, for the suburbs are very extensive. But oh my dear Wood, such a church as I have! I really loathe it; I cannot preach comfortably in it, I can scarcely make myself heard; and the dirt, the indecorum, &c., &c., quite distress me. You know my system as I learnt it from Bishop Jebb. I do not oppose Dissenters by disputations and wrangling, but I seek to exhibit to the world the Church in her beauty; let the services of the Church be properly performed, and right-minded people will soon learn to love her. But here, all that is thought of is preaching; partly, without doubt, because the church is so arranged that to perform the services well and properly is almost impossible. I am much annoyed on Sundays by persons coming to hear me preach; but they will soon find out that I am not that most detestable of all characters, a popular preacher. And then I shall get my regular flock around me, and I am longing to preach a course

of sermons on the Liturgy, which will, I think, surprise the Leedites, as they imagine that there can be only two subjects for sermons—Justification and Sanctification. The real fact is, that the established religion in Leeds is Methodism, and it is Methodism that all the most pious among the Churchmen unconsciously talk. If you ask a poor person the ground of his hope, he will immediately say that he feels that he is saved, however great a sinner he may be ; so that you see I have much to contend with. Last night, the teachers of the Sunday schools (Sabbath schools, as they rejoice to call them) met together to deliver to me a congratulatory address. They proposed forming themselves into a society, to meet every month ; to begin every meeting with prayer and praise ; upon which, being up to their tricks, I immediately said that I highly approved of their design, and that, as they were Churchmen, I would give them the greatest of all possible pleasures ; they should come to church, attend evening service at seven o'clock, when I would preach to them, and they should afterwards meet in the vestry. It then came out that they had been accustomed to assemble for extempore prayer, which they wished to be continued ; upon which I suggested that those who wished to be Churchmen would of course prefer the privilege of the Church prayers. When they begged me to pray, out I brought my prayer-book, and went through the Litany, which seemed deeply to impress the majority, and having begun with one of Wesley's hymns, they ended with the Hundredth Psalm, I having evidently succeeded in raising a Church spirit among the majority. I shall begin to catechise in church (D.V.) the first Sunday in August. I have been much worked lately with committees and public meetings ; on Monday I had to make two eloquent speeches ; one on an address to the Queen, when I applied to her the words of Shakspeare (Archbishop Cranmer) to Queen Elizabeth, 'Truth shall nurse, holy and heavenly thoughts still counsel her,' &c. ; the other on raising a subscription for the poor. I make a point of going everywhere and doing everything, as it is important at first to show what one *can* do ; afterwards we may rest on our oars. On Wednesday I am to preside at a floral show. The worst of it is that I cannot preach here ; I know that there is no one in church who can have a thought in sympathy, that even my very expressions are not understood, and I do not find the spirit in me ; this is a fault, and must be remedied by prayer.

*To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Cathedral Choirs—Accession of
Methodists.*

Leeds : August 1837.

. . . I perfectly agree with you in your regrets at the carelessness of our English choirs. The fact is, that chanting and all old Catholic practices have only been tolerated in England, the majority of our people being ultra-Protestants. I have always wished that a body of the laity would come forward with a remonstrance to the ecclesiastical commissioners, reminding them that the interest of the laity ought to be attended to in their arrangements; and since they *will* re-arrange the cathedrals, that the income of one stall at least should be appropriated in each cathedral to increase the efficiency of the choirs. . . . You will be delighted to hear that my success here already exceeds my most sanguine expectations. Churchmen have hitherto been accustomed to think the Church *bad enough*, but *not too* bad for them as *Tories* to belong to it. They seem quite delighted to hear me prove that the Church is *absolutely* excellent. My course of sermons on the Church and Liturgy is received enthusiastically; and—glory be to God!—my most earnest prayer, it seems, is likely to be granted, for this morning I received an intimation that some of the leading Methodists, convinced by what I have said, are desirous of leaving their society and of acting under me on Church principles. If I can but enlist their Methodism, their godly enthusiasm, in the right cause! I have offered to meet them with rapture. It is a great advantage to be so thoroughly grounded in my principles as I am, for I know exactly how far to concede and where to stop. I have thorough confidence in myself on these points.

To the Rev. T. H. Tragett—Settling at Leeds.

August 21, 1837.

My dear Tragett, . . . We have here a large, airy, comfortable, delightful house. I could not wish for a better; it is situated in the best part of the town, and will reconcile us, if anything can, to a town residence. Furnishing goes on very slowly. You can easily imagine the higgling and haggling and bargaining which is constantly going on. Mrs. Hook and Mrs. Johnstone have found

out all the cheap shops, and if in the morning they manage to have saved a penny, you cannot imagine what pleasant companions they are in the evening. As to religion, the traditional or established religion in Leeds is Methodism ; and consequently, as is natural, since we breathe a Methodistic atmosphere, everything has a Methodistic tendency. A pious Churchman here means a person who likes an establishment, and consequently supports the Church ; but then the Church is not sufficient to supply his wants ; so that he probably institutes two or three prayer-meetings in some large house or warehouse on the week-days, where he can indulge in extemporaneous prayer and Methodistic rant. Nor do the people venture to entertain a notion that the Church is *right* ; their mode of defence is to show that it is not so *very wrong* that it is sinful to belong to it ; they *do* therefore belong to it, looking forward to the day when it will be reformed—i.e. brought down to the state of some Methodistic sect. Even many of the clergy, without knowing it, shape their doctrines and style of preaching according to the Methodistic system ; and those who are not humdrum, labour not to instruct, but to excite. I am stirring up the clergy by insisting upon the strictest rubrical observance in all the occasional services—baptisms, marriages, and funerals. Nobody here seems to have a notion that baptism is anything more than a form of registration ; I think it my duty therefore to have it always administered with peculiar solemnity. They do stare sometimes when I tell them that before administering the Sacrament, I require them to attend the prayers of the Church, and pray with me : they think by the Sacrament I must needs mean the Lord's Supper.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Hard Work—The Oxford School.

Leeds : November 13, 1837.

My dearest Friend,—Although every moment of my time is occupied, I must write a line to thank you for your letter, and to thank you also for having thought of me when you were in foreign parts. I cannot tell you how much I miss the advantage of that correspondence with you, which has been the blessing of my life ; from which I have perhaps derived more of benefit than from any other thing whatever. But I now have to preach four times a week : twice on Sundays, once on Wednesdays at Mr. R. Hall's school, which I have had licensed, and on Friday evenings at

church. This, with constant interruptions—everybody exhorting me not to overwork myself, but everybody thinking that his own particular business ought to be made an exception to the general rule he would lay down—gives me much occupation. I have sent you an ‘Intelligencer,’ which will gladden your heart ; but you must not suppose that all things are going on smoothly. As to the success which seems to have attended me hitherto, it humbles me to the dust ; it seems as if God intended to use me as an instrument of good, while I am horribly afraid that I may be a Balaam, that my heart is not so completely converted as it ought to be. This feeling has depressed me ever since the meeting, but I had much profitable prayer yesterday, and was in tears during the greater part of the morning service. I certainly do not find my progress what I wish, and I am dreadfully afraid of being myself a castaway ; and yet on one grand point—temper—the progress of grace has been such as to make me humbly hope that the great work is going on in me. I agree with much that you say about my Oxford friends ; they are certainly the most injudicious of mortal men. Palmer, you know, has long cut the connexion with them. I am afraid they will upset the coach, they are such very Jehus. What you say about ceremonies meets my view, only that I should wish to see many ceremonies gradually and imperceptibly restored. The Oxford school system is decidedly bad, but you have only looked on one side of the question, and do not perceive their principle, which must be taken into consideration when forming a judgment. We are on the eve of a new controversy with the papists, who are breaking up new ground ; they do not now insist on image worship, worship of saints, &c., &c., as necessary doctrines ; they say it is only a part of the discipline of the Church to which individuals are at liberty to object if they will. This system of explaining away the obnoxious parts of Romanism was invented by Bossuet, and is carried out by Wiseman. They then say their worship, their mode of propounding doctrines, their ecclesiastical language, and their ceremonies are much nearer to what we read of in the primitive times as the practice of the Universal Church than those of the English Church. Surely then, they argue, you had better be with us ; we will not compel you to believe more than you now do, but you will be nearer the primitive model. You are not aware how great a weight this has with many people. I know it, because I have now under my tuition two of the daughters of my neighbour, Mr. Newton, the celebrated Methodist

preacher, who are resolute to go over to Popery ; their feeling is what I have described, and it is the case with others. Now the Oxford school say (and I agree with them) that all this is owing to our having, ever since Cromwell's time, endeavoured to assimilate both our mode of stating our doctrines and our forms *with the conventicle*, with ultra-Protestants. Work the Church of England, they say, as she ought to be worked, attend to her real instructions as to ceremonies, state your doctrines, e.g. Regeneration, as she states them in her formularies, and you rob the papist of this argument. Where I disagree with them is in the abruptness of their proceedings, and their disregard of weaker brethren ; they act really from a dread of Popery, but seeing all its strong points, against which ultra-Protestants rather declaim than argue. It is time for a committee, and I must conclude.

CHAPTER VII.

PART I. : PUBLIC LIFE FROM 1838 TO 1840.

IN April of the year 1838 a great Conservative banquet was held in Leeds. The short-lived administration of Sir Robert Peel in 1835 had been beaten on a resolution moved by Lord John Russell, 'That the House should resolve itself into a committee of the whole House to consider the state of the Established Church in Ireland, with the view of applying any of its surplus revenues, not required for the spiritual care of its members, to the general education of all classes of the people, without distinction of religious persuasion.' The majority, however, against Sir Robert Peel's Government on this motion had not been more than thirty-three in a very full house. The Melbourne administration was weak, and was forced to purchase stability by a closer alliance than many of its supporters relished with the Irish Roman Catholic leader O'Connell and his party—'O'Connell and his tail,' as they were vulgarly called. Churchmen were filled with apprehension also lest the Government should be tempted to buy the support of the Socialists in England, by taking away some of the property of the Church for the purposes of national education on secular principles.

On all accounts, therefore, the Conservative party deemed it of the utmost importance to rally their forces with energy and promptness. On the one hand there was a reasonable prospect of their succeeding, by a determined and united effort, in overthrowing the Liberal Government; on the other the continuance of that administration in power was, in their judgment, fraught with peculiar perils to the Constitution both in Church

and State. The hopes of their party centred in Sir Robert Peel. They might succeed in uniting the more moderate reformers with those members of the Tory party who, like himself, were prepared, however reluctantly, to concede changes which the spirit of the age seemed to demand.

The Vicar of Leeds was one of those who considered that the best chance of averting calamity from the Church at this crisis lay in the return of Sir Robert Peel to power. He therefore departed for once from his general rule of holding aloof from all political demonstrations. He attended the banquet in Leeds, and made one of the most eloquent and effective speeches, lasting nearly an hour, which he ever delivered.

Rarely has a larger festival of the kind taken place in any of the great provincial towns of England. The dining saloon was 120 feet long, by 80 broad. Nine tables, each 99 feet long in the body of the hall, and a cross table 65 feet long at the top, accommodated 1,200 guests, whilst 500 ladies in the gallery, and 200 servants, made up a total of nearly 2,000 persons present.

The Chairman was Mr. William Beckett; and among the principal speakers were Sir George Sinclair, Lord Wharncliffe, Lord Maidstone, and Sir Francis Burdett, who indeed was honoured as the most distinguished guest of the evening, occupying a place on the right of the Chairman, next to Lord Wharncliffe.

The health of the Vicar and clergy of Leeds was proposed about the middle of the evening, and was drunk with four times four amidst tremendous cheering, which was renewed and lasted for a long time when the Vicar rose to return thanks.

Gentlemen (he began), I rejoice to hear those shouts, for they have been raised not as an idle compliment to the clergy of Leeds—they are not intended as a compliment to me individually—they are intended—are they not?—to attest your zeal, your loyalty, your devotion to the cause of the Church. I see before me many familiar faces, many who are accustomed to attend my ministry. To them I have had other opportunities of stating the spiritual claims of the Church, the spiritual advantages, the spiritual privi-

leges of belonging to the Church. But I stand before you this day not as your pastor, but as one of your fellow subjects come here to declare my adhesion to the Conservative cause—my determination to unite with you, by every lawful means and measure, to uphold and maintain those rights and privileges to which as an Englishman I am entitled. . . . I am not to be daunted by that clamour which is sometimes raised against the clergy when they dare to meet their lay brethren for a political object. I have never been a busy politician because I had neither time nor inclination. Once, and only once, in my life before this have I attended a political dinner ; but I have abstained, not because I had no right to be present, but because I thought my attendance might interfere with my ministerial usefulness—a regard for which is my first and primary duty. And, gentlemen, I am present this day at this glorious, this splendid festival, because I verily believe that my *absence* would have interfered with my ministerial usefulness. I think you would have considered your Vicar as wanting in his duty, if in this cause he had shown himself afraid to come before you from any dread of the pitiless pelting of a profligate Whig press—a press which seems to act upon the assumption that a Popish priest can do no wrong, and a Protestant clergyman can do no good.

He then dilated upon the danger that a Government which had depressed the Church and favoured the Roman Catholics in Ireland would depress the Church in England, not indeed of deliberate purpose, but from the exigencies of their situation, by weakly yielding to the counsels of the Secularists and the Dissenters on the subject of education.

The pious Churchman (he said) and the pious Dissenter are united in considering that the education of an immortal being—a being who is to be educated not merely for time but for eternity—must be based upon religion ; and happy am I to know that the religious feeling of this religious community has been roused upon the subject. The advocates for the secular system of education say, ‘ No, there shall be a system of secular education, not based upon religion, and then, after that, the people may send their children for religious instruction where they please.’ I should like to know what time the children of the poor would have to give to this double system of education, as every person who has been at

all employed in education is well aware that two-thirds of the children sent to our schools are sent there not for the sake of religious instruction but for the sake of the general information we give, the price we demand being that they shall also receive religious instruction. So that if this secular system be established, two-thirds of the children will be brought up without any religious instruction, without any knowledge of their Saviour and their God.

I say I rejoice to find that attention has been called to this subject, and that ministers have said that they will not give their sanction to any education that is not based upon religion. But judging of their past conduct, we have a right to ask: What do you mean by religious instruction? Do they mean scriptural education? Yes, some of them reply. Well, but we may ask what kind of scriptural education? Do you mean such as that which is given in Ireland? Now the scriptural education given in Ireland is not the whole Bible, but selections from the Bible. It is very true that good selections may be made from the Bible, containing every leading doctrine of our religion, but if we go to Ireland we find that the leading doctrines are excluded from their extracts, so that their system of religious teaching is very much like an orange with the juice squeezed out of it. But let that pass; and the question may again be asked, What do you mean by religion? Is it the religion of the Church of England? No; because, if that were so, the present system would require no alteration, and that would exclude the Dissenters. Is it the religion based upon Protestantism? No; because that would exclude the Papists. Well then, let us ask, do you mean Christian principles? No; that would exclude the Deists. So then their exclusive system of education would include no religion at all.

After observing that the Government had been deterred from bringing forward a scheme of education based on the Prussian plan, on account of the large sum of money, about 300,000*l.*, for which they would have to ask Parliament, he proceeded:

The Government, then, not finding themselves strong enough to ask for such a sum, have laid aside their project for the present, and their friends, in their writings and cheap publications, are pointing out a species of property which they think may be made available for their object; that is, the Church property. They ask for a portion of the Church's property for the purposes

of their secular education. They reason thus : they say they intend the education of the people—for the education of the people, indeed, in part they do intend ; but, as we all know, only in part. The Church, we know, was established for the sanctification of the people, and education is only one branch of that work. But they shirk that part of the question ; and they say that the whole of the people will not be educated by the Church, and therefore they must take a part of the property of the Church, as they will compel the people to be educated in their way. And they say that the State may at any time take away the property of the Church, because it was originally given to her by the State. Now if I were to meet a man in the street to-day, and were to give him half-a-crown, am I, if I meet him to-morrow, to take it back, and say I have found some one more worthy ? But I deny their premisses altogether. When did the State give property to the Church ? Where is the Act of Parliament by which it was given ?

He then proceeded very lucidly to demonstrate, by reference to facts well known to every student of history, the origin of ecclesiastical endowments in the gifts of individual benefactors, and also to expose the fallacy, more common then than it is now, of supposing that at the time of the Reformation this property was taken from one Church and handed over to another.

He concluded his speech with a glowing eulogy on Sir Robert Peel, a statesman for whom he entertained a higher admiration than for any other excepting Mr. Gladstone.

All the newspapers in their accounts of this festival concur in pronouncing the Vicar's speech to have been the most striking of all which were made that evening. None were comparable to it in weightiness of matter, in sustained eloquence, and in the musical voice and dignified manner of the speaker. None elicited more frequent and enthusiastic applause from the assembly. I have made rather copious extracts from it, chiefly to illustrate his views on the subject of national education : views from which he never departed in principle, although the scheme proposed in his celebrated pamphlet, hereafter to be noticed—'How to Render more Efficient the Education of the People'—was erroneously imagined by many to be inconsistent with them.

In June of this year (1838) he preached at the Chapel Royal, before the young Queen and her Court, the memorable sermon, 'Hear the Church!' It deserves the epithet which I have applied to it, because it excited much commotion at the time in the political and fashionable world, and ran through twenty-eight editions, in which about one hundred thousand copies were sold. But in the present day it is difficult to comprehend the sensation which it produced (a proof how much the doctrine set forth has gained ground); and even then it was astonishing to those who thoroughly understood the sermon—to no one more than the author himself. It was an old sermon, originally composed at Coventry as one of a series on the Gospel of St. Matthew, and subsequently delivered at Leeds and other places. A few alterations only were introduced to adapt it to the occasion, and the sermon itself was selected because he thought it would answer the aim which he had in view as well as if he had written a new one. That aim simply was to lay before the young sovereign the claims, the character and the privileges of the Church of which, in the providence of God, she had been called to be the temporal Head. Surrounded as she was at that time by ministers whose ignorance of the history of the Church, and misconceptions of its true principles and constitution might, as he feared, prejudice her mind with fatal errors on the subject, he conceived it to be his duty, so far as in him lay, to prejudice her mind in favour of the truth.

It would be needless in the present day, even if the sermon were not accessible to all who may choose to refer to it, to follow the preacher over well-known ground. That the Church of England was not founded but reformed in the sixteenth century; that the Roman Catholics in England are descended from a party who, in the reign of Elizabeth, quitted the Church because they thought it was reformed too far, just as the Protestant Dissenters quitted it because they thought it was not reformed far enough; that the bishops of the English Church trace their origin by a continuous succession back to the Apostles, and hence claim to derive their authority from Christ

Himself;—these are historical facts which are now familiar to most well-educated persons. They were, however, startling to some who heard them for the first time as they were announced by the preacher in the Chapel Royal. They were disbelieved or misunderstood; by many they were misrepresented as defiant assertions of exacting and overweening claims on the part of the Church; claims which, if pushed to extremity, might be dangerous to the civil constitution. The consequence was that the sermon became invested with an exaggerated importance never expected, still less intended, by the preacher. The unnecessary agitation, however, respecting it had the good effect of leading thousands to read the sermon who otherwise would never have even heard of it, and thus helped to spread far and wide the truths which the writer so earnestly desired to propagate. There are many who can date from the perusal of that sermon an increase in their attachment to the Church, or the creation of an attachment never felt before. There are many who can remember how, for the first time, they perceived the bearing on personal religion of right knowledge respecting the origin of the Church; and many, too, can remember how a spirit of zeal was kindled within them as they read these burning words with which the sermon ends:—

Against the Church the world seems at this time to be set in array. To be a true and faithful member of the Church requires no little moral courage. Basely to pretend to belong to her, while designing mischief against her in the heart—this is easy enough; but manfully to contend for her, because she is the Church, a true Church, a pure Church, a holy Church—this is difficult to those who court the praise of men or fear the censure of the world. May the great God of Heaven, may Christ, the great Bishop and Shepherd of souls, who is over all things in the Church, put it, my brethren, into your hearts and minds to say and feel as I do, ‘As for me and my house we will live in the Church, we will die in the Church, and, if need shall be, like our martyred forefathers we will die *for* the Church.’

Earnest and decided Churchmen of course rejoiced in this clear and courageous vindication in high places of the character

of the Church. Letters of congratulation and gratitude poured in from all directions. Dr. Doane, the American Bishop of New Jersey, wrote that he had long been following the author with his eye and heart as the able and fearless advocate of the principles to which his life was pledged, that he secured with eagerness all his publications as they came out, and he had been so deeply impressed with this sermon that he had printed it, and presented a copy to every clergyman in his diocese, and to most of the leading laymen.

Henry, Bishop of Exeter, said he had read it with unmixed gratification, and 'I heartily thank you,' he writes, 'for the fidelity as well as the ability with which you have placed the important subject before the mind of Her to whom of all others it is of the highest consequence that the mighty truth should be familiar.' He proceeds to say that he had at first understood that her Majesty was displeased with the sermon, but had since learned, from a quarter which could hardly be misinformed, that this was not the case, but that she expressed herself interested in the subject, and 'seemed to feel it to be *new as well as momentous.*'

The following letter to his wife shows how completely unprepared the writer was for the commotion caused by the sermon.

10 Dean's Yard : June 20, 1838.

My dearest Love, . . . It is quite astonishing what a noise my poor sermon at the Chapel Royal has made ; there were some thirty or forty peers unable to get in, and there were all kinds of reports about what I said. Robert heard some one say yesterday at Lady Wemyss's party, that nothing is talked about but the duel (Lord C.'s about Grisi) and the sermon. The Bishop of London, who was present, was very kind ; he told me at the levée (from which I have just returned) that some persons about the Queen wished to make out it was political, and he had just been sent for to give his opinion. He asserted that there was not the slightest allusion to politics, unless it were political to speak of the Church of England as a true Church. The Duke of Wellington spoke to me at the levée, and said he heard that I had preached a very fine sermon last Sunday. The Archbishop of Canterbury apologised for not having written to thank me for my 'Life of Hobart,' the

preface to which he particularly liked. Sir John Beckett is kindness itself; he introduced me to the Duke. All this seems to me very strange, for I only preached that old Leeds sermon which you remember. They say at the Carlton that the Queen was much affected, and on returning home retired for about an hour; if this be true, one may hope that good has been done.

It will be seen also from this letter that the writer was led to believe that no offence had been taken, where certainly no offence was intended to be given. Nevertheless a report got about that he had been forbidden to preach in the Chapel Royal again. He wrote to the 'Times' to contradict the truth of the report, adding that he had not any reason to suppose that her Majesty was otherwise than pleased with the sermon.

In August 1838 he preached at the primary visitation of Bishop Longley, held in Leeds; taking as his text Acts vii. 26, 'Sirs, ye are brethren: why do ye wrong one to another?' The sermon was entitled 'A Call to Union on the Principles of the English Reformation.'¹ Some of the leading Evangelicals in Leeds and elsewhere, as well as those journals which were the organs of the Evangelical school, persisted in identifying him with the writers of the Oxford Tracts, and further accused him and them in common of being untrue to the principles of the Reformation. Taking their stand upon the celebrated but obscure saying of Chillingworth, 'The Bible and the Bible only—the religion of Protestants,' as the cardinal principle of the Reformed Church, the assailants vehemently denounced the Tract writers and the Vicar of Leeds, on account of the deference which they paid to the voice of the Church, as expressed in the writings of the primitive Fathers, in the decrees of General Councils, and in her ancient liturgies and creeds. The aim of the Vicar in his 'Call to Union' was to demonstrate that this appeal to antiquity was the very principle upon which the English Reformation was conducted, and that consequently a departure from that principle was chargeable, not upon himself or upon the Tract writers, but upon their opponents. He contended therefore that, however much members of the Church

¹ Printed in vol. i. of *The Church and her Ordinances*, p. 90.

might differ in opinions about details, they ought to find a principle of union in the Ritual, Liturgy, and Articles of the Church, because in deferring to them respect would be paid, not to the judgment merely of individuals, such as Cranmer, Ridley, or Parker, but to the traditional doctrine of the Universal Church as it existed in those days when the Church was substantially one, and a close correspondence on all vital matters was maintained between the several branches of it. He earnestly exhorted all to bear in mind that nothing could excuse the introduction of faction and discord into the Church. The duty of every clergyman at least was plain ; if he could not conscientiously conform to the teaching and practice of the Church, he was free to withdraw ; and, as an honest and honourable man, he was bound to withdraw from her communion.

Remember (said he in conclusion) that if the propagation of evangelical truth be one portion of our duty, it is no less our duty, by the sacrifice of all personal considerations, . . . to preserve 'the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.' Remember that our enemies are many and mighty ; the two extremes of Romanism and ultra-Protestantism are banded together with infidelity against us ; and if, like Samson's foxes, they are pulling different ways, the brands which are attached have one and the selfsame object—our destruction. And is this a time to divide our house, and to form parties and factions ?

An extract from one of the notes to this sermon will present to the reader a clear view of his attitude at that time towards the Tract writers. Having pointed out that when Mr. Wilberforce, in his later years, and some of the more moderate leaders of the Evangelicals, encouraged a spirit of deference to the authoritative decisions of the Church of England, the question then arose, What are Church principles ? Is any party consistently acting upon them ?

At such a time (he proceeds) the celebrated Oxford Tracts made their appearance. The reputed writers of the Tracts were men of ardent piety, who had been attached to the Evangelical school, and it was among the younger men who had been educated in that school that they created a strong sensation. Hence, per-

haps, the bitterness with which they are assailed by some of the older partisans of that section of the Church. To those who, like the present writer, had been educated strictly on the principles of the English Reformation, and belonged to the old orthodox school, they brought forward nothing new; and though we may have demurred to some of their opinions, and have thought that in some things they were in an extreme, we rejoice to see right principles advocated in a manner so decided, and in a spirit so truly Christian. . . . I am not one of those who would say, 'Read the Oxford Tracts, and take for granted every opinion there expressed;' but I am one of those who would say, 'Read and digest these Tracts well, and you will have imbibed principles which will enable you to judge of opinions.' Their popularity will increase, since their arguments are not answered or their statements confuted: they are opposed simply by railing. And those who judge of such things only by second-hand reports and garbled quotations, and anonymous misrepresentations in newspapers, will of course rail on. May the day come when they may be awakened to a sense of the danger of thus violating the golden rule of charity. In the meantime the wise, the candid, those who are not the mere partisans of religion, but really religious, will themselves read the Tracts; and if they do read they will commend. They may censure particular opinions, but they will commend the whole.

These remarks may have been partly due to a long letter received from Dr. Pusey a short time before, in which, after showing how seriously the intentions of the Tract writers were misunderstood and maligned, he entreated the Vicar to befriend them, as opportunities of so doing might occur. He had pointed out in this letter that the Tracts did not profess to be *tests* of Catholicity, but only *guides* to it; and as such he hoped that the Vicar would be able to give them a general support. 'As for your being a disciple of us,' he continued, 'the thing is absurd. Newman said that you had formed your views long before many of the writers—long before myself, upon many points.'

But what more especially provoked him to make this defence of the Tract writers was the violent denunciation which had been lately flung at their productions (more especially the

'Remains of Mr. Hurrell Froude') from the University pulpit by the Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford. In a note he remarks :

. . . The present discourse is sufficient to show that I am not any more than Dr. — inclined to approve of Mr. Froude's 'Remains.' I deeply, indeed, regret the publication of that work without a protest on the part of the editor against the author's many paradoxical positions. With a kind heart, and glowing sensibilities, Mr. Froude united a mind saturated with learning, but from its very luxuriance productive of weeds together with many flowers. Though he always took an original, he sometimes took a morbid, view of things, and while from his writings all must derive much food for thought, from many of his opinions the majority of his readers will, like myself, dissent. But if, in contemplating the evils inseparable from a great movement, he does not sufficiently appreciate (and I think he does not) the wisdom of our Reformation or the virtues of many of our Reformers ; if, while condemning the Romish, he censures the English, Church, we may think him to be in error in these particulars without condemning him wholesale. Still less ought those persons to condemn him for not fully appreciating our Reformation who consider the work of the Reformers in retaining our present Baptismal Service 'a burthen hard to bear,' and the service 'an absurdity which they do not believe in their hearts.' Had Dr. — contented himself with writing a pamphlet or a review, while we might have considered him incompetent to sit in judgment on such a mind as Mr. Froude's, we should have had no cause of complaint. But cause of complaint the Church has when he makes one work a pretext for attacking certain of his clerical brethren whose learning he may be unable to appreciate, but whose piety and zeal he would do well to imitate. . . .

After this note had gone to the press the charge of the Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Bagot) was published; and the Vicar added some remarks upon it, contrasting its sober judgments, wise counsels, and affectionate fatherly tone with the indiscriminating invectives of the Margaret Professor. 'The Bishop,' he observed, 'had a right to do what Dr. — had no right to do; his lordship had a right to pronounce sentence *ex cathedrâ*, after examination, on the conduct and doctrines of his clergy,

among whom are the writers of the Oxford Tracts.' And he then gives some extracts from the charge, in which the Bishop declares that, after diligent inquiry, he had been unable to find anything in the conduct or writings of the persons alluded to which could fairly be interpreted as breaches of the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England.

The Bishop, in the difficult and delicate situation which he then occupied in relation to the Tract writers, was very grateful to the Vicar of Leeds for the line adopted in his sermon, and more particularly for the support given to the Charge, which, notwithstanding the gentleness of its tone, some of the Tract writers were disposed to think implied so much disapproval of the Tracts, that the publication of them ought to be discontinued.

I have read your sermon (wrote the Bishop) with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction, agreeing entirely with all you say throughout, and I feel much indebted to you for the note respecting my late Charge. It will do more than anything else could have done to quiet and satisfy the minds of those excellent men (some I may call friends) whose high principles of obedience to authority, but whose over-sensitiveness made them apprehensive that my Charge might be construed (but surely only by perversion) into a *censure* upon the Tracts, and make them liable to a charge of inconsistency if they did not discontinue the publication.

By a private correspondence with Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman I sufficiently satisfied their minds to induce them not to adopt such a course, and that nothing could be further from my wish than to cast a general censure upon the work. I merely state this to prove to you how very valuable to them such a note as you have kindly added with reference to my Charge was, and how peculiarly well-timed.

The sermon gave great satisfaction not only to the Bishop of Oxford and the Tract writers, but also to a large body of moderate Churchmen.

On the other hand, the ultra-Protestant section of the Church could not forgive him for having demonstrated that they, and not the high Churchmen, were unfaithful to the spirit of the Reformation; and their journals and reviews discharged

a volley of attacks upon the sermon, more distinguished for acrimony of tone and vehemence of language than for weight of learning or strength of argument.

From those storms of controversy which are the products of human infirmity and passion, it is rather a relief to turn for a moment to an account of one of those convulsions of nature for which man is not responsible. One night, in the month of January 1839, a tempest of extraordinary fury raged over the North of England. The Rev. H. W. Bellairs was on a visit to the Vicar of Leeds, and has kindly supplied me with his reminiscences of the storm. Early in the morning, above the roaring and raving of the wind, he heard a terrific crash, and on opening his bedroom door discovered that a part of the roof was blown away; and the strange creaking and cracking sounds throughout the house led him at first to imagine that the hurricane was accompanied by an earthquake.

I went downstairs (he writes) and, hearing voices, followed them to a room on the basement, where I found the Vicar with a child on either knee, his servants, and a captain of artillery, who was staying in the house, standing round him. The Vicar was perfectly unmoved; calming, comforting, and reassuring all with those words of faith, hope, and love which none knew better than himself how to use. Whilst we were there another fearful crash came, breaking through the roaring of the wind, which even in the house was overpowering. In a few minutes some one came in, I think from the next house, saying that a chimney there had fallen through the roof, burying two female servants in its ruins, and that the master of the house was in the street utterly beside himself. The Vicar put down the children, went to the window, and saw the poor fellow clinging to some iron railings opposite the Vicarage. The storm was raging with such violence that it was almost impossible for anyone to stand unaided. The Vicar, however, struggled across the road, got hold of the man and brought him into the Vicarage, and calmed him until he was able to return to his house. The quiet courage, strong faith, and affectionate bearing of the Vicar in that hour of fear and peril, no one who witnessed it can ever forget.

The following letter from him to Mr. Wood is a vivid description of the hurricane:—

January 17, 1839.

My dearest Friend,—You have not I hope been visited with that dreadful hurricane which alarmed us here in these northern regions. Never did I hear wind blow as the wind blew on the morning of last Monday se'nnight. The beds rocked under us, and a tremendous crash was heard ; when Delicia begged me to go upstairs, and bring the children down to our own room. Imagine my horror, when, as I approached the stairs I heard screams ; and imagine my joy when I counted my children and found none wanting, at the time when the wind pierced me to the very bones, blowing upon me from the open sky, for the roof of the day-nursery had fallen in with a terrific crash. No one in that room could have escaped with life. In the very next room our dear little Jemmy was asleep ; and the darling girls in the room adjoining that. Two hours later, for the downfall happened at six o'clock, they would have been dressing in the day-nursery, and must have perished. Three stacks of chimneys were blown down in our house. How little we value the blessings which appear to be common blessings—health and peace—till we lose them. How applicable to the circumstances of the storm is the twenty-ninth Psalm. I read it afterwards at my family prayers, and preached on it last Sunday. It was indeed merciful that in all Leeds only one life was lost.

The year 1839 was a critical one for the Church in respect to the question of National Education. The 'Central Society of Education' was pressing its demands for a secular system, under which religious instruction of any kind should be absolutely forbidden, while the Government in February proposed its scheme for the establishment of a Board of Education, and of a model or normal school, with teachers of divers religious persuasions, and a Rector of no religion in particular. The Board, which was to consist of the President of the Council and five other privy councillors, did not need any Act to call it into being ; and thus that remarkable dynasty known by the title of 'my lords,' whose wonderful and inscrutable decrees are a source of annual amazement to school managers, came into existence at once. The remainder of the measure passed the House of Commons by a majority of two in the month of

June, but in the House of Lords a series of resolutions, to be embodied in an address to the Crown against the Bill, was moved by Archbishop Howley, supported by Bishop Blomfield in one of the ablest speeches he ever delivered, and carried by a large majority.

The interval between the first proposal of the scheme in February and the debates in June was occupied by Churchmen in great efforts, both to convince the public mind of the work which the Church had already accomplished in the cause of national education, and to devise plans for enabling her to strengthen and extend her operations. The Vicar threw himself into this work with immense energy. He foresaw indeed that the day was not far distant when the State would be compelled to undertake the education of the people, and he also perceived that in a country where the forms of religious belief were so manifold as in England, the only education which the State could provide, consistently with discharging its duty towards the *whole* population, must be of a purely secular kind. But at present he did not very frequently or publicly enlarge upon this topic. Meanwhile there were two calamities which he exceedingly dreaded, and laboured most sedulously, as far as in him lay, to avert. One was the appropriation by the State of ecclesiastical property, at the instigation of Socialists, to the purposes of secular education. This, as has been seen, was the topic on which he more especially dilated in his speech at the Conservative banquet in 1838. The other was the acceptance by the Church of any specious offer from the State of some diluted form of religious education, which he was convinced would be a mere counterfeit—a system under which children would receive only vague and indistinct ideas about religious truths, and consequently grow up into ‘nothingarians.’ The honesty and thoroughness of his nature, and his firm persuasion that clear dogmatic teaching was the only guarantee for sound morality, the only solid platform upon which it could be built up, revolted against the notion of any compromises and cheats in connexion with this matter. As an escape from such evils he had already conceived in his mind the germ of that

bold and original scheme, which, eight years afterwards, he formally propounded in his celebrated letter to the Bishop of St. David's. The outlines of it are sketched in the following letters, written at the close of 1838, to Mr. Wood. Let the State undertake the secular part of education, which is all that it *can* honestly and consistently undertake, and let the Church and the sects undertake the religious part, the State taking care that all have a fair field. Such were the ideas already working in his mind, which were afterwards developed in the pamphlet to which allusion has just been made.

Education Scheme.

I am still sadly in want of some one to manage the educational affairs of this parish ; if you hear of any enthusiast, pray tell me of him. All I should require would be, his having Church principles. On the subject of education, I have been thinking more of late, and am in correspondence on the subject with some influential people. My advice is, to find from all parties what concessions can be made without sacrifice of principle. I propose a measure, which is this : that a board of education be formed in every parish ; the Incumbent chairman, his curates *ex-officio* members, and a certain number of ratepayers to complete the board. If pressed, I would concede that Dissenting ministers, resident in the parish three years, should also be members. The board to have power to lay a rate, and to decide on the books to be used ; no direct religious instruction to be given ; but no child to be admitted who cannot bring a certificate of being a member of some Sunday-school where religious instruction is given. Absence for three Sundays from Sunday-school, without leave, to be punished by three months' expulsion from National-school. Each clergyman, or Dissenting minister, to be permitted to attend on Fridays to instruct his own children ; a separate room to be provided for the purpose. A normal school to be established in London for training masters by Government, under directors ; the two Archbishops, and Bishops of London, Durham, and Winton, directors always ; the rest to be appointed by Government, provided that they appoint five Dissenting ministers. You see we here provide for general education, and yet assert the necessity of religious education. Probably we shall have to define religious education to be Biblical, or the Socialists may so denominate their system.

Education Scheme—A New Magazine—Parochial Reading Rooms.

Vicarage, Leeds: November 28, 1838.

My dearest Friend, . . . Anything like a semi-religious education I deprecate, but I have no objection to let the State train children to receive the religious education we are prepared to give; the State at the same time insisting on their coming to us for the purpose. But of course, on consideration, I shall not propound my plan to anyone; being not a little surprised to find that I am more liberal than that odious Whig fellow, William Wood. I cannot help suspecting that evil communications with you corrupted my good manners. I am, however, delighted to find that our sentiments so entirely accord with respect to education: our principle is, I see, precisely the same; only I, in despair, was prepared to make a larger sacrifice than you think quite necessary. I rejoice to know this. Only let us have anything rather than a mutilated Bible, a semi-religion, which is worse than an avowedly Infidel education; *worse*, because it leads to the same end without causing that alarm which the avowal of Infidelity would excite.

At present his School Board scheme was only whispered to intimate and confidential friends as a kind of esoteric doctrine. The disclosure of it would have been too rude a shock to the feelings of those who still clung to the belief that the Church, being called the National Church, was not only bound to educate the whole people but was competent to discharge the task. The immediate duty of Churchmen he considered at that time was obvious: namely, to make the most of their opportunities, to show that they could at least take the lead in the work of national education, and so to deepen the claim of the Church upon the gratitude of the nation. The establishment of local boards of education in populous places would, he thought, assist in the consolidation and extension of the Church's educational work, and he was therefore anxious to form one with as little delay as possible for the parish of Leeds.

Accordingly, on March 14, 1839, a large meeting was held in the Music Hall, the Bishop of Ripon being in the chair, to take steps for the purpose. The Vicar made a long and elaborate speech on the occasion.

He began by observing that, as he was addressing an assembly of Churchmen, he should assume as a fact indisputable among themselves that no education could deserve the name which was not based upon religion. If education consisted in training up a child in the way he ought to go, no Christian man could venture to suppose that this end would be accomplished unless religious principles were brought, indirectly at least, to bear upon all the instruction given. If this were acknowledged, it clearly behoved Churchmen at that crisis to bestir themselves.

We must offer to the country the best possible education, or the State will take the duty of education upon itself; and if the State does this it must eventually adopt a purely secular education—an education not based upon religion. The only country in which a State education is consistently conducted is Holland, and there religion is avowedly excluded. It must be obvious that when a State undertakes the education of the people it cannot make religion its basis. It may pretend to do so at first, but the State religion will be found on investigation to be no religion. Let us suppose the State were at the present time to undertake the education of the people—let us suppose it to concede the principle that education must be based on religion—the question immediately occurs, on what religion is it to be based? Shall it be the religion of the Church of England? If so, no change is necessary. But a change is demanded to meet the views of those who dissent from the Church. The State, it will be said, is to provide for the education of *all* the people. Well, then, let us now ask, is the education to be exclusively Protestant? No, not if the principle is adhered to, for that would exclude the Romanists. Carry on the principle, and we may ask, again, is the education to be Christian? If Infidelity prevails (and, alas! it does prevail to a fearful extent), Jews, Turks, and Infidels will all demand that the education of the country shall be so conducted as not to exclude them. And *then* what is the religion on which the State education is based? It certainly looks as much like *no* religion as possible. I do not say that this will be the immediate consequence of a State education, but it is its direct tendency. As soon as the State undertakes to control religion, religion must be corrupted, for it will then cease to be busied with God's truth and will be dabbling with expediency.

The question will be, not what does the all-pure and all-perfect God command, but what will man—fallen, corrupted, wicked man—consent to receive.

He then entered into some statistics to prove the extent to which, at that time, the Church was discharging her duty in respect of national education, especially as compared with the various nonconforming communities.

Of daily scholars above the age of seven there	
were in Dissenting Schools	47,287
Of Sunday scholars in the same	<u>550,107</u>
Total of all ranks and descriptions in	
Dissenting Schools	597,394

In schools connected with the Church there were :—

Of daily scholars in Grammar Schools and	
Colleges	603,428
In elementary schools connected with the	
National Society, which was established by	
Churchmen in 1811	<u>514,450</u>
Total of daily scholars	1,117,878
Sunday scholars only, in Church Schools	435,550
Total of all ranks and descriptions in	
Church Schools	1,553,428

‘We may, then,’ he said, ‘fairly assert that we have the education of the people in our hands ; and why should it be taken away from us? We have received no favour from Government ; whatever money has been voted by Parliament for educational purposes has been offered to the Dissenters equally with ourselves. But the people flock to our schools.’

He then advocated the adoption of some plan of compulsory education.

It is said that there are 112,035 children above the age of seven utterly destitute of any kind of education whatever. How can the Church help that? We open schools in all places, but we cannot *compel* the parents to send their children to them. There is no lack of means of education; the misfortune is that there are 100,000 wicked parents who will not avail themselves of the means pro-

vided. How is this to be remedied? It is said, by schools supported by Government. But why should those schools be more likely to be attended than the existing schools? Is the attendance to be compulsory? There is no need to establish Government Schools on that account, for the children may be as well compelled to attend existing schools as any other newly devised schools. I do not mean that they should be compelled to attend *Church* Schools. Let the parents have the choice of the schools, but let there be some law which will empower the magistrates to insist on all children being sent to *some* school. If a parent neglects to educate his child, he is doing an injury not only to the child but to the community itself, which suffers from that child's ignorance and vice. If the State may interfere for the *punishment* of crime it may surely interfere for the *prevention* of crime; it may surely take the part of the poor neglected child when it exclaims, 'Save me from my wicked parents. Compel them to give me that which I have a right to demand at their hands—the means of becoming a good man and a good Christian.' This is virtually the utterance of every neglected child who is crying in our streets.

The point in which he considered the work of education at that time to be most deficient, and to which he earnestly exhorted in his speech that more attention should be paid, especially by the National Society, was the training of masters. 'The fault,' he said, 'of the National Society has been, not in adhering to Dr. Bell's system, but in making the observance of that system the primary object of attention. The Society recognises the duty of training masters, but it does not see that this is the first and grand object. We want not systems but masters.'

The resolution which he moved at the conclusion of his speech was that a Local Board of Education, embracing all the townships of the parish of Leeds, should be established. The other resolutions passed at the meeting were:—

That the Board consist of all the clergy officiating in the parish of Leeds; of a committee of laymen to be appointed by the Bishop; and of a secretary.

That the Board be requested to take immediate steps:

1. To raise fresh subscriptions for the purpose of education.

2. To promote the building of new National, Sunday, and Infant Schools.
3. To unite with the Board existing Schools or Academies conducted by members of the Church.
4. To ascertain the educational statistics of the parish.
5. To adopt measures for the formation of a Training School for Masters.
6. To institute a commercial school which may serve as a model school.

The Board of Education thus founded was the germ of the Diocesan Board, which has been for nearly forty years the principal instrument of elementary and middle-class education throughout the Diocese of Ripon.

In the autumn of this year (1839) he published a pamphlet entitled 'Presbyterian Rights Asserted.' It is a vindication of the claims of the second order in the hierarchy to their due share in the administration of the Church, against a tendency too prevalent at that time, as he conceived, to the assumption of arbitrary power on the part of many of the Bishops. Even his own diocesan, mild and amiable as he was, seemed to him occasionally to err in this respect. The pamphlet was, I believe, the only production which he ever published anonymously; the reasons for withholding his name in such a case being weighty and obvious. In concentration of evidence, in force of reasoning, and in touches of humour, it has been surpassed by few, if any, of his writings.

The present circumstances (he began) of the Church of England, and her future prospects, render it highly important for the clergy of the second order in the ministry to understand their real position in the Church; their duties and obligations to the first order on the one hand, and their own rights and privileges on the other.

That a very general ignorance prevails on this subject it is impossible for anyone to doubt. By the generality of our legislators it is unknown that we possess *any* peculiar rights and privileges; they regard us as mere servants of the State, and they look upon the Bishops as magistrates to keep us in order. This, too, is perhaps the view generally taken by those of the clergy who are designated Low Churchmen. . . . Some of those who are styled High

Churchmen are apt to err in the opposite extreme. Being deeply impressed with the divine right of Episcopacy, they forget that the right of the Presbytery is equally divine, and draw the hasty conclusion that Episcopacy is a despotism, and that to the caprice of their diocesan all the clergy of a diocese are bound without questioning to submit. . . . I believe that, with very few exceptions, there has never existed a body of men more desirous of doing their duty than the existing Bishops of the Church of England. But their notion of Episcopal duty varies considerably. Some appear among us as spiritual peers, associating with the other clergy as the Lord-Lieutenant of the county with the inferior magistrates. These are generally the best, though not apparently the most active, Bishops in the Church. They never needlessly interfere with the parochial clergy, but are always willing to assist them ; they are great patrons of learning and piety. Other prelates seem to regard themselves as schoolmasters ; indeed, I have heard it said of a high Establishment prelate that his notion of a Bishop is, that he is an *examining master* plus a *proctor*. Others, again, consider the whole diocese as one parish, and every parish priest as their curate ; thus reducing the clergy in point of fact to two orders, bishop and deacon. These are the most busy prelates ; but their activity, as we shall see, is not always advantageous to the Church. They seem most of them to have forgotten the authority, rights, and privileges of the second order of the ministry, which possesses authority, rights, and privileges scarcely inferior to their own. . . .

Now the present writer was a zealous supporter of Episcopacy at a period when to speak of the Apostolical succession was looked upon as a sign of dementation by many who are now the most able advocates of the doctrine. . . . But he did this not from any exclusive regard to the honours of Episcopacy. He was influenced only by his love for the Church of Christ. ‘*Pro ecclesiâ Dei*—*pro ecclesiâ Dei*’ was his motto then as it is now—the motto which he hopes will cling to his parched lips as he breathes his last breath. The well-being of the Church requires that *due* honour should be paid to the Episcopate ; but the well-being of the Church requires that *more* honour than is due to it should *not* be rendered.

He then proceeds to show that most evils arose in the body ecclesiastical as in the body physical, or in the moral system, from a disproportion between the parts. Lay influence had undoubtedly of late been too great in the Church. Laymen

had thrust themselves into the places of the clergy—sent forth missionaries, done ministerial acts, and in turns were securing to themselves by means of the five-trustee churches, the powers exercised by the lay Dissenters, of whose tyranny the most vehement advocates of schism among Dissenting preachers loudly complained. To counteract this usurpation the clergy had been zealous in pointing out the rights of Episcopacy, until there was a risk of violating proportion in that direction. It should be remembered that all members of the Church of Christ, lay as well as clerical, were consecrated; the laity at baptism to preach the Gospel by a holy example. As heads of families they inherited patriarchal rights; they were to instruct their households in the Gospel and minister at the domestic altar. The Presbyter was ordained to preside over an assembly of families, the Bishop over an assembly of parishes, the Metropolitan over an assembly of dioceses. If the Presbyter unduly interfered with the family arrangements, confusion ensued; a confusion also ensued if the Bishop unduly interfered with the parochial arrangements.

The Bishop was a *πατήρ πατέρων*, an *episcopus episcoporum* (a father of fathers, an overseer of overseers). These were their titles in the early ages of the Church; high titles, but titles which recognised the authority of the Presbytery. ‘If the Bishop be spiritual overseer to us let him not forget that we are spiritual overseers to the laity: if he be a spiritual father to us we are spiritual fathers to our people.’ Did the Bishop in the existing Church thus respect the authority of presbyters? The question was more easily asked than satisfactorily answered. Straws showed which way the wind blew. At most visitations the Bishop was to be seen sitting within the chancel while the presbyters humbly stood outside. Yet by the fourth council of Carthage it was decreed that, whenever the Bishop took his seat, the presbyters should not be allowed to stand.

So again the episcopal charges of the day, though courteous and kind in style, were rather the addresses of a magistrate to his subjects than of a supreme ruler to his *co*-rulers. And he proceeds to prove, that in the ancient Church the presbyters

were regarded, not as the servants, but as the councillors and coadjutors, of the Bishop. 'If we are to do nothing without the Bishop, the Bishop is to do nothing without us.'

Yet in recent times this principle had been strangely forgotten alike by Bishops, presbyters, and laity. Take, for instance, the composition of the Ecclesiastical Commission appointed under Sir Robert Peel. How was it constituted? The laity of the Church were represented; the first order of the clergy were represented; but of the second order not one was called to the council: they were utterly disregarded. If the laity and the Bishops agreed, the second order—the presbyters—were to be compelled to submit.

So again with the Church Discipline Bill. 'Facilities were introduced for correcting delinquent clerks of the second order, but not a word is said of facilitating actions against delinquent clerks of the first order.'

So again it was said that the Dean and Chapter of a diocese formed the ecclesiastical senate which the Bishop ought to consult.¹ Yet 'we never hear a Bishop stating in his charge that, having consulted with his Dean and Chapter, he has decided on this or that line of conduct in the government of his diocese.' But, granting this to be a point which might require further consideration, one thing at least was certain, that if a Bishop ever consulted his presbyters he was bound to do so when he entered their parishes for the discharge of Episcopal offices. Yet there were some prelates who did not hesitate to head a faction against the incumbent of the parish.

Let us suppose a hard-working painful parish priest to have matured all his plans for the management of the parish, over which the Holy Ghost has made him overseer; let us suppose him to have united the Churchmen, always excepting a factious few; to have shown from Scripture and the teaching of the Church the principle upon which he gives his support to some and withholds it from other religious societies; to have been proceeding cautiously, introducing first one institution then another—we can easily understand his feelings if all of a sudden he shall hear that the Dissenters,

¹ Blackstone, bk. i. c. II.

having united with the factious few of the Church who happen to be opposed to him, have determined to hold a meeting of the Bible Society, or the Religious Tract Society, or the Lancasterian School Society, or some similar institution, and that the Bishop, without deigning to consult him or even to apprise him of his intentions, will preside at it. The spiritual peer attends, accompanied perhaps by one or two temporal peers and other great men desirous to conciliate the Dissenters before the next election; and thus he who ought to be the centre of unity becomes the rallying point of schism. The liberal sentiments of the spiritual peer are applauded the more loudly because they are contrasted with the exclusive Church principles of the pastor of the parish; and, as his lordship passes through the street, his condescension on the platform to his reverend brethren of the Baptist, Independent, and Unitarian 'Churches' is compared with the cold, distant bow with which, in the embarrassment occasioned by some undeveloped consciousness of having done wrong, he meets the minister of the Established Church—that is, of the Church which, in common with his Independent and Unitarian brethren, he does not regard as *the* Church of the parish, but only as that one Church out of many which happens to be established by law. And so all parties separate: the Dissenters to laugh at 'the humbug of the Bishop's apron;' the factious Churchmen to eulogise the spirituality of the Episcopal leader of their schism; the spiritual peer to declaim to the temporal peers on the extreme want of judgment in the incumbent of the parish, who ought to concede something to the Dissenters, while his lordship is in turn congratulated on the popularity he is by his liberality securing for 'the Establishment;' the profane to laugh at the flooring of their pastor; the worldly-minded to express their indignation at the idea of an incumbent with only 150*l.* a year thinking that the Church and her principles are dearer to him than they are to a Bishop with 4,000*l.* a year; the poor to lament the insult offered to their best friend; the presbyter himself to weep in private and to pray; and of prayer he will have ample need lest he should be disgusted into inactivity. The true Churchmen also will grieve in private and ask what ought to be done? . . . Now, it is one of the objects of this pamphlet to let people see what ought to be done. They ought to remonstrate. The presbyter should protest against the invasion of his rights. He may even appeal to the Metropolitan. I contend that he *may* do, that he *ought* to do, this on high Church principles. . . . It becomes us to assert the principle that the

Bishop has no right to enter into our parish, or to hold a meeting there, without having first consulted the incumbent and the other clergy of the parish. If he do so he commits an act of schism. Let no fear of being deemed unfilial deter us. If the Bishop be our father the Church is our mother; and if our father injure our mother we must protect her even against him. I once heard of a man of rank who was about to strike his wife. His son interposed, bound his arms, and carried him out of the room, and then he immediately loosed him and let him go. The father instantly raised his hand to strike his son. The pious son put his hands behind him and said, 'You may strike *me* if you will, I will bear it all; but you shall *not* strike my mother.' And so we must deal by our Bishop, when he would damage the Church by violating her principles.

He concludes the pamphlet by affirming that in all which he had said he had not the least intention or desire to depress the Episcopate. He would ever value a Bishop's blessing, ever maintain the honour of the order; but when Bishops were tempted to assume authority which did not pertain to them, and to apply to Parliament for the power of the sword, he would not hesitate to apply to them the words of St. Jerome, 'Contenti sint honore suo; patres se sciant esse, non dominos, amari debent, non timeri.'

In November of this year (1839) he attended a great meeting at Manchester on behalf of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The local papers state that such a large gathering for a religious purpose had seldom if ever been seen in Manchester. The principal speakers were the Rev. Richard Durnford, now Bishop of Chichester, the Rev. Hugh Stowell, and the Vicar of Leeds.

The Vicar's speech occupied more than an hour, and the glowing eulogies upon it with which the newspapers abounded for more than a week afterwards seem to prove that it was regarded as the speech of the evening. The most powerful and telling part of the speech was that in which he justified the Society's principle of attending first to the colonies and dependencies of the English Empire, especially in India.

He maintained that the propagation of Christianity in India, boldly and honestly, was a duty with which interest coincided:

for he had the sagacity to foresee that the pusillanimous policy adopted by the Indian government, of endeavouring to conciliate the goodwill of the people by patronising their heathenism, and dissembling if not repudiating our own Christianity, was fraught with peril to the stability of our tenure ; a presentiment which was indeed fearfully verified by the outbreak of the Indian mutiny in 1857. He spoke with eloquent indignation on the subject at a meeting for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge held in Leeds in the spring of 1840.

Till very lately (he said) no native convert could be employed by the British Government, though the native idolater could. Is this the way to support religion? Look to the island of Ceylon. When the Dutch were in possession they built churches and schools ; but when England came into possession we thought that bad policy. The churches were neglected, the schools were suffered to decline, the former system of idolatry was re-established, and its priests had increased salaries awarded. Those who would condemn a religious establishment in England, who would diminish the income of the Christian clergy, were found to advocate an idolatrous establishment in Ceylon. And this was considered good policy. It is well indeed that we no longer profit by the pilgrim tax, but we still pay 6,000*l.* a year to support the old idol of Juggernaut. Look at what was done last year. Nineteen of our soldiers refused to take part in some Hindoo idolatrous ceremony : of these nineteen one was a Mohammedan, the rest were Christians. They were all put under arrest. The Mohammedan pleaded conscience, and *he* was suffered to go free. The Englishmen pleaded conscience, too, but they were put in prison : that is to say, those who were in authority feared the Mohammedan population, but they did not fear the Christian's God, who though unseen will surely punish.

CHAPTER VII.

PART II.: PAROCHIAL WORK AND CORRESPONDENCE.

1838-1840.

THE amount of confidence, respect, and affection which in less than a year the Vicar of Leeds had won from large numbers of his flock was truly wonderful. Yet there were tough battles still to be fought, and several years had to pass before he could secure for the Church in Leeds that supremacy which, through his exertions, she ultimately enjoyed.

'You will find,' wrote the Bishop of London, in a letter congratulating him on his election, 'a strong and not very placable hostility to your teaching.' This prediction was fully verified. The more ambitious partisans of the Evangelical school and of Dissenting denominations were provoked to jealousy, as they saw the importance of their party or sect diminish day by day before the influence of their formidable rival. Pious Protestants beheld with genuine alarm the rapid growth of principles which, in their judgment, would inevitably lead to Romanism. Was not the Vicar a friend of some of the principal writers of those pestilent Tracts which were insidiously undermining the pure Protestant faith of the Church of England? Was it positively certain that he had not a hand in the production of the Tracts? It was difficult to find any vulnerable point of attack upon the authors, who wrote anonymously, and were, for the most part, living in seclusion within college walls; but the Vicar of Leeds, who, if not their colleague and abettor might be certainly regarded as their representative

in the sphere of parochial work, was a conspicuous mark to aim at.

'You are, indeed,' wrote Mr. Newman from Oriel in the spring of 1838, 'in the thickest fire of the enemy; and I often think how easy it is for us to sit quietly here sheltered from bullets while you often get what is meant to hit us.' It was perfectly true. For the first three or four years from the beginning of his ministry at Leeds, he received vicariously a great many of the blows which the Protestant world would have liked to bestow on the shoulders of the Tract writers if they could have got at them. How far he agreed or disagreed with those writers Puritan adversaries were not careful to ascertain. He was a friend of the Tractarians—that was quite enough. His proceedings and utterances were, therefore, to be minutely scanned. Any day he might wake up to find that, quite unconsciously, he had said or done something which was represented by the organs of the Puritan party in Leeds, and throughout the country, as pernicious in the highest degree, and indicative of a subtle purpose to corrupt the Church.

A singular specimen of such misrepresentation occurred in the spring of 1838. Archdeacon Musgrave, happening to pay the Vicar a visit, was requested by him to go into the church to make an order for some new service books. On arriving at the church they were met by four or five of the churchwardens, who accompanied them to the vestry. Some of the churchwardens here made a complaint to the Archdeacon that the Vicar had wasted the parish property by pouring away some of the consecrated wine, which ought to have been kept by them to be consecrated again. The Vicar replied that it was impossible for him to give back to the churchwardens that which had once been consecrated as the blood of Christ.

This expression was repeated in Leeds and elsewhere until it got into the newspapers, and, coupled with the Vicar's act of pouring the remainder of the consecrated wine down the piscina, was construed to imply a belief in a corporeal presence of Christ in the elements. Of course the real facts of the occurrence became grossly exaggerated and perverted, as the tale

was handed about, and at length the Vicar was induced to vindicate himself by a letter to the 'British Magazine.' It is a very remarkable example of the manner in which he was accustomed to fortify his actions by basing them on precedent, and of the great practical value of his extensive reading in following out this wise course ; while the inimitable touch of humour in the postscript is equally characteristic of the writer, and could hardly have occurred to anyone but himself :—

To the Editor of the British Magazine.

April 5, 1838.

My dear Friend, . . . It so happens that in the parish church of Leeds I found the old Presbyterian way of administering the Eucharist to prevail, introduced probably at the great Rebellion, and never since discontinued. The consecrated Elements, instead of being delivered to the communicants at the altar rails, are carried to them in the pews. From this circumstance, when there are five or six clergymen officiating, as is generally the case with us, if a sufficient quantity of wine has not been consecrated at first, it becomes difficult for the presiding priest to know how much more may be required at a second consecration. Now it so happened that on the occasion to which I am alluding, when service was over and all the people dismissed, it was discovered that in one of the cups there remained nearly half-a-pint of consecrated wine. The question then was, what was to be done with it, all the congregation being gone. The churchwardens,¹ of whom I think five were present, demanded it as their right, and offered to put it back into the bottle, and keep it till the next Communion. This I declined to do, because it was evidently contrary to the rubric which enjoins that the consecrated wine 'shall not be carried out of the church ;' and

¹ In the township of Leeds there are eight churchwardens, one appointed by the vicar, the other seven by the parish—or, rather, by a mob collected together on the occasion to offer every insult to the Church. The desecration which has often taken place of the sacred building on these occasions is represented to me as awful. The spirit of the mob may be judged by the fact that, on an offer having been made to give any guarantee that no Church rate would be demanded if only they would elect Church people, the cry raised was : ' No ; we have got you down, and we will keep you down !' and persons from the lowest dregs of society were selected, distinguished for nothing but their bitter hostility to the Church.

because, knowing as I did, from the representations of the sexton, that the churchwardens were accustomed to drink some of the wine, provided for the Eucharist, in the vestry, I thought it not improbable that they might so dispose of even the consecrated Elements, for which they evidently entertained no respect. I ought to mention that the churchwardens, except the one appointed by myself, are at all events not Churchmen, and that, without communicating, they were in the habit of remaining in the vestry to watch over the property of the parish, as they styled it, so that you will not consider caution as unnecessary.

Thinking at the same time both to instruct and to conciliate them, I remarked that all the wine offered at the oblation belonged by law to me, and was generally given by me to the poor, but this I would return to them in the present instance. 'As to what has been consecrated as the blood of Christ, it is, I said, *relatively holy*, and the blood of Christ I cannot give to you who have not been communicants.'

Here I must pause, since I understand that, by Socinianising Churchmen, offence has been taken at my speaking of the consecrated wine as the blood of Christ, as if by so doing I countenanced the dogma of Transubstantiation. Now those who hold Socinian views of the Sacraments may be better logicians than I am, but I must protest against their making me answerable for their own conclusions. St. Chrysostom speaks of persons having their lips tinged with the blood of Christ, and yet we know that he did not hold the dogma of Transubstantiation, since he also spoke, as we should do, of the consecrated wine as still wine. And also our own Archbishop Cranmer, whose views of the Sacraments were not considered very high, in the very year in which the Book of Common Prayer, and the Administration of the Sacraments, translated, revised, and compiled, were received by Parliament, thus remonstrated with the Devonshire rebels: 'Oh! superstition and idolatry, how they prevail among you! The very true heavenly bread of life offered unto you in the Sacrament of the Holy Communion, you refuse to eat but only at Easter. And the *Cup of the most Holy Blood* wherewith you were redeemed and washed from your sins, you refuse utterly to drink of at any time.' (Strype's 'Cranmer,' p. 820.)

I might refer to many or most of our great Divines for authority in the use of the expression, but for those who reverence the Fathers, or for those who respect the principles of the Reformation, I have

said enough, or if they wish to see the subject more fully stated—if they wish to see what is the Anglo-Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist—I will recommend them to Palmer's 'Treatise on the Church of Christ,' part ii. chapter vii., a work which it would be superfluous to praise.

Having decided, then, not to return the consecrated wine to the churchwardens, I might have given it to the clergy who were present, but there was even then more than we could conveniently consume, and I feared that the churchwardens would have immediately written to the newspapers to attack the character of the clergy, if not exaggerate the quantity thus employed. To primitive precedent under such circumstances it was necessary to refer, and I happened to remember that Hesychius, a presbyter of the Church of Jerusalem in the fifth century, in his comment on Leviticus, says: 'God commanded the remainder of the flesh and blood to be burnt with fire. And we now see with our own eyes the same thing done in the Church. Whatever happens to remain of the Eucharist *unconsumed, we immediately consume with fire*, and that not after one, two, or many days, but immediately.' 'From hence,' says Bingham, 'our learned writers observe two things: 1, that it was not the custom of the Church of Jerusalem to reserve the Eucharist so much as from one day to another, though they did in some churches; 2, that they certainly did not believe it to be the natural body and substance of Christ, but only His typical or symbolical body; for what a horrible and sacrilegious thing must the very Jews and heathen have thought it, for Christians to burn the living and glorified body of their God? And how must it have scandalised simple and plain Christians themselves to have seen the God they worshipped burned in the fire?'

I do not undertake to defend the kind of argument here used by Bingham, but I quote the passage to show that the fact of my intending to consume the Elements by fire ought, on their own line of argument, to have convinced Socinianising Christians that I do not hold the dogma of Transubstantiation, though I do regard what has once been consecrated as the body and blood of my Saviour as relatively holy, not to be given to non-communicants, and not to be used—as Justin Martyr expresses it—as '*common bread or common wine.*' To this ancient precedent I had also the power of adding a modern one. The late Bishop of Hereford, Dr. Grey, acted precisely thus in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, not very long before his death. Some of the consecrated Elements

having been left, and all the communicants being withdrawn, he consumed them in the fire. But in the present instance, it being summer time, there was no fire in the vestry. I could only therefore explain that this would have been the course I preferred to adopt, if there had been a fire. And I had again to refer to precedent. Now it is well known that in many of our churches is still to be found a *piscina*, a place appointed for the pouring away of the unconsumed consecrated wine. And although this has not been frequently used since the Reformation, the more proper custom being for the communicants to eat and drink what is left, yet the intention of our Church is evident in an extreme case like the present, since she has not prohibited the ancient practice, while she enjoins that nothing be taken out of the church. In my church there was no *piscina*, and therefore I made one for the occasion and poured away the wine at the side of the chancel. If anyone says that he thinks I ought to have returned the consecrated wine to the bottle, taking care of it myself against the next Communion, he is very welcome to his opinion. But for his opinion what precedent can he produce? For my opinion and proceeding I can produce precedent, and therefore my opinion is at least better founded than his, unless he also can refer, as I think he cannot, to some higher authority than his own conjectures; and even then how would he accord with the rubric which directs that the *consecrated* wine shall not be taken out of the church? I am aware that some persons who do not hold Socinian notions with respect to the Sacraments are inclined to regret the occurrence, however much they may approve of my conduct. I confess that I do not. In this part of England Socinian views of the Sacraments prevail to a lamentable extent. The very fact that the present subject has been talked of, the very fact that it has subjected me to the ridicule and abuse of Socinianising Christians, has done good; it has made many reconsider their opinions; it has consequently increased my number of communicants; it has caused them to enquire whether the Eucharist is not something more than a bare commemoration—a kind of superior and more exciting class-meeting, a mere love-feast; and many I know have embraced the *scriptural* doctrine that ‘the bread which we break is the communication of the Body of Christ, and the cup which we bless the communication of the Blood of Christ.’

Believe me to remain yours very truly.

P.S. When I speak of that class of persons represented by the 'Patriot,' the 'Record,' &c., as Socinianising Christians, I deal with them as they deal with Churchmen. They contend that Church principles lead to Popery: therefore, trusting to the infallibility of their logic, they call us Papists. Now, we think that it is only their ignorance of this logic which prevents their perceiving how their principles, if properly carried out, lead on to Socinianism.

It is, therefore, on the same principle that we call them Socinians as they call us Papists. I will avail myself of the opportunity to remark, also, that it is a mistake to speak of a controversy between High Churchmen and Low Churchmen; the controversy really is between Churchmen and *No-Churchmen*, though the *No-Churchmen* have not actually quitted the Church. For what are called Low Churchmen are men who deny the visibility of the Church; they are therefore either *No-Churchmen* or *Invisible-Churchmen*, as they please.

The following letters, addressed by the Vicar to his churchwarden, to be communicated to the others, have a bearing on the subject to which the above extract relates, and are curious specimens of the dignified, courteous tone, yet mingled with an undertone of good-natured satire, which he adopted towards that intractable set of men:—

To Mr. Garland, Vicar's Churchwarden.

My dear Sir,—You will oblige me by making the following propositions to the parish churchwardens, by acceding to which they will save the parish some expense and the clergy much annoyance, while they will materially benefit the poor.

I propose to supply the bread and wine for the Holy Communion myself, and at my own expense; on condition that the money given at the offertory is always paid over to the lecturer, the curate, and the clerk in orders, to be by them disposed of to such charitable uses as they may think proper; the churchwardens annually auditing their accounts. You must be well aware that under the present arrangement (the churchwardens being permitted to have the disposal of one-half of the money collected) the communicants always contribute the least sum they decently can. The money

collected will be greatly increased when the communicants are satisfied that it will be disposed of in a manner they may approve.

I beg you to assure the churchwardens that I do not wish in the slightest degree to insinuate that they expend the money improperly, but they will themselves admit that it is natural for Churchmen to feel an unwillingness to place their alms at the disposal of persons whose recommendation to the office of churchwardens was their hostility to the Church. Believe me to be, my dear Sir,

Yours very truly.

My dear Sir,—I received a note yesterday from Mr. Kettlewell, making some proposal for a collection to defray the expenses for the services at the parish church, and I shall feel obliged to you if you will state distinctly to the churchwardens that this is a business in which I, as Vicar, am in no way concerned.

On my freehold property the parish church, the parishioners have certain rights, and in order to maintain those rights it is necessary for them to incur a certain expense. If they neglect to do this, and thus lose their rights which the churchwardens are elected to maintain, they will be the losers, not I. It is the right of the parishioners at large to attend public worship whenever it is solemnised in the parish church, and for this purpose the whole area of the church is left open; and it is to maintain this right for the *Community* that the friends of the poor are opposed to the voluntary principle, and desire that certain expenses should be incurred by the parish generally.

It must be evident to the churchwardens that to me, *personally*, it can signify nothing whether the parish church is closed or not. It will not diminish anything from my income, and with respect to my ministerial duties, there are many chapels of ease in which I can officiate. I am ready to do my duty in the parish church, if the parishioners think proper to make the necessary provision, not for *my* convenience, but for their own.

Under these circumstances the churchwardens will act as they think best. I will neither assist nor oppose them. The whole business rests with them, and not with me, and all that I shall do is to take care that neither directly nor indirectly I sanction the voluntary principle. To that principle I am opposed as a friend to the poor, whose true friend I hope always to be. Believe me to be, my dear Sir,

Yours very truly.

The following letters are a lifelike record of his parochial work during the first three years of his ministry. Little need be added to them. The wonder is that, besides doing so much work, he could find time to write long letters about it. The ordinary pastoral duty of visiting the sick was exceedingly heavy at all times, but especially during the first two years of his incumbency, before he had been able to surround himself with a large staff of curates. The preparation also of candidates for confirmation was a very arduous task, the work having been so much neglected in former times. A confirmation was held in 1840 at Leeds, at which upwards of 1,000 candidates were presented. The Vicar had 256 in his own classes, and of these more than forty were persons above thirty years of age who had been Dissenters. 'These, as you may suppose,' he says in a letter to a friend, 'are very out-and-out Churchmen.' He was amazed at the extraordinary ignorance of the simplest truths amongst youths and girls in middle-class schools, some of them not even knowing what events were commemorated on Easter Day and Whitsun Day. Yet he was never depressed in spirit or wearied by the work, but thoroughly enjoyed it. 'Of all the happiest employments,' he says in a letter written about this time, 'of a pastor's life, the happiest is that of preparing young people for confirmation. I do love to be in communion with youthful minds. I can thoroughly enter into their feelings and difficulties. In fact, I do not feel quite at home with persons after twenty-two, for, to tell the truth, I do not ever feel that I am a day older than that—I feel myself to be what my wife calls me, only an overgrown boy.'

Besides starting two magazines, to which reference is made in the ensuing letters, he published a letter to his parishioners on the Athanasian Creed. His object was to prove that for every statement in the creed Scriptural authority could be produced; that the creed only affirmed what Scripture affirmed, and that consequently the difficulties of the creed were not greater than the difficulties of those passages in Holy Scripture upon which the assertions in the creed were based; and further, that these difficulties were in both cases, alike in the creed and in Holy

Writ, capable of solution. The method which he adopted was to place in three parallel columns the text of the creed, the Scriptural warrants for each clause, and explanatory notes. The tract had a great sale, 5,000 copies being sold soon after it appeared, and it has been largely used from that time to this.

He considered the work of catechising so important, and at the same time so severe a strain upon the strength of the clergy in addition to their other duties on Sunday, that, as will be seen in the letter to Mr. Gladstone, he was anxious to secure some man who would act as chief catechist and overseer of the Sunday schools for the whole parish. The Sunday schools, indeed, were, during the first two or three years, a source of much trouble to him. A parochial association of the Sunday schools, which had been formed before he became vicar, under the notion that the richer districts would support the poorer, did not work well. The committee was an elective body difficult to manage; many of the teachers also were restive; they declined to use the Catechism, and told the children not to believe in Regeneration. The Vicar was resolute and straightforward with these recalcitrants. He met them in a body and gave them the option of teaching according to the rules of the Church or resigning their office. He quoted the words of the Catechism on the subject of baptism, and said, 'As much as this the lowest Churchman must concede, more than this the highest Churchman will not demand. To these answers conscientious Dissenters object, by these answers conscientious Churchmen are bound. These are Church of England schools.' By great exertions 1,500*l.* were raised to build new schools for the parish church, independent of the Sunday School Association. Nor were these the only buildings erected during the first three years of his ministry. In 1840, acknowledging a donation from the Archbishop of York to a school in the York Road, he says, 'I am engaged now in begging 500*l.* for a school we have just erected in another very poor part of the town, 300*l.* to complete the subscription for a small church we are building in the Harewood Road, and 3,000*l.* for our debt on the parish church.'

The magnitude of the outlay which would be required for the parish church became apparent in the autumn of 1839, by which time the rottenness of large portions of the walls and the insecurity of the foundations had been discovered, and the necessity of rebuilding the whole fabric was forced upon the minds of the committee. Severe and irksome was the task of begging; for trade was exceedingly depressed, and the state of destitution to which large numbers of operatives were reduced made a heavy demand upon the pockets of the wealthy. A large meeting was held at the Court House in December 1839 to consider the best means of relieving the distress. The Vicar attended, and was greeted with vociferous cheering by those working people who were present. He advocated the election of a certain number of working men on the Committee of Relief, remarking that their aid would be valuable in detecting cases of imposture. A great disturbance was made by some of the operatives speaking wildly about taking food by force if it was not given. This fierce demand induced others to propose that no operatives should be eligible for the committee. The hubbub was so great that several persons who attempted to speak could not be heard. At last the Vicar rose, and then there was a lull. After expressing his regret at the unseemly conduct of the meeting, he said that, in his judgment, it had better be dissolved. The ten thousand starving people must of course be relieved all the same, but in some other way. He should retire from the meeting, and expend his subscription of 40*l.* in the best way he could.

Yet, in spite of this distress among the poor, they themselves voluntarily opened a subscription list in aid of the fund for rebuilding the church—the subscribers were to pay a penny a week until the work was completed. The members of a weekly class, held by the Vicar in St. John's Schoolroom, consisting of middle-class people, subscribed fifty guineas towards the fund, and undertook some of the arduous work of begging. They also presented the Vicar in October 1840 with a silk gown and cassock. In thanking them for this gift the Vicar said that he had established this and other class-meetings because it was

impossible for him, in so vast a parish, to pay domiciliary visits to all his flock. 'It is now generally known,' he said, 'that I am ready to receive the poor every morning at ten o'clock, while my other parishioners can meet me at the York Road class at eight o'clock on Monday evenings, or at four o'clock in this school every Thursday afternoon.'

LETTERS ON PAROCHIAL WORK.

To W. E. Gladstone, Esq.—On Sunday Schools and Catechising.

Vicarage, Leeds: March 26, 1838.

My dear Mr. Gladstone, . . . I may perhaps avail myself of this opportunity of stating to you my opinions with respect to the educational measures in progress. What we want in manufacturing towns, is the appointment of some well-educated, energetic man in each town, to act as catechist-general under the clergy; and the National Society ought to be in fact what it is in theory, a grand normal school for the education of such persons. This person should be able not only to catechise the higher classes of the different Church schools, but to train the subordinate teachers; and as a good salary would be necessary, I should think that we might safely insist on the catechist being at least in deacon's orders. Under these circumstances, a chapel might be obtained, where the children and the teachers might attend every Sunday; by which means sermons adapted to the children might be preached or catechising be publicly conducted; and at the same time additional accommodation would, as a matter of course, result from the removal of the children in the other churches of the town. In country parishes the present system, when properly acted upon, answers admirably; the clergyman superintending the schools and regularly catechising the children, the master is only required to direct the details of business, for which an inferior man will suffice. Having had the happiness to commence my ministry in a country parish, I can speak with confidence on this point. But in the manufacturing towns the case is very different; the children cannot attend the day schools, except when infants; and the Sunday schools are, in consequence, the schools in which most of the

instruction given is received. Whether under the regulations of the Factory Commissioners any improvement in this respect is likely to take place, I am not able to say, since the factory system did not prevail at Coventry, and I have not been long enough in Leeds to form an opinion; but I suspect that the regulations of the Factory Commissioners will always be evaded. As the case stands at present, the chief instruction is given in Sunday schools; but it is quite impossible for the clergy, generally speaking, who have in towns to preach twice or three times in the day, in addition to various occasional duties, to exercise over these schools a vigilant control. I have endeavoured to meet the evil by directing the first classes of the several schools to come to church in the afternoon, where I publicly catechise; preaching only in the morning and the evening, and reserving my afternoons for this duty. But this can only be done by men in good health; nor could I do it myself if I had not curates under me to undertake the duty I omit. This then cannot be at present generally expected from the clergy; and what is the consequence? no regular system being adopted at the schools, they are too often little better than meeting-houses on a small scale, in which the teachers practise themselves by the delivery of sermonettes, while the children actually learn nothing; their feelings being occasionally excited, but their minds, principles, and morals neglected.

To the Rev. T. Nunns.

Leeds: May 3, 1838.

With respect to catechising in church, it has always been my practice. Both at Coventry and here I have done so, because I think that catechising thus becomes not merely a system of instruction, but a religious exercise. I expect the same gracious influences of the Spirit to attend as we expect when we are preaching. At school the clergyman appears but as one of the teachers—in church the children hear him as their spiritual pastor and master. I am accustomed to have the first classes of the several schools brought to me, with such other children as like to attend, at the conclusion of afternoon service. I always make them say the Catechism, which takes about ten minutes; I then cross-examine them, leading them by my questions from the Catechism to the lessons of the day, which takes another ten minutes, and then I apply what they have been taught in a short address—in what Doddridge would call the improvement.

. . . I have just organised a society for which, if you occasionally remember me in your prayers, I hope you will ask a blessing. It is called 'The Society of the Friends of the Sick.' (1) The object of the society is to assist the clergy of the parish church of Leeds (I have five, and shall soon have six, curates) and such of the other clergy of the parish as have districts assigned them in their visitations of the sick. (2) The Bishop is president, the Vicar is vice-president, and the other clergy of the parish of Leeds *ex-officio* members. (3) Any person wishing to become a member must be proposed by one of the clergy at one meeting, and be elected by the clergy present at a subsequent meeting. (4) The duty of the members is to visit the sick and afflicted in their several districts, to read to them the Holy Scriptures and such works as the clergyman of the district shall appoint, and to prepare them for the Holy Communion. (5) A monthly meeting at the Vicarage.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.

I am now engaged in a kind of novel magazine to be called the 'Voice of the Church,' and to consist entirely of selections from our old authors, making them to speak on modern controversies. I think of printing first 'Bacon's Confession of Faith,' with Ridley's 'Life of Ridley,' and some selections from Bingham's 'Antiquities;' Burns is to be the publisher. What think you? I am also engaged in a scheme of establishing reading rooms, with Saturday and Penny Magazines, and various good works, in different parts of the town, to counteract the Socialists. In these rooms we shall give lectures once a week; each room will be under the superintendence of a clergyman. I think, too, of selling tea there. What think you of this?

To the Rev. J. Fuller Russell

Vicarage, Leeds: March 5, 1839.

My dear Sir,—I am much obliged to you for your kind letter. I like the *look* of the 'Voice of the Church,' but the first part is rather too sombre. We must be a little more lively. Will you look out for miscellaneous articles and anecdotes, especially in Walton? You will find some passages worth transcription in the notes of Wordsworth's 'Christian Institutes.' I think I shall be able to send you some transcriptions myself. It may be well when you

have time, to translate the Latin and Greek quotations. What we now want is a good treatise on the Eucharist ; Brevint would be the thing, but I think Burns has lately reprinted him. Enquire about this. If he has, I think it might be well to reprint another work of Brevint's, 'The Mystery of the Mass' (I think it is called). I wish you would get it, at all events, and you can then decide whether or not it is worth publishing. For the sermon in this number, what think you of Bishop Bull's XIII. sermon, on Prescribed Forms of Prayer? If you approve of this, you had better draw up a short account of Bishop Bull much after the fashion of my account of Bishop Beveridge. It is easily done, on reference to the Biographical Dictionary, or to Nelson's Life. I wish very much to publish something about the Nag's Head story. It will not do for the present month, but will you look carefully over Mason and Bramhall? I do not think Courayer would do. There is a very interesting account of Parker's consecration in Strype's Life, which would do as an appendix. I believe the whole subject was thoroughly investigated by Bishop Elrington in a small octavo volume. Could not Mr. Burns obtain leave from the publishers to reprint this? I think that this will be an important document to succeed to Lesley—whose treatise will, I think, be concluded in the next part. On looking over your letter again, I see you recommend Bishop Hall's Olive Branch. And I think that this would be better than Bishop Bull. Let this then, if you are still of the same mind, be the single sermon for the next part. How have the Anglican Tracts sold? Would it not be well, if the sale has not been great, to print one or two of them in the 'Voice'? It would be very advantageous if you would add a few notes to every article, making the observations of the writer applicable to modern controversies.

To Mr. Burns the Publisher.

Vicarage, Leeds : April 10, 1839.

My dear Sir,—I am so overwhelmed with incessant business that my head is almost bewildered. The only time I have for calm thought is between ten at night and two or three in the morning, and these hours must be devoted to my sermons, as I preach five times in every week. I cannot therefore even *promise* to do anything. When parochial claims are rather less upon me, as they sometimes are, then, by way of amusement, I can help.

To the Rev. J. H. Newman.

Vicarage, Leeds : March 23, 1839.

My dear Newman,—I am anxious to erect in this town small oratories, to be consecrated as Chapels of Ease, and to be served by myself and my curates. They are to contain 500 people and to cost 1,000*l.* When I tell you that we have of late years raised 3,000*l.* for Church purposes ; that for the rebuilding of the parish church I have already raised 10,000*l.*, and I shall want 10,000*l.* more, and that I have raised 18,000*l.* for building a church in another part of the parish, while the majority of our richest, certainly our most liberal men, are Dissenters, you may regret but you will not be surprised at my having little hope of raising immediately 1,000*l.* in this town. We *have* raised 500*l.* (I say we, but I mean my dear Deacon Ward) from the poor, aided by a grant from the Church Building Society. The rest I must beg. And though I know your claims at Oxford are many, still I think, on many accounts it would be desirable were I able to add a handsome donation from a few friends at Oxford. So much is here talked about the Oxford sayings and writings, that I should like also to be able to let my people see what are Oxford *doings*. I really do think that this would very materially aid us in obtaining a patient hearing for sound principles. And I hope, therefore, you will stir up a few of our friends in that horrid stronghold of Popery, and of what is worse, if the Recordites can imagine anything worse.

Prospectus of the Leeds Magazine.

It has long been thought desirable that a Magazine should be published, which, containing papers of general interest, and obtaining support from various quarters, might be especially adapted to the locality of Leeds and the neighbourhood. Such a Magazine we have undertaken to publish ; and hating hypocrisy and deception of every kind—especially that kind of deception which results from the suppression of the truth, we proclaim at once, that this Magazine is to be conducted on orthodox Church principles ; or, to prevent mistake, we will go so far as to adopt the language of opprobrium, and say on High Church principles. If anyone wishes to know what those principles are, let him read our Magazine attentively for one year, and he will find them the principles of the Gospel. The

following breviat of its plan will show in what manner the Leeds Magazine is calculated to accomplish the end proposed. Each number will contain an Original Paper elucidating some important principle in doctrine or discipline of the Church, written by one of the many clergy who have kindly promised their assistance. The pages allotted to Correspondence will afford a ready and legitimate medium for contradicting any of those attacks so incessantly made against the Church and the Clergy, which may not be so gross as to bear its own refutation upon the face of it. Many points also unfit for the pages of a newspaper, and not sufficiently important for a pamphlet, may here be appropriately discussed. The Devotional portion of the work will be in strict accordance with the Catholic spirit which distinguishes the formularies of the Church, in the hope that, by the blessing of God, it may excite in the minds of our readers that love, reverence, zeal for God's glory, respect for authority, and sense of the invisible world which such a spirit, when rightly entertained, never fails to produce.

The success of this magazine, under the editorship of the Rev. W. H. Teale, was for a time so great that it was thought desirable to publish it in London, where it was brought out by Burns under the title of the 'Englishman's Magazine.'

To the Rev. H. Tragett.

Vicarage, Leeds : April 3, 1840.

We shall depend upon you for many contributions,¹ so up with your pen and work away ; you are soon to be an idle fellow, so you will have plenty of time. Extracts, quotations, letters, etc., all will be useful. Tell Norris to send a treatise on horsemanship, for the fox-hunting parsons. Our kind regards to Mrs. Tragett ; box her matter-of-fact ears when you see her, to discover whether she understands a joke ; whip the children when you are in a bad humour, and write for us when you are in a good one.

To the same—Resignation and Contentment--Hard Work.

My dear Friend, . . . I am sorry your new parish does not suit you so well as your last ; what a comfort, however, it is that our principles render us so irresponsible for external circumstances, that we gladly let external circumstances decide as to the manner

¹ To the *Leeds Magazine*.

in which we are to serve our Master. It is by those circumstances He speaks to us ; His special Providence appeals to the heart. ‘ Thus saith the Lord,’ and whether in a large parish or a small, or like our dear Archdeacon, on the bed of languishing, we seek for grace to obey ; and in obedience, in trying to identify our will with the Divine will, our happiness exists. Alas ! how, if this were not my faith, should I envy you ! How ardently do my natural feelings yearn for the quiet and literary ease of a country life ! You know not the pain it gives me, placed by Providence in a prominent position, to make the stand I do ; for though the religious world regards me as a Bonner, or something worse, I am by nature an easy good-natured fellow, who hates to contradict and oppose anybody. Having thus given myself a puff, I shall say no more. I am hard worked at present. I will give you my business for this day, Monday, as noted in my pocket-book, which will show that I am a good boy for writing this long letter to you. Twelve o’clock, Committee of Diocesan Church Building Society ; one o’clock, Committee for Parish Church Building ; three o’clock, dinner ; four o’clock, lecture in St. John’s Schoolroom ; six o’clock, Holy Communion to Mr. Rhodes at Knowsthorp, three miles off ; eight o’clock, meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Ergo, I must break off this letter, as my stomach aches at the thought of all I have to do. I must make a speech at the meeting of the Society, but I scarcely know what to say, as I have spoken so often on this occasion. My humble service to Mrs. Tragett.

I remain, dear sir, your affectionate humble servant.

The correspondence which follows is of a general character.

LETTERS, 1838-1840.

*To Mr. Sheepshanks.*¹

Deanery, Coventry : January 23, 1838.

Mr. Dean,—I am sorry not to find you at your post of duty, and shall immediately institute proceedings against you in my

¹ One of the clergy in Coventry who had been an intimate friend of Dr. Hook when he was Vicar of Trinity. He is jocosely addressed as Dean in this

spiritual court for non-residence. With respect to certain queries contained in your last letter, your appointment as examiner of the Leeds Free Grammar School has not been officially made, but I cannot imagine the possibility of any opposition on the part of the Committee to a gentleman nominated by my respected friend the Vicar of Leeds. I should consider a letter to the master not necessary, but perhaps a delicate attention. I am glad to find the Deanery in good repair, and your highly respectable housekeeper has made me as comfortable as possible. I have the honour to be,
Mr. Dean,

Your faithful Brother and Servant,
W. F. LEEDS.

To the Rev. Samuel Wilberforce—The Tractarians.

Leeds: February 2, 1838.

My dear Wilberforce, . . . I know we do not agree in all respects, but surely we do agree in our general principles. Where we disagree occasionally is in the application of those principles, especially with regard to certain societies and associations which you can, and I cannot support. But we agree, I conceive, in insisting upon three important doctrines, the authority of the Church, the Apostolical Succession, and the Sacraments: here surely is a sufficient bond of union. And now let me ask, what right have you to identify me with 'The Oxford Tract men?' I love Pusey, Newman, and Keble with all my heart and soul; but I call no man Master. What greater insult can be offered to a Christian who knows his privileges than to be called after a man? to be called a Calvinist, a Lutheran, a Zwinglian? Do we not consider it even as an insult to be called Athanasian? though of all human names perhaps that of St. Athanasius is the highest. Christian is my name, Catholic my surname: when my Oxford friends are acting as Catholic Christians, then I agree with them; when they act otherwise, their great names have no influence upon me. I am indeed sometimes sorry to see that the most powerful and valued advocates of right principles go out of their way to put weapons into the hands of our adversaries, and thus endanger the acceptance of those vital principles and doctrines to which I have
letter. Dr. Hook seems to have lodged at his house on passing through Coventry in his absence. Mrs. Sheepshanks is here called the housekeeper.

alluded. I rather suspect that some of our friends have a notion that right principle can scarcely exist out of a college; in fact it is destroyed in their opinion by commerce with mankind (i.e. reducing principles to practice); while, certainly, we practical men are annoyed at their handling matters of detail as to uniformity of practice, just now, before we have sown the seeds, or before the fruit has appeared, of right principles. I confess that the Service for Bishop Ken, following the most learned and useful tract on the Breviary, alarmed me much. It has done much injury to the good cause, and has nullified the tract of which it was intended merely as an illustration. Pusey's tract on Baptism I admire extremely; it seems to me to contain more useful matter than any work that has been published in these latter days; but with respect to his notion of sin after baptism, it does, between ourselves, approach in my opinion to Novatianism. It is a dreadful doctrine: I hope it is not true; I believe it is not—from the best attention I have been able to give to the subject, I think it is not: but it must not be charged on Pusey only; you will find the same doctrine in one of Dr. Burton's sermons before the University.

To his Wife—Longings for Home and Retirement.

10 Dean's Yard, Westminster: June 22, 1838.

My own dear Love,—I knew not how dependent I am for happiness upon you and my darling little ones, but amid all this noise, and confusion, and excitement, I have a constant void of mind, a longing after a coze with you and a game of romps with them. It seems to me as if I had been here for months instead of days. The longer I remain the more desirous do I become of retirement. I should indeed much like to retire from the world, and live in some lone cottage and write an ecclesiastical history. I believe that I told you yesterday of most of my adventures. I find all my more worldly-minded friends treating me with much consideration, which looks as if the world thought well of me, a very problematical compliment. The kindness I receive from some of my more pious friends—from Joshua Watson, Acland, Sam Wood, and Sam Wilberforce—is gratifying, because their society while it delights at the same time improves.

To his Wife—The Coronation of Queen Victoria.

10 Dean's Yard : June 29, 1838.

. . . At the Coronation we had such excellent seats that we saw the whole of the sacred rite ; the actual crowning, the homage, and the Queen when blessed by the dear Archbishop, and when receiving the Holy Communion. In the Litany I actually persuaded all the persons in our part of the Abbey to bear their part, by manfully and boldly bearing mine. I sat next to Whewell and to Lockhart, having much conversation with his little boy, Sir Walter's grandson, who in my eyes, next to the Queen, the Bishops, and the Duke of Wellington, had the place of highest respect. The Queen went through the whole service without apparent fatigue. The Duke was loudly cheered, and so, for the honour of our nation, was Soult. The Duke was not so well received in France, but it is easier, as Wood says, for us to be civil to the man whom we have beaten than for them to be civil to their conqueror.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—On Style in Sermon-writing.

Coventry : July 1, 1838.

My dearest Friend,—That you and Mr. Watson should complain of my laxity of composition does not surprise me ; but I am surprised that the Archdeacon, being himself a writer of sermons, should do so. The more lax, the less laboured the style, the nearer it comes to colloquial language, the better. I am convinced that one of the things which makes my ordinary sermons tell from the pulpit is this very circumstance, that I write precisely as I would talk ; and that my sermons are thus as nearly as possible extemporaneous effusions.

The formed, beautiful style of Bishop Jebb, excellent to read, does not answer in the pulpit ; at least this is my view of the case. And when I print sermons I always make a point of altering the style. It was because I did not feel at liberty to do so in the present instance that I was reluctant to publish. But when the Archdeacon and Mr. Watson say the sermon will, D. G., do good, though not add to my character as an author, I hesitate not for one moment to publish ; for what does my character signify ? and how gladly would I sacrifice all its respectability as a writer, to

do good to a single soul. I am indeed a little mortified at their thinking it possible that my vanity should, for one half-moment, stand in the way of my attempting to do good. The real fault of the sermon is in the arrangement. However, much may be done, if in correcting the press you will have the kindness to attend to the punctuation, and to the division of the sentences, which, in writing what I intend to speak, I do not attend to.

To Mr. Cecil Wray.

Vicarage, Leeds : December 14, 1838.

I am quite delighted to hear of your Catholic intentions.¹ I am myself inclined to think that it is in general best to exhibit the truth in its fulness, purity and excellence, and not *directly* to attack error. But things have now come to such a pass that if you preach the simple truth the Erastians immediately raise a cry that you are preaching against them. It may perhaps therefore be good policy to avow that your proposed lectures are against both Romish and Protestant Dissent. And if sound principles are advocated with a truly Christian temper—not *railing* against either Popish or Protestant Dissenters, but simply refuting their doctrines while building up your people in our own—I have little doubt that by God's blessing you will do much good. On many of the subjects to which your letter refers I have thought much and read a little, and if I can be of the least service to you or any of your friends in your enquiries, I shall rejoice to be employed by you ; on condition, of course, that I may make a similar application to you and them at other times. Your obliged and faithful servant.

To the Rev. Samuel Wilberforce.

Vicarage, Leeds : December 31, 1838.

My dear Friend,—I am glad that another letter from you justifies my writing to you so soon again ; for no sooner was my last letter despatched than my tardy conscience reminded me that I had not thanked you for your eloquent sermon. The fact is that I dealt with you in a manner different from that with which I treated Mr. Manning. All my thoughts are at present devoted to

¹ Delivery of a course of lectures on Church subjects by some Liverpool clergy.

education, therefore I eagerly devoured your sermon when it came to hand, and then marked it as one of the sermons to be referred to hereafter for a quotation or two. As you have eulogised my sermon, I will not eulogise yours, lest it should appear to be merely a return of compliments, and as I feel sure that our only object is the promotion of God's glory by the knowledge of His truth, such conduct would be worse than idle. How often is His work done by evil reports against His servants ! How blessed a thing it is that when some are praising us beyond our deserts, others are abusing us equally in excess ! It is thus that we learn the real insignificance of human applause or censure, and are led to look up from the creature entirely to the Creator. And oh ! how glorious a thing it is to know for certain that when we are seeking His glory, He will in mercy take the will for the deed, and that even our mistakes, if unintentional, which the wicked world delights in pointing out, neither injure the cause, nor offend a reconciled Father, who is well pleased at our infantine attempts to show our love to Him ! But to return to your sermon : I value it as it has suggested a good subject to me for a New Year's discourse—the difference between reformation and renovation.

*To W. P. Wood, Esq.—On Morbid Feelings about Usefulness—
Necessity of Meditation—Unfulfilled Promises—Dr. Wolff.*

Leeds : April 10, 1839.

My dearest Friend, . . . I think the feelings of — are somewhat morbid as to the question of his usefulness. I think that in these days we have got too much in the habit of thinking and talking of our usefulness, forgetting that God does not need our help, though He may command our services, and we are then obeying His commands when we do with all our might that which our hand findeth to do—the business of our appointed station. If we of the clergy have advantages in some respects, which we have, yet in other respects we have great disadvantages. There is always danger to those who have to talk much about religion that their religion may become that of the head, rather than the true religion of the heart. I have found it necessary myself, to dedicate an hour or two at midnight (the only time that I can be secure of quiet) to serious meditation, self-examination, and prayer. Between ten and one are usually my happy hours, when all is still and silent around ; and though it may be bad to sit up late, still I

have found the comfort and the peace brought to my soul, during those hours, of the greatest possible benefit, bodily as well as mentally. I have of late been studying the unfulfilled prophecies, those relating to Antichrist, and that most blessed and glorious of all the consolatory doctrines of the Bible, the doctrine relating to Our Lord's second personal advent. I long to talk to you of these subjects, and I trust we shall have some little time to do so when we meet in London. The more I read my Bible the more convinced I am, my dearest Wood, that we are right. Look to the coming of a personal Antichrist, look forward to a predicted apostasy and persecution, and you will see at once that our business is to edify the Church, that it may stand as the Ark to which all faithful hearts may resort when the fiery deluge shall come. To me it is the greatest possible comfort, a holy joy, to know that I shall see our blessed Saviour himself, even the Lord Jesus who died for us. I have only of late quite realised this truth to my mind; my notions till lately of the Resurrection have been very vague; they are much more definite. I cannot enter upon these subjects more fully now, but let me strongly recommend to you and your wife Dodsworth's 'Lectures on Advent.' Delicia and I have been much delighted with them. Wolff has a small living not far from this; he was recommended to me by letters from my own bishop, the Bishop of London, and Dodsworth. His opposition to the Recordites, in time past, so embittered them that they spread abroad the report of his being mad; but he is, in fact, a man of the greatest genius, of much learning, and of the most delightful enthusiasm. My friend Bishop Doane, the Bishop of New Jersey, ordained him deacon, and has obtained him an American D.D. degree; and who obtained for him an LL.D. degree at Dublin? who but Archbishop Whately, a man not very tolerant of madmen and fools. He was the bosom friend of Irving, but never became an Irvingite; he acknowledged that his 'fiery zeal, untempered by Christian moderation, sometimes got him into scrapes, and his detestation of Popery sometimes made him forget his Catholicism;' but he was always so Catholic that by his brother missionaries he was deemed a Papist; and perhaps neither Irving nor your humble servant were ever more hated and abused by the Recordites. To me he is one of the most fascinating companions I ever met with; and as to orthodoxy, he is a regular Oxford Tract man. In one of his last letters to me he says, 'I am reading the Oxford Tracts to Lady Georgiana every night;' in

Another he says, 'Lady Georgiana is not up to Pusey's mark yet, but says she goes quite as far as Dr. Hook.' Of course we must make allowance for much eccentricity, and for foreign notions; especially for his love of spitting, and his dislike of cleanliness. I only wish you knew him, and if he goes to London you shall know him. I think it right to befriend him, the rather since, in the deep malignity of my evil heart, I was one of those who most wickedly, from mere newspaper reports, used to revile him; yes, revile a man suffering hardship for Christ, while I was lounging comfortably at home! I acted in the same way by poor Irving, who was certainly mad at last; but I did so when he was quite in his right mind, and I often think of my then malignant wickedness, when I read those various lies which are told of myself, and I kiss the rod, and recognise the justice of the punishment. By the way, did you ever read 'Irving's Last Days?' Delicia and I are reading them with intense delight.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Visit to the Isle of Wight.

July 4, 1839.

My dearest Friend,—I cannot sufficiently thank you for your delightful letter, or sufficiently apologise for the trouble I gave you about the sermon, which I found safe in my desk. How I should have enjoyed having you with me when I went to the island. I am entirely knocked up by that overwhelming visit; so many of the people, old sailors even, had to struggle hard against crying when we met; some cried outright, and I was in a crying state all day; desperate maudlin. Thirteen years have passed away, and many of those most dear to my heart, my beloved father among the number, whose faces appeared in imagination before me, as I paced the houses once their own, now are not. The affection of my dear people of the Isle of Wight is indeed most touching; oh that I could once more settle there! I have travelled far since I left the island, but a spot so sweet for a residence I have never seen. Grandeur of course there are, for there is no grandeur in the island, but the kind of scenery which has a charm for me, is that of a country well cultivated, with much water; and water and cultivation go together in the dear island, with a climate approaching that of foreign parts. I should like, indeed, to retire to a small living in the island; this would be, to my mind, a realisation of Paradise. I do not discourage these feelings, for it is easy to pass

from such longings to a longing for Heaven, where is peace and rest for evermore.

To the Same—Reminiscences of Childhood.

Vicarage, Leeds : September 11, 1839.

My dearest Friend,—No language can describe the quiet subdued interest with which I read your letter. Nearly thirty years have passed since I was amidst those scenes from which you wrote to me. I was then a shy, a wayward, awkward boy ; very much averse to the expression of my feelings, and particularly disliking exclamations of rapture, etc. ; indeed I enjoyed little except in solitude. I remember that my father and mother used sometimes to upbraid me for not admiring the scenery with which they were delighted ; and I saw not long ago a letter which turned up by chance, from me to my grandfather, in which I said, ‘ I have no taste yet, but I feel it coming.’ I am quite convinced that it is a bad plan to rate and ridicule shy lads for not expressing themselves warmly, when we think they ought to do so. In this, and on many other occasions, the non-expression is to be attributed to anything but want of the feeling. Even now, if a person tells me you ought to feel so or so on account of such or such an event, there is in me a revulsion, an inclination to say, ‘ Then you shall be disappointed, for I will not profess to feel it.’ And this feeling in boyhood when one has not been long exercised, through grace, in forming those habits which may correct natural temperament, is of course stronger. I allude to these things because I was, all the while, intensely enjoying the works of nature around me. So deep was the impression made upon my mind that I cannot help thinking that I could find my way about, almost without a guide. There used to be at the top of a hill, overhanging, or nearly so, the rapid trout stream, a summer-house, which at the bottom looked like two pigeon-holes. There would I dream of poetry, when I thought, mistaken youth, that I was born to be a poet. Many an air-built castle was erected there. These recollections crowd thick upon me, while all connected with Linnmouth and Ilfracombe brings my dear father before me, and I think of those lines of Wordsworth :—

My eyes are filled with childish tears,
 My heart is idly stirred ;
 And the same sounds are in my ears
 Which in those days I heard.

At Ilfracombe I remember particularly Wildersmouth, where the sea used to rage horribly. What a sea it is! is it not, in those parts? Whether it is to be attributed to my boyish fancy or not, it seems to me that I have never seen any sea like it since. I have seen the sea as beautiful in colour, though I have been able sometimes at Ilfracombe to see the bottom eighteen feet deep. But that endless ground-swell, that swell which is there when there is no wind stirring, and the fury of the sea when any wind dared to breathe upon it; in these things I imagine that I have never seen it equalled. As the sea comes up at Wildersmouth, to walk among the rocks becomes dangerous; all of a sudden you find the sea roaring at some distance in front of you, having covered the spot through which you entered; and you find nothing but perpendicular rocks behind and on either side. The danger of walking there was impressed upon our minds as a caution, but the impression has been made very deep. I forget where the precise spot was, but I well remember the misery of a parent, a father, whose son was lost among some of those rocks. I remember well the quick hurried step with which he walked up and down on a kind of green platform, while people were looking for his child. He could not venture to look himself, and seemed to walk as if for his life, as if he should expire if he stopped for one moment. Those are touching lines of Wordsworth's which relate to a similar event:—

His mother from the window looked,
With all the longing of a mother;
 Hand in hand his sisters walked
 The green wood path, to meet their brother.
 They sought him east, they sought him west,
 They sought him all the forest thorough;
 They only saw the cloud of night,
 They only heard the roar of Yarrow.

I cannot recollect whether the child I allude to was restored to his parent; I remember being hurried off to bed and dreaming of the event the whole night. How odd it is that we sometimes so entirely forget the most important point in an early recollection. How very very much, my own dear most beloved friend, I should have liked to have been with you in your excursion; I really do not know anything in the world that would delight me more than to take such an excursion with you. You say that you needed rest and retirement. I am sure you did; would that we could have

more of it ; I pine for retirement. My visit to the Isle of Wight, the thoughts of quiet hours in my country parish there, have made me long for a retreat there more and more. The only thing I might lack would be what supports one in one's labours here—a sense of usefulness. There is some feeling of pleasure in hoping that the great God is employing me as an instrument of good. I give Him all the glory ; I know that I am but an instrument in His hands, as useless intrinsically as the water in the font. I keep all this constantly in my mind, but I sometimes think that the thought itself is wrong, and that I might fairly retire, if opportunity offered, so that such a thought might never again come across me.

Treatment of Dissenters—Avoid Controversial Sermons.

Vicarage, Leeds : November 29, 1839.

My dear Bellairs,—I congratulate you on your retirement to a country parish. With two thousand persons under you, you will have more than enough to do, if it shall, after a time, please God to bring them back to the fold of the Church. I would strongly advise you not to oppose the Methodists, or to trouble yourself about them. The best method of proceeding is to have your schools, however thinly attended, conducted in the best manner, and for this purpose it is necessary for the Pastor to devote one whole day if not two days in the week to this duty. And as to controversy, I would never preach a controversial sermon. It is a rule with me never to do so in my own congregation, except on some great occasion which seems to demand it. It may be useful to do so, on what are called public occasions—such as charity sermons, &c. in other parishes ; but never let your divinity be controversial among your own people. The Methodists are to be treated with affection and respect, without countenancing their errors.

You will find Cottage Lectures highly useful, and Girdlestone's Commentary a great help on those occasions. I hope the clergy will read in your neighbourhood. It is by reading, not by discussions, that men come to the truth.

To the Rev. Samuel Wilberforce on his Appointment to the Archdeaconry of Surrey.

Vicarage, Leeds : December 5, 1839.

My dear Archdeacon,—I have availed myself of the first day of the cheap postage to express my joy at your preferment ; I have

been looking anxiously for it ever since the death of my old friend, Lord Walsingham. A noble sphere of usefulness is now open to you, and grace has been given to you to desire to do your duty in that line of life in which you find yourself providentially placed. These are great blessings, and in your labours may you continue to be blessed. The great danger to men like you and me, actively employed, is, lest we should be found thinking of self, instead of looking only to the glory of God ; but blessed be His Holy Name, over this and all other temptations we can triumph through the strengthening of the great Head of the Church, and the incessant dread of this which haunts us in our meditative hours, and makes us sometimes tremble, keeps us humble. May His spirit, my dear friend, be with you ! Believe me to be, my dear Archdeacon,

Most affectionately yours.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Opponents—Fear of Defection to Romanism.

Vicarage, Leeds : January 21, 1840.

My very dearest Friend, . . . You can hardly imagine all I have to go through here ; situated, as I am, between two extremes. There are bitter enemies, the Peculiars, whose bitterness is beyond all description, ready to watch each trip that is made. When they cannot discover one, there are some of them ready to invent one. Then if for the sake of peace I yield a little to these, there are some very High Churchmen who never reproach me, never say an unkind word, but look at me with tearful eyes, and seem to say, 'we hoped better things of thee.' This is 'the most unkindest cut' always of all. I really sometimes scarcely know what to do ; how often do I think of good Dr. Hamilton, in King Charles's day ; how often do I think of the joy it will be in heaven, that there, disputes among the children of God will not, as here, be necessary. You know the unfortunate sensitiveness of my mind, and these things are sometimes quite overwhelming. 'Woe is me,' I can truly say with the prophet, 'woe is me that I was born a man of war !' I think that if the rulers of the Church of England do not take very good care, we shall have ere long a great defection to Romanism. I do not fear the clergy, but there are young men, the generation below us, who have been educated in a school of transcendental metaphysics mingled with religion, and they require something in their religion which will raise the imagination.

For a long period there was a prejudice against everything mysterious in religion ; the feeling now is, that mystery is *à priori* evidence in favour of a doctrine. These persons see much to admire in Romanism. They admit its doctrinal errors, but they see that many of its practices are superior to our own ; that when men are striving for perfection, they receive greater encouragement. Hitherto men's eyes have been blinded to this, partly by Protestant lies, which, discovered, give strength to Romanism, and partly by assertions that attention to these things is superstition, trusting upon works, &c. ; the weakness of which dogmatism is easily perceived. Men now see that there is good mingled with the evil of Romanism, and that much of what has hitherto been called superstition is a help to devotion. Having got so far as this, there will be many who will begin to consider the doctrinal differences of less importance than they really are. Surely it is important for our rulers to bear all this in mind, and not only to render the Church of England sound in doctrine, but to do everything that in them lies, according to her principles, to aid men in these their high aspirings after perfection. Since the Restoration the tendency of the Church of England's mind has been to do everything to conciliate those who are inclined to Protestant dissent. We must now, as in the time of Elizabeth, do something to conciliate those weak brethren who are inclined to Romish dissent.

From William Wordsworth.

Rydal Mount : February 5, 1840.

My dear Sir,—Though I have not regularly acknowledged the receipt of the several publications you have sent me, I trust that you do not infer from that omission that I am indifferent to those marks of your regard, or insensible to their merits ; I have perused them carefully, and with much pleasure and profit. The last I received is the excellent sermon upon the Novelties of Romanism.¹ I read it over again yesterday, and am happy to say that I concur with your views. But allow me to add one remark : you point to the additions the Romans have made to the ancient faith, which the Reformation endeavoured to restore, and which we hold. Now, much the greatest part of the particulars which you select are, in conversation at least, disclaimed by almost every Romanist

¹ 'The Novelties of Romanism, or Popery Refuted by Tradition,' in vol. i. of *The Church and her Ordinances* (Bentley).

of education, clergy or laymen, with whom it has been my fortune to converse. And this is one of the strongest objections I have to their religion. I accuse it boldly of having many faces, and two the direct opposites of each other: a face for the cultivated mind, and another, the reverse of that, for the great body of the ignorant. I have lived nearly four years of my life abroad, in countries where Popery was the established or prevailing religion; I have carefully observed its operation, and I have no hesitation in saying that the bulk of the people who belong to it, do believe, or act at least as if they believed, in those additions which you have enumerated. After all, I reckon the constrained celibacy of the clergy the monstrous root of the greatest part of the mischiefs of Popery. If that could be got rid of, most of the other evils would gradually melt away. If we would truly spiritualise men, we must take care that we do not begin by unhumanising them, which is the process in respect to all those who are brought up with a view to the making of that unnatural vow. The inevitable result of it upon the minds of the great body of the clergy is an inordinate desire to enlarge the power of their order, *per fas et nefas*, in other words, to enslave the minds of others for their own exaltation. Believe me, dear Sir, to remain faithfully,

Your much obliged,
W. WORDSWORTH.

Justification—Egotism, etc.

10 Dean's Yard, Westminster: April 21, 1840.

My dear —,—Your kind and delightful letter was very welcome to me, because in my last, having purposely stated some of my positions almost paradoxically, to set you a-thinking, I thought I had alarmed you, and perhaps by my free speaking had given you offence. The letter I have just had the pleasure to receive is to me quite satisfactory. I do not wish you to be brought over to any set of opinions, I merely wish you to read without prejudice works which it is impossible to read without profit. I am afraid, too, that you have to struggle with some of those difficulties peculiar to persons of quickness, and a strong sense of the ridiculous, talents which always require very great watching and much exercise of self-denial; and if you will bear with me now that I have ventured upon your kindness so far, I will venture to recommend you to read for instruction. From the general tone of your letters I suspect that you chiefly read to criticise, assuming that you are

right. Now certainly Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman are quite as likely to be right as we are ; I admit that they and my other Oxford friends, being ascetics, may require, as generally necessary, what the secular clergy, such as I am, find to be impracticable ; but so far as I have had intercourse with them, they are always willing to make allowance for others who are placed in situations wherein they cannot be so austere. I have told you, I believe, before, that I cannot defend Mr. Newman's work on Justification, because I have not studied it sufficiently to understand what he means. You have clearly mistaken him, because he considers Justification to be conveyed by baptism. That the popular notion of Justification is wrong is clear from this, that it leads most persons to be afraid of their Bible. How very seldom we hear a sermon on Justification by works, and yet Justification by works is as much a doctrine of Scripture as Justification by faith. The fact is, that too many Protestants make Justification by faith only, which is an important doctrine of Scripture, to be the very foundation of Christianity ; whereas the one thing necessary is mystical union with Christ. Let us beware how we displace Christ, and elect in His stead a doctrine *concerning* Christ. Scripture does not love definitions, but would the following statement meet your views ? We are justified

Freely—by God.

Meritoriously—by Christ.

Instrumentally—internally by faith ;
externally by baptism.

We lose it—by sinning.

We regain it—by penance.

We evidence it—by good works.

It is consummated—in glory.

I am sadly afraid that the progress of Infidelity will soon be fearfully great. We are to expect it ; it is predicted that there will be a great apostasy before the coming of Antichrist, and that Antichrist will appear just before our Lord's coming to reign in glory. The very controversies of the day are leading to Infidelity. People are beginning to say Popery is bad, but Protestantism is worse ; it has all the bad passions of Popery without its redeeming points. The conclusion will be, that all religion is bad, unless we can prepare the Church for the reception of such persons as occupy the middle ground between Popery and Protestantism. This is my conviction, and I act upon it.

May I request you not in future to repeat to me what people say or think of me. My dear Gamaliel, Bishop Jebb (do you know his works?), always observed that the less we hear of ourselves, for good or evil, the better. Writing confidentially to you, I will be so far egotistical as to say, without any affectation, that while my faults, as well as my sins, are of course more in number than the hairs of my head, I have only one redeeming quality, which is an energy of character which makes me wish to do my duty well whatever that duty is. In all other respects I am lamentably deficient. Circumstances, providentially ordered, have brought me rather prominently forward in the Church; I know that I have not sufficient talents for any such situation, that in everything I am far behind thousands who have not been brought so forward. I am quite conscious of my inferiority, painfully so. I assure you that this is said without any affectation; and I do often pray most fervently that an opportunity may be providentially opened to me to retire to a country living, a country parish having been from boyhood the object of my ambition, as it was for seven years the happy scene of my first ministerial labours; but I am supported by God's grace, and on that I rely. I beg you to consider this as confidential, because there is no use in decrying oneself; it interferes with usefulness. To speak of oneself is indeed wrong, but let what I have written stand.

To the Reverend T. H. Tragett—A Visit to Beverley.

Vicarage, Leeds: August 12, 1840.

In his own handwriting too, ah! well! this comes of being a squire as well as a parson; but don't imagine that it will continue. I remember some twenty years ago receiving a letter from the great man of Stow, and poor dear Joshua Watson could hardly believe his eyes when he saw an autograph letter from the Archdeacon to such an insignificant wight, he the said lay Archbishop evidently feeling certain such pangs of jealousy as I do now. Yesterday was Augusta's eleventh birthday, so what did Mrs. Gilpin and your humble servant but take her and Anna some sixty or seventy miles (a mere trifle, three hours' work by railroad), to say her prayers in Beverley Minster. The day was beautiful; we went at seven o'clock in the morning; saw the mud at Hull, a kind of northern Southampton, at nine; and when we got to Beverley there were no prayers; but such a minster! York and Lincoln

only surpass it. The verger, the great man of Beverley, told the Vicar, the great man of Leeds, that the living belonged to the Simeonites; the Vicar (innocently), 'The Simeonites, who are they?' 'The followers of Mr. Simeon.' 'Oh! really! the *followers*! I hope (very innocently), they do not pray to him.' 'Oh no, sir.' 'Ah well! tell the trustees that a Catholic priest who prays to God only, hopes they do not pray to St. Simeon, and wishes they would permit him to pray to God.' Alas! our misfortunes did not end here. We got back to Hull just two minutes too late for railroad; *ergo* (wife being a nurse), being seventy miles from home we were obliged to buy nightcaps, &c., and to sleep at Hull; this morning we arrived at home, safe, well, and not cross.

The One Thing Needful.

Leeds: November 28, 1840.

My dear —, . . . I will not notice your remarks on my former letter. My wish is to make you think, and think in the right way. You seem to me to be too busy in trying to find out what other people think, instead of exercising your own mind, which without flattery is superior (if you will only exercise it) to that of many to whom you defer. You mistake me when you think I wish you to embrace Mr. —'s opinions (I dare say very right ones) because he is your pastor. I want you to embrace no one's opinions, but merely to do what the Church directs you to do. All that I should say with respect to a pastor is, that we should hear him with patience, complain of him to the bishop if he purposely opposes the teaching of the Church, if otherwise, keep silence. Silent meditation on a wrong opinion may be very serviceable to us, even when we are not called upon to state our reasons for thinking it wrong. In fact, the formation of our opinions is a minor consideration. What is it that we require? union with our Saviour Christ, mystical union with Him. Let this be the one thing aimed at, and you will be gradually led into all truth, both in action and in opinion. Let Christ and a desire to be united with Him, and through Him with God, be the centre of your system (not any doctrine concerning Him, such as Justification by faith), but Christ and Him only, and mystical union with Him, and all will be right. As to opinions, I would never trouble myself about them, except when they are likely to influence my conduct. Of what use, for example, is it to you to form an opinion about the Apostolical Succession; you are in the Church where the fact of the Succession exists; they who have the estate have

no need to examine the title-deeds. Dissenters, indeed, are bound to enquire, where they find the Church universal (all Christians except themselves) affirming the doctrine. You, if you were going to live in Scotland, would be bound to enquire, but at present I see not what you have to do with the subject ; you may hear Catholics censured for holding it, but you know we glory in being censured, and you are not called upon to defend us.

CHAPTER VIII.

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE.

A.D. 1841-1843.

THE year 1841 is one upon which the student of English ecclesiastical history looks back with a profound and melancholy interest. It was a year of painful tension and perplexity, distress and agitation, to great minds and noble hearts. In the publication of Tract XC. we see a last, longing effort on the part of the gifted author to discover in the formularies of the Church of England—that Church which he still deeply loved—a certain consonance with the Church of earlier times, in default of which he and many of his disciples had come to think her claims to Catholicity could not be made good.

In the censure passed upon that Tract in high quarters, and the cessation of the series at the bidding of the Bishop of Oxford, we see the first blow which seriously shook the author's position in the Church: while the creation of the Jerusalem Bishopric caused a more violent shock to his feelings and strained his allegiance to the Anglican communion almost to breaking.

From this point we mournfully watch the great leader, the inspiring genius of the 'Oxford Movement,' gradually receding from our camp, until we see it standing on the edge of the boundary stream,

*Tendentemque manus, ripæ ulterioris amore.*¹

Nor was the present year in any slight degree one of trial

¹ 'And stretching forth his hands with a longing for the shore beyond.'

to the Vicar of Leeds. Under the pressure of temporary vexation and excitement he actually, upon one occasion, resigned his living. For a few hours he ceased to be Vicar of Leeds; but the hasty decision was so soon retracted that probably none of his flock were ever aware that it had been made.

His relation to the Oxford School was indirectly the cause of this singular occurrence, and to it therefore the attention of the reader must in the first place be directed. It might be compared at this time with the attitude of Samuel Johnson towards David Garrick. Sir Joshua Reynolds once truly remarked that Johnson never would allow anyone to praise or to blame Garrick but himself. In like manner the Vicar of Leeds was continually engaged in defending or censuring the Oxford writers—upholding them against coarse and unjust attacks, criticising them in opposition to indiscriminate and lavish praise. In the face of a hostile and often calumnious world he took his stand beside them; in conversation and correspondence with confidential friends he pointed out and lamented what he conceived to be their errors of statement or of judgment. Some passages, for instance, in one of the Tracts concerning sin after Baptism were in his judgment doctrinally inaccurate, and the whole Tract by Mr. Isaac Williams on ‘Reserve in communicating Religious Knowledge,’ though beautiful in itself, seemed to him to recommend a principle inapplicable to the present condition of things, and in some respects absolutely unwholesome and undesirable. As a rule, however, it would be true to say that he agreed with the Tract writers in their principles, but frequently differed from them respecting the best mode of practically applying those principles.

A few extracts from his letters will illustrate the truth of these remarks.

Writing to Mr. Newman in 1839, he says :

Right principles are advancing here in an astonishing manner. I do not mean so much in Leeds—where the oppositions of those who make the Word of God of none effect by the Record are very

fierce—but throughout the West Riding. Men are beginning to think. And several Peculiars are now insisting on the Apostolical Succession and on Baptism. . . . I have not seen Pusey's letter.¹ I rejoice to find, however, that you are beginning to condescend to notice the objections and difficulties which occur, not to factious Recordites, but to really good men who are feeling their way. A few tracts to show what you do *not* mean, as well as what you *do* mean, would be useful—that is to show how far you will *not* go, as well as how far you *will* go. Pusey is sure to be excellent. I wish Williams would explain himself more fully as regards his tract.² It is one of the most beautiful, one of the most delightful tracts ever written—but in the third part he might modify considerably. Surely there is a difference to be observed in our conduct in a nation which is heathen, and a nation by Baptism made Christian: in a nation where heathenism is the traditional religion and in a nation where the traditional religion is Christianity. The secret doctrines of our faith *are* in this country known: it is no longer a question whether they should be declared or not—*that* point is settled for us. Surely we are justified in taking care that they are not misapplied. I believe Williams would agree in all this; but he might very profitably explain himself more fully. A thousand thanks for the fourteenth sermon in your last volume. Had you written nothing else, I should love you for that.

His indignation was roused at the injustice of assailing with clamorous invective and abuse those members of the Church who might be inclined to look too favourably on Romish Dissent, while others who leaned towards Protestant Dissent were suffered to tamper with the doctrines and rubrics of the Church to their hearts' content, no man forbidding them.

Writing to a friend in 1840 who was disposed, as he thought, to judge the Tract writers too hardly, he says:

The Tractarians are not more to be blamed for thinking well of some *parts* of the system which as a *whole* they condemn, than others who, though conforming to the Church, think well of some parts of the Presbyterian, Independent, or Anabaptist systems. And the former are more consistent than the latter, for they are

¹ To the Bishop of Oxford, on the 'Tendency to Romanism imputed to Doctrines held of old as now in the English Church.'

² On 'Reserve.'

never seen to attend a Romish place of worship, whereas the latter do sometimes go to a Protestant Dissenting place of worship, and unite for various purposes with Protestant sectarians. The former party would consider attendance at either place an act of schism. You tolerate much to please those who think our Reformation did not go far enough ; you ought to concede a little to please those who think it went too far. If, for instance, to gratify the former, who are enamoured of sectarian forms of worship, you introduce hymns not authorised, it is not asking much if, to conciliate those who admire the solemnities of Romish ritual, you permit rubrics to be observed which are expressly commanded. If you really dread the increase of Romanism you may depend upon it, it is only by solemnising our services with proper magnificence and grandeur that you can effectually prevent it. I have *known* true Catholic principles to be the chief obstacles to a tendency to Popery in several instances. In two I have myself been nearly concerned.

He then mentions the case of a young nobleman who had been impelled towards Popery by his disgust at the extremely Protestant school in which he had been trained, so far as to doubt whether he should take his seat in the House of Peers as a Roman Catholic or Anglican. But after studying under the Vicar's guidance the real principles of the Church, he became thoroughly reconciled to his position, and had remained ever since a loyal devoted member of the Church of England.

Again, in writing to the same friend, he observes :—'The Oxford Tracts are of course liable to error, but not more so than the tracts published by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, or those issued in great numbers by the (Roman) Catholic Institute, and far less than the tracts of the Religious Tract Society.'

The same English spirit of fair play and even-handed justice takes a wider range in another of his letters :—

You speak of persons, whether Presbyterian or Episcopalian, whether Calvinist, Lutheran, or Anglican, being all equal, but not one word do you say of the great body of our fellow-Christians, the Roman Catholics. And so Mr. Hare would have had concessions made for Baxter, Owen, &c., but not a single concession to admit the Romanists to our communion. And let it be remembered that

Baxter and Owen are not to be mentioned in the same sentence with such men as Borromeo, Pascal, Fénelon, and other pious Christians who adhered to the Roman obedience. I for one think that a Romanist is far less in error than Owen and Baxter, and why is concession to be made on the one side and not on the other? I entreat you not to think that the question between Catholics and the Sects relates to mere Church government: it relates more or less directly to every question of morals. The great desire of High Churchmen is, to promote union and correspondence between the different members of the Church Catholic; to induce our Catholic brethren on the Continent to renounce their peculiarities which unhappily separate them from us, while we keep ourselves free from the peculiarities of Protestant sects, and exhibit to them the English Church as she ought to be, and would be, if those who serve her altars were only honest to their vows, and would obey her laws.

It was his opinion that the Tracts tended in the direction of these desirable results, partly by inculcating a strict and scrupulous observance of the prescribed ritual of the Church of England, partly by reviving many points of Catholicity in her doctrine and practice which had become obsolete through neglect or prejudice. And consequently he deplored and deprecated what seemed to him the indiscreet if not reckless zeal with which this method was pursued, fearing that it would too probably frustrate the design which the writers, as he believed, in common with himself, had in view. And to this effect he wrote to Archdeacon, afterwards Bishop, Wilberforce in 1840:—‘Quite in confidence, I will admit to you that I am much annoyed at many of the proceedings of our friends at Oxford. They push things too far, and involve in difficulty those whom the world connects with them. But I take rather a different view from what you do as to the mode of treating them. While they are persecuted I shall stand by them because I agree with them in the *main*. It is only among friends that I lament the publication of such works as those of Froude.’

Whilst he was in this frame of mind, in the month of February 1841 Tract XC. appeared. Of that celebrated document it will suffice to remind the reader that it was an

attempt to pacify the minds of those who fancied that in the Thirty-nine Articles our Church was committed to a serious if not fatal departure from some of the doctrines of the primitive Catholic Church ; and that consequently they were the most formidable flaw in the claim of our Church to be considered a true branch of the Catholic Church. The author sought to allay these apprehensions by endeavouring to prove that in the so-called interpretations of the Articles a rigid Protestant meaning had been imported into those formularies which the simple text did not of itself convey ; and further, that the strong statements which they contained respecting Romish errors were directed against a traditional system prevalent in the Romish Church, a system which exceeded the letter of her written decrees. Keeping these two facts in mind, it was suggested that the Articles should be interpreted in the most Catholic sense which the words would bear, and that then it would appear that they did not so hopelessly shut the door against communion with our brethren in the Roman Church as had been commonly supposed.

The first formal expression of dissatisfaction with the Tract proceeded from four Oxford tutors, who printed a joint request to the 'Editor of the Tracts for the Times' that he would disclose the name of the author of Tract XC. They declared that the Tract in their judgment had a very dangerous tendency, from its suggesting that certain very important errors of the Church of Rome were not condemned by the Articles of the Church of England ; and they considered that, throughout the Tract, a liberty of interpretation was recommended which was altogether of a novel, startling, and dangerous character.

This protest of the four tutors, to which the author replied, pointing out that in several important respects they had totally misconceived his design, was followed by a censure, or rather condemnation, of the Tract from the Hebdomadal Board. It may be necessary to inform the general reader that the Oxford Hebdomadal Board at that time was composed of the Heads of the Colleges and Halls, together with the Vice-Chancellor, and the two Proctors. It met weekly, as the name implies, and

although originally intended to act merely as a kind of Committee to Convocation—the Parliament of the University, in which every Master of Arts was entitled to speak and vote—it had gradually assumed much more extensive powers, and drawn the business of legislating for the University almost exclusively into its own hands. It is clear that the decisions of such an oligarchical body, whatever practical power it might possess, could not really represent the mind of the University. The censure therefore of this body upon Tract XC. was not the censure of the University, but only of those particular Doctors of Divinity who happened at that time to be members of the Board.

The Board on this occasion hurried on the declaration of its sentence with a precipitation alike undignified and uncourteous. On March 10 the Vice-Chancellor laid the Tract, with the Protest of the four tutors, before the Board. On the 12th a Committee of the Board was appointed to draw up a resolution, first disowning the ‘Tracts for the Times’ generally, as in no wise sanctioned by the University, and, secondly, condemning Tract XC. in particular, and all similar modes of interpretation, ‘as evading rather than explaining the meaning of the Articles.’ Mr. Newman was informed that night of what was in course of preparation. On the following day, Saturday the 13th, he wrote with marvellous celerity an explanatory pamphlet in the form of a letter to Dr. Jelf, Canon of Christ Church. On Sunday the 14th, he and others wrote to the Vice-Chancellor, and the Provost of Oriel, begging that the judgment of the Board might be suspended until the letter to Dr. Jelf appeared. Notwithstanding this appeal, however, the condemnation by the Board was published on the 15th, getting a-head of the letter, which was through the press at the close of the day, by only a few hours. Whatever criticism, or censure, the Board might have thought proper to pass upon Tract XC. even after reading the author’s explanatory letter, it is inconceivable that, had they read it, they would then have applied to the Tract such expressions as ‘evading rather than explaining the meaning of the Articles.’ The letter to Dr. Jelf indignantly repudiates, and refutes, the

insinuation contained in such words of dishonest aims—aims indeed of which no one acquainted with the purity of the author's character could for a moment suspect him.

The Vicar of Leeds, and his friend Mr. Palmer of Worcester College, were among those who were indignant, first at the Hebdomadal Board taking upon itself to exercise judicial powers which properly belonged to the University at large, and, secondly, at the offensive terms in which its sentence was expressed.

Many of the Bishops were annoyed with him for the attitude which he took up in reference to the Tracts, more especially Tract XC. Bishop Blomfield expressed his sentiments to him with his accustomed frankness and plainness of speech:—

Enough, and more than enough, has been done by the writers to call attention to the principles of the Church. They have shed a light upon some important questions, sometimes indeed flickering, and sometimes lurid, but if they proceed they will kindle a flame. Even now it has been found necessary to bring out the engines, and there has been some danger of not being able to extinguish the fire without pulling down a part of the house.

As to the Tract No. XC., I consider its tendency to be most pernicious; and I am, I confess, grieved to think that men like you and Mr. W. Palmer should have thought yourselves called upon to declare your purpose of standing or falling with the author of it, if his errors, admitted to be so by yourselves, be openly condemned.

What you say of a number of serious young men who might probably go over to the Church of Rome, if Mr. Newman were openly condemned, is very alarming. . . . It is to my mind the strongest possible evidence of the evil tendency of the Oxford Tracts that they should have made it necessary for Mr. Newman to put forth such a commentary upon our Articles, to prevent his disciples from becoming papists.

Towards the end of March, the Bishop of Oxford wrote to Mr. Newman, begging him, for the sake of peace, to suppress Tract XC. This request embarrassed the position of the author, who wrote to consult, among other friends, the Vicar of Leeds, respecting the course which he would advise him to adopt.

Oriel : In fest. Annunc. 1841.

My dear Hook,—I write to you in some anxiety, and *quite* in confidence. I should like to have a line from you at once.

The Bishop wishes me, in a letter I am to write to him, to say that '*at his bidding* I will suppress Tract XC.' I have no difficulty in so saying and doing, if he tells me, but my difficulty is about my then position. I shall then have been censured for an evasion by the Heads of Houses, with an indirect confirmation of it by the Bishop ; for though he puts it on the ground of *peace*, people do not make nice distinctions. I cannot acquiesce or co-operate in such a proceeding. To condemn Tract XC. in the wholesale is to condemn its interpretation of Articles 6¹ and 11² quite as much as of 22.³ I am a representative at this moment of the interests of many : I cannot betray them.

It seems to me I shall be observing my duty to the Bishop by suppressing the tract, and my duty to my principles by resigning my living. Again, it is painful enough to be at St. Mary's with all the Heads against me, but if the Bishop indirectly joins them, what is to be my support? I cannot be a demagogue. The Bishop himself is all kindness, not so the authorities in London.

Though the tract were suppressed, *answers* to it would be circulated freely, and there would be no lack of them. Bishops too, to a certainty, are to charge. I cannot hold a living with such a force against me.

Ever yours affectionately,
J. H. N.

The following is Dr. Hook's reply :—

Vicarage, Leeds : March 27, 1841.

My dear Newman,—I do not think that you are in any way required to write as the Bishop of Oxford proposes. It is to your Bishop, not to Dr. Bagot, that you are to yield obedience. Let Dr. Bagot act as your *Bishop*, and all will be right. If he condemns you, it will be in his court and by his proper officers, but he cannot condemn you before you have obtained a hearing. You may demand permission to plead your cause, and in so doing you may persuade him.

It is most important, at this time, to act with due form, for our

¹ Of the Sufficiency of Holy Scripture.

² Of Justification.

³ Of Purgatory.

rights, as well as the authority of our rulers, are protected by forms ; and a regard to the proper forms will interpose that delay which may prevent the Bishop from acting rashly.

I think too that you will not be doing your duty in resigning your living. It does not seem to me that things have come to that point, the Heads having very clearly stretched themselves beyond their line.

You will have received the Bishop of London's letter before this, for though your letter is dated The Annunciation, it only came to hand to-day. I think the Bishops will not be so rash. I have written in reply *very* strongly to the Bishop of London ; begging him to take warning from the last century, as in the case of Wesley.

I should not suppress the Tract, but publish with it the letter of Jelf, and I should be inclined to close the Oxford Tracts with a No. XCI., recapitulating all that has been done, and answering some objections. Depend upon it, all the difficulties will vanish on one side if you can conscientiously write a eulogy on our mother the Church of England. Many Anglicans think you unfilial.

And now, my dear Newman, I know not whether you will be angry or not, but I should under similar circumstances find support and comfort were a friend to tell me, as I venture to tell you, that I think by your letter to Jelf you have entirely regained your ground. For my part, I am under the very deepest obligations to you. Your sermons have done me more good than almost any work ; and your work on Justification has opened to me, now I have studied it, a field of thought, on which I hope to profit till my dying day. And you have set us, on this occasion, an example which I hope we shall all be able to imitate. Do not despond, my dear friend ; all is working for good. Tract XC. is a little bit of a scrape, but it does us good to get into scrapes sometimes ; it makes us more cautious. Believe me to be your affectionate and sympathising friend.

Most persons have read Mr. Newman's 'Apologia,' and they will remember that the advice given in this letter was not followed, unless indeed the letter which Mr. Newman wrote to the Bishop of Oxford a few days afterwards, and which is an answer to some of the objections brought against the Tracts, may be considered, in some sort, an adoption of the suggestion to close the series with a Tract No. XCI. The Tracts were

now discontinued. Mr. Newman spent much of his time in retirement at Littlemore. Two years later, he resigned his living—and two years after that he seceded from the Church of England.

The reader will now be in a position to understand the singular, and somewhat painful occurrence at Leeds already hinted at, which took place just after the correspondence which has been cited.

On March 30, the annual meeting on behalf of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was held in Leeds, the Bishop being in the chair. A few days before this a meeting of the Pastoral Aid Society had been held in the town, which was attended by a large number of those persons, especially amongst the clergy, who were most bitterly opposed to the Vicar, and some of them in their speeches reflected rather severely upon his opinions and proceedings. He himself was disposed to consider the meeting as a kind of demonstration against himself, and most of his own more immediate friends looked upon it in the same light. They mustered, consequently, in uncommonly strong force at the meeting for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and when the Vicar rose to move one of the resolutions, he was greeted with an extraordinary and prolonged burst of cheering from the assembly. This expression of affection and sympathy on the part of his people touched the susceptible heart of the Vicar to the very quick. He construed it as a declaration of their attachment, not merely to himself, but also to the principles which he taught. He spoke under the influence of strong excitement.

My Christian friends, I thank you for that loud and long applause. It tells me that whatever others may say of me, I am still secure of your support. It tells me that you adhere to those principles and doctrines—those good old High Church doctrines, which I preach. It tells me, that in whatever Protestant pulpit Popery may be preached, in my Catholic pulpit you only hear those doctrines of the Church of England by which Popery can be successfully refuted. My Christian friends, we can no longer shut our eyes, after what we have heard in various parts of the country,

to the lamentable fact that the Church of England is now divided into two parties. It is a lamentable fact. In my own humble sphere I have endeavoured to avoid even the appearance of forming a party, even the appearance of 'lording it over God's heritage;' but parties now are formed. A party has been formed, acting in a party spirit and on party tactics, in various parts of the country, and in self-defence a party must now be formed to meet it. We can no longer halt between two opinions : we cannot attempt to hunt with the hounds, and run with the hare : we must take our side : and as far as I am concerned, I will nail my colours to the mast of high principle, and blow high or blow low, come sunshine or come storm, through the grace of God, I will adhere to them.'

In this strain he was proceeding, amidst shouts of applause from his hearers, when the Bishop interposed : 'Perhaps my reverend friend will allow me to observe that this is scarcely consistent with'—but the rest of the sentence if uttered was drowned by the cheers of the assembly. When they had abated, the silvery tones of the Bishop's voice were again heard : 'My Christian friends, we are come here to promote the cause of Christian Knowledge, and I do earnestly'—but again the deafening applause prevented him for a while from proceeding. At length he finished his sentence : 'Hear me, while I in Christian kindness beg my friend to consider whether he may not confine himself to the subject we are met to promote.' The Vicar then said : 'If I had been allowed I should have shown how the subject on which I have been speaking may be made to bear upon the object of our present meeting : but after what our respected Diocesan has said, I shall content myself with requesting you to adopt the resolution which I proceed to read to you.' He then read the resolution, and immediately sat down amidst loud and long-continued cheering.

Soon after this the chair was vacated by the Bishop, and taken by the Vicar, who moved a vote of thanks to the Bishop, which was carried by acclamation. Mr. Henry Skelton, a warm supporter of the Vicar and of the Society, then rose and proposed a resolution, which might perhaps be most fitly described as a vote of confidence in the Vicar. He described his work,

especially his indefatigable labours on behalf of the Christian Knowledge Society, in glowing terms, and ended by saying, that if amidst the trials which he had encountered since he came into the parish, he had proved that he was not only a mortal, but a fallible man, where was the person who dare take a stone and throw it at him?

The resolution was seconded by Archdeacon (Robert) Wilberforce, and put to the meeting by the Bishop, accompanied with remarks of such Christian courtesy and kindness as proved that he did not resent the rather rough reception which the meeting had given to his interruption of the Vicar. In his reply to the resolution the Vicar said :

My Christian friends, I should not have the heart of a man if I did not feel most deeply grateful for those kind expressions of your affection and regard. At the same time, I feel that an apology is due to my lord the Bishop, and to you, for having very unintentionally disturbed, or nearly done so, the harmony of the evening. Perhaps, I did too much rejoice, when I found that I retained your affections, in spite of all that has of late been done to deprive me of them, and I allowed my feelings to carry me a little away. But I am confident his lordship will permit me to assure him, and to assure this meeting, that if I had continued my address my object would have been to promote peace : to have shown where parties may differ : to have shown how they may differ, and be all the while in perfect love and peace with one another : how in attending such meetings as this, all parties might be joined together under our beloved Diocesan. I take the liberty of saying these few words, lest having been interrupted before I had entered into my argument I might be misunderstood. I am sure the Bishop will excuse my having done so : and now, my friends, once more from my heart I thank you.

Eye-witnesses of the scene relate that the behaviour of the Vicar was a singular triumph of Christian discipline over the feelings of the natural man. To be checked in the full career of the speech which he was uttering from an overflowing heart, was a severe trial to his powers of forbearance and self-control. The struggle was manifest in the pallor of his countenance and the agitation of his frame. But his deep and habitual reverence

for Episcopal authority prevailed over every other feeling, and he sat down with the submissiveness of a child.

Nevertheless, and perhaps indeed all the more for the restraint which he put upon himself at the time, the check which he had received was deeply mortifying to him. In the highly wrought condition of his feelings, he imagined himself deprived of the support and sympathy of his Bishop. That he should have been put down by the Bishop in the presence of his parishioners, and in the very midst of their expression of confidence, seemed to him like approbation of the party which was opposed to him, especially as the Bishop, although not present at the meeting of the Pastoral Aid Society, had given his sanction to it. The author of 'Presbyterian Rights Asserted,' deep as was his veneration for the Episcopal office, was fully prepared, as we have seen in that pamphlet, to resist any undue interference on the part of bishops with the work and influence of the parochial clergy. And highly excited as his feelings were by recent events in the Church, he was not in a mood to bear thwarting tamely. Newman had been constrained to suppress Tract XC. at the bidding of the Bishop of Oxford, and now his own mouth had been stopped by his Bishop, at a moment when his flock had generously rallied round him to give him that hearty sympathy of which he greatly felt the need.

And so, as he walked home that evening with the Bishop, he tendered to him his resignation of the living. How the Bishop received the intimation cannot be told—but he took the right way to touch and soften the Vicar's heart, to calm the excitement of his feelings, and so to prepare his mind for forming a sober judgment. As he crossed the threshold of the Vicarage he uttered the benediction, 'Peace be to this house and to all that dwell therein ;' and then the two large-hearted, warm-hearted men spent much of the evening in quiet conversation and prayer with one another. Either that evening, or the following morning, the formal and positive resignation of the living seems to have been retracted. But the idea was not completely dismissed from his mind for several weeks. He poured out his trouble very freely to the Archbishop of York,

from whom and from his daughter Miss Harcourt he always experienced the most sympathising kindness.

Vicarage, Leeds : April 6, 1841.

My dear Miss Harcourt, . . . The Bishop has now placed himself in the very position from which I, for four years, have wished to rescue him ; he countenanced the Pastoral Aid Meeting, which was stated to be got up against me, and then he puts me down at another meeting. My opponents therefore claim him as the head of their party, and they are very few in number ; while the great body of my parishioners feel that in supporting their Vicar they are opposing their Bishop. Of course this must not be, and unless I can speedily devise some means by which I can be brought to my right position, and replace the Bishop in his, I shall resign ; and although we shall be reduced to comparative poverty, my wife and I shall be happy in a sense of having done our duty ; and as to our children, God will take care of them. I cannot remain under circumstances which will divide my parish, the Bishop being the head of one party and I of another ; my friends must knock under to the Bishop entirely, or I go.

Meanwhile he had written to Bishop Longley, and published with his consent, a 'Letter on the State of Parties in the Church of England,' being a continuation and expansion of the remarks which he had begun to make at the meeting. It was indeed expedient to publish something of the kind, as the fragmentary reports and rumours of his observations were of course liable to various kinds of misconstruction.

He began by stating that he had no intention whatever to question the propriety of the Bishop's conduct in interrupting him at the meeting, and then proceeded to unfold the design of the speech which he had been prevented from completing :—

I had stated before I was interrupted that we can no longer blind ourselves to the fact that the Church of England is now a divided body. It cannot be injudicious to say this when it is evident to all that the fact is as I have stated it to be. The most unhappy determination of the Hebdomadal Board at Oxford to censure Mr. Newman—a censure which I have little doubt the convocation of the University would, if summoned, reverse—has proclaimed this

from one end of the country to the other. The meeting of the Pastoral Aid Society in Leeds, which was regarded as a demonstration—a 'rally,' as it has been called, against me, the Vicar of the parish, declared it to my parishioners.

It is then a fact, an undeniable fact, that there are two parties in the Church of England—the High Church party and the Low Church party. And the Act of the Hebdomadal Board renders it absolutely necessary for us to range ourselves on the one side or on the other. That is to say, we must join that party with which in general principles we agree, and not desert it merely because we may think that a few individuals have expressed themselves on some points incautiously, or have been hurried into acts which a colder and calmer judgment may condemn. . . . On the publication of the 90th Tract for the Times, I determined to point out in a pamphlet what I considered to be its errors. But the moment I heard that the writer was to be silenced, not by argument but by a usurped authority, that moment I determined to renounce my intention, that moment I determined to take my stand with him ; because, though I did not approve of a particular Tract, yet in general principles, in the very principle advocated in that Tract, I did agree with him. In a word, I was compelled by circumstances to act as a party man. And in justice to one whom I am proud to call my friend, I am bound to say that Mr. Newman's explanatory letter to Dr. Jelf is to my mind perfectly satisfactory.

What I maintain on this point is, that under existing circumstances, we must become party men. We cannot halt between two opinions. We must take our side. Minor differences must be forgotten when our general principles are attacked.

These being the two chief parties into which the Church was unhappily divided, he proceeded to show that each was liable to run into a vicious extreme—the High Church into Popery—the Low Church into Socinianism—the latter being, in his judgment, the more pernicious of the two. Yet good might come out of evil. Divisions were doubtless permitted as the punishment of sin. They were an affliction—but if piously borne, they might become blessings, and produce a salutary effect. Thus it was to be hoped that while each party was narrowly watched by its opponents, neither would be permitted to deviate into the extreme. Both parties, continuing in the

Church of England, might receive her for their guide, accept her articles and formularies as a common standard and common court of appeal, unite upon that broad platform in friendly intercourse, make the most of the many points on which they agreed, and overlook the few on which they differed. And here he had intended in his speech to have pointed out how the Christian Knowledge Society was calculated, in a variety of ways, to afford common ground on which both parties might meet, and how important it was that the Society itself should maintain a neutral position : a position from which he had observed with regret some tendency in recent times to depart.

The relief to his mind afforded by the publication of this letter, calm reflection aided by prayer, together with the sound judgment and advice of his wife, and of the good old Archbishop of York, gradually mitigated his feelings of vexation arising from this occurrence. The thought of resignation was laid aside, and in May he met the Bishop of Ripon at the house of Archbishop Harcourt in London, having previously written to him to say that he could not leave the country for a foreign tour, which he was then meditating, without asking his forgiveness, and assuring him that he would yield to him in everything to the utmost of his power.

There can be little doubt that the foreign tour was a wholesome tonic, which he much needed to divert and refresh his mind, and to brace his nerves, which had been worn and fretted by the strain of work and worry during the four years that had elapsed since he had become Vicar of Leeds. Although the response made to his efforts, and the sympathy which he had received from the greater part of his flock, had been surprisingly warm, yet it is needless to say that his difficulties had been great, and his anxieties greater. As he gradually and painfully achieved a more commanding position for the Church in Leeds, he became exceedingly apprehensive of any danger which threatened to shake or undermine that position. Considerable allowances, therefore, must be made if an ardent, impulsive, sensitive temperament sometimes magnified real risk, sometimes

even imagined it where it did not exist, and became 'afraid where no fear was.'

The episode which has just been related was an instance of this exaggerated view of things, which he was especially liable to take when mind and nerves were overwrought.

He looked forward to his tour with boyish delight. It was to be made with his old friend the Rev. T. H. Tragett, to whom he wrote the following letters with an exuberance of fun, which was in a great measure the natural and healthy rebound of a mind that had long been in a state of tension.

Vicarage, Leeds : April 14, 1841.

My dear old Tragett,—I am quite delighted at the chance of your going abroad with me. Go down on one knee and kiss your wife's fair hand with my thanks for her being so unselfish, and tell her I will coddle you up, and make water-gruel for you if you cough, &c., &c. Immediately after May 9 I propose to start ; I must be back by the middle of June. I shall get a plan for a fortnight's tour, and expect to do it in three weeks ; or if we manage well, might we not boldly take three weeks, and march into Switzerland? It will be glorious, and we will publish our letters to our ladies on our return, to pay our expenses. 'Letters to ladies, by three married parsons, and one unfortunate bachelor ;' you Churton, I, and Norris ; he shall be paymaster, and we will bully him right well ; you don't know how grumpy he is when he does not know precisely the value of a thaler. Hurrah ! old boy, let us take a good holiday, and a fig for Bishops and all the musty Tracts, with our wives and little ones into the bargain.

Yours most affectionately.

N.B. Don't send this to the 'Record.'

Vicarage, Leeds : April 19, 1841.

My dear boy,—As I am to be your travelling tutor, I must give you some directions before we start. Your mamma is very particular about your water-gruel, but never mind, you shall have some nice sour Rhenish wine, and as much as you can drink. Your mamma wishes to tie you to her apron string as long as she can, and as you seem to be mammy-sick, you shall remain with her to the last moment. I do not see why we should start on the

Monday, I only mentioned the earliest day that I can start. I will make enquiries about those matters when I get to London, and then write to you. If you can get a passport at Southampton you may perhaps save a day in London, but I am not sure that you can do so. I think you must put 50*l.* in your pocket, which can be changed into bills at Messrs. Herries, Farquhar and Co., but I hope we shall not use all that money. My own salary will be 300*l.* a year, but I will settle that with your mamma; you must take a change of linen with you, together with one hairbrush, one toothbrush, one piece of soap, the two former to be returned on your return from your travels. My dear boy, it is important that one of us should know something of French or German; now as I, the tutor, mean on principle not to learn any barbarous languages, I advise you to set to work with grammar and dictionary. I have heard from an old gouty Fellow of a college, an acquaintance of your mamma's, the Reverend Dr. Norris, who protests against our taking too long a journey. I am rather of his opinion, and I am for moving slowly, but as for his proposal of going to Paris I repudiate it entirely. I hate and detest the French, who are greater liars, more insolent, and more unchristian, if possible, than the Evangelicals; (not to be sent to the 'Record'.) I am quite sure that if I went to Paris, the French would treat me as the Americans have done Mr. Macleod, and then what a sad thing it would be to be the cause of war between the two countries. And now you may keep yourself quite quiet till you hear from me again. With my respects to the old lady and the rest of the party, I am, my dear boy,

Your affectionate Tutor.

The prospect of a considerable fine falling in to him from the Prebend which he held in Lincoln Cathedral, and which, like most of the ecclesiastical property in those days, was leased on lives, raised a hope that Mrs. Hook might be able to accompany him abroad. This transported him with joy.

10 Dean's Yard, Westminster: April 20, 1841.

My dearest Love,—I am sorry that your last hours in Leeds were so sad, and I hope that your visit to Northfield will cheer your old heart. And to cheer it more I will tell you that Burder hopes to get us 500*l.* for our fine, which will be a very *fine* thing. The question now is, whether, with the prospect of this godsend, you may

not accompany me abroad. Now turn this matter well over in that very little thing which you call your mind. For oh ! how it would add to my delight. We could proceed leisurely over Holland, and perhaps fix ourselves for a fortnight at one of the Brunnens. My only darling, do think of this.

Dean's Yard : April 29, 1841.

I am so delighted at the thoughts of your going with me that I know not how to express my joy. I could not have travelled with comfort had I been separated from my own dear love. Sir Francis Palgrave is to bring me to-day a sketch of our tour. It is to be the south of France, Avignon and the Roman cities. At Gladstone's on Tuesday we met quite a Yorkshire party—the Wenlocks, and dear Mrs. Milnes Gaskell, with whom I talked a long time about my darling girls. She says she hears they are patterns of *elegance* ! Indeed, my darling, they are most lovely creatures. . . . What a kind note I enclosed from Lady Somers. Give my kindest love to Mrs. Johnstone and to the Clarkes. I love them all very much, and few things gladden my heart more than the entire union and affection there is between the two families. You cannot imagine how strongly I feel on this point. I think the greatest comfort of life is to know that one lives in the hearts of those one loves. The heart—the heart, old girl—give me a person with a heart, and let the heads take care of themselves. I would rather ten thousand times be in a scrape with the good-hearted, than on the highest pinnacle with the merely right-headed. Besides, I am quite certain that we more often do right by yielding to the impulses of the heart than by listening to the cold calculations of the head.

The tour occupied a part of May and June, and although he became very homesick in the course of a few weeks, his mental and nervous system was no doubt greatly soothed and invigorated by the change.

The composition of sonnets was a favourite recreation with him when travelling, and his letters to his wife and friends sometimes consisted entirely of a string of sonnets, forming a kind of poetical journal of his proceedings. They were written, for the most part, with too much rapidity and facility to bear severe criticism, which, of course, they were never intended to meet ; but viewed as almost extemporaneous effu-

sions, many of them have considerable merit, and like so many of his other writings, breathe a freshness, which is sometimes the charm of compositions upon which the *labor limæ* has not been bestowed.

Two specimens are here introduced.

Vaucluse.

Whether thy Laura breathed this vital air,
 Or was the phantom idol of the brain ;
 All these are questions intricate and vain,
 From which, Platonic Petrarch, I forbear.
 Nor—thou unwedded parent—will I dare
 To comment on thee in severer strain,
 For, in deep woe, to cleanse thee of thy stain,
 Thou to the source of Pardon didst repair.
 Rather I tell thee, in thine own Vaucluse,
 Thy bounding river still runs darkly blue,
 Thy flowers still smile, thy mountains still ‘lie close,’¹
 Thy birds still sing beneath as bright a sky
 As when, here fed, thy youthful fancy grew,
 Or tears of late repentance dimmed thine eye.

At the foot of Mont Blanc.

High thoughts and wild my bosom agitate,
 As thy tremendous glories I behold,
 Mont Blanc ! Thou like a tyrant, bright but cold,
 Look’st down complacent from thine high estate
 On the convulsions which have made thee great.
 Thy music is the avalanche’s roar,
 Thy pastime to wage everlasting war
 Against the elements : and here we wait,
 Thy flattering courtiers, in thy glittering hall,
 We men—anxious to win thy faintest smile,
 Trembling, lest by thy thunderbolt of snow
 Thou doom us to destruction : yet not all
 Thy majesty can win our love the while :
 We yield our homage ; but rejoice to go.

¹ Vaucluse, signifying ‘ Vallis clausa,’ or closed valley.

‘Some persons,’ he observes, ‘would cavil at the last line ; but I *delight* in gentle calm pastoral scenery ; while I admire horrors, but rejoice to leave them, so that I truly express my own sentiments.’

His taste, indeed, in scenery was like his taste in novels : he preferred the soothing and the cheerful to the grand, sublime, and exciting. He loved the bright meadows, the shady lanes, the trim gardens, the green parks of England more than all the mountains of Switzerland : just as he relished the delicate humour of Miss Austen more than the vigour and pungent wit of George Eliot.

Soon after his return to Leeds, he was cheered by one of those proofs that he had not laboured in vain, which no pastor ever received in greater abundance than he did, and none ever appreciated more highly. It had been his custom to receive the curates of the parish church, and such others of the Leeds clergy as were willing to come, every Thursday evening at the Vicarage, for interchange of thought and counsel touching parochial work. The members of this weekly meeting or club resolved to greet him on his return from the Continent with a substantial token of their regard, and of their gratitude to him as the able and instructive leader of their deliberations, by presenting two altar service books for use in the parish church, accompanied by an address.

The offer also made to him in the following letter by Archbishop Harcourt was a great gratification to him, as a mark of honour from one who treated him with the most invariable kindness, and whose friendship was an unfailing comfort and support to him in seasons of difficulty and trial :—

Nuneham Park : August 11, 1841.

Dear Dr. Hook,—Looking to my former connexion with Leeds as its Diocesan, and to the very essential benefits which that highly important parish has derived from your edifying ministrations and, speaking generally, from your zealous and energetic superintendence of it as Incumbent, I cannot but feel anxious to evince the interest which I take in such a result, by offering to your acceptance one of the vacant Canonries of the Cathedral. I am aware that what I so

offer you is now, in one sense, valueless ; believe me, however, that I should have rejoiced to make you the same offer under other circumstances, and before these appointments were shorn of their ancient and more substantial appendages. Still, I cannot but flatter myself that considering the offer solely as a public testimony of the well-merited approbation of your Metropolitan, and a mark of his *personal regard*, it may not be unacceptable to you.

Ever, dear Dr. Hook, very truly yours,

EBOR.

And now the time was approaching for the consecration of the new parish church. The demolition of the old church had begun in the spring of 1838. The resolution to build an entirely new fabric had, as we have seen, gradually supplanted the original designs for remodelling the old structure, and the estimated cost had steadily risen in proportion, from 6,000*l.* to 9,000*l.*, 15,000*l.*, and finally to 28,000*l.*

The committee, however, manfully grappled with their formidable task, and by the end of August 1841 the whole work was completed, including the massive tower with a new and powerful peal of thirteen bells. This was the first peal of thirteen bells ever cast in this kingdom, and the cost of the whole was 1,203*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*

The instructions of the Vicar to the architect throughout had been to make the accommodation of a large number of worshippers his foremost aim. This pressing need was on no account to be sacrificed to architectural effect, although the building was to be made as handsome as possible consistently with due regard to this primary requisition. Hence the introduction of galleries was allowed, but they were supported by small iron pillars placed behind and independent of the stone columns which support the roof, and the front of them was richly carved in wood after the manner of tabernacle work. They are probably the least obtrusive, least conspicuous galleries ever fixed in a church, and yet they hold a very large number of people who are all able to see and hear the celebration of divine service.

Another point on which the Vicar insisted was that the

altar should be well raised, and approached by a very broad and spacious flight of steps.

The plan of the church then is very simple. It consists of a nave, choir, and side aisles over which the galleries are placed. It is of nearly equal breadth throughout, and is divided lengthways into two nearly equal portions, nave and choir, by short transepts. The principal entrance is under the tower, which stands at the extremity of the north transept, and the organ occupies the end of the south transept.

If the excellence of a church, as of most other things, is to be estimated by the way in which it answers the purpose for which it was made, we must acknowledge that the parish church of Leeds is entitled to a very high rank. It holds 1,000 more persons than the old church was capable of containing, and where is the church to be found in which nearly 3,000 worshippers can with equal ease see and hear and take their part in the celebration of divine service? Whatever objections, too, may be made to the architectural details of the building, it must be admitted that the general effect of the interior as a whole is deeply devotional.

It is indeed almost impossible for anyone to form a just judgment of the church without having attended the services in it. Only then do all its merits become apparent. The choir occupy their proper place relative to the congregation, yet the full effect of their singing, unrivalled as it is for a union of delicacy with strength, can be felt in the most distant extremity of the church. The pulpit, again, is in its proper position at the eastern end of the nave, yet it is so central to the whole church that a moderately good voice can be heard with ease by everyone in a congregation of 2,500 people. Deeply impressive is the celebration of Holy Communion, when at the words, 'Draw near with faith,' the worshippers, quitting their places in the body of the church, flock towards the altar and kneel on the wide and lofty flight of steps, waiting their turn to move up at the time of reception to the long altar rail—so long that forty communicants can kneel before it in one line. At such times, the aspect of the whole church, with its rich and

handsome furniture, the dark oak carving, and 'the dim religious light' cast by the many painted windows, is very solemn and striking even from an artistic point of view. It is a sanctuary well fitted to shut out the thought of earthly things from the minds of those who quit the turmoil of the huge, smoky, crowded town, to worship within its quiet walls.¹

On Thursday, September 2, the new church was consecrated with great pomp. Such a concourse of prelates, clergy, and laity had probably never been seen in any provincial town in England in modern times.

And in those days the spectacle was unprecedented of a Scotch and American bishop taking part in the same ceremony with bishops of the English Church. The venerable Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ripon were accompanied in the procession by Dr. Doane, the Bishop of New Jersey, and the Vicar's old friend Dr. Lowe, Bishop of Ross and Argyll, now no longer unable to officiate in an English Church, as when he paid a visit to Coventry nine years before, the prohibitory Act having been repealed in 1840. These four prelates, followed by about 300 clergy, walked from the vestry at the east end of the church round the outside to the south-western door, where a petition was presented to the Diocesan by Mr. Henry Hall, the senior trustee, praying him to consecrate the church.

After the Bishop had signified his assent to the petition, the procession moved up to the choir. The Bishop of Ripon took his place on the north side of the altar, having the Metropolitan on his right; on the south side, opposite Bishop Longley, was the Bishop of New Jersey, and opposite to the Archbishop was the Bishop of Ross and Argyll. After the deed of consecration had been read and signed, choral service followed. The consecration sermon was preached by Dr. Doane. The church was thronged with thousands of all ranks; upwards of one thousand communicated, and the offertory amounted to 620*l.* 14*s.*

¹ The principal dimensions of the church are as follows: length, 180 ft. 7 in.; width, 86 ft.; length of transept, 101 ft.; height of tower, 139 ft.

In the music hall, after the consecration, an address from the Vicar and clergy of Leeds was presented to the aged Metropolitan, thanking him for his presence, and expressing their grateful recollection of his benign and paternal rule during his former connexion with them as their diocesan.

In returning thanks at the public luncheon after his health had been drunk, the Vicar, according to his wont, gave all the credit of the work which had been just accomplished to his parishioners. 'I thank the men of Leeds,' he said, 'the noble and true-hearted churchmen of Leeds,' and he singled out among many who had been distinguished for their zealous exertions in the cause, certain members of the committee to whom his gratitude was more especially due: Mr. Hall, Mr. John Gott, Mr. Beckett, Mr. Maude, and above all the indefatigable secretaries, Mr. Horsfall, and Mr. Joseph Mason Tennant.

Nor were the poor forgotten amidst the rejoicing of their richer brethren. A sum of money had been raised by the clergy of the parish church which enabled them to purchase about 5,000 lbs. of meat, which were given away to upwards of 1,500 families.

There were full services with sermons on the Friday and Saturday after the consecration day. The Vicar preached on the morning of Friday, taking for his text 1 Chron. xxix. 1: 'The palace is not for man, but for the Lord God.' The chief aim of the sermon was to show that as the tabernacle, and afterwards the temple, was the palace of God, the King of the Jews, so every Christian Church was a palace wherein homage was to be paid to Christ our heavenly King; and that consequently, whether large or small, humble or magnificent, it should be the very best which the condition of the King's subjects enabled them to erect. 'We admit,' he said, 'that there may be circumstances under which the lowly hovel may be a fit place for Christian worship as well as for the preaching of the Gospel; but then of the hovels that surround it, it ought to be the best. . . . But in a wealthy town, where our merchants, the princes of the earth, dwell in their ceiled houses,

we should expect to behold a pious people lavishing their money in order to decorate the palace of their God: and they would feel ashamed to see this house alone unadorned by those arts in which He has inspired our Bezaleels and Aholiabs to excel. So have felt the churchmen of Leeds. Nobly, generously, piously have they come forward, the rich with their gold and the poor with their brass,¹ all desirous—before they erect, as I trust they will do, a multitude of humbler oratories like aisles to this church, in the poorer districts of the parish—all desirous to see their parish church what the palace of their heavenly King ought in this great and generous town to be.’

This true and sound principle, that whatever was given to God should be the very best which man could offer, animated the Vicar in all his regulations respecting the parish church. A large number of the parishioners had expressed a strong desire that in the new church daily choral service should be celebrated. To this request the Vicar willingly acceded on one condition, that no expense should be spared to ensure that the music should be in every respect absolutely first-rate. And so with regard to all the ornaments and fittings of the church; they might be plain, but he insisted that they should be thoroughly substantial and good of their kind.

On the first Sunday after the consecration there was an early celebration of Holy Communion, and three full services, morning, afternoon, and evening. The Vicar, in his anxiety that everything should be properly ordered and arranged, spent the whole day, partly in the church, partly in the vestry, from eight o’clock in the morning till half-past nine in the evening. The sermons were preached by Dr. Musgrave, the Archdeacon of Craven, the Rev. John Jebb, Prebendary of Limerick, and the Rev. R. J. Wilberforce, Archdeacon of the East Riding. The aggregate of the offertories presented at the services during the four days, from Thursday to Sunday, amounted to 1,265/.

I shall now follow the course of the Vicar’s connexion with public events during the remainder of the period covered by

¹ Exod. xxxv. 5. The stained glass in the north-east clerestory window was given by working people, and the window is called ‘the poor man’s window.’

this chapter, reserving for the close of it some account of his parochial labours.

The establishment of a Protestant bishopric at Jerusalem has been so utterly barren of results, good or bad, that it would not be worth while to touch upon the matter had it not excited much commotion and discussion in the Church at the time. The abhorrence with which the act was regarded by Mr. Newman must be reckoned as one of the motive forces which impelled him in the direction of Rome; and, on the other hand, the support given to the project by the Vicar of Leeds was his first *publicly* declared divergence from the views of the Tractarian school.

Since the year 1833 Ibrahim the Pasha of Egypt had been endeavouring to make himself master of Syria, and but for the interposition of the great Powers of Europe would probably have succeeded in his attempt. By the year 1840 he had completely overrun the country, and was ruling it with such an amount of wisdom and justice as it had never enjoyed since the days of Solyman. The Sultan, unable to subdue the revolt, appealed for aid to England and the other great Powers. Their combined forces defeated the Pasha, and thus enabled the Sultan to continue his misgovernment and oppression of some of the fairest and most fertile regions on the face of the globe. The King of Prussia, Frederick William IV., considered this resettlement, as it was called, of the Syrian province by the alliance of the great Powers a favourable opportunity for improving the status of German Protestants resident in the Holy Land. The Greek, Latin, and Armenian Churches were represented by their bishops, but of the German Evangelical Church, as it was called, and of the Anglican Communion there were no representatives. Accordingly in the year 1841 the king sent over to England the Chevalier Bunsen, as his special envoy, to submit to the Government, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, a proposal that a bishop should be consecrated in England for Jerusalem. He was to superintend members of the Anglican, and of the German Evangelical Church, sojourning in those parts, and of

any other Protestant communities which might be willing to place themselves under his jurisdiction. He was also to promote conversions among the Jews, and to cultivate friendly relations with the orthodox Greek Church. The design was favourably received by the Government under Sir Robert Peel (who came into power in the summer of this year), by Archbishop Howley, and Bishop Blomfield, and an Act of Parliament was passed October 5, 1841, to carry it into effect.

It was agreed between the King of Prussia and the authorities with whom he treated in England, that the Prussian and British crowns should alternately nominate to the Bishopric: that he himself should supply half the endowment, the rest being made up by voluntary subscriptions from this country. The Bishop was to ordain, as occasion might require, natives of Germany, who were willing to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Confession of Augsburg.

On November 7, 1841, Michael Solomon Alexander was consecrated for these purposes Bishop of Jerusalem by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Rochester, and Bishop Selwyn, who had been consecrated in the previous month Bishop of New Zealand.

The public opinion of the English Church upon this proceeding was divided into three main sections.

The Broad Church school rejoiced at a measure which seemed to be a step towards effacing those distinctions in doctrines and formularies which formed, in their opinion, the great barriers to union amongst Christians.

On the other hand, Mr. Newman and the Tractarians generally were, for the same reasons which delighted the Broad party, horror-stricken at the project. For the Church of England to enter into an alliance with Lutherans and Calvinists, to admit them to communion with herself without exacting a formal renunciation of error on their part, and to constitute herself the protector of Monophysites, Nestorians, or any other heretical sects in the East, was an unwarrantable affront to the Greek and Latin Churches, a most deplorable apostasy from the purity of her own principles, and a serious diminution of

her claim to be considered a true branch of the Church Catholic. 'May that measure,' wrote Mr. Newman, 'utterly fail and come to nought, and be as though it had never been.'

A third party, composed of many sound High Churchmen and some Evangelicals, advocated the measure under the persuasion, or the hope, that it would be the means of drawing many German Protestants, and some of the Eastern Christians, into the Anglican Communion, and possibly of converting large numbers of Jews to the Christian faith.

To the surprise and vexation of some, and the gratification of others, the Vicar of Leeds subscribed to the fund for the support of the Bishopric, and vindicated the wisdom and propriety of the measure in a published letter addressed to a dissentient friend. He maintained, in the first place, that the establishment of an English Bishop at Jerusalem could not reasonably be regarded as an insult to the Greek, Latin, and Armenian Churches. He was by the terms of his appointment expressly forbidden to interfere with them, and instructed to cultivate relations of amity with them. On the other hand, the Orientals knew as well as we did that it was impossible for us to enter into communion with them unless they recognised the principles of our Reformation. If we wished them to adopt a canonical Reformation—to understand how a Church could be reformed and yet remain Catholic—it was important to let them see that one of the main foundations of Catholicism, the Apostolical Succession, was preserved amongst us. It could do them no harm to assert the dignity of our Church side by side with others, and it might do them good.

Secondly, he begged those who were distressed by the supposed violation of our principles, and who thought that the character of the whole English Church was compromised by the measure, to bear in mind that it was the act not of the Church of England, but only of the primate and those prelates who co-operated with him. The Church of England was governed not by bishops only, but by the bishops in conjunction with the presbyters: she was not represented by the bishops and Parliament, but by Convocation and Parliament;

and so long therefore as there was no convocation there could be no act done by the Church of England. The measure under consideration had been adopted by one order only of the ministry—it was no act of the Church as a whole—it was open for individual members of the second order, and for the laity, to participate in it or not at their discretion.

Thirdly, turning to the more difficult and delicate part of the question, the connexion with Prussian Protestants, he maintained that a broad distinction should be made between them and those ultra Protestants in England who had seceded from the Church, or who, remaining within the pale, violated all her principles. The German Protestants never had an opportunity of embracing Catholicism as detached from the corruptions of Rome, whereas ultra Protestants in England had either left the Catholic Church, or if they remained in it, remained only to violate its laws, while they confounded Catholicism with Popery. The Prussian Protestants, on the contrary, so far from being opposed to the notion of the Catholic Church, had actually applied at one time to our Church for the Episcopal succession, and it was only through the lukewarmness of Archbishop Tennison that they had failed to obtain it. The confession of Augsburg also contained very high doctrine on the subject of the Sacraments.

Lastly he maintained, following in this respect the line of argument adopted by Mr. James R. Hope, a lawyer, who had written a very able pamphlet *against* the Bishopric, that the Bishop, being a Bishop of the Church of England, could not as such, without the sin of perjury, deliberately set aside the canons and rules of the Church of England, which he had sworn at consecration to obey, respecting the admission of laymen to communion, and of candidates to ordination. Practically therefore, if the Bishop were to exercise spiritual jurisdiction over Prussians in Palestine, the first step they would have to take would be to conform to our Church: since we could not renounce Catholicism, they must, in point of fact, become Catholics. And this was precisely the position which he wished to see the Church of England occupy in foreign

parts. He regarded her as providentially preserved to be a moderator as well for Protestants as for Catholics.

The Vicar in fact anticipated the same kind of advantages from the mission of Bishop Alexander which he had sixteen years before anticipated from the mission of Bishop Luscombe : but his hopes were unfortunately doomed to equal disappointment in both cases. There can be no harm in remarking, what is notorious, that the Bishopric at Jerusalem has been an almost total failure.

It is to be feared, indeed, that though King Frederick William IV. was a sincerely good and religious man, and honestly desirous to promote what he believed to be Christian truth, yet political and commercial considerations had their share in prompting the proposal which he made to the English Government and Bishops. This, in fact, was very plainly confessed in one of the royal Prussian documents on the subject which speaks of the political importance of securing to the 'Evangelical Church' the same legal recognition in Turkey which the Greek and Latin Churches had long enjoyed, and of the probable immigration of settlers which might be looked for owing to that recognition.

But these sublunary motives were either overlooked or disregarded by those advocates of the measure, who thought they perceived in it a grand opportunity for extending the influence of the English Church. The pamphlet of the Vicar of Leeds was hailed with great satisfaction by most of them : by none more than Archbishop Howley, who wrote at considerable length to thank him for it, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Kaye), and Dr. Jelf, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.

On the other hand, the line taken by the Vicar on this question placed him, for the time, in direct antagonism to the Tractarian school. It is indeed more than probable that an increasing distrust on his part of some members of that school, and a growing dissatisfaction with the tendency of their opinions, had a share in disposing him to adopt that view on the subject which was opposed to theirs. In their reluctance

to enter into any kind of alliance with the Prussian Protestants, and in their inclination to regard the mission of an English bishop to Jerusalem as a kind of affront to those branches of the Catholic Church already represented there, he thought he perceived an instance of that depreciation of the Reformation which he had lamented from the first in the writings of Mr. Hurrell Froude, and some of the more extreme disciples of the school. This disparaging tone of language, especially towards the Reformation of the English Church, was now continually being pitched in a louder key by the writers in the 'British Critic,' of which Mr. Newman had ceased to be the editor in the summer of 1841. A new party seemed to be rising, as different in its teaching from the original Tractarians as they had been from the Evangelicals: a party pointing to the mediæval rather than the primitive Church as the pattern of all that was excellent in doctrine and practice; viewing the English Reformers and their work with suspicion if not aversion, the Romanists with leniency and favour.

The Vicar of Leeds and his friend Mr. Palmer of Worcester College were loud and earnest in protesting against the teaching of this school, and in warning alike the most eminent of the old Tractarian leaders, and churchmen generally, against its pernicious tendency.

Mr. Palmer, in a private letter written to Dr. Hook from Oxford about eighteen months later, in August 1843, expresses the utmost alarm at the growth of that new party whose opinions and sentiments were represented by the 'British Critic.'

I know (he says) that Pusey and Williams, and others of the 'Tract Connexion,' are very uneasy at the change of tone—the doctrine of development in particular, which represents Romish errors and superstitions, and the Papal infallibility, &c. as developments of primitive Christianity. What may be Newman's views I know not. There is some mystery which I cannot penetrate. He is on intimate terms, however, with Ward and Oakley, who are the heads of the Romanising school, and I *fear* that he may be too much under their influence. One thing is certain, that Pusey and

other old leaders have no longer the control over their disciples which they had, and that the tendency to Romanism is daily becoming more evident in publications, and in private society. . . . The 'British Critic' is now continually subverting the general principles of the Tracts, and pointing to the twelfth or thirteenth century instead of the first three or four. . . . Now the evil of this is that we may remonstrate—we may even publicly dissent on certain points, but still the world mixes us and our principles entirely with the ultra men I have spoken of. And what must be the result? I do not speak of individual sufferings, for that is nothing—but of the result to the Church at large. Does it not tend then to the revival of Puritanism, to the destruction of Church principles, to the expulsion of them from the Church and from our formularies? Let the present system go on unchecked—let us still be confounded with ultra men, let Church principles be identified with *Romish* tendencies, and I really can see no other prospect before us.

Notwithstanding, however, the dissent of the Vicar of Leeds from the teaching of this new offshoot of the Tractarian school, he boldly and firmly continued to stand by his old friends, who belonged to that school, when they were the victims of attacks which he considered to be the offspring of party spirit. He did his utmost to promote the election in 1842 to the Professorship of Poetry of the Rev. Isaac Williams, whose qualifications he considered infinitely superior to those of Mr. Garbett, the candidate brought forward by the Evangelical party. He deplored the introduction of religious differences into the competition for such appointments; and in the same spirit many years afterwards he protested against withholding the salary of the Professorship of Greek from Mr. Jowett on the ground of his religious opinions, diametrically opposed though those opinions were to his own.

In like manner he openly avowed his indignation at the arbitrary way in which, in the year 1843, Dr. Pusey's sermon on the Holy Eucharist was condemned, and the author suspended for two years from the office of preacher before the University. The sermon had been preached by Dr. Pusey on May 14 in the Cathedral at Oxford. The Margaret Professor of Divinity had called for a copy of the sermon and trans-

mitted it to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Wynter. The Vice-Chancellor appointed a board to examine and report on its contents. The Board consisted of himself, Dr. Faussett, Dr. Ogilvie Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology, Dr. Hawkins Provost of Oriel, Dr. Symons Warden of Wadham, and Dr. Jelf Canon of Christ Church. Of these six all but Dr. Jelf, and perhaps one other, were notorious and vehement opponents of the Tractarian school. Dr. Pusey requested the Board to give him a hearing,—claimed it, indeed, under the statute by which they had been called together; but the request was denied. The sentence of condemnation and suspension was issued on June 2. The specific grounds of complaint against the sermon were not stated, nor were the objectionable passages indicated. A very large majority of the resident members of Convocation, and 230 non-resident members, eminent among whom were Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Justice Coleridge, and the Vicar of Leeds, respectfully begged permission to address the Vice-Chancellor on the subject, but their applications were refused. The indignation of the Vicar at this outrageous conduct was irrepressible; and all the more because the condemned sermon was, in his judgment, irreproachable in its doctrine. Being requested to publish a sermon which he preached on July 22 at the consecration of St. John Baptist's Church in the parish of Hawarden,¹ he prefaced it with the following dedication to Dr. Pusey:

Notwithstanding an occasional difference of opinion on matters of importance, our friendship has lasted for more than a quarter of a century. I feel therefore that I am not taking too great a liberty when, by dedicating this sermon to you, I avail myself of the opportunity to record my respect for the profound learning, the unimpeachable orthodoxy, and the Christian temper with which, in the midst of a faithless and pharisaical generation, you have maintained the cause of true religion, and preached the pure unadulterated word of God.

By the publication of your truly evangelical Sermon on the Eucharist you have put to silence the ignorance of foolish men, and

¹ Entitled 'Mutual Forbearance recommended in Things Indifferent,' No. xx. in vol. ii. of *The Church and her Ordinances*.

I am only uttering the sentiments of thousands when I venture to affirm that it may be said of you, as it was said of one who suffered injustice from the Church of Rome, that if, peradventure, you have erred by loving your God too much, your enemies have erred by loving their neighbours too little.

‘Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri,’ I do not pledge myself by this dedication to support all the opinions which you have in your writings advanced; but I know the piety of your heart, and your devotion to the cause of Christ and His Church, and I shall ever feel it to be an honour, through evil report and good report, to be permitted to subscribe myself, my dear sir,

Your affectionate friend.

This vehement expression of his feelings was exceedingly regretted by many of his friends, who thought it was calculated to exasperate the opponents of Dr. Pusey, and also to embroil the writer in fresh difficulties, by fostering the still prevalent notion that he was a thorough partisan of the Tractarian school. A long correspondence took place between him and Dr. Jelf, whom he was disposed to blame for not having influenced the Board to follow a more equitable course of action. Dr. Jelf endeavoured to prove that he had done all he could, and that it would have ill become him, after the decision had been issued, to have published his dissent: to have descended from the office of jurymen and judge into that of an advocate and partisan.

I contented myself (he said) with discharging my painful functions honestly and faithfully, without fear or favour: that being done, my office expired, and I was silent, and the more conscientiously so, because my dear friend (Dr. Pusey) determined upon publishing his sermon. From that moment my judgment, whatever it was, had no more weight than that of millions. . . . Forgive me if I say that I deeply regret the line you have adopted. You have been made the instrument in God’s hands of working a mighty change within your own neighbourhood—indeed throughout all England—and your character is in an especial manner the property of the Church. Your dedication has injured *her*. Virtually it is a dedication not to Pusey (who is guilelessness and catholicity itself), but to the *party* who are using his name as a *tool*; the party of the

disaffected, the disaffected to the University and the Church. You will be lauded in the 'British Critic;' you have gratified your own high, and noble, chivalrous spirit; your example will be followed by hundreds of high-minded men; you are the champion of the oppressed. *Yet*, all this notwithstanding, wise and good men will regret your dedication, not only the *terms* of it, which (again forgive my plainness) appear hardly befitting your high station (for what have you to do with calling names?): they will regret your having published any such dedication *at all*. You might have defended and enforced the doctrine supposed to be impugned, and your voice would have been heard even by the prejudiced. Henceforward such persons will, I fear, turn from any such expositions of catholic truth from you, because you are, unjustly no doubt, supposed to identify yourself with the malcontent party.

Such was the light in which the dedication appeared to colder, more cautious and diplomatic natures than the writer's. But this was just one of the occasions on which the fiery impetuosity of his honest nature could not be restrained. He abhorred injustice; he abhorred anything which savoured of oppression and persecution, especially in religion, and at all costs and risks he could not forbear denouncing it.

The subject of national education was again prominent in the year 1843. It was brought forward in the House of Commons by Lord Ashley, who, in a long speech full of statistical details, depicted the fearful amount of vice and brutish ignorance in which a large proportion of the population was sunk, and the danger to the country with which such a condition of things was charged. He proved that upwards of one million of children were not receiving any instruction whatever. He urged a more liberal application of public money for the extension of national education as the best means of reducing the expenditure required for the repression of crime. The annual sum voted for education, for the whole of England, was at that time only 30,000*l.*, while the total annual expenditure for the punishment of crime in the county of Lancaster alone was upwards of 600,000*l.* He moved that 'a humble address be presented to her Majesty praying that she

would be graciously pleased to take into her instant and serious consideration the best means of diffusing the benefits of a moral and religious education among the working classes of the people.' The motion was well received, and the Government prepared a measure. It was directed mainly to the compulsory education of two classes of children—those who were the offspring of paupers, and those who were employed in factories. District schools under the superintendence of the clergy were to be established in the great towns for the children of paupers, and of others who might wish to use them, provision being made for the religious instruction of children of dissenting parents by ministers of their own denomination.

With regard to factory children it was proposed that, between the ages of eight and thirteen, they should not be employed more than six hours and a half a day, the whole work to be done during the morning or the afternoon, certificates being required of attendance during the other half of the day at some school connected either with the National Society, the British and Foreign Society, or, at some Roman Catholic school if the children were Roman Catholics. In schools placed under the care of the clergy the Bible and some portions of the Liturgy were to be used.

The measure met with a favourable reception in the House, but the Dissenters raised such an outcry against it, that, though the second reading of the Factory Bill was carried by a considerable majority, the Government abandoned the educational clauses in it.

The opinions of the Vicar upon the measure, and his views generally, respecting the position and duties of the Church in that crisis of the educational movement, will best be gathered from the following letter to Mr. Gladstone.

Vicarage, Leeds : March 28, 1843.

My dear Mr. Gladstone,—I have been told that you wish to know my opinions, as a practical man, of the proposed scheme of factory education, and I shall be most happy to express to you my thoughts freely. I do really think that the Church might keep the

whole of the education of the people, or nearly so, in her own hands. No compromise of principle would be necessary. Only open schools, and give a good education ; and as to the religious department, such is the general indifference to religion in manufacturing districts, that not one person in a hundred would think of interfering on the subject. They would rather say, give a good secular education, cheap or gratis, and you may, as pay, inculcate your own religious doctrines.

Dissenters and Papists send their children to our schools when convenient, and Protestants send their children without hesitation to the Roman Catholic schools. There is no popular feeling in favour of Dissent. A few conscientious dissenters would keep their children away, and would support schools for themselves ; and now and then a zealous dissenting minister might create a little annoyance. But we could educate the children of the poor, entirely on Church principles, with very little difficulty, I am quite persuaded. All that is wanted is money ; we require funds. If the thing is desirable, why may not the bishops with the clergy of England tax themselves fifty per cent., ay, if need should be, a hundred per cent., and become beggars, rather than permit the education of the people to pass out of their hands ? We should not require any such extreme measure as this ; but the sacrifice by the bishops of one or two thousand a year out of their incomes, and by the other wealthy clergymen of a certain sum in proportion, would be soon followed by the laity ; and the funds might be entirely at the disposal of the bishops, and Government might fairly say to dissenters, ' Do as the Church has done, supply the funds for education on your own principles.' But there is not sufficient piety in the Church at present to act thus, to make such a sacrifice as this ; or rather there is a monstrous notion that our bishops and clergy are to demand all the money they require, whether for education or church extension, of the State. The State is to supply the funds, and the bishops and clergy to expend those funds as they think fit. I call this a monstrous notion in a free State where there is full toleration, and where the taxes are paid by dissenters as well as by churchmen. If the Church supplies the funds, let the education be an exclusively Church education ; if the State supplies the funds, the State is in duty bound to regard the just claims of dissenters. Now, it seems to me that the State has given full time to the Church to answer the question whether she can supply the funds. The bishops have not offered to mortgage their estates and to

reduce their establishments ; they have not called upon their clergy to do the same in order to raise a fund ; the very idea would be scouted. The Church answers in the negative, and therefore the State must act. And what has the State done ? it has done everything in its power to give precedence to the Church, and greater favour than this the lukewarm Church does not deserve, and in justice the State could not offer. In the general principle of the present measure, a principle I have often discussed with my friend Mr. Saunders, I entirely concur. Let the National Society support schools on exclusively Church principles ; let the Government adopt more general principles. I would never permit the Church to concede a principle, but I would have the State adhere to her principles, the principles of our existing constitution, that while she encourages and supports the Church, she legislates for *all* her children, whether churchmen or dissenters. I hope that all good churchmen will receive this measure as a boon. There is only one legitimate way of opposing it, and he who should propose it would be immediately shut up as a madman ; that is, by our bishops going to Sir Robert Peel, and saying, from the property of the Church we will raise a hundred thousand a year, if you will leave the education of the people in our hands. In that opposition I would join, and it would soon cease to be an opposition ; for I suspect Sir Robert would be as glad as anyone else to assent to the proposal. But this is out of the question ; I merely mentioned it to one great churchman, and I was called a ‘filthy dreamer.’ It would indeed be absurd to allude to the subject in these days, except as an argument to silence opponents. I write in haste. During Lent I have no time to spare from my parish work, as I preach and lecture five times in the week ; my head as well as my feet (the first in composing sermons, the second in carrying me to the sick) are completely occupied.

I conclude this chapter with a few notices of the Vicar’s parochial work, taking it up from the date of the consecration of the parish church. The two years which followed that event were a period during which his influence was greatly extended and consolidated. In the first place, having got his church, and being enormously proud of it, and zealously determined to make it the great centre of spiritual life in the place, he kept very close to it for a considerable time, refusing most invitations

to preach elsewhere. In a letter declining to pay a visit, which was to include Sunday, at Bishopsthorpe (Archbishop Harcourt's), he says : ' I catechize upwards of 1,000 children every Sunday afternoon, and I have succeeded in making this duty interesting to a large congregation. I am pursuing a course of catechetical instruction, so that I could not delegate the duty to another, and any interruption of the course, until the custom is fully established, would be injurious.' Besides catechizing in the afternoon he commonly preached twice on Sundays at the parish church, and conducted various classes of instruction in the course of the week. Bishop Doane has given an account of one of these to which he accompanied the Vicar.

I reached Leeds early in the afternoon. He was going to one of his district classes in the evening, and asked me if I should like to go with him. Through narrow, crooked, crowded streets we reached a shabby old building, and went up by a rickety staircase to a dirty, half-lighted schoolroom. Some fifty or sixty poor men and women were assembled there. There was a small organ, and part of the Liturgy was sung. Then the Vicar read a chapter from St. John's Gospel, and made a plain familiar exposition of it. After this he entered into friendly and familiar conversation with the people, told them how one of his curates had just been ordained priest, how another who had married the year before had just become a father, and so on. Then he called their names, and they came one by one and laid a penny or twopence on a table by him as their weekly contribution to the District Library of Religious Knowledge. Lastly he asked me to dismiss them with the blessing.

The floor of the new parish church was free, and the poor were able to attend in large numbers, and to join in services, which they had neither been able to hear nor witness, when they were driven into dark corners under overhanging galleries, or behind high and cumbrous pews.

During the season of Advent, evening services were held in the north aisle of the choir, which is fitted up as a kind of side chapel. The enjoyment which one of the congregation derived from them was expressed in forcible language which the Vicar never forgot. After Advent the services were discon-

tinued. An old woman who had attended them very regularly, came to the Vicar and said: 'Eh, Vicar! why do ye drap them services?' The Vicar explained that similar services would be held probably in Lent, or when Advent came round again. 'Eh! well,' said the woman, 'I'm glad ye're not going to drap them, for they've been lamb and salad to my soul.' And in consequence of this memorable simile the aisle has been commonly called Lamb and Salad to this day.

The election of churchwardens still continued to be an occasion of anxiety, and sometimes of annoyance. Up to the year 1842 the seven who were appointed for the parish were commonly Dissenters, and for the most part either merchants or engaged in business in a large way: some of them were leading politicians in the town. But in 1842 a change took place. At a large meeting held in March of that year three lists were proposed. One of them consisted of Chartists, another of Radicals. The Chartists were most of them artisans or petty tradesmen. The Chartist list was carried. The Vicar was in the chair, and in a letter to Mr. Wood he says:

I was most impartial. The contest was between the Chartists and the Radicals, and when the Chartists were declared churchwardens, I said that though of course I should have been better pleased had Churchmen been elected, yet I should trust those who were appointed, to act with fairness and give me their candid support, and I should do the same by them. Many of them called out, 'We like thee, Vicar, and won't harm thy Church,' and there were loud cheers when a vote of thanks was passed to me as chairman. I shall behave to them, as to the late churchwardens, with courtesy and kindness. Out of seven Dissenters elected last time two have been converted to the Church.

The intercourse between the Vicar and his Chartist churchwardens was always of the most amicable nature, although he was strict in exacting from them the proper discharge of their duties, as the following singularly humorous and clever letter will show.

To Mr. T. Garland, Vicar's churchwarden.

July 26, 1842.

My dear Sir,—I beg to inform you, and through you the other churchwardens, that a complaint has been made to me that the parish church was not swept last week, and upon enquiry I find that Mrs. Fothergill has received notice from the churchwardens that they will not pay her any longer for discharging this part of their duty.

As the churchwardens are poor men, and seem to be without friends to support them, they may be unable to pay Mrs. Fothergill; but still it is part of the duty which they have taken upon themselves to take care that the church is kept clean for the use of the parishioners. It appears to me that it would be a good arrangement for each of the churchwardens to be responsible in turn for one week's cleaning of the church, so that those who can afford it can pay for the services of Mrs. Fothergill, and those who cannot can clean the church themselves. It is an honourable office, which many churchmen would gladly discharge; but if steps are not taken for the cleaning of the church before the commencement of next week, I shall, in conjunction with some of the parishioners, give directions to Mrs. Fothergill to clean the church as usual, and as she is a poor person I shall pay her, and we shall then bring an action against the churchwardens for the repayment of the money.

I shall be sorry to involve them in this expense, but, as they voluntarily undertook the office, they cannot expect any sympathy from the public, if they are found to be incompetent to discharge the duties which devolve upon them, and the chief duty of the churchwarden's office is to provide for the comfort of the parishioners at public worship.

P.S.—The persons at whose request you were kind enough to accept your very unpleasant office will, of course, defray any expenses in which you are yourself involved either by lawsuit or otherwise.

The following year there was again a large meeting held in the Court House. Again three lists were brought forward. The Vicar, who was Chairman, put the names on each list

separately. Before so doing he observed that, the year before, the working people had come to that hall fully resolved to elect churchwardens from their own body ; and this he would say, that they were the only churchwardens, since he came to Leeds, who had, as a body, conducted themselves in a thoroughly honourable, straightforward, and gentlemanly manner. (Loud and reiterated cheers.) They told him at once, in entering upon their office, that on many points they disagreed with him, but that having taken office, they were determined conscientiously to discharge its duties. This they had done, and better churchwardens he could not desire to have, unless indeed the meeting did him the favour of electing men who belonged to the Established Church. The Chartist list, however, was again carried, and consisted of a corn miller, a cloth dresser, a shoemaker, a press setter, a shopkeeper, a flour dealer and a broker. A vote of thanks to the Vicar as chairman was proposed and seconded by Chartists, and so he entered upon another year with this singular band of Church officials. But, as before, he had no reason to complain. They conscientiously discharged the duties which they had undertaken. Some of them became attached to him, and all were friendly. To one of them he presented a large and handsome Bible. The recipient, now dead, became one of his warm admirers, and a regular attendant at the parish church.

And if men, predisposed to regard the Church with aversion or suspicion, fell under the spell of the Vicar's influence when brought into personal contact with him, the devotion of others who had not such prejudices to surmount may the more easily be imagined. To sum it up in one sentence, they were ready to do anything for him, or for the Church which he taught them to love. He was gradually also surrounding himself with a staff of clergy, both as curates to the parish church, and to those other churches in the town, of which he held the patronage, on whom he could rely to work according to his own principles. Such were Mr. Poole, the curate of St. James's, and Mr. Nunns, of St. Paul's. The keen anxiety which he felt to secure men whom he believed to be the best

fitted for the work he had to assign them, may be estimated from the following remarkable letters respecting the appointment of Mr. Nunns.

From the Rev. T. Nunns to his wife.

Leeds : May 24, 1843.

The service began and was conducted in a way that I shall never forget. Hook read the second Lesson. I did not speak to him till after. He then asked me, after some talk in the church, what I thought of his offer. When I told him that I thought favourably of it, he prostrated himself on the floor, and, for some minutes, was engaged in thanksgiving that his prayers were heard. This was almost more than I could bear, and there had nearly been a scene ; but I was, though tired and weakish, composed.

To the Rev. T. Nunns.

Leeds : June 2, 1843.

Of Mr. Heycock I never heard before. I will enquire into his character and tell you all about him. Whether I shall be able to see those who can give me information to-day, I know not. The poor man seems to be possessed of the devil. But you must expect a letter or two of that sort ; I had many before I went to Coventry, and not a few before coming here. One I remember which was very laconic : ‘ Reverend Sir, come not to a people who neither wish for you, nor pray for you.’ I am happy to say that Meredyth is doing your work gloriously. Last Sunday he and a friend of his lamented the lot of the poor congregation from whose candlestick the light was to be removed, and they were so violent as to disgust all but a few like Mr. Heycock.

In another letter :

All good people are longing to see you, and all bad people are determined cordially to hate you, and therefore in my opinion you begin well. There will be no lukewarmness, which is the most detestable of all things.

To the same.

Northfield : November 3, 1843.

Your letter has gratified me by the true and fervent friendship which it evinces, but at the same time humbles me to the very dust,

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as it bestows upon me praise which my conscience tells me that I, a poor unworthy sinner, do not deserve.

That one in every way so unworthy should be permitted to labour in God's service, in some degree to see what is not always granted, the fruit of his labour, is to me a source of the deepest gratitude ; but when I think of my many deficiencies and all my offences, the many sin-marks that are upon my poor soul, I can only stand with the penitent publican and say, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.'

When good and pious men write to me as you have done, these sad, humiliating thoughts overwhelm me. Oh ! God grant for His dear Son's sake that we, my dear good friend, may meet in His everlasting kingdom, and there be able to look back on past trials and dangers with that delight with which those who have been saved from shipwreck look back upon the stormy ocean.

I am truly glad of one thing, that you have not been disheartened by your reception at Leeds. I felt very deeply for you. I had undergone the same, but my sanguine and presumptuous spirit requires these checks, and being over-praised by some I ought to be over-censured by others. It is absolutely necessary, as I perceive, for my soul's health that I should undergo a good deal of obloquy and hatred, for I am over-desirous of being loved, and of returning love for love.

There is a tone almost of prophecy in this letter ; for times of severe chastening were at hand.

GENERAL LETTERS, 1841-1843.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Hard Work—Formation of a Choir.

Vicarage, Leeds : February 10, 1841.

I cannot write to you at length, but I will send a line, if it be only to say how very much delighted I was to see your handwriting again. You have no conception of the number of letters I have to write, all a sheer waste of time and health. I have before me I know not how many to answer. I could sometimes almost sit down and cry at what I have to do, and almost all is on other

men's business. I am indeed perplexed when I think of what is before me. The incessant interruptions to which I am exposed till ten o'clock at night, that sweet hour of repose, almost drive me mad—one business after another. From ten to two I will not work in general, but I am then too tired to do much. I am now fully occupied in preparing to form a choir, a subject on which I am profoundly ignorant ; but John Jebb has kindly assisted me. I have secured a man named Hill and his nephew from Westminster Abbey. I am to pay them 120*l.* a year. How I shall raise the money I know not ; but this I know, a good choir must be formed, if I go to prison for it. My whole heart is set on this business ; I mean to give any money for singers, and then I shall go and beg and preach. Get into a scrape, and then your friends must help you out—this is the only way to get things done in this world.

To a Friend, 1841—Obedience better than Opinions.

‘Observe,’ says our Lord, ‘what I have commanded you.’ It is not by opinions, but by observances, by our deeds, that we grow in holiness. Try to be holy, labour to be holy, pray to become holier every day, but remember that prayer without exertion is mockery. Let this be your only object. Have recourse for this purpose to any and every kind of discipline not prohibited by the Church. You will then find that you have little time for thinking of the opinions of others, and God will lead you into all the truth which is needful for you.

If you find that by the training of the Evangelical school you increase in holiness by self-discipline, adhere to that school ; through it you will pass, I doubt not, into the higher or Catholic school. But, whatever you do, let your object be not to form opinions, or to sit in judgment on the opinions of others, but simply to become more holy : and if, in their endeavours to become more holy, some shall be led into absurdities, as you think them, whether Methodistic or Popish absurdities, condemn them not, until you hope that you have become as holy as they. Let me entreat and implore you to make this your sole object ; and depend upon it that if, in so doing, you shall be led to embrace opinions diametrically opposed to mine, you will only meet with the most cordial sympathy from me, so long as you can assure me that you are improving.

To the same, 1841.

I know that in spite of my Popery your kindness is great and unalterable.

I have not heard direct from Rome. But I am told upon good authority that his Holiness the Pope, who was once given to strong drink, has become a member of the Temperance Society. What may we not expect of the members, if reformation thus commences with the head? When I go to Oscott to see Bishop Wiseman and Mr. Sibthorpe, I will make further enquiry into this important transaction. Whenever I go to that stronghold of Popery you shall have a letter from your poor benighted friend.

P.S.—In the event of the Pope's death I am informed that Lord Ashley¹ will receive an offer of the papal throne. Don't tell him this.

The Oxford Tracts—Position of Extreme Protestants in the English Church untenable.

Vicarage, Leeds : August 6, 1841.

My dear Miss Harcourt, . . . The strongest work against Popery that I have read, next to Mr. Palmer's letters to Dr. Wiseman, is Dr. Pusey's letter to Dr. Jelf on Tract No. 90. It is curious to see the different impressions made upon different minds by the same works. A very short time ago, a parishioner of mine assured me that, except for the Oxford tracts, he should himself have joined the Papists. Nor is this a solitary instance; an old schoolfellow of mine who has turned Benedictine monk, and lives in Paris, having very freely admitted the faults of the Gallican Church to which he belongs, was brought almost to confess that if the views brought before us by Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman had been brought before him in early life, he should have remained a member of the Anglican Church. In mentioning works against Romanism I ought not, by-the-bye, to omit Mr. Newman's masterly treatise on that subject. I cannot myself understand how any person of a catholic spirit should be induced to leave the Church of England for the Romish sect in this country. The difficulty always appears to me to be, for a person with high Protestant notions to reconcile the use of our Prayer Book with his

¹ Now Lord Shaftesbury.

principles : see, for example, the absolution in the office for the visitation of the sick ; the form of ordaining priests, where the bishop assumes the power of giving the Holy Ghost, and conveys the power to the priest of remitting or retaining sins ; see also the office for baptism, where a baptized child is spoken of as regenerated. Many other instances might be produced in which more of evasion and dishonesty and special pleading is necessary to reconcile these practices with what are generally understood by Protestant principles, than all the reasoning, so largely charged with these vices, in Tract No. 90. I am quite sure that if I held high Protestant opinions I could not, as an honest man, remain in the Church of England ; I should become a Dissenter. As it is, I thank God that I belong to that catholic body which is midway between Popery and Protestantism : but while I rejoice in my privileges as an English Churchman, I do humbly hope that I can make due allowance for, and treat with brotherly love, those of our brethren who err on either side.

Parochial Management.

Vicarage, Leeds : September 24, 1841.

My dear Miss Harcourt, . . . My rule is never to attempt to *force* people to do what is right, never to force even a right practice upon an unwilling people. When first I came to this parish I altered nothing ; I even continued to read the Commandments from the reading desk, because it was the custom of my predecessor. My object is to assert principles and create a spirit around me, which must be done by gentle training, not by dogmatism, until at last people begin to say, ‘ How inconsistent you are ! Why do you not do as you tell us you ought to do ? ’ and the pleasant answer is : ‘ Oh, very well ; if you wish it I will do so and so.’ This of course is in some degree a sacrifice of self, and is the more painful, because by the smiles and sneers of inexperienced and right-minded persons you are reproached for doing nothing ; when, lo and behold ! all of a sudden they find the thing done, which, if attempted in a tyrannical spirit, would have failed. If I had proposed to erect the church I have erected, when first I came here, I should only have been mocked ; still more absurd would it have been to think of a choral service ; but now my people have done more than I even desired, and the choral service has been even forced upon me. I venture to speak thus of what I have done my-

self, simply because it is only thus that I can exemplify my own rule, and to show why I have succeeded where many have attempted and failed.

I do not think any clergyman ever had a larger body of supporters than I have had, both at Coventry and here ; and I attribute it to the fact that I never seek to tyrannise over them. I talk, but never act until they are willing to act with me. Talk, talk, talk, write, write, write ; little tracts, and little discussions, and above all not a little opposition from the enemies of the Church ; encourage and tolerate all this, and sit by, the while, prepared to act when God's time shall come, but remembering that His ways are slower than our ways. This is the way to manage things, and then, if, when the time of acting has come, you excite the enthusiasm of others by exhibiting a little enthusiasm in yourself, you will find that the time of your patience and quietness has not been lost time. But, my dear Miss Harcourt, the grand thing of all is to have God's glory always in view, and to be deeply impressed with the high mysterious honour which is imposed upon Christians, that we are permitted to promote that glory upon earth. We feel like loyal soldiers fighting under the great Captain of our salvation ; rather rejoicing though we tremble, when placed in posts of trial, and difficulty, and temptation ; for the greater the danger the greater will be in heaven our honour, if, fighting under the shield of our Almighty King, we are in the end triumphant. So be it with us ; we have each our different posts assigned us in the great fight ; may we have grace to do each our peculiar duty !

Comparison between the Evangelicals and the Tractarians.

Vicarage, Leeds : October 7, 1841.

My dear Miss Harcourt, . . . I confess that I do not understand Mr. Newman. Dr. Pusey is, I believe, quite alive to the errors of Romanism. Mr. Palmer is, in my opinion, their most powerful antagonist. The state of things appears to be this : a large portion of our Church has of late years been ready to amalgamate with Protestants out of the Church. They have altered our services to make them more Protestant, e.g. by introducing Protestant Hymns, and omitting commanded ceremonies ; they have evaded the principles of the Prayer Book, e.g. the power of absolution, as in the Visitation Service, ' I absolve thee of thy sins ;'

they have explained away what is said in our baptismal offices, e.g. the identity of baptismal with spiritual regeneration ; they have evaded the force of the Ordination Service, wherein to plain honest minds the bishop gives the Holy Ghost to the ordained priest that he may remit or retain sins ; they have interpreted literally the Thirty-nine Articles, but adhered to them only, even sometimes trying to make it appear that ours is the Church of the Thirty-nine Articles ; they have united with dissenting Protestants in Bible Societies, &c. There has now arisen a school which says, 'We are Catholics, and we will act on the very same principles as that on which you, who are Protestants without leaving the Church, have acted. We receive the Prayer Book in its fulness. You Protestants have found it difficult to reconcile the Prayer Book and the Articles, but you have attempted to do this by explaining away the Prayer Book ; we will do it by receiving the Prayer Book and placing our own construction upon the Articles. You have sought to conciliate Protestants to the Church by omitting ceremonies ; we will conciliate Catholics to the Church by observing them. You have associated with dissenting Protestants ; we have just as much right to associate with dissenting Catholics.' This is, as I understand things to be, the condition of the two extreme parties ; one side took too much to Protestantism, though in dissent, the other to Catholicism, though under the dominion of Rome. Undoubtedly the latter party is right so far as this : there can be no more harm in a member of the Church of England uniting with the Roman Catholics, recommending their works, pointing out their excellence in some respects while deploring their errors in others, than it is for a member of the Church of England to unite with Protestants in the same way. Those members of the Church of England who have been accustomed to praise the writings of the Puritans cannot consistently blame, as bad Churchmen, those who recommend the works of Papists. The State of England has used the word Protestant, the Church of England has never adopted the term : and a man like Mr. Newman may say, I hate Protestantism, and yet remain in the Church of England, because the Church of England is Catholic. The extreme Protestant party have no right to censure men for applying a principle which they have long acted upon themselves to another purpose. Now I do myself hold a middle position, and I attack the party, which may be called the extreme Oxford party, for doing that very thing against which they have protested. I hold against the Protestant

section the Prayer Book in its fulness, I hold against what we may call the extreme Catholic section the Articles in their simplicity. I have blamed the Protestants in the Church for associating with Protestants out of the Church ; I blame equally the Catholics in the Church for associating with the Catholics out of the Church. I blame Protestants in the Church for circulating Puritan and Presbyterian books, I blame Catholics in the Church for circulating Popish books, &c. You see my meaning, and you see the object of the two schools ; one would widen the Establishment to admit new Protestants, the other to effect a union with foreign Catholics. This is a subject on which I am sometimes half inclined to write a pamphlet, for I see that we must soon take our stand as decidedly against the Catholic school as against the Protestant school, acting in the true spirit of Catholicism, and standing in the midway with the Church of England, between Protestantism and Popery, the two extremes. But the time has not yet come, and indeed my weight of duty is such that I cannot venture upon anything that does not blend with the details of parochial business. Our service, especially when sung, is so essentially Catholic that I only wonder how it has been tolerated by Protestants ; I suppose it can only be accounted for by the fact that Protestants cannot reflect. They have assumed that our Church is Protestant, and defended it as such, and never observed how entirely opposed it is to some of the chief dogmas of Protestantism.

Now it is of the essence of Protestantism to refer everything to self ; it is of the essence of Catholicism to refer everything to God. A Protestant goes to church to get good to his soul, a Catholic to glorify God ; a Protestant to have his own mind impressed, a Catholic to do God service ; a Protestant desires to have a service addressed, as it were, to himself, a Catholic to offer a sacrifice to God ; a Protestant desires to have his ecstatic feelings excited, since he judges of the state of his religion by the state of his blood ; a Catholic desires to have everything so done that he may be solemnly reminded, at every point of the service, that he is engaged with saints and angels in an unearthly work. He confesses his sins, but it is with the Church, he praises God, but with the Church, he prays, but with the Church, in the Church's own peculiar language and peculiar tone. According, then, as your feelings are more Catholic or more Protestant, you will like or dislike cathedral service. A Protestant must hate Choral Service, though, if he likes music, he may commit the sin of going to Church unworthily to hear the anthem ; a Catholic,

though he knows nothing of music, will go far to attend regularly the choral service, because it accords with his feeling of performing a service. During the last century the mind of England became thoroughly Protestantised, therefore choral service fell into disuse ; it is now becoming again Catholicised, and choral service is coming in. But as men become Catholicised they will naturally, when weak, harmonise with foreign Catholics, though Papists, and some will fall ; just as Protestants in our Church have harmonised with foreign Protestants, and some have become Protestant dissenters. I do not see that there is any greater harm in falling into Popery than in falling into Presbyterianism ; I do not sympathise, therefore, with the ultra-Protestants, who attack the ultra-Oxonians. But I do think there is as great a sin in leaving the Church for Popery as there is in leaving it for Presbyterianism, or any other Protestant *ism* ; and therefore I must attack them on that point.

To the Rev. J. W. Clarke—Advice on visiting Roman Catholic Countries.

Vicarage, Leeds : October 19, 1841.

My dear Friend,—Having preached five times since Sunday morning, three times on Sunday, and twice yesterday, I have not much time for a long letter ; be content therefore with brevity.

As a member of the Church of England you cannot, I conceive, communicate with a Church which is not in communion with her, without a violation of your filial duty to your Holy Mother. However lamentable, a fact it is that Christendom is divided. The bright mirror has been broken into fragments. In God's good time it will be reunited ; but this is not the work of man ; of individuals it certainly is not. We must each cling to our own fragment till the time comes.

With Protestant communities you cannot hold communion, because, not having the Succession, they cannot administer to you the Eucharist ; but with foreign Catholics, on the same principle, you cannot communicate, for although they have the Succession, yet they alter a sacrament of the Lord, and give you that which is not what Christ ordained, when they offer communion in one kind only. The fault is as great on one side as on the other. Then, again, their celebrating the communion, if it be such, in the presence of non-communicants, is very unprimitive.

If it be that you are, in Catholic countries, a schismatic, I think on the above grounds yours is a justifiable schism. Why not justifiable schism as well as justifiable homicide? I forgot to observe that there is another reason for having nothing to do with Churches of the Roman obedience, viz., they have actually added to the Catholic creeds.

There is a great difference between acknowledging them to be *true* Churches, and even seeming to countenance their *errors*.

I would advise you, therefore, to communicate as often as you can with our own Church where chapels are opened; and at other times to take your prayer-book and say your prayers, as you can very delightfully, in the different sanctuaries which are kept open all day, and which are consecrated ground. I recommend this as the least of two evils.

*To W. P. Wood, Esq.—The Choir—Sketch of a sermon on
Justification.*

Vicarage, Leeds: December 29, 1841.

My dearest Friend, . . . I have been led by circumstances into the erection of a large church, and the use therein of choral service, at an expense of six or seven hundred a year; how to be raised I know not, and I feel oppressed with the weight of the whole concern—so much so, that even now alluding to the circumstances makes my head to throb, and to feel quite wild. Now this is want of confidence in the good God, who has supported me hitherto; but the devil will annoy me on this point. I am indeed much depressed by my parochial responsibilities, and sigh to be at rest. Pardon all this egotism. And now let me point out to you what should comfort you in the general Christian scheme, for you seem to be troubled. Our life consists in Christ imparted to us, and Christ formed in us. To receive Christ, and to sustain Christ in us, we resort to the two Sacraments; and He will spiritualise our souls here, to render them fit for spiritual bodies hereafter. But two things on our part are necessary: first, faith, without which we cannot receive the gift; secondly, the removal of impediments to the operation of grace, i.e. of all sin. God is in the temple our body; we must sweep all the nooks and corners, that He may shine therein; sweep away all the filth sin has at any time left. The more we do this, the more spiritual do we become. This, then, is

our business ; morally to improve. Our moral improvement will not justify us, but it will enable us to have more and more of grace ; while it is Christ within us, the indwelling of the Father, and the Holy Spirit, through the Son, that saves and purifies us. Hence these three things are needful : faith, as the mouth to receive the gift ; good works, which implies the renunciation of evil to enable grace to operate ; recourse to the Eucharist, to have the gift conveyed. I have thus given you the outline of a sermon I have in my mind.

To the Rev. Cecil Wray—Dislike to Public Meetings.

Vicarage, Leeds : September 23, 1842.

I shall be prepared (D.V.) for two sermons. . . . You are aware that it is very inconvenient to me to leave my parish, and therefore I am sure you will not think it unfriendly on my part if I say that I must positively return home on Monday. And in considering the subject of your meeting—I dislike meetings so very much from finding them generally attended with ill consequences, and I have such a repugnance to speak on such occasions, that I entreat you to let me off any such duty. I am certain, from my own experience, that you will find it better policy to have the meeting, if you *must* have one, some weeks after your sermons, as a kind of revival of the interest. In addition to all this, it is a kind of Low Church method of causing excitement to have a meeting, in which you are sure to be beaten. I am sorry that the Church Societies have speculated on this meeting system, but in a place like Liverpool, where the ground is preoccupied, it is vain to attempt to out-meetingise the enemy. I have never known a public meeting not do harm. You never know what a speaker will say ; you must make a miscellaneous selection of speakers, and, either by an attack or by some injudicious defence of what is right, the good cause is damaged. I think it will be wiser merely to get together a few of your staunch supporters, and to let them make their collections, and to get your schools perfect, before you appeal to the public. I will say all I have to say in my sermons.

I shall delight in paying you a visit, but all my pleasure would be destroyed if I thought I had to attend a meeting on the Monday morning. So I pray you have me excused.

The Holy Eucharist.

Vicarage, Leeds : January 8, 1842.

My dear Miss Harcourt, . . . According to your commands I send you quotations from the great divines of our Church, since the Reformation, on the doctrine of the real presence. I thought I had some from Archbishop Cranmer, and I dare say I could find such, because, as he was a time-server, he sometimes wrote on one side and sometimes on the other. Poor man, he lived in trying times ; and though his cruelty in burning a poor woman for disagreeing with him in opinion, his cringing to that wicked tyrant Henry VIII. (who, by the way, is regarded by some persons as the founder of our Church), and lastly his base apostasy from all his avowed principles at the close of life, be dreadful blots in his character, still I regard him as more weak than wicked. But the opinion of one who changed his mind so often as Dr. Cranmer did, cannot have much weight on either side or on any question. Poor old Latimer was an honest fellow, but no divine—he did not pretend to be such. Bishop Ridley was a really learned and very honest man. I do not know whether Mr. — is a communicant, but I should not like to have the quotations sent to any person who is not such. To non-communicants the question can be of no importance, and it is much too holy and solemn to be discussed as a mere point of literature. To those who know that the doctrine of the real presence was held in every portion of the Catholic Church for fifteen hundred years, and who know that the Doctrine of Transubstantiation was not thought of till the eighth or ninth century, who cannot therefore consistently with their principles reject the former doctrine, but may and ought to reject the latter, it is of great importance to draw the distinction which I am censured for drawing, and which Romanists would confound, that so it may appear that they have more authority for Transubstantiation than they really have. But let me repeat what I have often said, that to discuss these questions, except as vital doctrines bearing upon our practice, is worse than useless. Let us seek to be holy, let us remember that our holiness consists in our union with Christ, the only Mediator ; and then, when a converted person is earnestly seeking for this great blessing, it will become a vital question whether our Lord has appointed means of conveying Himself to souls prepared to receive Him, and whether, through

those means, to such persons he is verily and indeed, really and truly conveyed. Till this becomes a vital question, we shall do better to answer 'never a word' concerning it.

To the same—The Holy Eucharist.

January 8, 1842.

There are three views prevalent at present of the Sacramental Elements: to wit, the Roman, which regards the bread and wine as actually changed into our Lord's body and blood; the Zwinglian, or purely Protestant, which regards the bread and wine as a likeness or figure of our Lord's body and blood; the Catholic, which has been held by the chief of our divines since the Reformation, which regards the bread and wine as *to all intents and purposes* to be 'verily and indeed' the body and blood of our Lord. I will illustrate what I mean without attempting to explain the awful mystery which is addressed to our faith. I use the illustration merely that you may in some measure perceive the difference in these different views. I intend to give you five pounds, and I do so by bestowing on you a five-pound note. The Romanist says, 'This note which appears to you to be paper is not paper; it is gold, and unless you believe it to be gold you will not receive the five pounds.' The Zwinglian says, 'This is all nonsense; the paper is not gold and is nothing worth, but it is a picture or figure of that gold which you ought to believe that you have in your pocket; if you have the gold in your pocket, it will comfort you to look upon this representation of it.' The Church of England Catholic says, 'It is certainly very true that this paper is not gold, but when I place it in your hands you are worth five pounds which you were not worth before; it is, to all intents and purposes, really and truly five pounds, not by the conversion of paper into gold, but because such is the will of the sovereign. You need not trouble yourself how the thing is done; take the note, and you have received five pounds.' Now, to meet and counteract the Zwinglian view, it is very necessary to speak of the note as being really five pounds, though by really we do not mean the change of the paper into gold. I almost fear whether I ought thus to illustrate the doctrine; but I depend upon your showing this only to earnest-minded persons really anxious for information, or rather for a perception of the difference between doctrines which are only to be thought of with the profoundest reverence. The doctrine of the

Real Presence is a doctrine resolutely held by our great divines, as I will show you when I have my books. It was the doctrine held by the primitive Church, most resolutely, and it is by confounding the Real Presence with Transubstantiation that the Romanists bring many earnest-minded men over to their system. I could not remain a moment in the Church of England, if I were compelled to renounce the doctrine of the Real Presence ; but to the doctrine of Transubstantiation I am decidedly opposed, because it degrades and alters the very nature of the Holy Sacrament, and leads to many wicked superstitions. . . .

Christ is now in the spiritual body at God's right hand ; but He, the Christ, is present, man as well as God, whenever two or three of His people are assembled in His name ; much more in the Eucharist. But how ? We know not, for we know not the properties of a spiritual body ; we only know that as the sun is in the firmament, and yet by light and heat is really present with us on earth, so it may be with the body of our Lord. The Romanist errs by forgetting that our Lord is now a spiritual body, and by imagining that He is present in his natural body, forgetting that (even if our senses did not convince us that this is not the case) there would be no advantage in eating the natural body, because it is the spirit or spiritual body that profiteth, as appears from the whole of the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel. In conclusion, remember there is only one thing worth living for, which is to become more and more holy, and so to approach nearer and nearer to the great God. But you cannot make yourself holy ; Christ only can make you holy by His dwelling in you, for when He dwelleth in you, the whole Trinity dwelleth in you. Seek then Christ our Lord, to dwell in you by the means which He has appointed. But remember also that He will be found in you and sanctify you, only as you labour to grow in faith, and remove all stain of sin from your soul, which two things God the Holy Ghost, if His aid be duly sought in prayer and the other ordinances of the Gospel, will enable you to do. Your faith will not save you ; baptism will not save you ; your good works will not save you. Christ only can save you, but He will not save you without faith and good works on your part. Christ is all in all in our system, and when Christ is one with you and you are one with Christ, then rejoice with trembling. Rejoice in the power of grace which is upon you ; tremble at the thought of what you would be, were Christ for a moment to leave you.

Indiscretions of Young Clergymen.

Vicarage, Leeds : February 16, 1842.

My dear Bellairs, . . . We are inundated with books about the Church, and especially about the clergy. I am afraid that many in their zeal for the Church, and, in maintaining the rights of the clergy, forget the rights of the laity, who are, as well as the clergy, priests unto the Most High God, and who indeed have as large a portion of the sacrifice of prayer and praise assigned to them in the Prayer Book as the clergy. I am quite sure of this, that the wrongheadedness and tyrannical disposition of many of our young clergy who dare to make alterations in their churches, and to restore ceremonies which they consider old, without consulting the wishes of the people, or applying for the direction of their bishop, have set more persons in opposition to the Church than all the violence of Papists and Dissenters. I wish for a little peace.

The Observance of Friday—Discrimination needful in recommending Books.

Vicarage, Leeds : May 19, 1842.

My dear —, . . . You are quite mistaken in supposing that I should blame Lady — for giving a musical party on a Friday ; surely it would be absurd to wish her even to observe a useless form. But I am sorry to find her ladyship alluding to the observance of the Friday fast in a light and joking manner. It is never right, my dear friend, to ridicule the religious scruples or the observances, however ridiculous, of others. Even if a deed be wrong in itself, the motive is to be respected, and the wrong act is to be gravely censured, not ridiculed. Far am I from blaming anyone for not keeping the Friday ; the Church enjoins it, but our Bishops seem generally to have sanctioned the non-observance, and no one is compelled to observe it. But it is natural for some, those who take high views of their spiritual duties, and do not place their religion in mere opinion, to keep that day as a fast. They consider Sunday as a festival and a holiday ; a day on which they may give full play to the elevated and joyous feelings of a renewed heart ; a day on which they forget that they are sinners, and, rejoicing in the knowledge that by faith they are justified, on the strength of that faith which is imputed to them for righteousness, as the royal priesthood, the peculiar people of God (for the laity

are priests as well as the clergy), offer unto God a sacrifice of prayer and praise in the public worship of the holy Church, of which they, a holy people, are part, and have God imparted to them in the Holy Eucharist. It is, I say, natural for such persons to desire to have another day, the day of our Lord's crucifixion, in which they may humble their hearts, and look upon themselves as they are by nature, sinful and accursed creatures ; and reflect on what they would be were it not for the grace of God, and watch lest they should be falling from grace, and take steps effectually to keep their baptismal vow, and crucify the whole body of sin. It is natural for them, as on Sunday they seek by the thought of their justification to gladden their hearts, so on Friday to sadden their hearts, so as to be able to reflect more seriously on their sinful nature. The time may come when you will thus desire to observe the Friday fast as a sinner, that you may enjoy the more the Sunday feast as a saint. In the meantime apply to this the principle of 1 Cor. viii. 8. I have lately prepared a short course of severe study for Lady Harriet Howard, which I think you would like to see. She is not like some friends of yours, who commence reading with the modest assumption that they are persons of such learning and judgment and infallibility, that they are qualified to pronounce sentence on any works they may read ; who say oracularly, ' I agree here ' or ' I disagree there,' as if their agreement or non-agreement were a matter of any moment. But she reads to inform her mind, and never ventures on an opinion until she has gone through a course of study, and even then expresses it with becoming modesty. I mention this that you may understand the kind of person for whom I have prescribed this course of theology, which I do not wish to prescribe for everyone. This is said as a caution to you ; for (don't think me severe) I think your practice rather that of a quack doctor who prescribes for the disease and not for the patient. If you like a book, and if it has done you good, you are apt to recommend it to all your friends. I could fancy your recommending some delightful treatise against fanaticism to Lord Melbourne and to Lord A., not considering that the former patient is as free from the disorder as the latter is eaten up by it. Now I am desirous of being a regular practitioner, and would prescribe a cooling tract to the raging fanatic, a warning and exciting tract to the careless worldling. I hope you will not be very angry at this odious comparison in my own favour ; but I have at all events this comfort, that I know your anger never lasts

long. The end and object of all this is to say that the course of study which may be useful to one person may not be the very best course for another ; and therefore I do not want you to recommend it to those numerous ladies, not to say gentlemen, who apply to you for instruction in theology. Here then follows my course of theology : it is divided into two parts, the Historical and the Metaphysical, the former to employ three or four hours of one day, the latter as many hours of another.

Historical.

Palmer's 'Ecclesiastical History.'
 Palmer's 'Treatise on the Church.'
 Wheatley on 'Common Prayer.'
 Burton's 'Three First Centuries.'
 Bingham's 'Antiquities.'
 St. Cyprian's Works, Oxford Translation.
 Churton's 'Anglo-Saxon Church.'
 Jeremy Collier's 'Ecclesiastical History,' beginning at the Norman Conquest.

Sermons.

Bishop Andrewes.
 Bishop Horsley.
 Mr. Newman.

Metaphysical.

Bishop Butler's 'Analogy.' To be deeply studied.
 Bishop Butler's Rolls Sermons. Ditto.
 Hooker : Keble's edition. Ditto.
 Newman on 'Justification.' Ditto.
 Bishop Bethell on 'Regeneration.'
 Dr. Pusey on 'Baptism.'
 Dr. Waterland on 'The Eucharist,' with the Catena on the subject in the Oxford Tracts.

Devotional.

Bishop Wilson's 'Sacra Privata.'
 Bishop Andrewes' 'Devotions,' translated by Hall.
 Thomas à Kempis.

Insufficiency of Books of Consolation—The Divine Comforter to be sought through Ordinances.

Vicarage, Leeds : November 3, 1842.

My dear Miss Harcourt,—I perfectly agree with you in the opinion you have formed of the works professing to be consolatory, which are published by the Religious Tract Society, and that class of religionists which that Society represents. I go further, for I consider them to be in some respects mischievous. Although nothing could be further from the intention of the pious men by whom they were composed, the tendency of such works is to withdraw the mind from Him who is the only real Comforter, and to employ it in our own feelings. To persons indulging a sentiment of grief, who think it right to be a little afflicted, and right to seek a little comfort, these works may be interesting ; but when was a person in real, earnest, deep, heartfelt affliction ever comforted by

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reading the commonplace remarks of which these books are composed? Surely the sorrower will feel, 'This is all very true, and if you were the afflicted person instead of me, I could give all this good advice to you; but it is all in vain; words cannot cure the deep, deep wound which is devouring my heart.' We might just as well place in the hands of a starving man, asking us for food, a book on cookery, and bid him think of the nice dishes that good cooks can make to quicken the sickly appetite, as to seek to comfort a real sorrower by words. If we are children of God, it is not to human writings, it is not to human comforters, that we should resort; this is the portion of heathens. But we, the children of God, we have for our Comforter the Holy Ghost Himself, the third Person of the Blessed Trinity. He will Himself dwell in us as a Comforter; He will Himself inspire us with holy, consolatory, rapturous thoughts; He will himself console us and make our souls to dwell in heaven. This is the Comforter we are to seek. And to those who are in a high state of sanctification the consolation He gives is such as worldly men, or the ordinary run of those who are called religious, cannot conceive; they rather regard the objects of it as wild, visionary, perhaps insane. And how are we to obtain the Holy Spirit? He is the Spirit of Christ, and when Christ is in us the Comforter is in us; and Christ is given to us really in the Holy Eucharist: we are then and thereby made partakers of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones (Ephesians v. 30). If this be true, and it is true if the Gospel be true, we may at once direct the sorrower to the only source of comfort; not to books, not to men, but to the great God Himself, who may be received into the heart through the Blessed Eucharist. And we ought not to be surprised if those who seek the heavenly Comforter should be sometimes so comforted as to appear fanatics and madmen to the men of the world. My advice to any pious sorrower, therefore, always is, wait upon the Comforter in the Eucharist. Alas for the sorrowers of England! owing to the want of faith in the means of grace which too generally prevails, owing to the regard paid not to what God has promised to do, but to what is calculated to excite our own feelings, the Eucharist, which the Apostles administered daily, is denied to us of the English Church, except perhaps once a quarter or once a month, though there are, blessed be God, many parishes where the bread of life is distributed weekly to those who hunger and thirst after righteousness. At all events, there are some of our cathedrals wherein the command of the Church for at

least weekly communion is obeyed. And, instead of purchasing books and asking for advice from man, I would exhort a sorrower, at almost any sacrifice, to go and dwell for a time in some cathedral town, or some parish where this privilege, I would rather say this right, of the children of God is not withheld. But then we must remember that consolation is to us according to our faith ; we receive grace in proportion as we have prepared ourselves for its reception. We are not to suppose that a person who has been careless in prosperity is immediately to receive comfort in sorrow because he applies to God for it. No, the full comfort is a blessing reserved for those who have, even in prosperity, led a life of self-denial : a mortified life amid surrounding temptations to luxury. If a person who has not been a devoted saint of God falls into affliction it is absurd, and worse, to address the topics of consolation to him ; he is not to receive blessings for which he never laboured. Our business is to call upon that person to see by his affliction the nothingness of this world, and so to induce him to devote his whole life to God : he must seek to cure his sinful soul, not to ease his load of present grief. When my poor children had the small-pox the doctor did not come and try to cure each painful spot upon the face ; he gave medicines influential upon the whole body, and as the disease left the body as a whole it left also the painful parts. So, when the sinner is grieved, it is not by seeking the solace of the particular grief, but by bringing the whole soul gradually into a healthy state that the comfort is to be obtained. Such a person may not venture to hope for the Holy Ghost as in this sense a Comforter, until He has become a Cleanser ; and when the heart is purified, then there is comfort. Such a person therefore receives the Eucharist, that by union with Christ the soul may be more and more cleansed by the Spirit of Christ. Consolation will not be the grace which he will first seek : he first seeks pardon. Grace is always given to us in proportion as we are capable of receiving it, for an adult person approaching the Eucharist unworthily, i.e. from any other motive but a desire to receive grace, receives not grace but condemnation ; so is it that when we approach worthily, i.e. with faithful and penitent hearts, the grace we receive is according to our degree of penitence and faith. Just so, when the sun is shining, its rays penetrate the different media unequally, that is, according to their capacity to receive light ; and it is only the purest and most transparent substances that receive the light entirely. Although, therefore, Christ imparts Himself in a

degree to all who approach Him worthily in the Eucharist, it is according to the purity of our hearts that we receive Him ; as they are more and more pure by the cleansing of His Spirit, so do we more fully partake of Christ. Instead, then, of telling persons to read consolatory treatises, we should tell them to receive the Eucharist as often as possible, and to prepare for its reception and the realisation of its blessings by removing all the impediments by that degree of austerity to ourselves by which we shall more and more wean ourselves from the world, and devote ourselves to works of charity and religion. To commence to do this is indeed an act of much austerity ; and it is by austerity to ourselves, by self-denials for the good of others, that we gradually remove from ourselves those hindrances which now prevent us from profiting as we could wish from the grace which is given to us. Without self-discipline devotion becomes mere sentiment ; affection without discipline is, in fact, the sin of Methodism. Now all this is hard for flesh and blood to bear, . . . but the religion that costs us nothing is worth nothing ; if you will not have recourse to the means, do as you will, but then you must not expect the blessing. Whether what I have said will be of service to your sorrowing friend you will judge for yourself, of course. I can only address myself to the mind of a Catholic ; such a mind will at once respond to what I say : it is quite useless to place these deep truths before others.

If a parishioner of mine is in affliction, and comes to me, I give him directions, as in this letter, what to do ; he yields to the directions of his pastor. Over others I have not, and I seek not, authority. If they tell me they wish to seek comfort as the Church would administer it, I can write as above ; if they merely wish for an opinion, I would rather not give one. The person who is seeking opinions supposes his own to be superior, and from among different opinions pronounces on what he, in his own judgment, thinks the best ; and he might perhaps have saved himself the trouble, since a man generally adheres to the opinion with which he started. We must, if we would come to right conclusions, begin with *doing* ; do God's will and you will know of the doctrine ; and I say to the sorrower, seek Christ as Christ has appointed you to seek him and you will have within you a Comforter such as others cannot understand. Try : there can be no harm in trying ; there can be no harm in self-denials and in frequent communion, for which the preparation of penitence and urgent prayer has been undergone. The best books for meditation and prayer, perhaps,

are Bishop Wilson's 'Sacra Privata,' and Wilberforce's 'Eucharistica;' the proper subject for meditation, the special Providence of God. There is in the first volume of 'Plain Sermons' by contributors to the 'Tracts for the Times' a good sermon on Religious Peace; indeed, the whole of those sermons, written evidently by men who earnestly realise the doctrine of a special Providence, will be found useful. The best work will be visiting the afflicted, especially poor persons more afflicted than the sorrower herself. She might contribute largely but anonymously to some charitable institution; some orphan society: or she might build or endow a church on condition that the Eucharist should be administered in it at least once a week; this is supposing your friend to be very rich. Whatever she does, let her do it heartily, and in a way that will give trouble. When earnest-minded persons give, what they bestow is a real gift. It will not do to pay 300*l.* a year for an opera-box when in prosperity, and give a five-pound note in charity when in adversity. Our expenses as we withdraw from the world ought not to be diminished, but they should be directed into a different channel.

To a Friend—Necessity of combining Activity with Meditation.

Vicarage, Leeds: November 26, 1842.

My dear Friend, . . . The books requisite for a Christian are not those that point directly to his grief, but those which lead to an amendment of conduct. But some persons, having no particular claims upon them, may give themselves up entirely to meditation and prayer: this is the object of monastic institutions in foreign Churches. The want of some retreat for the broken-hearted, and occasionally (for a month or two) for those who are busied in the affairs of the world, is much felt in our own Church. But then, so useless is meditation, so useless faith itself without good works, that they who have thus retired, and upon whom no active duties at the time devolve, have always found it necessary to abound in mortifications and fastings. When monasteries ceased to be schools of asceticism they ceased to be schools of religious meditation, and became a nuisance. And I dwell upon this the rather to show that it is not by unaustrere meditation, by reading without good works performed by self-denial, that we can expect comfort from religion; all without this is mere sentiment. People without this, when they think of religion, become either idle monks or

sentimental 'Evangelicals,' taking their ease, and talking of religion while in their acts they differ nothing from the world around them, excepting in those acts which are to them a kind of distinction.

Proper relations of a Pastor to a Private School in his Parish.

Vicarage, Leeds : January 24, 1843.

My dear Miss Harcourt, . . . I think Lord ——— entirely in the right. If I were in Lord ———'s place, I should say, 'Here are my children. I have them prepared in the Church catechism, I send them to church, and if you, Mr. Parson, are ready to do your duty, and to catechise them after the Second Lesson, they are ready to be catechised, and to the instructions you give them in church I will take care that they attend. If you will also come to the schools I shall be delighted to consult you upon the education given, but they are my schools, and I only consult you about them as a friend.' I have no patience with the domineering spirit which is too often exhibited by the younger clergy, as if everything were to bend to their own opinion. Their business is to catechise in church, not to regulate the schools, and the business of the laity is to bring all the children over whom they have influence to be catechised. If the clergy would only do their clerical duty, if they would catechise in church and have weekly communions and confine themselves to the ministerial offices devolving upon the stewards of the mysteries, things would go on much better than they do. But if we omit catechising in church, which is our clear duty, to dispute about the details of school arrangements, all will go wrong. Of course, on the other hand, a clergyman is at liberty not to superintend a school, the arrangements of which he does not approve.

Defence of the Oxford Writers from the Charge of being Unintelligible.

Vicarage, Leeds : February 10, 1843.

My dear Miss Harcourt, . . . As to what Lady Francis says of the fault of being unintelligible which she predicates of Mr. B——'s school, the charge is made generally, I suppose, against the Oxford school; and on this point I must make an observation. If you were to undertake to read the works of Sir Isaac Newton, would you not find them unintelligible? Doubtless you would, because of your ignorance of the full meaning of many of the terms used,

and more particularly because he would assume that you knew much of which you are really ignorant. He writes for mathematicians, and you have only (forgive me if I am in error) a very general notion of mathematics. Now, persons writing on Catholic theology use many terms (regeneration, for instance) in a sense very different from that adopted in ultra-Protestant schools. And, again, they will assume that their readers understand Catholic phraseology, and that they will admit as facts, so universally received as to require no proof, what ultra-Protestants do not concede, while much is regarded by them as essential which other parties treat as trifling. Now without professing ultra-Protestantism, it may be that a person has heard and read little of theology, except what has been said or written by persons of that school, and of course that person without preparation going to the works of another school, with all his old notions and old phraseology, will be and must be perplexed. The great men of a school only write for the initiated, and what they write is useless for others, for those not learned in their peculiar line. The little men, the retail dealers in divinity, apply to the great men through their writings for wholesale theology, and our business is to prepare men by easy explanations to understand the great men to whom we act as pioneers. People do not complain of unintelligibleness in Gresley, Paget, or your humble servant; our business is, first to understand for ourselves, and then to explain to others, what such men as Jeremy Taylor, Sanderson, Hammond, Bishop Butler, and in these days Newman, or Pusey, may have thought out. Their minds are the 'vast deep,' ours the little streams; their minds from their depth cannot be seen through without much labour; ours are transparent because they are not deep; theirs are the deep places wherein the giant may refresh himself by swimming; and ours the little brooks which the ordinary wayfarer may ford. And here, as I am getting both figurative and tired, I shall leave off, fully expecting a severe and most fierce epistle from you, anathematising me for daring to place Newman and Pusey, whatever may be their errors, among the great minds, and insinuating at their expense a compliment to me. But the fact really is as I have stated. We have each our calling; some are called to deal in wholesale divinity, others are retail merchants of theology. Excuse the comparison, which comes naturally from one who has lived among tradesmen for nearly twenty years.

CHAPTER IX.

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE FROM 1844 TO 1849—THE LEEDS VICARAGE ACT—LETTER TO THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S ON POPULAR EDUCATION—TROUBLES IN CONNEXION WITH ST. SAVIOUR'S CHURCH.

By the beginning of the year 1844 the influence which the Vicar had acquired over all classes of people in Leeds, and the work which he had achieved, exceeded the most sanguine expectations of himself and his friends.

Success, however, never tempted him to relax his labours, but stimulated him to further enterprise. The more he advanced, the more he saw yet to be done. New vistas of work were continually opening before him :

Apparet domus intus, et atria longa pateſcunt.

The conviction had gradually been taking possession of his mind that the most fatal obstacle to improving the spiritual condition of the people was to be found in the ecclesiastical constitution of the parish. In principle it was radically faulty, and year by year it was becoming more inadequate to the wants of the huge and rapidly growing population. Large festering masses of heathenish ignorance and vice would, he foresaw, be the inevitable result.

It will be necessary to lay before the reader some comparative statistics of the population of Leeds at that time, and of the provision made for the religious needs of the inhabitants. Only when the conditions of the disease are understood, can the

merits of the remedy which the Vicar devised to cure it be properly appreciated.

The population, then, of Leeds in 1841 was 152,054, showing an increase of nearly 30,000 over the return of the census in 1831.¹ This vast multitude was contained within the limits of one parish. The acreage of this parish was 21,766; its extent from east to west, and north to south, about seven miles; its circumference thirty-two. The number of dwelling-houses contained within it was 32,859.

The parish was divided into eleven townships, each maintaining its own poor.

The subjoined table will exhibit the comparative amount of population and of church accommodation in these townships.

Townships	Churches	Accommodation	Population
Leeds	{ St. Peter's	2,450	88,741
	{ St. John's	700	
	{ Holy Trinity	700	
	{ St. Paul's	1,175	
	{ St. James's	750	
	{ St. Mary's	1,500	
	{ Christ Church	1,600	
	{ St. Mark's	1,500	
	{ St. George's	1,500	
	{ St. Luke's	450	
Armley	—	1,036	5,159
Beeston	—	300	2,128
Bramley	{ Bramley Chapel	540	8,875
	{ Stanningley Church	550	
Chapel Allerton	—	858	2,580
Farnley	—	300	1,591
Headingley with Burley	{ Headingley Chapel	565	4,768
	{ Kirkstall Church	1,000	
Holbeck	—	1,200	13,346
Hunslet	—	1,100	15,784
Potternewton	(none)	—	1,241
Wortley	—	550	7,090

This table is enough to reveal a fearful amount of spiritual destitution, yet even in this case, as in so many others, things

¹ See above, p. 221.

looked better on paper than they really were. The construction of many of the churches, the system on which they were internally arranged, and the conditions under which they were served, reduced their usefulness to the lowest conceivable minimum.

St. John's, Holy Trinity, St. Paul's, St. James's, St. Mary's, Christ Church, Armley, Beeston, Chapel Allerton, Farnley, Holbeck, Hunslet, Bramley, Headingley with Burley, and Wortley, were all perpetual curacies *without cure of souls*. The expression is, indeed, an absurdity ; but these perpetual curacies without cures must not be confounded with the 'perpetual curacies' of ancient times, to which the cure of souls was attached as much as to rectories and vicarages. They were the abnormal creations of modern Acts of Parliament ; especially of one devised for the extension of Queen Anne's Bounty to clergy who had been incapable of receiving grants from that fund. The Statute 1 George I. states that it was intended that the Queen's bounty should extend not only to parsons and vicars, but also to stipendiary preachers or curates ; but inasmuch as most of them were not corporations they were incapable of taking a grant, and in the case of a chapelry the incumbent of the mother church might refuse to employ a curate, officiate in the chapel himself, and take the augmentation for his own benefit. The Act, therefore, declares that chapelries and curacies augmented from the bounty fund shall be perpetual cures and benefices, and then follows this singular clause : 'Provided always that no rector or vicar of the mother church, or any other ecclesiastical person or persons *having cure of souls* within the parish where such augmented church or chapel shall be situate, or his or their successors, shall hereby be divested or discharged from the same, *but the cure of souls with all other parochial rights and duties* (such augmentation and allowances to the augmented church or chapel as aforesaid only excepted) *shall hereafter be and remain in the same state plight and manner* as before the making of this Act, and as if this Act had not been made.' This Act seems to have regarded the cure of souls simply in the light of a piece of privilege and power, of which

it would be unfair to deprive the incumbent of the mother church. It provided for the improvement of the temporal condition of some of the clergy, but left the spiritual condition of the people wholly out of the question. The duties of the perpetual curates, falsely so called, created under this Act, were commonly limited to the celebration of Divine Service on Sundays, and other holydays, in the churches in which they were appointed to minister. Besides these anomalous beings, there were in Leeds, as in most other large towns, readers or lecturers with small endowments attached to some of the churches, whose duty consisted in reading prayers every morning, or giving a lecture in church every Sunday afternoon. Of course, as a matter of fact, many of the clergy did undertake pastoral work in districts assigned to them by the Vicar, but this was merely a private arrangement between him and them ; they were not legally responsible for it, nor could he dismiss them if they neglected it.

The results of an enquiry into the parochial statistics may be summed up as follows :

Of twenty-one churches in the parish of Leeds eighteen were curacies without cure of souls.

Three were private property, from which the poor were deliberately excluded.

In the township of Leeds alone, of which the population was 88,741, the total number of sittings in ten churches was a little over 13,000, and of these only 5,500 were free.

Eight churches in the town and five in the suburbs were unprovided with residences for the clergyman.

Finally, as nearly all marriages, baptisms, and funerals were performed at the mother church, the time and strength of the clerical staff, which now consisted of three curates and a clerk in orders, were seriously wasted by discharging those offices, as will be readily understood from a glance at the subjoined list :

	1842.	1843.
Marriages in the Parish Church	1004	1163
Baptisms	1812	1810
Burials	1339	1320

Some plan for breaking up this huge unwieldy parish, for securing more ample provision for the spiritual wants of the poor, for making the clergy responsible for the cure of souls, and for enabling them to reside on the scene of their labours, had been working for a considerable time in the mind of the Vicar, and by the close of the year 1843 it had begun to assume a definite shape.

One thing (he says, in a letter to a friend,) I have determined on. I shall divide this living, and sink from Vicar of Leeds to Incumbent of St. Peter's. I propose to constitute all the existing churches parish churches; and I will give up 400*l.* out of my 1,200*l.* on condition that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners will purchase the pews of all the churches and make them free. My wife says we can do this if we go to a smaller house, so this Vicarage must be sold. I shall then retire from all my rights as Vicar, and give all the patronage belonging to that personage to the Bishop after my decease. I shall reserve the patronage for my life; the only thing, I dare say, for which I shall be attacked; but in these days we must have some place for persecuted High Churchmen to flee into. Except that, I shall give up all, and shall do so with joy, save when I think of the beautiful house we have builded to the glory of God, for the use not of the little poor district of St. Peter's only, but of all Leeds. Our services there we will keep up, come what may.

By the middle of January 1844 his scheme was matured, and unfolded in a long letter addressed to the Parishioners of Leeds.

After sketching historically the origin and growth of the parish, and pointing out how extremely desirable such a measure as he proposed was, he indicated the principal provisions of it as follows:

1. The measure will be carried into effect by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, with the sanction of the Bishop, under the powers of an Act of Parliament to be obtained for the purpose.
2. A convenient district to be annexed to each of the existing churches, which shall become a parish for all spiritual and ecclesiastical purposes.
3. Each church to be a vicarage, and the incumbent to be vicar

of, and have the sole cure of souls within, the parish annexed to the church.

4. Such parts of the parish as shall not be annexed to any existing church to be formed into convenient districts for pastoral superintendence, such districts to be similar to those formed under the Act of last session.

5. On the erection and consecration of a church within such districts the same to become vicarages and parishes as in the case of existing churches.

6. The floor of every church to be wholly free and unappropriated.

7. A suitable house of residence for the clergyman to be provided in every parish.

8. No church to become a parish church until the floor shall have been declared free, and a residence for the clergyman shall have been provided.

9. The patronage of the fourteen churches vested in the Vicar to be placed at the disposal of the Bishop and the Commissioners.

There are, of course, numerous minor points and details connected with the plan, but the general principles as above stated, with the following explanations of its results, if carried into effect, will suffice to bring the subject fairly before you.

1. I shall recede from all rights which, as vicar of this parish, I now possess, and, resigning the exclusive cure of souls to the vicars of the new parishes which shall be formed, my duties and labours will be thenceforth confined to the parish annexed to St. Peter's Church.

2. The incumbents of all churches in the parish will be placed on an equality, vested with parochial rights and with the full powers of pastors over their several parishioners, and in immediate subordination to the Bishop.

3. All the fees, vicarial tithes, moduses, and other similar payments arising in each parish, will be paid to the vicar thereof. And all double fees will henceforth be extinguished.

4. The entire floor of each church will be open to the inhabitants of that parish.

I am most anxious thus to secure for my poorer brethren the privileges of a free and unrestricted participation in the sacraments and ordinances of our holy Church: in making each church a parish church I have in view the conferring upon them a *right* to

a seat or kneeling therein. The galleries will still be reserved for private pews, but I trust that the occupants of pews on the floors of the several churches will be ready to sell them at a fair price, or, where they can afford it, to give them as their contribution towards this important measure. In almost all the churches which have hitherto been built the convenience of the wealthy and middle classes has been too exclusively considered, and we shall not be able fully to restore the parochial system until each poor man feels that he has as much right to take his place in the new parish churches as he has now in St. Peter's. I am aware of the very great difficulties which will attend this arrangement, but they are difficulties which are not insurmountable.

5. With regard to the publication of banns, and the solemnisation of marriages, and other offices, each church will be placed on the same footing, in every respect, as ancient parish churches—an arrangement which will tend to the prevention of clandestine marriages, and be a convenience in various ways.

6. The immediate formation of twenty-one parishes and vicarages, and of about ten or twelve districts to each of which a minister will be forthwith provided with an endowment under the Act before alluded to, and thus ultimately there will be thirty parishes in Leeds instead of one.

7. The advantages of a *resident* parochial clergyman in each parish and district will thus be secured, and the church system be fully restored.

This, in my opinion, is a point of the very greatest importance as regards the township of Leeds—it has already been effected in the out-townships—for it is only when the minister resides in the midst of his people that the poor are brought to regard him as their protector and friend, to whom they may, as a matter of course, resort for advice in difficulty, and assistance in distress: it is only then that the Gospel can be effectually taught in the cottage as well as preached from the pulpit; it is only then that the eloquence of a good example can have its full influence. It is, moreover, very essential that every clergyman should reside near his school; for as much good is done by frequent casual visits as by formal examinations. And I hope soon to see schools established in every parish by the liberality of the National Society. We must never rest until we have *provided for every poor man a pastor, and for every poor child a school*. And if my wishes shall not be immediately realised to their full extent, yet even an approximation to

this end will amply repay me the labour I have taken, and the sacrifices I am prepared to make.

This letter, as may be supposed, was greedily read, and created no small sensation among all classes in Leeds. None could refrain from admiring the spirit in which the proposed measure was conceived, though some doubted whether it would be practicable, and others did not desire to see it carried into effect. Dissenters on the one hand were somewhat alarmed at the prospect of about twenty chapels of ease being converted into parish churches, and non-resident curates without cures into resident vicars. Some of the Church people on the other hand, including a few of the trustees of the Vicarage, were unwilling to see the mother church deprived of her ancient predominance, and the Vicar shorn of a large portion of his income and patronage.

By Churchmen at large, however, throughout the country, the Vicar's project was greeted with the warmest approbation. The bishops especially expressed the highest admiration of it. Lord Eldon, in moving the Address to the Queen at the opening of Parliament in February 1844, strongly commended the scheme, and subscribed 50*l.* towards the expenses of the Bill.

The Ecclesiastical Commissioners also cordially approved of the measure as a whole, although the Vicar was much harassed by the objections and difficulties which were raised by them upon a variety of points. Like everyone else who has had to deal with that remarkable corporation, he was involved in much vexatious correspondence with them, and at one time threatened to abandon the whole scheme if they would not assent to a condition which was indeed one of the most vital points of the measure—that no church should be constituted a parish church unless the floor was declared absolutely free.

So convinced am I (he writes to the Secretary of the Commission) that unless the Church of England can be made in the manufacturing districts the church of the poor, which she certainly is not now, her days are numbered, and that her very existence would be scarcely desirable, that I am willing to make any sacrifice to ac-

comply with my object, even to the resignation of my living, but I certainly am not prepared to make any sacrifice whatever, if the great principle to which I have alluded be not conceded.

In Mr. Gladstone he found a warm and sympathetic friend during the trying six months occupied by the preparation and discussion of his Bill. To him he wrote in the end of January :

My measure has been honestly designed for the general good, and I am met with censure on the one hand for having thrown away a party advantage, and on the other hand I am opposed by party feelings. If there are times when we contemplate with fear the 'coming hour,' there are others when we rejoice to think that our hearts will be open and our motives appreciated by those who hate but ought to love us here, and who are loved by us because, though their hatred is grievous to bear, still they hate us because they love God, whose enemies they suppose us to be. How delightful will be our reconciliation in the kingdom of glory !

Pardon this outbreak of my feelings, and believe me to be, with sincere respect and esteem, &c.

It only remains to be said that the Bill for dividing the parish according to the principles laid down by the Vicar in his letter to his parishioners passed both the Houses in the summer of 1844 and received the royal assent on August 9. That the measure has been of incalculable benefit to the town of Leeds is notorious to all ; and that it was conceived and executed in a spirit of noble self-sacrificing zeal for the glory of God and the spiritual welfare of the people no one can deny. His family had lately increased to six, his private means were scanty, heavy demands upon his liberality had been made ever since he became Vicar, there was a debt still remaining on the building fund of the parish church, and though it was not possible to estimate precisely the extent to which the income of the living would be reduced by the division Act it was generally expected to amount to about 500*l.* a year. The loss was never actually so great, and ultimately, through the sale of some property, the value of the living has been raised to more than what it was before the Act ; but the credit due to the Vicar for his brave

and disinterested determination remains unaffected by these unforeseen events.

The cost, moreover, of procuring the Act was very heavy ; none the less heavy though the object of the promoter was to diminish his own income, patronage, and power ; and, but for the generous help of his wealthy friends in Leeds and elsewhere, he would have been financially almost ruined by the legal expenses of the process, which amounted to 1,400*l.*

The antipathy of Dissenters to the measure had very much cooled down when they discovered that it would not involve any increase in church-rates. Under this apprehension they had endeavoured to excite a popular agitation against the Bill, when first it was proposed, and had placarded the town with handbills headed 'Dissent in Danger.'

Their efforts, however, to enlist the working people on their side had utterly failed, for in the spring of 1844 the Vicar was at the height of his popularity, owing to the warmth with which he advocated the Factory Ten Hours Bill which was then before Parliament. This Bill, promoted by Lord Ashley, proposed to limit the working hours of women and children in factories to ten. It obtained a majority twice, in spite of the opposition of Sir Robert Peel's Government, but was not passed until it had been modified to meet the views of Ministers.

The Vicar of Leeds most earnestly supported the measure, as it was originally proposed, whole and unqualified, and it was a fine instance of his courageous honesty that at a time when the moral and pecuniary support of the rich manufacturers of Leeds was particularly valuable to him—and to some of them he was under deep obligations — he did not shrink from taking a line to which most of them were vehemently opposed. It was also a departure from that political connexion to which he had hitherto steadfastly adhered. But all paltry considerations of personal advantage or party favour were cast aside by him whenever he thought that the temporal happiness and moral welfare of the people were at stake. He therefore attended a large meeting held at Leeds in favour of the Bill on March 16, and another a short time afterwards. He declared that he

supported the Bill on medical, moral, and educational grounds. 'It is impossible,' he said, 'to train children in the way they should go unless we have more time to train them.' It was unnatural that young children should be the bread-winners of the family. It was undesirable that women should be so employed as to interfere with their proper business, which was to take care of their children, and to make the home happy and comfortable for the man on his return from work. His concluding remarks were received with the most vociferous cheering.

If I thought you working men were in error on this subject I should still sympathise with you, though I should not be here to-night, but believing and knowing you to be in the right, I should be unworthy of the post which I occupy in this parish were I to permit any reluctance on my part to oppose Her Majesty's Government, to prevent my being present. Yes, I will go further, and say that I come here to tell you that I am ready in this righteous cause to press forward with you to the last gasp; and that if a collision should occur between your interests and the interests of a higher social class, you may depend upon finding me on your side. And I trust that our friends in London, when the question is put to them, whether they will support the cause of the poor or the cause of party, will fling party to the dogs, and support humanity. There is much to be said, no doubt, on the manufacturers' side, but throw humanity into the scale and their arguments are outweighed. To the present system we are opposed, and in our opposition to this system I trust we shall persevere diligently, ardently, patiently—affording to all that fair play which every Englishman loves, and acting with Christian feeling until we have brought the matter to a successful issue.

Many of the leading manufacturers and merchants of Leeds were very angry with him for this bold language upon a question in which they were so nearly interested, and on which his views were repugnant to their own. Yet many years later some of them frankly acknowledged that the measure which they had so vehemently opposed, and others subsequently passed for the same purpose, had benefited them as much as the operatives themselves, and perhaps even more.

Nor was he deterred by any fear of giving offence from reminding his more opulent parishioners of the duty of devoting some of their wealth to clear off the debt upon the parish church. At a meeting held to raise money for this object, he addressed them in words of plain-spoken admonition and bold reproof, such as would not be patiently borne from every pastor. After dwelling upon the size and grandeur of the church, he proceeded :

Such is our parish church, and what has been the cost of it? less than 30,000*l.* And when we consider that the parish church was erected to be the House of the great and good God, the Palace of the King of kings, I consider this to be a small sum. 30,000*l.* ! Why, if every wealthy Churchman would only give to the House of his God one-tenth of what he has expended on his own private dwelling, the money would be raised immediately. We should then have no occasion to apply to that class of persons in moderate circumstances, who have given much more in proportion than the wealthy. Many a person has felt the loss of the 5*l.* he has cheerfully given to the Church, but I suspect that the real inconvenience experienced by those who have contributed larger sums has not been very great. Look at the wealth of Leeds, look at the wealth of professing Churchmen in Leeds, at the wealth of those who monopolise the pews in our churches, of those who think it necessary to take a lead in religious affairs. Look at their wealth and then look at their subscriptions, and I say, in spite of their boastings, they have done and are doing next to nothing for the glory of God. And in the great day of account, from the little that has been done, will have to be deducted all that has been contributed from mere political feeling, perhaps from less worthy motives. Some have complained of the necessity of making another appeal. I, on the contrary, always rejoice in every opportunity of calling upon the rich to spend their wealth so as to promote the glory of God ; to assist them in fact in doing their duty. Common charity indeed, a love for the souls of men, must induce us to do this, for if the Scripture be the Word of truth it is very difficult for the rich to be saved. The poor are under the discipline of God, the rich must discipline themselves lest they become self-indulgent, and self-indulgence is destruction. I make no apology for the severity of these remarks. I address you as your pastor,

out of regard for the souls of my brethren. I have long pitied the wealthy, because even in the Church they are often surrounded by flatterers, not intentionally such, who are too ready to say Peace, peace, when there is no peace. Too long has it been tolerated in our manufacturing towns that, by erecting churches for the rich, the pious poor have been compelled to turn Methodists. They have found there that brotherly affection and sympathy which they could not find in the gay assemblies, where 'the man with the gold ring and the goodly apparel' was invited to sit in a good place, while 'the poor man in vile raiment' was bidden to 'stand there, or sit here under his footstool.' The persons most to be pitied, I say, are the rich. We want 5,000/. Many a rich man is here who might sit down and write a cheque for the whole sum without feeling the poorer, who would in fact not make so great a sacrifice as will be made by the hard-working man, who will readily give us his five shillings when we call for it by weekly instalments.

Part of his summer holiday this year was spent at Monteviot near Jedburgh, where he preached one of the sermons¹ at the consecration of a church built by Lady Lothian. He was for many years the confidential friend and spiritual adviser of Lady Lothian, and the voluminous correspondence which passed between them fills the reader with amazement. The more one wonders how he could find time to read and to write such long letters, in addition to the preparation of sermons and pamphlets, the compilation of his 'Church Dictionary,' and the 'Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Biography,' on which he was now engaged, besides his practical parochial work, the more insoluble does the problem seem to be. He resumed in 1843, and henceforth permanently kept up, the habit of early rising which he had dropped during the period of his ill-health at Coventry. He now commonly got up at five o'clock, sometimes at four, or even earlier, and thus secured three or four hours for literary work and correspondence free from interruption before breakfast, after which he was ready to meet all parochial demands up to ten o'clock at night, and he seldom spent an evening at home. But still, notwithstanding these matutinal labours, the

¹ Entitled 'The Church in Scotland Aggressive.' The other preachers were Mr. Robert Wilberforce, Mr. Dodsworth, Mr. Keble, and Mr. Teale.

mass of reading and writing which he contrived to get through, week by week, is an astonishing example of industry in study and celerity in composition.

The autumn of 1844 was saddened by the death of his mother, who died at Leamington in September. He was accustomed to say that to her piety, ability, good sense, and self-denying efforts on his behalf as a boy, he owed by far the most valuable part of his education. She was indeed amply repaid by the warmth of his filial affection, and by living to see him become the most eminent parish priest of his day. His grief at her loss was passionate and profound, but it was turned to the benefit of himself and others. During a few weeks spent in seclusion with his wife after the death, they compiled together some meditations on the Cross of Christ, which were afterwards published, and have been a blessing to many mourners by helping them to seek consolation where alone it is to be found, from the 'Father of mercies and the God of all comfort' at the foot of the Redeemer's Cross.

And indeed he was himself about to enter, though he knew it not, a season of severe and protracted affliction, which tasked to the uttermost his Christian fortitude and faith. By the close of the year 1844 he seemed almost at the zenith of his power. He was at peace in his parish. The voice of obloquy was seldom heard, or it was too insignificant to be heeded. The rancorous opposition of Evangelicals and Dissenters had in a great measure died away. The services in the parish church, to which the people thronged by thousands, were a source of constant delight to him. He was aided by a staff of zealous and able curates; and the division of the parish opened the prospect of bringing the influence of the Church to bear at last upon the whole town. Above all he had succeeded in convincing the great majority of his people that the principles which he taught were utterly free from any tendency in the direction of Rome; nay, more, that when properly understood they constituted one of the most invulnerable ramparts against aggression on the part of Rome. Yet it was just at this moment of sunshine that storms were gathering in the distant horizon, by which

for six long years he was destined to be vexed until the 'iron entered into his soul.'

These troubles were nearly connected with those by which the Church of England was at this period distressed. They partly grew out of them, partly were aggravated by them ; and form a kind of episode in their history. To the condition of the Church, then, the attention of the reader must be for a brief space directed.

It will be remembered that Mr. Newman's Tract 90 had been offered as a remedy for the doubts and difficulties of those who, to borrow his own words, were 'straggling Rome-wards.' But the application of the remedy had been forbidden in high quarters. Twelve of the Bishops had censured it in their charges with considerable severity, except the Bishop of St. David's. It was pronounced to be overstrained, sophistical, jesuitical, and many more hard epithets of a like nature were heaped upon it. Meanwhile the tract was withdrawn, the author drew more and more into retirement, and in September 1843 he resigned his living. Secessions to Rome became numerous, and the author of the tract disclaimed any responsibility for them ; not without some show of justice. His remedy, he argued, had been rejected, and if, therefore, the patient died of the disease which it was intended to avert, the fault was not in the physician.

The secessions to Rome excited the passions and hopes of the ultra-Protestants. They pointed to these events as the natural consequences, long foreseen by them, of the Tractarian movement, and they predicted the downfall of the mischievous Puseyite party. Once more the soundest teaching and the most innocent practices were confounded with Romanism. The Bishops indeed, and notably the Bishop of London, in his famous charge delivered in 1842,¹ were, many of them, counselling a strict adherence to the doctrine taught and the ritual prescribed by the Prayer Book, but in a vast number of cases attempts to obey the Prayer Book by the institution of daily services, weekly celebrations of Holy Communion, weekly

¹ See *Life of Bishop Blomfield*, by Rev. A. Blomfield, chap. xiii.

offertories and preaching in the surplice, encountered fierce opposition from the people. On the other hand, moderate High Churchmen, thus opposed in their efforts to act on principles of the simplest and most honest obedience, were mortified to see the rubrics and canons of the Church violated with impunity every day, doctrines of a Calvinistic, or Socinian, or Latitudinarian type constantly preached without rebuke, and men of heretical views frequently pushed forward into high positions in the Church.

In this uncomfortable state of the ecclesiastical world, there appeared in the year 1844 the celebrated book entitled the 'Ideal of a Christian Church,' by Mr. Ward, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. This work avowed such undisguised sympathy with Rome that no sound Churchman could view it with approbation. Mr. Newman, in Tract 90, had recommended that the Articles of our Church should be interpreted in the most Catholic sense they could bear, provided no violence was done to their strict grammatical construction. Mr. Ward, on the other hand, distinctly suggested that they should be interpreted in a *non-natural* sense, so as to bring them into harmony with the decrees of the Council of Trent. To sum up the difference in one sentence, Mr. Newman would have drawn out a Catholic sense *from* the Articles, Mr. Ward would have imported a *Roman Catholic* sense *into* them.

The Vicar of Leeds expressed from the first the strongest dislike and disapproval of this book. Notwithstanding this, however, he found himself unable to join in the condemnation and degradation of Mr. Ward as submitted to the votes of the University on February 13, 1845. The machinery of academical censure began to be set in motion by the Hebdomadal Board on December 12, 1844. It was then resolved that certain selected passages from the obnoxious book should be submitted to the Convocation of Oxford on February 13, together with two propositions: (1) that such passages were utterly inconsistent with the Thirty-nine Articles, with the declaration of assent made and subscribed by Mr. Ward to those Articles when he took his B.A. and M.A. degrees, and with *his*

good faith in making and subscribing the same ; (2) (if the former proposition was affirmed) that the said Mr. Ward had forfeited the rights and privileges conveyed by the said degrees, and was thereby degraded from the same.

But the Hebdomadal Board were not content to stop here. They conceived the idea of inventing a rigid test of orthodoxy, a kind of trap to catch all erratic theological geniuses in all future time. They proposed to submit to the same convocation a new statute empowering the Vice-Chancellor to call upon any member of the University, suspected of heresy, to declare that he would sign the Thirty-nine Articles, all and singular, in that sense in which he verily believed they were originally issued, and were now proposed to him by the University, 'as a certain and indisputable sign of his opinions !'

Such an outcry, however, was raised against this tyrannical device, that the board, in the following month (January), withdrew their resolution. But their pertinacious zeal for orthodoxy, according to their conception of it, was not yet exhausted. Suddenly, only eight days before the day appointed for convocation, members learned to their astonishment that the old resolution condemning Tract 90 as 'evading rather than explaining the sense of the Articles' was to be brought forward again.

Mr. Gladstone, writing before any authoritative statement of this intention had been made, says :

I can hardly believe it possible, as it does not appear to me to be compatible with common decency, that six or seven days only should be allowed to the members of Convocation for the consideration of the question indicated but not defined by the requisition—namely the principle of interpreting the Articles. . . .

I shall look with earnest expectation for the intimation which I suppose to-morrow will bring of the intention of the heads of houses ; and readily indeed should I devote my time and mind to the matters which they may involve. The crisis is a serious one ; the whole basis of the Church of England may be seriously affected by a vote on this subject. God grant to those who may be called to concur in it the spirit of a sound mind, and some recollection of Christian love ; some sense of common human justice, and of the

immense debt which we owe to Mr. Newman as a teacher, and an example of Christianity.

February 13 came ; the theatre was thronged with more than 1,200 members of convocation from all parts of the kingdom, noble Lords, statesmen and barristers from London, squires and parsons from the country, Deans, Archdeacons, Doctors and Professors. The passages were read. Mr. Ward, from one of the rostra, made a long speech in explanation and defence. The first proposition condemning the passages, and the good faith of Mr. Ward, was carried by a large majority—777 to 386. The second proposition for the degradation of Mr. Ward was then put. This too was carried, but by a much smaller majority—569 to 511. The third proposition for the condemnation of Tract 90 was then submitted to the assembly. Thereupon the proctors rose, and, exercising their ancient right of veto, said, ‘Nobis procuratoribus non placet.’¹ There was a storm of cheering, counter-cheering, and hissing for several minutes, and so the proceedings of that memorable day came to an end.

The Vicar of Leeds had voted against both the propositions in common with Mr. Gladstone (whose cry of *non placet* was noticed as particularly energetic), Archdeacon Manning, Archdeacon Robert Wilberforce, Mr. Keble, Dr. Moberly, Dr. Gresley, and Dr. Pusey. He was also one of the 300 who signed an address to the proctors, thanking them for putting their veto upon the proposition to condemn Tract 90. The grounds upon which he and others based their dissent from the two propositions were, first the imputation of positive dishonesty on the part of Mr. Ward contained in the terms of the first proposition, and secondly a doubt whether in any case Convocation had the legal right to depose him from his academical degrees. This was a question which had been submitted to two eminent authorities, Sir John Dodson and

¹ The two Proctors on this occasion were the Rev. H. P. Guillemard, Fellow of Trinity, and the Rev. R. W. Church, Fellow of Oriel, now Dean of St. Paul's.

Mr. Richard Bethell, who had given their opinion in the negative.

At the same time the Vicar of Leeds with many others signed a declaration of concurrence in an amendment which had been proposed in Convocation by Dr. Grant of New College, but which the Vice-Chancellor had refused to put to the vote. The amendment was to the effect 'that the passages now read from the book entitled "The Ideal of a Christian Church considered" are worthy of grave censure, but that Convocation declines to express any opinion upon the good faith of the author, or to exercise the functions of an ecclesiastical tribunal by pronouncing judgment upon the nature or degree of his offence.'

The Church had not recovered from the state of ferment into which she had been plunged by these events, when, in the second week of October 1845, the calamity, now long dreaded, fell upon her, and Mr. Newman was received into the Church of Rome.

It was at this critical juncture, when the hearts of Churchmen were failing them for fear, and when the Puritan party were watching their movements with the keenest vigilance and suspicion, that the Tractarian or, as it was now more commonly called, the Puseyite party began, in an evil hour for the Vicar of Leeds, to attempt an application of their principles to practical pastoral work in that town. On the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, just one fortnight after the secession of Mr. Newman, the Church of St. Saviour's was consecrated. The founder of the church was and continues to be unknown; but he was represented as being a penitent who desired to build a church in gratitude to God for having, as he believed, forgiven him his sins. All correspondence upon the subject, and the necessary business connected with it, was transacted through Dr. Pusey. The site selected for the church was a densely populated poor district, called the Bank, covering about forty acres of high ground eastward of the parish church, overhanging the river Aire. The founder had desired the church to bear the name of Holy Cross, and on Holy Cross.

Day 1842 the foundation stone had been laid by Dr. Hook. It bore the following beautiful and affecting inscription :

THIS FIRST STONE
OF HOLY CROSS CHURCH,
IN THE PARISH OF LEEDS, AND COUNTY OF YORK,
WAS LAID
UNDER THE ALTAR,
IN THE NAME OF *PENITENT*,
TO THE PRAISE OF HIS REDEEMER,
ON HOLY CROSS DAY,
A.D. 1842.

God forbid that I should glory, save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.

O Saviour of the world, who by thy Cross and precious blood hast redeemed us, save us and help us, we humbly beseech Thee, O Lord.

By thine agony and bloody sweat,
By thy cross and passion,
In the hour of death,
In the day of judgment, good Lord, deliver us.

Lord remember me, when thou comest in thy kingdom.

The Vicar had gladly welcomed the design, for a church was greatly needed in that part of the town, and he thought too it would be a favourable opportunity for proving to the world that Tractarians could act as well as write and talk. Little did he think when he accompanied the clergy and choir of the parish church as, singing the 132nd Psalm, they slowly ascended the steep hillside, to lay the stone of the new church, that that day was to be the beginning and the ending of his happiness in connexion with it.

The events which occurred in the three years that elapsed between the foundation and the completion of the church had deeply shaken his confidence in the steadfastness of advanced

Tractarians, although, as we have seen, he still manfully and generously upheld them against harsh or unfair treatment. The Bishop of Ripon had probably never been so favourably disposed towards that school, and he viewed the experiment about to be made in the largest town in his diocese with anxiety and alarm. As the time for consecration approached, he started difficulties and objections ; first as to the dedication under the name of Holy Cross—so it was altered to St. Saviour's—then to the patronage, which was to have been vested in the college of clergy who were to live hard by the church under a kind of monastic rule ; so the patronage was transferred to trustees instead. Lastly, he objected to the legend over the west door : 'Ye who enter this holy place, pray for the sinner who built it.' The Bishop thought it improper that this legend should be retained in the event of the founder's death, and as the founder was unknown, he might actually be already dead. On being informed, however, that one express condition on which the church was built was that this inscription should be placed there, he gave way, and the legend remains to the present day.

The Vicar consented to attend the consecration, but shortly before it he signed, with more than two-thirds of the clergy, a declaration against the Romanising tendency observable in a section of the Church. He was annoyed that the preachers appointed to deliver a series of sermons during the octave of the consecration were all well-known intimate friends of Mr. Newman.¹ 'The Bishop,' he wrote to Mr. Wood, 'will probably attack us in his sermon, and the Evangelicals are getting up a remonstrance to him against Pusey being permitted to come here. In short, we are in a storm, and I am in the sinking vessel. I consider it unkind in the Puseyites to force themselves upon me ; they have upset the coach elsewhere, and now they come to upset the coach here.' Such a complaint was not really reasonable, for nothing could be more natural than that the personal friends of Dr. Pusey, who were

¹ Mr. Keble, Mr. Upton Richards, Mr. C. Marriott, Mr. Isaac Williams, Mr. Dodsworth, and Dr. Pusey himself.

most of them friends of Mr. Newman also, should take part in the inaugural services of a church with which Dr. Pusey was intimately concerned ; and the course of sermons and preachers had probably been settled before the defection of Mr. Newman took place. Neither indiscretion, therefore, nor want of consideration, were justly chargeable upon anyone in this respect. All that can fairly be said is, that the coincidence of Mr. Newman's secession with the coming of his friends to preach at Leeds was an unfortunate circumstance. And the effect which it produced upon the Vicar is just a specimen of the singular way in which, throughout his connexion with St. Saviour's, misunderstandings and unfortunate coincidences seemed to conspire with real causes of provocation to involve him in hopeless antagonism with that ill-fated church, and to frustrate the good work which it might have accomplished.

It is not my intention to enter at length into this most painful episode of his life. That there was blame to be attached to the actors on both sides no one can doubt, but the apportionment of blame must be left to Him by whom alone actions are weighed in unerring balances. The Vicar was at times hasty in his judgments, inaccurate in his statements, and over-vehement in his language. On the other hand, there were great and real causes of irritation. In spite of his earnest remonstrances and of the Bishop's, the clergy of St. Saviour's persisted in doctrines and practices which he reprobated. One after another in rapid succession, they fell away to Rome, and then his Evangelical and Puritan opponents who had been silenced, once more lifted up their voices, and cried aloud, 'We told you that this is what, sooner or later, would come of your teaching.'

The first Vicar of St. Saviour's was the Rev. R. Ward,¹ who had formerly been a curate at the parish church, and who was originally recommended for the office by Dr. Hook. This fact became an additional source of vexation to him, and a handle to his adversaries when things began to go badly. Mr.

¹ No relation of Mr. Ward, the author of the *Ideal of a Christian Church*.

Ward was a warm-hearted and generous-minded man ; zealous, energetic, and able, but impetuous in a high degree ; and since his connexion with the parish church had ceased, his opinions had become more unsettled than the Vicar was aware of.

For the greater part of a year, however, after the consecration of St. Saviour's there was nothing to disturb amicable intercourse between the clergy of the two churches. The Reverend E. Jackson¹ became clerk in orders to the parish church in 1846. He was the intimate friend alike of the Vicar and of Mr. Ward, and in the troubles which subsequently arose he was the mediator between both. For a time he and Mr. Anson,² who had been a supernumerary curate at the parish church, lived in the same house with some other clergy and laymen attached to St. Saviour's, and took part in the work of that parish.

Up to the autumn of 1846 St. Saviour's was only a district church, and the clergy were responsible to the Vicar of Leeds ; but as soon as it was constituted a distinct parish under the Leeds Vicarage Act, the first mutterings of the storm began to be heard. Mr. Ward printed a tract on the Holy Eucharist, containing expressions to which the Bishop strongly objected. The Vicar was annoyed by hearing that selections from the Breviary were used at some of the services in the church. The St. Saviour's community was joined by the Reverend R. Macmullen from Oxford, and by a wealthy layman, Mr. Haigh, a Leeds merchant, who resolved to devote ten or twelve thousand pounds to building a church in the York road. On All Saints' Day, when the foundation-stone of this church was laid, Mr. Macmullen preached a sermon with parts of which the Bishop expressed much dissatisfaction.

It was indeed very possible to argue, and was powerfully argued, that such passages as those to which the Bishop objected in Mr. Ward's tract and Mr. Macmullen's sermon, were really reconcilable with the teaching of the Church of England. So, again it was represented to the Vicar that only

¹ Now Vicar of St. James's, in Leeds, and Honorary Canon of Ripon.

² Now Rector of Birch, and Archdeacon of Manchester.

such parts of the Breviary were used at St. Saviour's as were thoroughly consistent with primitive Catholic doctrine. But allowing the force of the arguments which were employed, this system of special pleading was distasteful alike to the Vicar and the Bishop. They maintained that such fine distinctions between right and wrong in teaching and practice might be intelligible amongst scholars and theologians, but were only too likely to mislead the coarser understandings of the less learned. It was better to call a spade a spade.

Anyhow, no arguments could reverse the melancholy fact that persons connected with St. Saviour's now began to secede to Rome. On New Year's day 1847 Dr. Hook wrote to Mr. Wood :—

Last night I received a visit from Ward to announce to me that Macmullen and four other of the St. Saviour's people go over to Rome this morning. This includes Haigh, who had undertaken to build the new church in York Road. I suppose that my usefulness here is over, and, indeed, in the Church of England. I am beginning to feel old, and I am quite ready to retire if I could obtain a country living. My treatment is hard. Out of my family, my joy, my happiness was in my parish. My desire was to exhibit a parish well worked on the Church of England system ; to show that the *via media* could be carried out. I had gained the confidence of my people ; my opponents were softened and coming round, I was beginning to feel that Leeds had become to me a perfect Paradise, and now it is a howling wilderness. I begin to think this misery is a chastisement for making my parish an idol and rejoicing too much in the peace and happiness which I fancied I had secured after ten years of toil and opposition. I have not wept so much for many years as during the last three months, but when I look out of myself to Him on whose help I rely, I take courage, and as I have fought for the Church of England against the Puritans, so will I now fight for her against the Romanisers.

Even allowing that his fears respecting the diminution of his own usefulness were exaggerated, it must be owned that his position was a distressing one. He had delivered in December 1846, at the Leeds Church Institution, a lecture entitled 'The Three Reformations ; Lutheran, Roman, Anglican.' This

lecture, which went through several editions, is in weight of learning and force of diction one of his ablest compositions. The lecture may easily be obtained, and it would be foreign to my present purpose to summarise its general contents. But throughout the whole of it he had an eye to warning Churchmen, and especially his own flock, against the Romanising school, particularly their disparagement of the English Reformation and their inclination to mediæval doctrine and practice. The Vicar of St. Saviour's, Mr. Ward, was present, and at the conclusion of the lecture, being in a state of violent excitement, complained that it was an attack upon the principles of the clergy of St. Saviour's. In a note appended to the lecture the author observes 'what the principles of the clergy of St. Saviour's can be, except those of our Reformed Branch of the Church Catholic, I am at a loss to conceive; for of that branch they are sworn members. If, however, as the complaint referred to would indicate, there is arising there a tendency to any other doctrine, the author thinks it right to warn his flock that he is not responsible for any opinions promulgated at St. Saviour's. It is an independent vicarage.'

While the lecture was passing through the press the secession of Mr. Macmullen and his friends occurred. The Vicar, therefore, added a postscript to the lecture, some brief extracts from which may be taken as a formal declaration of his relations with the church and clergy of St. Saviour's at this juncture.

About three months ago the district of St. Saviour's was constituted a parish and a vicarage, under the Leeds Vicarage Act. Until that time no attempt was made to pervert men to Rome, because the clergy officiating within the district were responsible to me, and I could have put a stop to their proceedings. But when St. Saviour's became a parish separated from the parish of Leeds, Mr. Macmullen and two other clergymen were sent from Oxford; and from that time there has been a systematic depreciation of the Church of England, and a defence of the Church of Rome; one of the clergy going so far as to say that to speak against the Church of Rome was a mortal sin, and lamenting that his lot had been cast in the Church of England.

When I had ascertained the character of the proceedings, I re-

monstrated with the patrons of the living, but I was warned that I had no more to do with the parish of St. Saviour's than I have with a parish in London, and when I ventured in reply to observe that I might justly complain when a hornet's nest was planted at my garden gate, the rejoinder was that what I took for a hornet's nest was a hive of sweet honey. What the honey is, events have shown.

To true-hearted members of the Church of England, the departure of Mr. Macmullen and his disciples is a satisfaction and relief; we may hope that all Romanisers will follow his example. I have no sympathy with the cant of those who urge us to retain such persons in the Church, by permitting them to revile at will the principles of the English Reformation. I am told that Mr. Macmullen would have laboured in the Church if he had been permitted to act thus: I rejoice to think that he is gone. When once they honestly declare themselves these men become powerless; no one cares for what they say, write, or do. When they come to us as friends they deceive the unwary.

. . . It is due to them (the patrons of St. Saviour's) to say that I do not believe that their intention was to send men over to Rome; but they would not listen to my remonstrances, or proceed to act when I solemnly called upon them in the name of God to withdraw the clergy they had sent to Leeds. Their answer to me was, that if I suspected them of Romanising, I was myself regarded by many as a Papist. It may be so. But in my declining years, while I have much to regret as regards the past, I have the satisfaction of being able to look back to a life of honest and earnest, if not successful, service to the Church of England, having always acted on the principles of the English Reformation, and I read with complacence the sentence I have placed as the motto on my title-page.

The motto here alluded to was the following sentence from one of the letters of Mr. Alexander Knox: 'You can easily conceive that when anyone stands on a middle point between two others who are with respect to him strictly equidistant, he must, from the inevitable laws of perspective, appear to both, not to be in the middle, but comparatively near the opposite party.'

In like manner, in a sermon preached in the parish church

a week after the secessions from St. Saviour's, he warned his people that by the malignant those events would be represented as the result of principles inculcated from the pulpit of the parish church. 'It is well therefore for you to be reminded of what you are well aware, that the principles here inculcated are, and, while life lasts to me, ever shall be, the same; the good old principles of the Church of England, equally removed from Puritanism or Popery. I confidently rely on the generous support of my whole flock.'

These forebodings of misrepresentation were verified. The Evangelical clergy and laity of Leeds and the neighbourhood lost no time in forwarding two addresses to the Bishop. They plumed themselves on their caution in having refused to attend the consecration of St. Saviour's, and on their foresight in having prophesied that apostasies to Rome would be the result of principles 'industriously and insidiously inculcated by the teachers of a school which, speciously professing to avoid the opposite extremes of Romanism and ultra-Protestantism, has artfully endeavoured to conceal from the young, unwary, and partially-informed members of our communion their longing for a closer approximation to the Roman Catholic Church in doctrine and practice.'

The speakers at a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, on January 20, thundered away against Tractarians and Puseyites; and that portion of the local press which represented the views of Nonconformists could not forbear indulging in a little sarcastic pleasantry, at the expense of the unhappy Vicar.

On the other hand, the overtures of the Evangelicals to the Bishop did not meet with such a favourable response as some of them, perhaps, had anticipated. The steady support and sympathy, indeed, of his Bishop was an immense consolation to the Vicar during this season of trial.

Whilst these events had been taking place, and the Vicar was worried by the vituperation of extreme Protestants on the one hand, and by the remonstrances of extreme Puseyites on the other, he had brought down upon himself a perfect storm of reproaches from a large number of Churchmen of all parties,

and Dissenters, by his letter to the Bishop of St. David's, entitled 'How to Render more Efficient the Education of the People.'

The intention of this celebrated pamphlet was in the first place to convince the minds of Churchmen and Dissenters that it was beyond the power of voluntary efforts to provide an education, adequate in quantity and quality to the needs of the population. 'I admit,' he said, 'with gratitude the good which has been accomplished through the instrumentality of the National Society. I concede with pleasure the credit which is due to Dissenting Societies, especially to the Methodists. . . . But, my lord, when I look upon all that has been done I ask what is the result? I must contend that, compared with the educational wants of the country, we have done next to nothing; we have lighted a lantern which only makes us more sensible of the surrounding darkness.' He drew a pathetic and humorous picture of the enormous difficulty with which the clergyman of a poor and populous district started a school, and the still greater difficulty of supporting it when it was established; he dwelt upon the miserable salary of the schoolmaster, the insufficiency of the monitorial system, the need of apprenticed pupils and trained assistants, and of a better supply of books and other school apparatus. He entered into statistics at considerable length to prove that the number of children, in proportion to the population of England and Wales, who ought to be at school was 2,000,000, that the total cost of their education would amount to about 2,500,000*l.*, that the probable income from school pence and voluntary subscriptions would not exceed 1,400,000*l.*, and that consequently a balance of more than 1,000,000*l.* remained to be made up from endowment, Parliamentary grants, or local taxation.

It was necessary then that the State should interfere, and some method of indirect compulsion ought to be adopted. But the objection which all religious people, whether Churchmen or Dissenters, had hitherto entertained to all proposals in favour of a State education hinged upon the religious difficulty. The State could not consistently undertake to

educate the whole people upon a religious basis which was not common to the whole. And if you sought for this common basis, where was it to be found? Not in the Church; not in any of the countless varieties of sects: not in the Bible, since all disagreed respecting the interpretation of the Bible. 'Upon investigating the subject,' he said, 'we find that a notion prevails among careless people that religion may be treated as either general or special; special religion is doctrinal; and general religion is some system of morals, which, being divested of all doctrine, looks so like no religion at all, that religious persons at once perceive that when people talk of an education based on such a religion, they deceive themselves as well as us.'

Such a system, he maintained, would ultimately unchristianise the country. 'To separate,' he said, 'the morality of the Gospel from the doctrines of the Gospel, everyone who knows what the Gospel is knows to be impossible. The doctrines of grace and of good works are so interwoven that they must stand or fall together. Doctrine and morality are like body and soul. The pretended mother may be willing to divide them; they who know what the Gospel is, will, like the true mother before the throne of Solomon, suffer any affliction before they will consent to it. Satan could devise no scheme for the extirpation of Christianity more crafty or more sure than this, which would substitute a system of morals for religion.'

How then was the problem to be solved? How should a religious education—a religious education which was a reality, not a counterfeit or a phantom—be secured for the *whole* people? He submitted a plan to the consideration of the public. Let schools be established, supported by the State, in which that secular instruction only should be given upon which all denominations would agree, but let every child be required to bring each week a certificate of having attended the Sunday School either of his parish church, or some legally licensed place of worship. Further, let class-rooms be attached to such schools, in which on the afternoons of Wednesdays and Fridays,

the parish clergy or their deputies, and the Dissenting ministers should give religious instruction separately to the children of their respective flocks. 'I do not ask,' he said, 'whether such an arrangement would be preferred to any other by either party, for each party would prefer having everything their own way; but I do ask whether there could be any violation of principle on either side? I ask whether, for the sake of a great national object, there might not be a sacrifice, not of principle, but of prejudice on either side?'

With regard to the financial support and the management of such schools, he proposed that county rates should be levied, to be fixed by the magistrates at the quarter sessions; that each county should be divided into school districts, and that for each district a Board of Management should be formed, to be open to all persons, without any distinction of religious denomination or political party. The right of appointing to this board was to be vested in the county magistrates, as persons interested in the general welfare of a county, sufficiently cognisant of the wants of particular localities, yet removed from parochial or municipal cabals. Such a mode of appointment he suggested as infinitely preferable to the representative system with all its concomitant agitation of canvassing and controversy, triumph and defeat.

Such is an outline of the scheme propounded in this pamphlet, which, with the exception of the sermon 'Hear the Church,' produced a greater sensation than anything the author ever wrote.

The advocates of the voluntary system, Churchmen and Dissenters, were of course exceedingly vexed with him for positively asserting the necessity of interference on the part of the State. They endeavoured to upset his figures, and to show that the proportion of children relative to the population who were receiving education, was much larger than he represented it to be. The supporters of the National Society were offended because he had insinuated that it could not, or did not, act strictly upon the principles of the Church, from fear of losing subscribers. Establishmentarians and many High

Churchmen were shocked at his assertion that the Church of England had no exclusive claim as an establishment to pecuniary support from the State ; that, being no longer co-extensive with the nation, it was simply one of the many corporations of the country, claiming from the State protection for its rights and property, but no more.

The clergy generally were offended at the contemptuous tone in which he spoke of the quality of religious education given in many of their schools. But the greatest outcry was raised against the proposal to sever education into two parts, secular and religious. It was contended that the religious element would lose all its efficacy if it was relegated to certain days, and shunted into class-rooms ; that, to be worth anything, it should animate and pervade the teaching of the whole school day by day, and be, so to speak, as the spirit to the body. With regard to this point, however, it seems to have been too commonly assumed that the secular instructor would as a matter of course, if not necessity, exercise no religious influence whatever. Yet it was never supposed by the projector of the scheme, that the School Boards would appoint irreligious, ungodly men to be masters ; and a religious-minded master cannot fail to exercise a religious influence, although his special work may be confined to secular instruction.

In a letter dated July 1846 the Vicar writes, ' I hear that I am praised by some papers and abused by others for my pamphlet on education. I am too old to care for praise or blame. But I know I am right, and when *it is too late* Churchmen will see that I am.' He was a true prophet. We now have the Board School without the religious teaching which his plan would have secured.

The scheme met with a very favourable reception from a considerable and influential section of the Liberal party, and was supported more or less by a large part of the public press and critical journals, including even the 'Quarterly Review.' But any hopes which the Liberals may have entertained of practically adopting the plan were defeated by the vigorous

and combined attack made upon it by High Churchmen, Dissenters, Establishmentarians, and the National Society.

Meanwhile, in the same year, 1846, in which the pamphlet appeared, the course of popular education was advanced by the substitution of the present system of pupil-teachers, working under trained and certified masters and mistresses, for the old inefficient system of monitors and unskilled teachers. The Parliamentary grant, which amounted this year to 100,000*l.*, was to be applied to the building of schools, the training and remuneration of teachers, and increased annual inspection in sums proportioned to the amount of local contributions, and bestowed without respect to religious distinctions. This equitable measure, however, was opposed by extreme High Churchmen and Dissenters with the most determined hostility, although from opposite motives; the former because they resented the interference of the State, the latter because they foresaw that the greater wealth of the Church would enable it to claim the lion's share of the Government fund.

The Vicar of Leeds, on the contrary, heartily supported the movement as a step in the right direction. In March 1847 he attended a large public meeting held in Leeds, under the presidency of the Mayor, for the purpose of expressing approval of the new Educational Minutes. There was a large gathering of Evangelicals, and some extreme Radicals. The Vicar arrived late, after one of his Lent services in the parish church. His entrance was greeted with immense cheering; the Chartist Churchwardens, who had been put into office three years before to oppose him, being conspicuous in their loud calls for three cheers more. The Vicar spoke with energy and warmth. The measure of the Government, he said, did not go so far as his plan, but because they would not go with him twenty miles, he saw no reason why he should refuse to go with them five. The only questions were, in the first place, whether they would accept the principle of State interference, and in the second place, would this measure assist all parties fairly; if so, they ought to support it.

I may sometimes have given you offence, but I hope you believe that I am your friend, desirous in every possible way to promote your interests. My heart is right, my heart is yours, and I call upon you to prevent the cause of education being retarded in its progress. I call upon you to assist the Government of this country to reward merit as well as to punish vice. I call upon you to assist them to do what will add to the comfort, the respectability, and the intelligence of the working people. I call upon you to assist in doing what will enable you to educate your children so that they may be able worthily to exercise any constitutional privilege with which they may be entrusted. In a word, I call upon you to assist the Government to empty goals by building schools.

At another large meeting held not long afterwards in the Cloth Hall yard he spoke to the same effect, and addressing the Dissenters present, who had vehemently denounced the measure, he said, 'If you are satisfied with the quantity and quality of education in this country, I have no more to say ; if you can do without State aid, so can I. The number of children in Church schools at the present time is about a million, and in Dissenting schools about 100,000.'

He had the pleasure of seeing a practical proof in Leeds about this time of approval of the Government measure. The administrators of the late Mr. Christopher Beckett's affairs assigned 1,000*l.* to be applied by Dr. Hook, Mr. Sinclair, and Mr. Fawcett to the purpose of enabling schools to obtain aid from the State. He could reflect also with no small gratification on the educational work which the Church had accomplished during the past ten years in Leeds, since he had become Vicar ; fourteen schools having been built in that period at a cost of about 20,000*l.*, affording accommodation for upwards of 7,000 children.

Nor was the progress of church-building less satisfactory. In laying the foundation-stone of St. Thomas's Church in the Leylands, the gift of Mr. Rhodes, the Vicar said that other churches were in course of erection, and when they were finished, he should be able to point to twelve churches built since he had become Vicar. If anything, he added, could make a man proud of his parish surely this would.

Little more remains to be said respecting his attitude towards public and political events at this period. It will be seen from a letter appended to this chapter that he approved, after full consideration, of the justice of the grant to Maynooth, and of the admission of the Jews to Parliament. At the same time the incongruity of a Parliament to which Jews, infidels, and heretics were admissible legislating for the Church appeared to him so glaring, and the consequent difficulty of maintaining Church principles in their integrity so serious, that the partiality of his more youthful days for a disestablished Church began to revive. He was quite prepared to sacrifice the property of the Church in order to save its principles, and he would have preferred to see a voluntary surrender on the part of the Church, rather than have it forced upon her from without. 'Give us liberty,' he said, 'and we will pay the price—our property. Without our liberty the loss of our property is spoliation; with our liberty it is a bargain.' The tyrannical manner in which the Crown had lately forced the appointment of Dr. Hampden to the See of Hereford, against the wishes of the vast majority of Churchmen, increased the Vicar's inclination to Disestablishment.

Turning now to the more private and parochial aspect of the Vicar's life between the years 1844 and 1849, the period seems to have been that in which his practical energy and mental activity reached their highest pitch. He had now become confirmed in the habit of rising very early, and the amount of literary work, sermon-writing, and correspondence which he got through in those morning hours was prodigious. By December 1848 he had completed the fifth volume of his 'Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Biography,' which he began to write in 1844, and had revised his 'Church Dictionary' for the fifth edition. He was also editor of the 'Devotional Library,' the title given to a series of devotional books which were compiled by a variety of authors under his superintendence. The most successful works of this class were the well-known 'Meditations for Every Day in the Year,' composed by his wife; and 'The Christian Taught by the

Church's Services.' In addition to these greater undertakings, he poured forth tracts in inexhaustible profusion. And yet he contrived to read largely in preparation for his sermons, and to peruse books of the day, such as Macaulay's 'History of England.'

During Lent it was now his custom to preach every evening, with the exception of Saturday, in the parish church, and of course always once on Sunday, most commonly twice; and it must be remembered that nearly all his sermons and lectures were written. He never preached extempore unless compelled by great stress of circumstances. All these efforts were not thrown away. The people responded heartily to the rich provision made in the parish church for their spiritual benefit. The enormous congregations, especially during the years 1847 and 1848, were an immense encouragement to him at a time when he was often inclined to be deeply depressed, owing to the worries in connexion with St. Saviour's. 'You cannot think,' he writes in a letter to Mr. Wood, 'what a relief it is to me to feel that my work in Leeds is not done, and that my heavenly Father does not intend me to quit this part of the battle-field. Yours egotistically, W. F. H.'

Between 1847 and 1849 he published an unusual number of sermons, bearing on the differences between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, suggested for the most part by the proceedings at St. Saviour's. Eminent among these were two preached early in the year 1847, one entitled 'The Invocation of Saints a Romish Sin, the Communion of Saints an Article of the Creed,' the other 'The Mother of our Lord, and Mariolatry.'

At the request of the Bishop of Ripon, Mr. Ward resigned the living of St. Saviour's in January 1847, and one of his curates went with him. Both seceded to Rome a few years afterwards. For eighteen months the clerical staff from various causes was continually being shifted, and during this broken time the inclination of the clergy to transgress the bounds of sober teaching and practice became increasingly manifest. Romish books of devotion were too freely used, and confession,

instead of being reserved for exceptional cases, was encouraged as an habitual part of the ordinary preparation for reception of the Holy Eucharist.

Upon this subject the Vicar preached a sermon, in the autumn of 1848, in the parish church, with a view to exhibiting the teaching of the primitive and the English Reformed Church, as distinguished from the Mediæval Church. He sums up that teaching at the close of his sermon in the following forcible language :

And now I conclude with pointing out in one sentence the difference between ourselves and the Church of Rome. The Church of Rome regards confession to man as a means of grace ; this we deny. At the same time we regard it as a means of comfort to weak minds and scrupulous consciences, and to persons in difficulty or in doubt. The Church of Rome makes it the rule—we the exception. The Church of Rome commands it ; the Church of England permits it. The Church of England, in accordance with Scripture, the Primitive Church, and the Greek Church, asserts that confession to God alone is sufficient, is the rule, is the course which ought to be pursued in all but exceptional cases. And in this respect, to the Church of England, to the Primitive Church, to the Greek Church, and to the written and infallible Word of the Living God, the Church of Rome stands opposed.

In addition to the worry arising from the doings of the clergy at St. Saviour's, a gentleman who had been a curate to the parish church, but had resigned his curacy in the spring of 1848, seceded to Rome in the autumn of that year. This was one of the most severe parochial trials the Vicar ever underwent. He had never entertained any suspicions of the seceder being disaffected during the time of his connexion with the parish church ; and astonishment was mingled with indignation. The natural impetuosity of his temperament betrayed him into a hasty and credulous assent to some false statements that the seceder had actually been received into the Church of Rome *before* he had resigned his curacy at Leeds. He soon became convinced that this was a baseless fabrication ; but his confidence in the straightforwardness of the Romanising school was now

so thoroughly shaken, that he was sometimes too ready to believe statements concerning them on insufficient evidence.

In addition to the ecclesiastical troubles by which he was beset during the years 1847 to 1849, the outbreak of severe epidemics, and the depression of trade, reducing the operatives to great distress, were causes of much anxiety and of increased labour. A malignant kind of fever raged during the year 1847, chiefly amongst the Irish population of the town, and one of the curates,¹ a young man of great physical strength, fell a victim to it, from his indefatigable exertions in visiting, sometimes nursing the sufferers, or putting the dead into coffins, when even their own relations dared not go near them. In 1848, workmen were thrown out of employment in vast numbers, and the destitution was appalling; fifteen thousand persons were receiving relief at one time from the public soup kitchen; their average weekly earnings did not reach 10*d.* a head; the rates were very heavy, and it was with difficulty that funds were raised sufficient to meet the immense strain put upon public charity.

The Republican feeling imported from the Continent ran so high among the working people, that the clergy being supposed to sympathise with the aristocracy, were exceedingly unpopular, notwithstanding their activity in the relief of distress. This was also partly due to the old and singular delusion, diligently propagated by demagogues, and by no means exploded even now amongst the vulgar, that the clergy were paid out of the taxes. In a letter written at that time by the Vicar he says, 'As the aristocracy cannot be assailed in towns where they do not live, the clergy, who are supposed to be attached to them, will be the first persons to suffer in the event of an outbreak. People are taught to believe that we live on the taxes. If we refuse to give money to an undeserving beggar, the common answer is, "Why, I pay you."'

The accumulation of worries by which he had been harassed during the year 1848 broke down his health for a time, and he was compelled to pass several weeks at the close of that

¹ Mr. Stanley Monck, first cousin to the editor.

year and the beginning of 1849 in comparative idleness. In the spring, however, he completely rallied from his weakness and was able to take his full share in the heavy work which fell upon all the clergy of Leeds, but more especially upon the clergy of the parish church and of St. Saviour's, during the severe visitation of cholera in the summer and autumn of 1849; nor was he ever, I believe, seriously unwell again, or incapacitated from work, for more than a day or two from this time to near the end of his life.

Besides his literary work, strictly so called, and sermon-writing, his correspondence with private friends, public men, and persons who sought his advice from all parts of the country, had now become very voluminous, and was continually increasing. There was a class of persons whom he called his 'spiritual children,' being for the most part those whom he had reclaimed from Dissent, or vice, or worldliness, to whom he wrote once a month at least. He began to keep a brief diary in the year 1849, and from the entries in it his epistolary work appears to have commonly varied from ten to twenty or even thirty letters a day. Able and hard-working men were lost in astonishment at these extraordinary feats of mental activity and industry in such a variety of departments. The Rev. F. E. Paget, the clever and witty author of the 'Tales of a Village,' and many other books, in one of his letters at this time says, 'How you get through *what* you do, and *as* you do, is to me utterly inconceivable, who crawl at a snail's pace for half an inch, and then slip back an inch while I am admiring my progress. I have been lately reading a volume of your biography, and there again was utterly staggered. How *can* you find time for such things?' How, indeed, when one considers that the whole of the day after breakfast, and most of the evenings were occupied by callers, visits to the sick, and attendance at meetings or classes?

Here is a specimen of one day's list of callers, as noted in his journal for March 29, which was the middle of Lent when, as already mentioned, he preached every evening.

'(1) Mr. Long to consult about appointing a parish clerk.
(2) Mr. ——— to consult about his love affairs. (3) Mrs. ———

to consult about the propriety of a separation of her niece from her husband, who is treating her ill. (4) Dr. B. to obtain a letter of introduction to the Vicar of Castle Cary. (5) Mr. — to consult about his brother's marriage. (6) Mr. W. to consult about a dispute between him and Mr. A. (7) Mr. Long again. (8) Mr. Nunns to administer the oath preparatory to his licence. (9) Mr. Teal about my commission in London on the division of parishes. (10) Mr. William Gott to consult about sending his son to Oxford. (11) And here comes a note from the Mayor, and I am to decide whether I am to engage in a new educational agitation. Oh! my poor brain, how bewildered it is!

LETTERS, 1844-1849.

To W. E. Gladstone, Esq.—An ‘Order of Mercy.’

Vicarage, Leeds: January 22, 1844.

... As to an Order of Mercy, the fact that people talk of *establishing* such a thing is proof that it will not succeed—at least, to my mind. In the kingdom of grace, as in the kingdom of nature, great things are the result of small beginnings. If you had told me that you had lately discovered a society of persons, calling themselves an Order of Mercy, who though only five or six in number had been for the last ten years doing immense good, and it was intended to add to their efficiency, then I should hope for success; they would have framed rules as practical men, and they would have had their existence, and gained certain supporters, before the world could attack them. I fear that the new Order of Mercy will be very much like the lay agency of the Pastoral-Aid Society; it will be to some persons a more pleasant way of earning 50*l.* a year than their profession or trade. The labour of pay and the labour of love are very different things. Dr. Wiseman's nuns in Birmingham, by their gentle, affectionate attendance on the poor, were found a short time ago to be winning people to Romanism; and the clergy of Birmingham were not contented with abusing the nuns. They wished to meet them by having a set of paid nurses, but, of course, the end was not answered. The fact is, that no

institution of a religious character will answer, which has not for its immediate object the promotion of God's glory by the increase of piety in the individuals forming it. As they become pious, they, for the glory of God, will do good works, and will undertake the visiting of the poor ; but if the direct object be the relief of the poor, the institution will only supply a better class of overseers.

I would mention to you, though I wish the thing not to be talked about, that we have such an institution in Leeds. One of the clergy has already in his house one priest and three laymen (the priest being his curate to whom he gives food and lodging) who are laying the seeds of an Order of Mercy ; I enclose a copy of their very strict rules, which I should like to have returned. On Tuesday next, they proceed to visit from house to house in the clergyman's district. They have hitherto been engaged in looking out the best of the poor, and training them : they expect soon to be joined by the son of a Swiss pastor, who wishes his son to be trained in our Church. This household may do much good, but I do not wish the plan to be connected with my name at present. My friends, as you will readily suppose, are enthusiastically and ascetically pious, and such persons will do injudicious things. Young societies, like young persons, will sow wild oats ; at the same time a restraining hand would irritate rather than restrain them. We have therefore an understanding, that they are to go their own way for two years ; then, when I have seen how they have worked, we may take measures for their extension. At present, they only form a family in my parish, and in this free country, every man may regulate his family as he sees fit. The family consists of the clergyman, who has sufficient income for the purpose, his curate, who receives board and lodging, and finds raiment for himself ; a young man who is the son of a clergyman, and who has given up a situation of 300*l.* a year, to come here ; and two converted local preachers, who give up their trade, and have no pay, only board and lodging.

Advice on the Formation of a Society of Lay Helpers.

Vicarage, Leeds : January 25, 1844.

My dear Mr. Gladstone,—I shall be most happy to receive any communication from Lord — with which he is inclined to favour me ; and you are at perfect liberty to show him the rules, only premising that, in my opinion, they are too strict for a commencement.

The clergyman who is conducting the measure here is Mr. —, once a Methodist preacher of the greatest celebrity; and I have brought him here for the purpose. My plan has always been to avail myself of the services of an enthusiast, under the idea that most great things are accomplished by one man enthusiastically devoted to one object. Many and many have been the difficulties in which (by this course) I have been involved, but though at the price of some personal annoyance, it has worked well. Mr. — is such a person: like most enthusiasts, he is one-sided; he thinks that no one can be a good Christian unless, like himself, he is prepared to sell all and become an ascetic; and being a most eloquent preacher, he propounds his notions with great force, though sometimes (as he preaches extemporaneously) with little judgment. I do not wish therefore to be committed to him, or to take the responsibility of his proceedings upon myself. But I am very decidedly against an advertisement; let Lord —, as the originator, become a beggar among his friends; it is an unpleasant office, but we must do unpleasant things. If he were to come here, and make a personal application to three or four persons, to whom I could introduce him, he would obtain several donations here; and what can be done here could be done in other places; and then, as a Leeds man may say, according to the cloth let us cut the coat. In raising subscriptions I should not give the proposed institution a name, but merely describe it as intended to provide lay help. I would only ask men of sound principles to become the first subscribers, and then, having the funds, I would, at a general though private meeting of the subscribers, devise the rules, and adopt the title. If it becomes really efficient it will probably be eventually known by the nickname given to it by enemies. Every Christian Society, as every Christian man and principle, thrives chiefly by being opposed and abused. Our enemies preach sound doctrine when undertaking to refute it; they suggest the truth, which will commend itself after a time, at the very time they attack it; and they advertise the Society they assail. . . .

Another point on which I would earnestly insist is this, that all three duties, duty to God, duty to self, and duty to our neighbour, should be attended to, not one to the exclusion of the other. The whole scheme is for the glory of God: it must be conducted by those who through self-discipline aim at perfection, and whose discipline of self will consist in doing good and unpleasant offices to the indigent and miserable in body and mind. Francis of Assisi

began his career by hugging a leper, and devoting himself to those poor outcasts. Of course, if the glory of God is forgotten, every society must fail, but what was the cause of failure in the older monasteries, which, when Francis appeared, rendered a new order necessary? The monks had given themselves to self-discipline, but active charity they had forgotten; this the friars attempted to remedy, and succeeded for a time, but failed when, in their attention to the good of the Church and of their brethren, their discipline became a mere form. Ultra-Protestants generally do not aim at perfection; they look upon a converted man as sure of heaven, and this being enough they remain stationary. Societies like the Pastoral Aid would only employ what they would style a regenerated person; but no steps are taken to make that person more perfect, that is, they fail in one of the three particulars. I believe I am repeating what I said in my former letter, but it is a point on which I insist after much thought for a long time: the institution must be disciplinary, as well as charitable.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Thoughts suggested by a Visit to Winchester.

Vicarage, Leeds: May 14, 1844.

Of all places at Winchester, the one I looked upon with the greatest delight was that old hayloft, where we used to hide, and where our early friendship commenced. How full were my thoughts, dearest Wood, of you while I was at Winchester, and how I should like to visit those haunts with you once again! Years are passing over us, we are reminded of this as we visit the scenes of our boyhood; death is approaching, and we all the while how unprepared! O may the Holy Spirit, whose coming as the Comforter we are about to commemorate, enable us to prepare our souls for the everlasting mansions! O that we may be everlastingly united in bliss, when this world and the fashion of it shall have passed away! I love so many people so very much in whose society I should like always to be, that I always fix my thoughts of the future on the idea of meeting them. How shall we all understand one another! no doubts, no difficulties! none of that fear of offending and hurting one another's feelings which when we speak the plain truth is so painful here. We shall then see how we helped one another, and I, as a pastor, shall discover how and why it is that there are some poor souls, who come to me for spiritual advice, whose cases

I can never understand. But oh! the agony of thinking that though there will be this bliss, yet I, unworthy sinner, may never attain unto it. How dreadful is this thought when it arises, and how often must it arise in the heart of a pastor, who has souls laid bare to him, so much holier than his own. The end is, my dear Wood, that we must pray for one another; let us help one another by our prayers, and God send us a good deliverance!

To Mr. Wood—Pernicious Effects of ultra-Protestantism.

December 1844.

Ultra-Protestantism demoralises the country. Its one doctrine is 'justification by the feelings'—'I feel happy, therefore I am saved, or I believe I am saved (which is only another mode of expressing the same thing), and therefore I am saved.' Here, in Leeds, this doctrine has blinded the moral perceptions of the Methodists and Evangelicals. They think themselves safe, when they have experienced certain feelings, whatever their conduct may be, and by opposing the distinction of sins, declaring it to be Popery to speak of venial sins, since they say all sins are mortal, forgetting that though this is true in the abstract, it is not true with Christians, of whom it is said, 'if any man sin' (i.e. sin a sin not unto death), 'we have an advocate' &c.—I say, maintaining in words that all sin is *mortal*, they in fact hold that all sins are *venial*. Consequently the greatest sins are treated like the common infirmities. . . .

Let us take care of our conduct, and God will take care of our feelings, and make them fervent or dry as to Him shall seem expedient. In devotional exercises what we have to look to is our intention. If we intend to do right, God knows the heart and we have an Advocate with the Father for our ignorances and negligences. For instance, I go to church; my intention is to worship God; my mind wanders: while I grieve for this, I do not *fear*, because God knows it was unintentional, and Christ is interceding for me.

To the Rev. F. Paget—A Projected Magazine.

Leeds: December 1844.

As to the Magazine, I doubt whether you or I could get up anything like the paper of Chambers. I do not mean that we could not imitate him, but we could never command his circulation. I

live among that class which reads his works, the working people, and I know them ; and without knowing anything of Mr. Chambers I venture to guess that he has risen entirely out of the working class, that he began as a printer's apprentice and was long a journeyman printer. Anything done by one of their own 'order' the working classes will patronise, and no one can meet their wants or understand them, except a man who has been one of them. As to religion, Christianity scarcely exists among the mass. They are no longer sectarians, but are utterly indifferent to religion, looking upon it generally as a luxury for the rich ; and nothing of a directly religious character will circulate among them to any great extent. I do not mention this to show that nothing ought to be done, for there are many exceptions, and many who would gladly accept a cheap religious periodical ; but only why I think we could not secure members sufficient to pay for such a magazine as Chambers's. . . .

I think if we can do something to give offence to those who ought to be offended, and so to secure an attack, it will be of advantage. You must remember that if the 'Standard,' &c., prevents one person from taking us in, its abuse will make ten read us. I do really believe that abuse assists us in our usefulness more than praise. I have found it so ; and then it is so much better for one's soul.

*To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Hard work—Efforts after Economy
(with reservation).*

Vicarage, Leeds : April 26, 1845.

My very very dear friend,—It is not, I assure you, from want of thinking of you daily that I have not written to you. Your letter has every day met my eye, but I have felt that I could put off writing to *you*, when I could not put off writing to others. Is not this a proof of my confidence in your friendship? And is it not also an act of self-denial? But my professional writing has increased and is increasing upon me. You would be surprised at the number of letters I have to write, on either cases of conscience, or on points of professional duty. And they are letters which require to be answered carefully. . . . Sometimes I have been so wearied with letter-writing, and ringing at my bell by persons coming to consult me on all manner of things, that I have felt inclined to sit down and cry. . . . I have had, too, several striking conversions,

God be praised, this Easter, and they draw not only upon one's head but upon one's heart. It is very delightful but very knocking-up work. I have, moreover, undertaken the workhouse, and I have set to work upon the railroad. I have sent there a young saint as I believe him to be, a tailor by trade, and to my astonishment I find he has been very well received. All the men have treated him with respect; two whom he rebuked for swearing, thanked him, and accepted tracts from him. One, a Roman Catholic, began trying to draw him into a discussion, but my young friend said, 'I don't come here to argue, I come to instruct those who wish for instruction.' Surely this speech shows that my lad has been led into great wisdom. He is to get me a congregation by Sunday week, and then you may expect to see some paragraph headed 'Dr. Hook a Field Preacher.'

This week I have had to preach five times; I have given a lecture to 500 Sunday-school teachers every evening; and this besides my letters, and many sick. In fact, I am fast being done up. I only get $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours' sleep. Yesterday, when I got into the pulpit, I found I had taken up the wrong sermon, so I had to preach extempore. I thus have a sermon, one of three, prepared for tomorrow, and the time which would have been given to that is now devoted in part to you. Besides all this, I have had to write my 'Ecclesiastical Biography,' which is a source of great comfort to me, as a little distraction to my thoughts. . . .

With our increasing family, and with the prospect of decreasing means, we are trying to decrease our expenses. We are thinking of no longer keeping a man. We have long ceased to give dinner parties. In short, except my choir and charities, I really do think that I have grown economical, though Delicia still finds it necessary to scold me. I really do not care for any luxuries even if I did not on principle deny them to myself; but I do confess that I like to have people to dine with me, and to give a poor man occasionally rather a large *tip*. It makes him so happy. I remember how I liked a tip at school; and especially at Tiverton, when we had not enough to eat, how happy I was when I could go and buy a penny roll; and so I cannot help thinking how pleasantly an unexpected half-crown must come into a poor man's hands. And I must also confess that when I want a book I cannot help, without much fear of my wife before my eyes, ordering it, and I must also confess that when walking with the children if they want a toy I have a difficulty in saying no, and I also confess that

I do not like to say no to subscriptions. All very amiable confessions on my part, calculated to raise me in your opinion, like the experiences told at a methodistical class-meeting, but all proving that I am not by nature economical, and that my wife is quite right in saying that 'very often there is more religion in refusing than in subscribing.'

To the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, on the Grant to Maynooth College in Ireland.

April 1845.

I have read your speech with attention, and I believe that you have come to a right conclusion. If we are to act on the old establishment principle, the State must not make grants to the British and Foreign School Society, etc. on the Protestant side; but grants have been made to these societies with the consent of all; therefore, the old establishment principle is given up. And surely for a great political object the new principle, which does not confine the public grants of money to the Established Church, ought to be applied to the Romanists as well as others. All that I would now contend for is, that the Church being placed in a new position, certain rights and privileges pertaining to her, which have been in abeyance through her connexion with the State, should be restored to her—but this is an after-consideration.

I wish you had spoken sooner. Until I read your speech I was prepared to sign a petition against the Maynooth grant, and others may be in the same predicament. I shall now keep things as quiet as I can in the West Riding, but I am afraid some persons are already committed. There is certainly a feeling on the part of High Churchmen against Sir Robert Peel, as he has spoken so decidedly against them. And the *inclination* will be, on their part, to act in opposition to him. But after what you have said, I believe that he is acting wisely, and nobody can doubt that he is acting honestly, in the Maynooth business.

Yours very truly.

P.S.—I have written to refuse to sign the anti-Maynooth petition.

From the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

13 Carlton House Terrace : April 16, 1845.

My dear Dr. Hook,—I greatly rejoice in these slippery days to find myself supported by your concurrence in the question of the Maynooth Bill.

In my own conscience and reason I am clear. What pains me with regard to it is, that practically much of the religious life of the country is very nearly associated with the word Protestantism, and it is the form under which the public at large hold in great part their idea of State religion. I feel, therefore, sorrowfully convinced that though I have a case in argument, as well as in policy, yet the measure will lower the tone of England with regard to the national religion, and I find my duty compelling me to join in the process that is to have that effect.

Such is the course of Providential retribution, and the consequence of opportunities neglected and abused. With our own hands we are made (not now entirely, but in a degree) to shut the door against their recurrence.

A new chapter has opened now in the relations of the Church and the State. I am far from professing to see my way to the end of it, but I think it is likely to comprise great social changes. The motion of Mr. Ward may unfold a few pages of it. I remain, my dear Dr. Hook,

Ever most sincerely yours.

From the Bishop of Norwich (Stanley) to Rev. W. F. Hook.

Palace, Norwich : September 18, 1846.

Reverend and dear Sir,—I scarcely know whether I am justified in taking the liberty of addressing you, but having read and re-read your pamphlet on education, I cannot refrain from expressing the interest and satisfaction I have derived from its contents, and offering you my grateful thanks for the manly and open manner with which you have handled the important subject. To find sentiments which have grown and strengthened with growth, and which I have for years (though unsuccessfully) advocated, now so forcibly, and I trust so effectually, promulgated, is indeed a matter of no small gratification to me, as it must alike be to every true and real friend to the improvement of the people. . . .

Those who like myself, are pointed to as liberal and therefore suspicious characters may in vain attempt to obtain a hearing, when we venture to whisper even that reforms are necessary, and certain alterations needful ; but a dozen or two honest and fearless ' High Churchmen ' like yourself are entitled to the cordial thanks of all who, regardless, comparatively speaking, of minor differences and distinctions, look to questions not connected with the mere exaltation of this church or that church, this or that party, but those

of a more enlarged or comprehensive character, involving the best interests and welfare of the whole community. I remain yours faithfully,

E. NORWICH.

To the Bishop of Norwich on the Education Question.

Vicarage, Leeds : September 28, 1846.

My Lord,—I must apologise for not having thanked you sooner for your kind letter. Our confirmation took place on Thursday, and most of my young people received their first communion on Sunday. As your lordship has been a parish priest, you know the duties which devolve upon a pastor at such a season and absorb his time, thoughts, and prayers. Besides private conferences and lectures, I have preached eleven times in the last five days, thirteen times during the last nine days. I hope that after this explanation you will not think me insensible to the kindness which prompted you to write to me.

I cannot say that the reception of my plan of education has been satisfactory. Practical men both in the Church and among the Dissenters are opposed to it. But this is a minor consideration; a plan suggested by a private individual is never worth much, and I am not enamoured of the plan suggested by me. I only say, suggest a better. But I do think that I have more than made out my case. I have fully established it, that the deficiency on the point of education is lamentable; if we come to *quality*—which is a very delicate and difficult part of the subject—I do not see how anyone can have a doubt upon the subject. I say that the fact of this deficiency is established by the other fact that the attempts to deny it have entirely failed, as I shall endeavour shortly to show. I cannot help thinking that some modification of the suggested plan may be rendered acceptable to all classes, and I have something of the sort in my head.

At the same time I must not permit your lordship to suppose that my *principles* have approximated to yours on the subject of education. Dissenters have done me more justice than friends on this subject. My whole plan is based on principles the reverse of what are called *Liberal*. I propose my measure, because I cannot, as a Churchman, have anything to do, religiously speaking, with Dissenters. We must both keep aloof. Keeping aloof, let us ask from the State for a fair field, and I have that confidence in the Church, which I regard as a divine institution, that I am con-

fidant we shall carry all before us. It is my desire to see the great mass of the people under Church education; but I am sure the Church succeeds best where it is most independent of the State, when she does not rely on exclusive privileges and prerogatives, but goes forth in the strength of the Lord. If we obtain the education of the people not by exclusive privileges and State support, but by self-sacrifice, increased labour and earnest devotion, we obtain it by means which Dissenters must admit to be legitimate, and if they try to rival us, the public will be the gainers. If I may judge of your lordship's principles by your conduct, I presume that you take the opposite line. You would wish Churchmen and Dissenters having the same object to act together. I think that this can only be done by a sacrifice of principles on both sides. To all attempts, therefore, of bringing these classes together, whether by Bible Societies, or Education Societies, I am resolutely opposed. I know that I could only do so by a sacrifice of what I consider to be Church principles; I think that *they* too must sacrifice some principles, and I am quite certain that any *dallying* with a principle for any object whatever must be injurious to the moral character.

I have always found it best in the extensive parishes in which I have laboured, thus to draw the line. I have said to Dissenters 'we disagree on fundamental principles, a line of distinction must be drawn somewhere, I draw it where the Church draws it, and, as religious persons, we must not seek to act in common. Where religion is not concerned, there let us meet with neighbourly feeling and endeavour to promote the comfort of our fellow-creatures.' Although this is not the course Dissenting polemics desire, it has kept me out of local controversies, and certainly led on my own people to the consideration of what is positive in theology instead of regarding the relative claims of different systems. And it is on the same principle I wish to see the education of the people conducted. It is useless to try a religious scheme which will meet the views of all; let us keep distinct in all that pertains to religion, let us see what we can do to form a union in matters merely secular. We can unite in forming a hospital to give relief to the body—keeping religion distinct, and allowing the attendance of Dissenting ministers as well as of Churchmen—why may we not do the same as to the secular part of education? I am aware that the answer to this is one which is worthy of consideration, that it is scarcely possible for a secular teacher not to encroach upon the religious

ground. But the question is whether this be an insuperable difficulty? I cannot help thinking it is rather theoretical than practical, that the evil might exist occasionally, but that it would not be general.

I am sure that your lordship will pardon the freedom of these remarks. Although we differ in our *principle* even so far as education is concerned, yet we have the same object in view, and we agree in thinking that it is a monstrous absurdity to suppose that the present system is sufficient to meet the wants of the country. And I think that the step which your lordship has so kindly taken in doing me the honour of writing to me is an indication that there is a readiness on the part of the Liberals, with whom your lordship has been pleased in your letter to class yourself, to consider the feelings (call them if you will the prejudices, or the absurd crotchets) of those who like myself are regarded as Puseyites, Tractarians, and semi-Papists. The treatment we have received from the Liberals has been anything but really liberal. And yet I hope and believe that as far as kind feeling and charitable judgment go, we are not more illiberal than others. For my own part, it has been my happiness (though, as the late Bishop Butler of Lichfield described me, 'an incorrigible Tory') to live on terms of intimacy with persons of opposite sentiments, that learned Prelate being one; indeed, the friend with whom I have taken sweet counsel for forty years, ever since we were at school together, is a professed and decided Radical.

I cannot but rejoice in the fact of a bishop having thought kindly of a poor High Churchman, and I shall ever entertain a deep and grateful sense of your lordship's kindness in writing to me.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Admission of the Jews into Parliament.

Leeds: December 6, 1847.

. . . I am for admitting the Jew, because the British Empire contains subjects of all creeds and no-creeds, and the whole principle of the religious test is given up. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. Yield, or maintain the whole principle, but don't shilly shally about its application. . . . But the objection to a Parliament containing men of all religions legislating for the Church, though it existed before, becomes more apparent than before to the common mind, when we propose to admit the Jew. I see this feeling in minds in which it is not developed, and this,

which is a real grievance, ought to be met. Now, I think it might be suggested, that in the event of the admission of the Jews, an address to Her Majesty should be adopted, requesting her to issue a commission, to consist of inferior clergy as well as bishops, to ascertain whether some modification of Convocation might not be feasible for the regulation of the internal affairs of the Church. The Convocation in its present form would probably not be expedient.

What I mean by internal affairs is such a matter as the increase of the Episcopate, and I would permit even here the interference of Parliament ; e.g. let Convocation or the Synod determine upon the increase of the Episcopate, and the location of bishops in this or that place. But let Parliament decide whether the funds shall be taken from some existing See to endow it, or whether it shall be endowed out of existing Church revenues at all. Suppose for instance, that Convocation should decide upon having a bishop at St. Alban's, Parliament might refuse to sanction a Bill brought in for the endowment out of Church funds, but still the See might be formed, and privately endowed.

Longings for Rest and Retirement—Dialogue between Two Old Women.

Vicarage, Leeds : December 13, 1847.

My dear Tragett, . . . I am hard-worked and much bullied, and in all manner of difficulties, not knowing how to sustain the various institutions of the place now that trade is so bad ; and my wife says that the only symptom of old age she discovers in me is, that I do not bear up against difficulties as I used to do. Indeed, my longing for rest and retirement is intense. I have worked hard all my life, and I belong to a short-lived family, and I wish now to go into retirement, there to prepare for my latter end. I think I have earned a right to wish this. I find too that I cannot sympathise with younger men as I used to do—they all seem to be Romanising ; they view things through different eyes.

I was much amused yesterday, by hearing from one of my curates the high esteem in which I am held by some of my poorer parishioners. He heard two old women talking. First old woman : ' I likes to hear Vicar when I be ill.' Second old woman : ' Eh ! and so does I, he talks so like an old woman.' This is another symptom of old age.

To the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Vicarage, Leeds : February 9, 1848.

My dear Mr. Gladstone, . . . I have to thank you for sending me a copy of your speech ; and as, by the course you have taken, you have offended some of your constituents, I may take this opportunity of saying that my opinion on this subject concurs with yours.¹ We are more likely to obtain freedom for the Church when Parliament is professedly what it is now virtually, than we are under the existing state of things. When Parliament ceases to be a Christian Parliament, even in name, it will probably see the propriety of not attempting to legislate for the Christian Church.

*To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Alterations in the Prayer Book—
Appointments to Bishoprics.*

Vicarage, Leeds : February 11, 1848.

I should be hopeless of any measure in which Mr. Horsman and his friends take part. Their object is to drive us from the Church, admitting now that it is only by understanding the Prayer Book in a non-natural sense that *they* can remain in it. I understand that the 'Record' has been labouring very hard of late in attacking the Prayer Book doctrine of regeneration, evidently with a view to alteration. And this shows the ignorance of what we think the Christian religion—*sacramental* religion.

We hold that the Divine object is the reunion of the fallen creature with the Creator. For this purpose God has become man without ceasing to be God—the God-man—the Mediator as such. He has, as God-man formed a Body of which He is the Head ; the mystical Body, the Church, is the medium through which individuals are united to the Head and afterwards preserved in that union, faith and repentance being required on their part. The sacraments are the means of uniting us to, and preserving us in union with, the Body, and through the Body with the Head, and therefore they are generally necessary to salvation.

But we hold them only generally necessary, i.e. where they can be had, because we hold the salvability of the heathen ; making a difference between a rescue from perdition, which Christ has effected for all, and the admission to the beatific vision or the highest glory

¹ On the admission of Jews to Parliament.

in heaven reserved for the members of the Church who escape condemnation at the Day of Judgment.

This is the religion of the Church, not of England only but of Rome and Greece, whatever their corruptions may be.

And to this religion all sects of the Puritan school are entirely opposed. By admitting it they would cease to be what they are. And these persons, whatever they may *say*, when they propose alteration in the Prayer Book, mean, in fact, an alteration in our religion—such an alteration as would compel us either to obtain a succession from America to continue the Prayer Book as it *is*, or to go to Rome. The former course will be mine if we are driven to extremities. . . .

The commission under William III. to recommend fit persons to Government for bishoprics was appointed, I think, on Mary's death, because he was a Presbyterian. . . . We want, in fact, as much support from a commission now as then. It was not till Walpole's time that the Prime Minister interfered. We are better off, I think, nevertheless, in having the appointment with the Minister than with the Sovereign, because the Minister changes, whereas, if the Sovereign becomes fanatical in his hatred of Church principles his appointments would be permanently bad. . . . Lord John got himself into a scrape by avowing his determination to act upon a new principle which has been forced, in the natural course of events, upon Government. From Walpole's time to the Reform Bill bishoprics were given to purchase Parliamentary support. But Parliamentary support can no longer be purchased in this way. And now the Minister begins to think of meritorious men; but in looking out for merit he consults his own feelings; he is a Latitudinarian and looks out for Latitudinarians. The only question is, since a new principle must be acted upon, whether we are to depend upon the caprice of an individual, or upon some responsible body. When the Minister says, 'I shall appoint in order to propagate certain *religious* principles,' we all feel that he is stepping out of his line; he is not the proper judge of the religion of the Church. When he said, 'I shall appoint to uphold certain *political* principles,' then his sufficiency to decide was admitted. It is by changing his ground and by declaring that he will look out for men who are, e.g., Arnoldians that he places himself in a wrong position. We have a right now to ask for such a Minister as understands ecclesiastical affairs or else for an ecclesiastical body to advise him.

Newman on Justification.

April 24, 1843.

My dear Captain Moorsom,—I would advise you *not* to read Newman on Justification ; it will only perplex you upon an important subject. It is a powerful work, but a work to be read not by those who are seeking information, but by those who are acquainted with the subject.

On the subject of justification the Church of England and the Church of Rome stand in direct contrast. There are two theories on the subject :—

1. The Protestant theory, which is that of the Church of England, &c., that when we are sincerely endeavouring through grace to serve God, God is pleased to account us righteous, so that we may approach Him in prayer, the sacraments, &c., as if we were actually, what in this world we can never become, righteous persons. The righteousness of sanctification, though a real righteousness as far as it goes, is always imperfect, and therefore we always appear before God with the righteousness of Christ imputed to us.

2. The Romish theory, i.e. that by the Holy Spirit we may become entirely righteous, and that by this righteousness, given by the Holy Spirit, we can stand as righteous persons before God ; others are justified according to their progress in righteousness, justification in Romish theology admitting by degrees

The first is called the doctrine of Justification by Faith. The second the doctrine of Justification by Inherent Righteousness.

Our Romanising young men repudiate the doctrine of Justification by Faith because they think it not reconcilable with sacramental religion. But who was a greater supporter of sacramental religion than Hooker, and where can we find a stronger advocate for the Protestant view of Justification by Faith?

The Romish doctrine is at the bottom of Romish idolatry. If a man can be justified, on their scheme he can become perfectly righteous ; if he is perfectly righteous, and remains on earth, he can of course do more than is required, have supererogatory merits and plead them in favour of others when interceding for them both here and hereafter.

We make a broad distinction between justification and sanctification ; with Romanists they are the same thing.

Now, Newman's object was to confound the two, and to show that the difference between moderate Church of England Pro-

testants and moderate Romanists is only verbal. If you desire to see how by clever pleading this can be done, then you will read Newman. But I apprehend what you want is a statement merely of the truth as received in the Church of England. It was in this work that Newman brought out the notion that Protestant stands opposed to Catholic, which every theological puppy has since adopted; whereas Protestant stands opposed to Popery. We are both Protestant and Catholic.

I would advise you to read Heurtley on Justification (his Bampton Lectures) and his sermons on union with Christ; then Bethel on Regeneration; then Jelf on the Eucharist (his Bampton Lectures).

*To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Government Proposal to divide Large Parishes.*¹

Leeds: February 26, 1849.

If it be only intended to bring in a Bill to facilitate the division of parishes it will be good and useful. But as I read it, it is intended to compel parochial divisions. It is a French, not an English mode of action. The French adopt a theory and carry it out, though it cause confusion and ruin. The English look to practical grievances and supply a remedy. An Act to enable us to supply a remedy where the extent of the parish is through circumstances a grievance, would, as I have said, be a useful and an English mode of proceeding. But I have no notion that it is expedient to divide all parishes in the manner proposed.

I brought in a Bill (worse luck!) for the division of this parish, but why? The old system, if it could have been sustained, would have been the best. Here was a vicar, *de facto* the *ἐπίσκοπος*, with his twenty or thirty clergy. The best reform would have been to have consecrated him to perform episcopal acts. Thirty years ago at the great festivals the whole parish met at the parish church. There were two thousand communicants, and twenty clergymen officiating. Old people speak of it as a glorious sight. The late Archbishop told me that he regarded the vicars of the great parishes as *chorepiscopi* and acted through them.

This system, whether wisely or not, the Bishop of Ripon has overthrown wherever he could. New churches under Peel's Act

¹ A motion had been made by Lord Ashley for a Royal Commission to inquire into the best means of dividing populous parishes. Dr. Hook was appointed a Member of the Commission in March of this year.

arose, being new parishes. And such being the case, the thirty old chapels of this parish were placed in an inferior position to these new churches, which was most unfair. Hence my Leeds Vicarage Act. I had not the choice between a general division and the old system, but, the old system being worn out, my choice was between a general division and a partial division on no principle whatever. My plan has been unpopular with laity and clergy, but the clergy of the old chapels are now *beginning* to see the value of it to them and are stirring. It is, however, very slowly, and I cannot be quoted as having succeeded, though I *shall* succeed. . . .

My living, again, is a good one and can bear reducing. But take a living like that of Bradford, where the vicar has 500*l.* a year, and divide that 500*l.* among the twenty or thirty parishes which must be formed there, what do you gain? All the clergy lose that support to their character which the vicar, if in respectable circumstances, lends to them. And in the next generation, though you will not have worldly men from the middle classes taking holy orders in the hope of obtaining a living of 500*l.* a year, you will have what is worse, worldly men of the lower classes taking orders for the chance of a living of 50*l.*

I just wish to suggest to you the difficulties which a sweeping measure offers to my mind. I am for a movement. I am a Church reformer, but I do not like to remove land-marks merely to make the field look better. I would only remove them when, and in such measure as, the expediency of removing them may be proved.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—On Division of Parishes.

Vicarage, Leeds: February 28, 1849.

My dearest friend,—I entirely agree with you in what you say about having churches of different doctrines in large towns. I should say, let them be in small towns also. In Morpeth, Francis Grey, with his family determination, has determined to have choral service; and when there was one church a tempest began to growl around him. When there were two I advised him to have plain service in one and choral service in the other, and now people see that they have no right to complain. Here in Leeds I have succeeded in conducting things according to my own judgment, because I could always say, ‘I do no wrong, because if you do not like my sayings and doings you can go elsewhere.’ Even St. Saviour’s is an advantage to me by taking off the superstitious.

It has eased me considerably in *this* way. My quarrel with St. Saviour's is that they tell people that their views and mine are the same. For instance, when they set up a confessional they said they only carried out my principle. Hence my obligation to print.

When first I came to Leeds I aimed at unity of doctrine. I soon found this to be impracticable. There are two parties in the Church, who, from their different views of baptism differ on almost every point of doctrine ; and it is absurd to say, because this ought not to be, that it is not. The practicable thing is to obtain unity of action. This, of late years, I have aimed at, and if I live a few years longer you will find the clergy of Leeds acting as one man against infidelity. We are nearly united in action now ; we meet once a month, and there is a tacit understanding that nothing shall be proposed that would compromise any side. At present the rump of the Evangelical party, which I found here, having degenerated into Arnoldism, is seeking to support itself by Rationalistic principles. But while trying to keep the clergy apart they fail. There is a tendency to coalesce.

This is a digression—but something to the point. If you pound in your speech the principle of unity of action and toleration of differences, you may do good. N.B. In the Church, among the clergy as well as the laity, there is the large portion leaning now to one side then to the other ; as either the one or the other seems to be *acting*, they look to practice. It is so in politics—the bulk of the people are neither Whigs nor Tories, but sometimes of one party and sometimes of the other, as either party seems best qualified to meet existing difficulties. I am one of these. The noise is made by strong partisans, but the strength of a partisan lies in his ability to persuade those who are, though not professedly, yet, in fact, of no party. . . .

While I am for the division of parishes, i.e. what you call a reform, I am not for one rule to be observed in all parishes, but simply for affording facilities to divide according to local circumstances.

Assuredly the present measure should be accompanied with a measure to increase the number of Bishops. The lower clergy are chiefly protected against the despotism of Bishops (growing excessively through Acts of Parliament) by the fact of there being wealthy and powerful Presbyters who would dare to confront the Bishops. I am for lowering the wealth of Presbyters, but not without decreasing the despotism by increasing the number of Bishops and doing away with their grandeeism.

To the Hon. and Rev. Francis Grey.

Vicarage, Leeds : March 22, 1849.

With respect to your infidel underminers rather than assailants, I believe the course you are pursuing is the right course. Bishop Jebb, my Gamaliel, used to tell me not directly to oppose error, but to exhibit the beauty of the opposite virtue ; not e.g. to preach against infidelity, but to bring prominently forwards the loveliness of the Gospel. Having unfortunately an impetuous disposition, I have not always been able to act upon this advice, but my own experience has so fully convinced me of its wisdom that now that I am, like my dear spiritual father, Bishop Jebb, going off the scene, I feel inclined to urge it upon younger men, and I trust also to act upon it more consistently myself. The relapsed communicant is a sad case, it is unfortunately not an uncommon one ; a little discretion is required to find out the *mollia tempora* in which to approach the stray sheep. My own plan is, to keep my eye upon a straggler, but to make little change in my manner to him, so as to give him an opportunity of speaking to me in the first instance himself.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—On his being made Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Vicarage, Leeds : May 8, 1849.

My dearest Mr. Vice-Chancellor,—I am quite delighted. Capital as a beginning ! I am so proud. For fifty, or nearly, years, I have considered you the *facile princeps* of your generation, in all respects ; I have been angry with mankind in general for not discovering the jewel they possess.

I am glad that there is a salary, because you will be able to afford to pay a writing master in vacation—your writing being the only thing in which you deteriorate ; bad is becoming worse. N.B. No *tu quoques*. I really feel just as I used to do when you had got the books at Winchester. All in tears, nice tears.

God bless you, my dear, dear friend, and make you useful in your generation, and enable you so to pass through things temporal as finally not to lose the things eternal.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—The Irish Church.

Bournemouth, near Poole : June 12, 1849.

I cannot say that I agree with you as to your statements or

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your arguments, though I am quite ready to tinker the Irish Church. I disagree with you as to your adoption of Paley's notion of a national Church being the Church of the majority. But if you admit that, then Pitt's answer is a valid one. When the kingdoms were united, the Churches were united (in my opinion a great mistake), and they were united, why? To meet Paley's definition of a national Church, if England and Ireland are one kingdom, and the Church one Church, then though the national Church be that of the minority in Ireland, it is nevertheless the Church of the majority in the United Kingdom. I think this a sufficient answer to the argument you have adopted. . . .

Then, though there was much that was unjustifiable in the reformation of Ireland, as in all reformations, civil and ecclesiastical, still there was only one bishop in the Church of Ireland who refused to reform.

The whole subject is given admirably and impartially in Dr. Phelan—the second volume of Phelan's Remains, published by Bishop Jebb, which everyone ought to read who wishes to know anything of the Irish Church. Authorities are also indicated in a sermon of the celebrated Dr. Hook, entitled 'The Catholic Clergy of Ireland, their Claims asserted.' A dry statement of facts can be obtained from Dr. Mant's 'History of the Irish Church.' I am sorry that you missed a good opportunity of making clear the distinction between the Church and the Establishment, the Establishment being in fact a mere chimera.

Let the State take away whatever the State has given, nothing more, and we shall be content.

My own opinion is, that the only ground you can take is this : that the State, giving us our right (as individuals or as corporations) in our property, has a right under certain circumstances, for the public good, either to take it away in part or to make us come to a compromise. Thus for a public good you compel me to part with a portion of my estate to form a railroad which I think to be a nuisance. As the case now stands, there seems to be no grievance, for the Papists assert that our property they do not want, and will not accept. I believe that for the good of Ireland we should compel the Romish hierarchy to accept an endowment, on certain terms. Till this is done, Ireland must remain degraded and impoverished. Once establish this point, then comes the question, where is the endowment to come from? Then, for the good of the public, I would say, compel the Irish Church to yield a portion of her funds.

To Lady Harewood—Contentment.

Birch Cottage, near Manchester : August 31, 1849.

I am starting for dear old smoky Leeds this day. I am longing to be at work again and am full of new plans and good resolutions. My absence has been long but necessary. Since my illness I have been easily excited by my duties and especially by preaching, and so have been easily knocked up. What my doctors required was rest for the nerves. I hope now for grace to dedicate myself with fresh vigour and a grateful heart to my Master's work, though I feel that between fifty and sixty years of age I might accept if I could obtain it a less laborious post where in a contemplative life I might prepare for the great end. Nevertheless, I am quite contented ; for happiness consists in doing with all our might, not what we best like, but what our hand findeth to do, the work allotted to us by Providence.

To the Lady Elizabeth Grey—The Cholera in Leeds.

Vicarage, Leeds : September 17, 1849.

Dear Lady Elizabeth, . . . We have the cholera here very bad indeed. On Wednesday we are to have a parochial fast by direction of the Bishop ; the Mayor has persuaded the Dissenters also to observe it, and has suggested that the shops should be closed. I hope and think it will be well kept, and I pray that I may be able to speak home to the hearts of some who may be at church then, but who seldom come at other times. I have the care of the two cholera hospitals, where I have thirteen very bad cases to attend. I feel like a soldier in the field of battle, not knowing for whom the shots are intended. I have taken the chief post of danger, because I am the chief clergyman in the parish, and also to punish myself for my cowardice, for I confess that as regards the natural man I am a little frightened ; but I have full trust in God. I feel the post of danger to be the post of honour. I am sure He will take me, or spare me, as it seemeth best ; and that if He takes me He will provide for my children and my wife. Thank you much for your prayers.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Fast-day in Leeds on account of the Cholera.

Vicarage, Leeds : September 19, 1849.

This is our Fast-day. It has been most wonderfully kept so

far. Every shop closed ; and at least four thousand persons in one church, which was as full as on the day of consecration, all behaving devoutly. I read the Communion Service. Five hundred remained to communicate, as, at the request of the Mayor, I had a communion. I had prepared my *mob* sermon for the evening, but I extemporised a good deal and I hope I stirred up some consciences. The cholera is rather better, but the diarrhœa is worse. I have desperate cases in the hospitals, and am a terrible coward ; it is because of my cowardice that I have plunged *in medias res* and have taken the post of danger, the natural man and the spiritual man are fighting hard within, but the former shall in this instance be crucified.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Marriage with a Deceased Wife's sister.

Leeds : October 1849.

It would be an act of tyranny to compel the clergy to marry where the canons of the Church, and as far as *I* can see, the Scriptures themselves, forbid the marriage. I think that all the arguments are against the expediency of such marriages. Still there is nothing of blood concerned, the relationship is only from alliance : the marriage is not strictly speaking incestuous, though commonly so reputed. If then such marriages *will* take place, it is hard for the poor children to be bastardised. I am inclined therefore to let the civil registrar marry such parties : leaving a kind of stigma upon the parents, who could not receive the nuptial benediction, but saving the offspring. It is a pity the old custom was interfered with ; such marriages used to be voidable, but not void ; the parties marrying were under a cloud, but the children escaped. One great difficulty is to know where you are to stop if you concede the measure. May a man marry his step-mother? There is no blood relationship there. The only answer is that public feeling revolts against it.

To Lady —.

Leeds : December 8, 1849.

. . . I shall enter upon the work which you assign to me with faith, being at the same time conscious of my own unfitness for the task. I never was a tutor at Oxford, and therefore have had no experience in the management of young men of rank. Being of a plebeian family, I did not fall in with them, in my early life, and my professional duties have lain among the middle and poorest

classes. I can generally guess how a tradesman will think, and how a poor man will feel, but I have never had any sympathies with young men of fashion.

Nevertheless, our Heavenly Father would not have put it into your mind to ask me to take this office unless he intended me to do some good, though it may not at once be visible. Is your son read to? If so I can undertake the office when I am at —. A light book will do ; for it is easy to lead on to serious talk from any book. We should also be left alone. I have come to the conclusion that no two persons can talk properly together in the presence of a third person.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Correspondence with Editor of the ‘Record.’

December 1849.

What do you think of my being in correspondence with R—C—! The ‘Record’ itself! He wrote to me a ‘Dear Sir’ letter, asking me to sign a petition against establishing with Rome diplomatic relations.¹ I declined for reasons I stated, namely, that I think the distinction between the civil and ecclesiastical functions is by the late Resolutions sufficiently marked. He had expressed a hope that on this point all parties in the Church might co-operate. I answered that I desired to see such co-operation, but I feared it could not take place, while one extreme was contending for the Articles without the Prayer Book, the other for the Prayer Book without the Articles—one for Protestantism without Catholicism, the other for Catholicism without Protestantism ; that we must come back to Hooker, who was Protestant as to the doctrine of Justification, Catholic as to the Sacraments, Popish in nothing.

¹ Which were opened soon after the accession of Pope Pius IX.

CHAPTER X.

THE LAST NINE YEARS AT LEEDS.

A.D. 1850-1859.

THE year 1850 may be considered as marking an epoch in the history of the Church of England. The difference between her condition then, and her condition at the beginning of the century, was as great as the difference between the seasons of spring or early summer, and of winter. She was now abundantly fruitful in good works of every description. In all parts of the country, old churches were being repaired ; new churches and new schools were being built ; fresh life was pervading every department of parochial work ; and was visible alike in multiplied services, and more frequent celebrations of Holy Communion ; in the due observance of Holy Seasons, and Holy Days ; in increased attention to Church music, and a decent and devout ceremonial ; in the formation of guilds, sisterhoods, and all kinds of charitable associations. And while straining every nerve to do her work at home, and to keep pace with the rapid growth of the population, the Church had not been unmindful of her duty in foreign parts. By the combined efforts of the Propagation and Church Missionary Societies, aided by private munificence, the colonial bishoprics, which in 1830 were only five in number, had been increased to more than twenty.

This resuscitation of activity and zeal must be attributed to two main forces : first, the energy of individuals belonging for the most part to the old High Church party. Foremost among them must be placed the Vicar of Leeds, and Bishop Longley

in the north of England, Archbishop Howley, and Bishop Blomfield in the south. And to these must be added, at the date which we have now reached, Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford.

And the second great impulse to the activity of the Church is to be found in the Tractarian movement. The influence of individuals, however zealous and able, was more or less limited to the sphere within which they were specially called to labour. But the effect of the Tractarian school was that of a spirit or power which permeated the whole country. Partly by their writings, partly by their personal influence, the originators of that school succeeded in kindling a large amount of public interest in the Church, her history, her doctrines, and her duties; and they raised up a whole body of men, not only amongst the clergy, but the laity also, full of devotion to the Church, and the great Head of the Church, and eager to put into practice the principles which they had learned.

But times of zeal are also times of strife. In former ages, a zealous Church was prone to persecution, in modern times it is addicted to litigation. It has been the misfortune of the Church of England for the last five-and-twenty years, that one question after another has become the subject of dispute in courts of law, and that often a vast deal of mental power has been wasted, and tempests of agitation excited out of all proportion to the intrinsic importance of the matter to be decided.

The celebrated case which heads the melancholy list of legal causes that fill the annals of our Church during the past quarter of a century is an example of this. The Gorham case was no doubt one of interest and importance, but it was not that critical struggle which most of the combatants on either side believed it at the time to be. The Vicar of Leeds was one of the few who seem to have been able to gauge the real import of the contest and to foresee the extent of its effects.

Those whose memory can reach back to the event, will hardly need to be reminded of the circumstances, which they will probably remember but too clearly; for those who are not acquainted with them a brief and succinct statement will suffice.

The Rev. George Cornelius Gorham had been presented in 1847 by the Lord Chancellor to the living of Bramford Speke in the Diocese of Exeter, and applied to the Bishop for institution. The Bishop (Dr. Phillpotts) suspecting him of unsound views on the subject of baptism, subjected him to a long and minute examination extending to 149 questions, and lasting over eight days, in the months of December and the following March. At the conclusion of the examination he refused to give Mr. Gorham institution, on the ground of his holding views at variance with the teaching of the Church, more especially as expressed in the Baptismal Services, respecting the regeneration of infants in the Sacrament of Baptism. The matter was carried before the Court of Arches, and after a wearisome and painful discussion, the judge, Sir H. J. Fust, decided in favour of the Bishop. An appeal from his judgment was then laid before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, where the question was argued at great length. The case was exceedingly complicated by the omission of any explicit statement on the part of the Bishop of the precise points wherein he considered Mr. Gorham unsound on the subject of Baptism ; and also by the omission on both sides of any direct definition of the meaning which they attached respectively to the term 'regeneration.' The only evidence which the judges had to rely upon was the record of the examination of Mr. Gorham before the Bishop. In giving judgment, they disclaimed 'any jurisdiction or authority to settle matters of faith or to determine what ought in any particular to be the doctrine of the Church of England.' They declared that the only question which they could attempt to decide was whether Mr. Gorham's doctrine was repugnant or contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England *as by law established*, taking the Liturgy and the Articles as the tests of that doctrine, but more especially the Articles, and where the Articles were doubtful and ambiguous, allowing any sense of which the words taken literally and grammatically would admit. Proceeding on this principle, a majority of the judges decided that Mr. Gorham's doctrine was not contradictory or fatally repugnant to the doctrine of the Church of England as by law

established, and consequently did not afford a legal ground for refusing him institution to the living. The dissentients from the judgment were Sir J. L. Knight Bruce and Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London.¹

The decision of the Committee had been watched for by both the extreme parties in the Church with impatient eagerness, and by the public generally with no small degree of interest. The result was an immense relief to the Evangelicals, who for the most part held views very similar to those which were advanced by Mr. Gorham.

On the other hand, a considerable number of High Churchmen were of opinion that the claims of our Church to be a pure branch of the Church Catholic were very fatally compromised by this decision. Unsound teaching on the subject of Baptism, they said, had hitherto been only connived at ; it was now for the first time definitely sanctioned by a public tribunal. In the abeyance of all legislative functions on the part of the Church, the authority which she claimed in controversies of faith was transferred to that judicial body which interpreted the meaning of her laws. And the major part of the judges who composed the highest Court of Appeal were laymen for whose orthodoxy, nay more, for whose belief in the Christian religion, there was no guarantee. The purity and integrity of the Church's faith lay at the mercy of this tribunal. They were already violated by the judgment given in the present instance ; there was no security that they might not be continually violated in like manner ; and it was idle and delusive to maintain that the formularies remained unchanged, when their meaning was altered, for the force and value of a formulary depended wholly upon the meaning which was attached to it. The position therefore of the Church of England was at stake. Unless the recent decision of the Privy Council was superseded by some other public act, legislative or judicial, the Church would forfeit her claims to Catholicity and subside into a mere department of

¹ The other members of the Judicial Committee were Lord Langdale, Lord Campbell, Sir James Parke, Dr. Lushington, Mr. Pemberton Leigh, the Archbishops of Canterbury (Sumner) and of York (Musgrave).

the Secular Government. And not a few, seeing no prospect of escape from this humiliating and ignominious result, and having been long dissatisfied with the position of the Anglican Church, began to secede or meditate secession to the Church of Rome.

But there was a far larger number of more moderate and discerning men who did not contemplate the effects of the judgment with equal alarm. They dissented, indeed, utterly from the judgment, considered from a theological point of view, and thought that efforts should be made to effect a reform in the constitution of the Court of Appeal ; but they did not think that the faith of the Church would be vitally impaired or her position fatally compromised, because the Court in the present instance had gone out of its way to enter into theological arguments, and had fallen into theological error.

This was the line followed by the Vicar of Leeds, and advocated in a published letter addressed to Sir Walter Farquhar, in which he states his reasons for refusing to sign a list of resolutions embodying the views of the more extreme party. He expresses astonishment and regret that any persons should be so much disconcerted by the recent judgment as to contemplate the monstrous alternative of secession to Rome. 'Such persons,' he said, 'look with a magnifying-glass on every gnat which annoys them in the Church of England, and shut their eyes to the multitude of camels they will have to swallow if they join the Church of Rome.' And after enumerating these 'camels' in a long and formidable list, he says, 'it does seem to me the very height of inconsistency for any man to express feelings of alarm about the Catholicity of the Church of England, because the Queen in Council will not permit Mr. Gorham to be deprived of a living, and to assume without questioning the Catholicity of the Church of Rome.'

What was the amount of the injury complained of? The doctrine of the Primitive Church and of the Church of England on the subject of Baptism, stated in the briefest possible terms, was that persons admitted to that Sacrament were elected *absolutely* to grace, *conditionally* to glory. The point in dispute

was whether persons who evaded this doctrine by putting a forced construction upon those formularies of the Church which related to it, might hold preferment in the Church of England. It was notorious that they had done so for the last 300 years, and the Queen in Council had now been pleased to rule that this their liberty should not be abridged. Meanwhile, High Churchmen who understood the formularies in their plain, literal, and obvious meaning were in no way molested or censured, but might continue to hold and to teach the orthodox doctrine as freely as before.

On the other hand, he considered that the Council had erred in entering too much into theological argument, had seriously misconceived doctrines and misquoted authorities. This, he thought, constituted a valid reason for seeking relief from the anomaly of a Court so constituted that none of those who were appointed to advise Her Majesty need be Churchmen, or even Christians. 'I would deprecate,' he adds, 'intemperate expression against the Royal Supremacy, but I think we have a right to take precautions against its being exerted in a reckless and arbitrary manner.'

Animated by a similar conviction, the Bishop of London introduced a Bill into the House of Lords for transferring the powers of the Judicial Committee in ecclesiastical causes to the Upper House of Convocation. He moved the second reading on June 3, 1850, in a long and very powerful speech, which was followed by a vigorous debate. The second reading, however, was rejected by 84 to 51, and the constitution of the final Court of Appeal has continued to be an irritating question from that time to this. The only practical results of the Gorham agitation were the revival of the deliberative functions of Convocation through the exertions of the Bishop of Oxford, and a more prevailing belief in baptismal regeneration.

Letters to private friends about the Gorham case reveal other reasons besides those indicated in his published letter, why the Vicar of Leeds viewed the judgment with comparative indifference. One was, his increasing distrust of the extreme section of the High Church party, and his belief that they

willingly exaggerated the difficulties of their position in order to palliate secession to Rome. Another was a profound conviction that great truths which had been held and taught in the Church from the days of the Apostles could not be overthrown or even seriously impaired by the decision of a few fallible judges in a court of law. Good and loyal Churchmen would continue to hold and teach these truths all the same, and truth would ultimately prevail. Further, his mind was so deeply absorbed at this time by the pressing need of educating and evangelising the people; the spectacle of dense masses sunk in barbarous ignorance and abandoned to degrading vice was to him so frightful, that most other questions seemed insignificant compared with the question how the Church should grapple with these tremendous evils.

To W. P. Wood, Esq.

March 12, 1850.

I am glad that you take the same view as I have done of the Gorham decision. I should have been entirely on their side if they had not *theologised*; this it is that makes a remonstrance necessary.

The case is this: A patron presents a clerk to a bishop for institution. The bishop wrongs the patron by refusing. The patron seeks redress. The bishop defends himself by stating that the clerk does not understand the Baptismal Offices in his sense.

The judgment might fairly be, the clerk understands the offices in that sense in which they have been understood for the last three hundred years, by a large body of clergymen. It is too late now to fix a definite meaning and so to narrow the Church. Therefore let the clerk be instituted. But the judgment argues the point and assumes that there is quite as much to be said on one side as on the other, or even more. Now the very appearance of this is a wrong to the orthodox.

I feel these things less than I did: perhaps it is the effect of old age. I sometimes think to myself that it is a sign (oh that it may be!) of what the old writers call 'graciousness'—that my soul is more gracious. . . .

But look at facts, you have no idea of the barbarism and brutality of the manufacturing poor. I cannot put on paper, but I will tell you when I meet, some of the atrocious instances of im-

morality which are common in the mills. If we do not purify the mill system, if we do not civilise the people, I know not what is to become of us.

The Church cannot get at the people in sufficient force under the existing system.

Let the Church fairly compete with the sects, while the Government gives a secular education, and we shall soon have all our own way. Do not for a mere notion oppose a great good. The Church is actually giving now an irreligious education. People send children to our schools for the sake of the secular education we give. In order to keep the schools up to the mark, the chief force is brought to bear on the secular department; the dogmas of religion are enforced by many who do not realise their truth; and of the majority of our masters and mistresses, who only take the office for a livelihood, all we can say is that they are semi-religious. And depend upon it a semi-religious person does more harm than good.

Puseyism—The Gorham Case.

Leeds : April 22, 1850.

My dear Lady Harewood,—I am extremely obliged to you for your kindness in writing to me, and your communication has given me real pleasure. One wishes to love the Queen, and everything that proves her to be worthy of our love is of value. I am a regular John Bull, and I sing ‘God save the Queen’ and ‘Rule Britannia’ with my whole heart, though it is part of my privilege as an Englishman to grumble sometimes at Her Majesty’s proceedings, and, while I permit no one else to find fault with old England, to indulge myself in an occasional growl.

I suppose that you have by this time received a copy of my letter upon the Gorham case. It is my full conviction that certain parties in hatred of the Church of England purposely exaggerate the difficulties of our position, in order to make men more ready to go over with them to Rome.

It has long been my object to show that, without defending the decision of the Privy Council, our position as a Church is not damaged.

I shall be abused on all sides. The Evangelicals will abuse me for holding Baptismal Regeneration; the Puseyites because I defend the Church of England; and the Ministerialists because I attack the conduct of the Privy Council.

But the great majority of the Churchmen of England think as I do. The Puseyites are a very small body. The field of battle is changed, but the battle is the same as was fought some years ago, and I fear the result will be the same.

A few years ago the Puseyites pushed things to an extreme at Oxford. They were supported by many young men of learning and genius. But what has been the result? They have so disgusted the minds of sensible men that there is a reaction in favour of Rationalism and infidelity.

What took place in Oxford is now taking place in Belgravia, and Puseyite theology has become one of the amusements of a portion of the aristocracy. The result will be the same. The absurdities which disgust you and some others will disgust many more, and among those who are now observed for their Romanising we shall soon see not a few infidels and freethinkers.

When the movement was taking place at Oxford, some honest Church of England men in the provinces abetted it; myself among the number. We were told that the leaders of the movement were zealous Church of England men, and we fought for them. But now the agitators do not profess Church of England principles, and whatever they may regard themselves, I regard them as very low Churchmen. You may be low on the Romish side as well as on the Puritan side: the valley on one side of a mountain may be as low as the valley on the other side.

And with these agitators, now that I know them, I, for one, will have nothing to do.

The position which the Vicar had taken upon the education question, and upon the Gorham controversy, his antagonism to the proceedings at St. Saviour's, and some severe remarks upon the system of teaching pursued at that church which he made in two sermons published at the beginning of 1850,¹ exposed him to the taunt of having withdrawn from the ranks of the High Church party. Statements to this effect began to go the round of the newspapers, until at last he felt compelled to vindicate himself from the accusation by a preface to the third edition of the two sermons just mentioned. The substance of this preface was reproduced in a letter printed in the 'Guardian'

¹ *The Nonentity of Romish Saints and The Inanity of Romish Ordinances.*

newspaper, from which a few extracts are here presented to the reader.

I am not conscious of having changed a single principle during the last thirty years ; but, on the contrary, I am only more confirmed in my admiration of the principles of the English Reformation, and more persuaded that the Church of England 'is the purest and best reformed Church in Christendom.' For asserting this I have been called a High Churchman, and I assert it still. As far as the Church of England goes, I will go, but not a step farther. Neither will I intentionally come short of her requirements.

I have not left any old party, and certainly I have not united myself to any new party. I am where I was found by many of those who are now severe in their censures of me, and where I intend by God's grace to remain. It is very true, as the writer of the paragraph states, that I have for some time expressed my dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the Romanisers whom the writer calls Tractarians ; but I take leave to make a wide distinction between a Romaniser and a High Churchman.

When some of those who now are leaders among the Romanisers—whom the writer of the paragraph designates as Tractarians—were in the depths of ultra-Protestantism, and were discontented with the Church of England for not being sufficiently Protestant ; when some of them were vindicating the Rationalists of Germany, and others were treading in the steps of the Puritans, though I respected them for their virtues, I did not agree with them in their principles, and by some of them I was regarded as a bigot.

When they changed these principles, and accepted the English Reformation, defending it, as they did, in the earlier volumes of the 'Tracts for the Times ;' when they walked in the middle way, and in escaping from ultra-Protestantism protested against the heresies of Romanism, I rejoiced in their alliance, and did not shrink from my share of the obloquy they incurred.

But when I now find them calumniators of the Church of England, and vindicators of the Church of Rome ; palliating the vices of the Romish system, and magnifying the deficiencies of the Church of England ; sneering at everything Anglican, and admiring everything Romish ; students of the breviary and missal, disciples of the schoolmen, converts to mediævalism, insinuating Romish sentiments, circulating and republishing Romish works ; introducing Romish practices in their private, and infusing a Romish

tone into their public devotions ; introducing the Romish confessional, enjoining Romish penances, adopting Romish prostrations, recommending Romish litanies ; muttering the Romish Shibboleth, and rejoicing in the cant of Romish fanaticism, assuming sometimes the garb of the Romish priesthood, and venerating without imitating their celibacy ; defending Romish miracles, and receiving as true the lying legends of Rome ; almost adoring Romish saints, and complaining that we have had no saints in England since we purified our Church ; explaining away the idolatry, and pining for the Mariolatry of the Church of Rome ; vituperating the English Reformation, and receiving for the truth the false doctrines of the Council of Trent ; when I find them whispering in the ears of credulous ignorance, in high places as well as in low, that the two Churches are in principle the same ; when they who were once in the pit on the one side of the wall, have now tumbled over on the other side, and have fallen into 'a lower deep still gaping to devour them ;' I conceive that I am bound as a High Churchman to remain stationary, and not to follow them in their downfalling. I believe it to be incumbent upon every High Churchman to declare plainly that it is not merely in detail, that it is not merely in the application of our principles, but in our principles themselves, that we differ from the Church of Rome ; and that no man can secede to Rome, the system of which is opposed to the truth as it is in Jesus, without placing his soul in peril, and risking his salvation. . . .

Long as this letter is, I must intrude upon your kindness in affording it space in your columns a little further, that I may observe that the title of my pamphlet, the 'Nonentity of Romish Saints,' has led to some misapprehension on the part of those who have read the title only. What I undertake to show, is, that there can be no saints in the Romish sense of the word. I do not deny that there can be any good men, in spite of its heresy, schism, and idolatry, in the Church of Rome. There are many who are only deserving of the greater admiration from the very circumstance of their having led good lives under so corrupt a system.

In this respect what I complain of is one-sidedness. Charles Borromeo was, we believe, a good man ; so was Charles Wesley. Both of them are considered by High Churchmen to have been partially in error. If you call Charles Borromeo a saint, why not call Charles Wesley a saint ? Both were holy men. Canonise both or neither.

The excellent remark made by Bishop Wilberforce that Hook was like a ship at anchor, which, though stationary, swings round to present its breast to the tide, naturally recurs to the mind at this point of his history. The two currents which the Church had to stem were Romanism and infidelity. The Vicar of Leeds steadfastly and bravely set his face against both. Romanism, indeed, was brought to his very doors, so to say, by the church of St. Saviour's, and it was against this that his efforts were primarily directed. He considered Romanism to be the handmaid of infidelity, and foresaw a coming prevalence of scepticism, as a recoil from the extravagant teaching and practice of the Romanising party in the Church. But the infidelity with which he was actually brought into contact was not that of cultivated and reflective men, whose minds have become bewildered and unhinged by the logical problems, but rather that coarse heathenish form of it which is the result either of gross ignorance, or of profligate living.

Hence at this time the two strings, so to say, on which his mind most continually harped, were the Protestant and the educational.

The deep suspicion which he now entertained of the extreme High Church party deterred him from co-operating with them, even for the promotion of objects which in themselves he considered desirable. He distrusted their loyalty, and still more their discretion ; he was disposed to regard them as a kind of clique who tampered with the pure doctrine and practice of the Church of England, and impeded the progress of both.

These feelings are very clearly manifested in a long letter which he addressed, in October 1850, to the Secretaries of the Yorkshire Church Union, declining to become a member of it. The letter is too voluminous to be transcribed in full, but a brief extract from the latter part will suffice to indicate its tone.

. . . I do not see how members of the Church of England can be called upon to form a Union, except on the principles and in vindication of the principles of the English Reformation. These principles are both Catholic and Protestant ; Catholic as opposed to the peculiarities of rationalism, and Protestant as opposed to the

mediævalism of the Romanist. I do not see how a consistent High Churchman can, after what has transpired, join your Union unless you state one of your objects to be 'To maintain and propagate the principles of the English Reformation; to uphold Scriptural and primitive truth, in opposition to mediæval heresies, and to preserve the middle position of the Church of England in opposition equally to rationalistic scepticism and Romish superstition.' If this were to be one of the avowed objects of your institution, it would exclude Romanisers as well as all rationalists, and would bring together High Churchmen, or those who are determined to maintain the principles of the reformed Catholic Church of England. . . .

Let those unite who glory in the principles of the Church of England, and let them seek to adorn their principles by leading lives more devoted, more pure, more holy. Then will the number of those be increased who regard England and the Church of England as destined to answer a high purpose in the providence of God.

This letter brought down upon him a storm of reproaches from most of the extreme sections in the Church, but subsequent events in Leeds and elsewhere only served to confirm him in the sentiments and opinions which he had expressed.

What we may call the Protestant element in his mind being most dominant at this period, it is not surprising that he was partly carried away by the torrent of popular fear and rage which swept over the country when Pope Pius IX., in the autumn of 1850, announced his intention of organising a complete hierarchy in England, by dividing the country into twelve dioceses to be ruled by bishops taking their titles from English towns. He was not indeed seriously alarmed at the 'aggression' as it was commonly called, but he resented it as a gross affront to the Crown and to the Church of England.

A large meeting of clergy was held in Leeds early in November, at which he made a vigorous and impassioned speech on the subject. The resolution which he moved was, that 'the clergy of this Archdeaconry view with the strongest indignation the Papal Bull of September 24, by which the Bishop of Rome has dared in his arrogancy to parcel out this

realm of England into districts, to erect such districts into Romish Sees, to appoint to those Sees ecclesiastics of his own choice, and to confer upon them titles taken from some of the chief towns in the Kingdom, thus dishonouring the Queen's majesty, ignoring the very existence of the Church, and sowing the seeds of strife throughout the land.'

Indignant (he began) as my feelings are at the insult offered to my native land, and to my honoured mother the Church of England, I trust that I shall be so far enabled to restrain them as not to exceed that moderation of language which is becoming when addressing such an assembly as the present. I think that I may safely say that we do not desire to see violated those principles of toleration which have long been established in this country. I for one believe that the Church of England was never so powerful for good as she has been since the time when persons discontented with her discipline and her doctrine have been at liberty to quit her communion without being subjected to pains and penalties. I am fully aware that if toleration is to be granted to Romish Dissenters, toleration must be granted to Romish Bishops. They have long had bishops in England, and we neither interfered with nor cared for their Vicars Apostolic. We murmured not, neither did we complain. But the case is now altered. A foreign Power has assumed authority to confer jurisdiction connected with territory, which we consider to be a political grievance. . . . Still further, the Romish sect has dared to declare in the ears of all Europe, that this wise and understanding people, this great English nation, is prepared to fall back into the superstitions of the dark ages, and that we are prepared to accept Popery. Therefore it is that England is convulsed from one end to the other, therefore it is that in one loud national voice, a voice in which the Church of England must unite, we answer in the ears of Europe, and in the words of our great national poet,

You told a lie, an odious, damned lie,
Upon my soul, a lie, a wicked lie.

But though I think this is our duty, I think at the same time that by this false move of the enemy our hands are strengthened. They *will* be strengthened if, instead of resorting to crimination and recrimination, we permit the present event to bind us closer in the bonds of brotherly love and Christian fellowship ; if we per-

mit it to dispel the suspicions with which we too often regard one another, and break down party barriers ; if, while we allow due latitude to opinions, we are united in our principles, the principles of the reformed Church of England, both Catholic and Protestant, for neither of these will I give up.

An address to the Bishop of Ripon, conceived in the same spirit of patriotism and of devotion to the National Church, was drawn up by the Vicar as Rural Dean, and signed by the forty-seven clergy of his Deanery.

That union of rival parties in the Church against a common foe, which was so earnestly advocated in the conclusion of his speech, might have been more extensively effected but for a letter which the Prime Minister (Lord John Russell) thought proper to publish, addressed to the Bishop of Durham, in which he insinuated that the teaching and practice of the High Church clergy were far more formidable sources of danger to the Church of England than any aggression on the part of Rome. In fact the Premier gave the spur to that fierce indiscriminating passion of Protestantism, which, when thoroughly roused in the breast of the English people, makes them cease to become reasonable beings, while the ungodly and profane, in their detestation of all religion, are careful to foment the strife. All over the country a wild cry of 'No Popery' was raised ; moderate High Churchmen were denounced as Papists, a decent and orderly ceremonial was stigmatised as Popish mummerly. The disgraceful riots which have been too common in London churches during the past twenty-five years, date from this period of excitement and confusion.

It was in the midst of all this national ferment and frenzy that the affairs of St. Saviour's Church in Leeds were brought to a crisis. The Bishop of Ripon was continually receiving information of objectionable teaching on so many points, that he determined to make an investigation into the truth of the allegations. An enquiry was accordingly held by him on December 14 and 15, in the vestry of the parish church, in the presence of the Vicar, a few other clergy of the town, and a lawyer. The clergy of St. Saviour's, and several witnesses were

examined. The principal facts elicited were, that the duty of confessing to a priest before receiving the Holy Eucharist was systematically taught ; that belief in the seven sacraments and in penance as a means of forgiveness of actual deadly sin was inculcated ; that it had been asserted that deadly sin after baptism must end in spiritual death unless penance was resorted to, and unless the sinner confessed his offences to a priest ; and that after consecration the bread in Holy Communion was no more bread, and the wine no more wine.

The result of this investigation was that the Bishop inhibited one of the clergy from officiating, suspended the licence of another, and issued a notice to the Vicar of St. Saviour's, Mr. Minster, that these were only preliminary steps to further proceedings. The necessity of further proceedings, however, was obviated by a wholesale secession of the clergy to the Church of Rome in the following spring, accompanied by several members of the congregation. Out of fifteen clergy who had been connected with St. Saviour's since the consecration of the church in 1845, nine had now seceded. Only one remained at his post after the great collapse of 1851. Before the close of that year a new vicar was found after some difficulty, and so ends the second chapter in the singular and melancholy history of that church. From this date the secessions to Rome cease ; the parish relapses into a state of quiescence, at times of insignificance.

There has been a strange and painful contrast between the work actually achieved at St. Saviour's and the high expectations originally formed concerning it. But it is to be hoped that, under the administration of a vicar combining vigour and discretion, a prosperous future may be in store for the parish. And although the experiment at St. Saviour's was on the whole a failure, partly owing to human infirmity, and partly to untoward circumstances, let it be freely owned that the effort was in itself a noble one. A church planted in the midst of poverty and vice, a band of clergy living together in frugal simplicity beneath the shadow of the church, this was a noble design ; and among the clergy at different times were

men unsurpassed in self-denying devotion to the duties of their holy calling. And when the church was in its infancy and all connected with it were full of high hopes and earnest aspirations, a spirit of zeal was kindled in the hearts of many, and an ideal standard of work rose before their minds, the effects of which have never died away.

But gradually the spirit of controversy, earnestly deprecated as it had been with a kind of prophetic instinct by Dr. Pusey in his preface to the sermons preached at the consecration, fell like a blight upon that happy brotherhood, and with controversy came restlessness, discontent with the sober standard of teaching and practice prescribed by the Church of England, morbid and puerile sentimentalism. First the suspicions, then the indignation, of the great champion of the 'middle path,' the Vicar of the parish church, were aroused; he smote the disaffected fiercely, unsparingly, on the right hand and on the left, by speech, by sermon, by pamphlet, by letter, and then came fallings away, and one by one they went out, 'not knowing whither they went.'

The government of Lord John Russell sought to humour the popular feeling against the Papal aggression, by bringing in a Bill which prohibited the assumption of English territorial titles by Roman Catholic Bishops. It was carried by a large majority, but it was an utterly futile measure. It could not prevent other persons from giving them those titles, and ostentatiously employing them on every possible occasion; and some of the most powerful advocates of civil and religious liberty, including Sir James Graham, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Roundell Palmer, Mr. Cobden, and Mr. Bright, offered a strenuous opposition to the Bill as alike unjust and ineffective.

The Vicar of Leeds had never suffered from that abject, not to say ridiculous terror to which a large portion of the English public had been reduced by the so-called Papal aggression, but it has been seen to what a degree it provoked his indignation, while the recent events in Leeds had increased his dread and detestation of the Roman Church. He was, therefore, a warm supporter of the Ecclesiastical Titles

Assumption Bill, which he considered a righteous and wholesome protest, to say the least, against the arrogant pretensions and encroachments of a foreign Power.

The following letters to Mr. Gladstone will sufficiently illustrate the overheated degree of excitement under which he laboured on the subject.

12 Great George Street, Westminster : June 23, 1851.

My dear Mr. Gladstone,—On my return from Yarmouth on Saturday I found on my table a copy of your speech on the Ecclesiastical Titles Assumption Bill, and I thank you for sending it. I wish that I could dwell exclusively on its literary merits, for your power of expression and command of language have always a charm for me ; but I am prevented from doing this by my strong feelings with reference to the subject of the Papal aggression. I am no politician, but as a patriot, a Churchman, and a Christian I am boiling over with indignation at the attack which has been made upon the institutions of my country, my Church, and my religion, by an avowed, wicked, and unscrupulous enemy. I believe that assailant to be the enemy of God and man, for although the Pope be the antichrist employed against the cause of my Saviour and my God in this country, the real author of the movement is he who is the author of all evil.

Such being the fact that an attack has been made upon my country and my Church, I deeply lament the other fact, that you are not leading the battle, as I should have expected, against our deadly foe. I can only look to that fact and see that as you are not with us, you are against us ; and in consequence at the next election for the University you will find me, if alive, among the foremost and most decided of your opponents.

I did not intend to address you on the subject at present, but after having received a copy of your speech, it would be want of candour on my part if I did not tell you my mind. But nothing will interfere with the respect and esteem with which I have so long regarded you, and I trust you will always permit me to subscribe myself, my dear Mr. Gladstone,

Yours very truly.

12 Great George Street, Westminster : June 25, 1851.

My dear Mr. Gladstone, . . . I cannot think that the present Bill is so defective and dishonest as you seem to think, because you

must remember that more than four hundred members have pronounced it to be honest and effective, whose number must be increased by the Irish members, who would not be so vehement in their opposition if they did not so regard it ; but were this otherwise it would be quite effective enough for me, even if the provisions of it were less stringent. All I wanted was what we have obtained, a proof to the world that this wise and understanding people, the great English nation, who hurled a sovereign from the throne because he was a Papist, are still as resolute and determined to resist any Papal aggression. From one end of the island to the other our voice has been heard, and yet, plain as our language was, the enemy would have succeeded in persuading Europe that it was only the voice of a few fanatics, unless our representatives had responded to it. I consider our great majority in the House to be a glorious declaration of our detestation of Popery, and still more glorious is the fact that even a Whig ministry has not dared to resist the public feeling in this respect.

I am still, as old age is coming upon me, prepared to do battle against all comers from all quarters in behalf of the honoured Church of England, as I was in the days of my youth.

It is needless to say that these strong expressions of disapprobation were received and answered in the same spirit of friendly candour in which they were uttered. And the wrong which, as the Vicar fancied, had been done by Mr. Gladstone to the Church in this instance, was in his estimation redeemed by the subsequent exertions of that statesman on behalf of the Church, and his indefatigable efforts to promote the moral, social, and material welfare of the people.

Writing to him in January 1852, to thank him for a copy of his pamphlet on the 'Functions of Laymen in the Church,' he says : 'At the time of the Papal aggression, I felt it to be so important to strengthen our national defences, that I ventured to express my opposition to the line of political conduct pursued by you. I feel, therefore, that I am not taking an improper liberty when I now express my admiration at the sound practical wisdom, united with correct Church principle, which, both in this pamphlet and in that on the Universities, you have displayed. May we all profit by it !'

He had, indeed, completely broken away from all servitude to political party, and was prepared to give his hearty support to anyone who would permit or assist the Church to develop her resources on the one hand, and on the other to carry on the work of national education and social improvement. In a letter to Sir W. Page Wood in the middle of 1852 he writes : ' I cannot help thinking that, as we have always coincided in our religious opinions, we shall end life with being one in our politics. The present incapable Ministry¹ cannot last. It will terminate Toryism, as with the last Ministry² the reign of Whiggism came to an end. New parties must be formed, and I shall certainly be attached to the party of progress. Immense social improvements must take place. We are bound as Christians to aim at this.'

In harmony with the sentiments of this letter, he viewed with satisfaction the coalition of the Whig and Peelite parties under Lord Aberdeen on the downfall of Lord Derby's administration at the close of 1852. Mr. Gladstone accepted the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Coalition Cabinet, and his election for the University of Oxford was by many vehemently opposed, but by no one more heartily supported than by the Vicar of Leeds, as the following letter to a ' Member of the Oxford Convocation ' will show.

Dear Sir,—I receive with thanks your remonstrance against my vote for Mr. Gladstone, and I shall be happy if what I say in vindication of that vote shall induce you to extend him your support. It is on the ground of his supporting a Coalition Government that you refuse him your vote and interest. . . .

If it were the question whether the country should be governed by the Whig party or the Tory party I should from early prejudice if not from conviction, be in favour of the Tories. But the country has decided, and I think wisely, that by these two rival parties the country shall be no longer governed. The Whig party was in power under Lord John Russell, of whom I will only say that if I were a Whig I could not desire an abler leader. But the Whig

¹ Lord Derby's. It began in February 1852, and came to an end in the autumn of the same year.

² Lord John Russell's.

party could not govern the country. The Tory party made the attempt under a leader of whom I may say what I have said of Lord John Russell, with this addition, that Lord Derby is perhaps the most eloquent man of the age. But the Tory party was, equally with the Whig party, unable to govern the country.

Almost all thinking men are anxious to see the social condition of the people improved, and certain reforms carried into effect ; and instead of encouraging a contest for power between rival factions, they require the heads of different parties to unite for the public good. Having been thrown into very general society, and having personal friends in every party, not excluding the Chartists, my object in life having been not to make men Tories or Whigs, but pious members of the Church of England, I am able to make this assertion in very strong terms, and without fear of reasonable contradiction. In other words, the country demands a Coalition Administration. The leaders of parties have responded to the call. Lord John Russell has made great sacrifices, and so have the adherents of the late Sir Robert Peel ; and we may hope that the leaders of the Tory party will in course of time send in their adhesion, and, admitting that the country is no longer to be governed by either of the ancient parties, unite with their opponents in promoting the country's good.

Mr. Gladstone is one of the leaders who has pursued this course, and has sacrificed (we may hope only for a time) the good opinion of some of his former friends. Many of his former friends, who vote against him, vote, in fact, against a Coalition Government, and say, in effect, ' none but a Tory shall reign over us. . . . This is clear and intelligible ground. Such persons I think to be in error, but I honour them for their very prejudices.

But there is another class of persons whose ground is less intelligible, although their prejudices are to be equally respected. There are some who go with us to this point, that a Coalition Ministry is necessary, but are enraged against Mr. Gladstone for joining a Ministry which contains — and —. How can he sit in a Cabinet, they ask, which contains such men as these? In other words, they demand an impossibility. If we are to have a Coalition Ministry, it must contain men of various shades of opinion, and some who are opposed to others on very important questions. What the country wants is a Ministry which shall not legislate for the Whig interest or the Tory interest, but for the general good of the country. How is such a Ministry to

be formed, except upon the plan and principle adopted by Lord Aberdeen?

If you are opposed to the principle of a Coalition Ministry, you must, of course, be opposed to Mr. Gladstone. But if you see that old parties are broken up, and that a Coalition Ministry we must have, it is folly, if not madness, to deprive the Ministry of its conservative element.

I do not myself agree with Mr. Gladstone in all his opinions. I disapproved of the course he took in regard to the Papal aggression, and spoke my mind to him with freedom. But if I could convince you, as clearly as I feel convinced myself, that he is a patriot devoted to the best interests of his country, a philanthropist desirous of promoting the welfare of the working classes, a Christian illustrating the principles of Christianity in an unblemished life, and a Churchman who loves the Church of England and desires to maintain her in that *via media* in which she has providentially been placed, you will vote, as I have voted, heartily for Mr. Gladstone.

He transferred, indeed, to Mr. Gladstone, the admiration which he had entertained for Sir Robert Peel during the lifetime of that eminent statesman. He believed both to be sincere and enlightened patriots, but the bolder policy and the warmer temperament of Mr. Gladstone enlisted his sympathies in a higher degree. In spite of occasional differences of opinion, he regarded him to the end of his life with undiminished esteem, as the foremost statesman of his age, the fearless champion of liberty and justice, the firm defender of the true interests and real honour of his country through evil report and good report. And the admiration was reciprocal. The great statesman was accustomed to speak of the great Vicar as the foremost parish priest of his age; he lamented the scanty and tardy recognition made by the State of his eminent services to the Church, and as soon as he was able, after he became Premier, he offered him the preferment which then came too late, but which ten years earlier would have been thankfully accepted.

The influence, indeed, of the Vicar in Leeds amongst all classes of the community, but especially among the working people, was in no small degree due to his thoroughly English

patriotic spirit. He loved his country, he thought that no other country in the world was equal to it ; and he threw himself with enthusiasm into all local efforts either to celebrate national events, or to do honour to national heroes. In October 1852 he writes to Sir W. P. Wood after the death of the Duke of Wellington : ‘ I will not say anything of the loss of our great hero, of him whose prowess and glory we have watched and delighted in from our childish days : alas ! “ we shall not look upon his like again.” I love old England the more for the intense enthusiasm for that good old English heart of oak. But I must tell you that I, who have eschewed politics, have done a little politics while you have been abroad. I thought it right to attend the inauguration of the Peel statue here, and to make a speech laudatory of that great man. I did so for various reasons. I thought it right to show my sympathy with the townsmen on a point on which we are all agreed, and I wished to take a line which showed me to be no adherent of the present Government.’

He declined an invitation to take part in the grand procession which followed the Great Duke’s remains to their resting-place in St. Paul’s, London, in order that he might preach at the great services with which that day was celebrated at his own church. The Mayor and Corporation attended in state, marching in procession with a long line of military, preceded by their band, and many gentlemen of the neighbourhood. A vast concourse of people thronged the building where the service and the sermon were alike worthy of the occasion. None who heard it will easily forget the music sung on that day, sung as few choirs but the choir of Leeds parish church could sing it : ‘ Ye sons of Israel now lament ;’ Mozart’s ‘ Requiem :’ ‘ Have mercy, Lord,’ from Beethoven ; and an adaptation from Haydn’s *Passion Music for Revelation* xiv. 13.

Few, too, who heard the sermon can have forgotten how the Vicar, after dwelling upon the high sense of honour, and of duty, the courage and firmness mingled with modesty and humility, which distinguished the Great Duke, concluded with

an earnest exhortation to cultivate a spirit of 'enlightened patriotism as a religious duty.' 'Let us each endeavour,' he said, 'in our respective stations, to render the institutions of our country more and more conducive to the welfare of the great masses of the people ; and they in their love to their own, their native land, will be ready to second, if need shall be, the gallant efforts of that patriotic army so often led to victory by the great captain we have lost. . . . Let us glory in the fact that we are Englishmen, and remember that as Englishmen we are to set an example to the world, and not to seek, whether in morals, in religion, or in politics, a model in other nations ; that we have what few nations possess, a constitution worth defending. Let us glory in our insularity, our insularity being one of our means of protection morally and religiously as well as physically.'

And in like manner on all public occasions of local interest, such as the inauguration of any public building, or institution or charity which was likely to be a benefit to the community at large, the Vicar never failed to be present and to take a leading part. He rejoiced in such opportunities of meeting men who were opposed to him in political or religious opinions, and of sinking differences in the desire, common to them all, as good citizens, of promoting the moral good and material prosperity of their great town. It was his aim, too, in his speeches on all such occasions, to infuse a religious spirit into the work whatever it might be, and to prove that the undertaking was not complete unless a divine blessing had been invoked upon it.

At the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the new Town Hall in August 1853, it was reckoned that not less than 50,000 persons were present. The Vicar, in his speech, pointed out how the building was intended to extend the benefits to the people of two divine attributes, justice and mercy, for it would be the central place of meeting for the committees of the various charities of the town, as well as for the courts of law, and he therefore called upon the people as their chief pastor to utter a hearty Amen to his prayer that God would vouchsafe His blessing upon the building ; and loud

and deep was the response which rose from that vast assembly. The genuine and warm interest which he took in this event are manifest in the following letter to Vice-Chancellor Wood :

Yesterday went off gloriously. All shops and mills were closed. It was a complete holiday, and the whole population turned out to take part in the proceedings ; the very roofs of the houses being covered with people anxious to see the procession. As there were no robes or uniforms except those of the military, and we have not many quartered here at present, the crowds were the more remarkable, and, dense as they were, the order and decorum were more remarkable still.

The procession was headed (after some police and a band to prepare the way) by the Vicar, supported on the one hand by Sir J. Goodman, our Radical M.P., a Baptist, though a staunch advocate of mine, and on the other by Mr. Baines, M.P. The many greetings I received from the occupiers of windows as we passed seemed always attended with a smile as if amused at my new and very delightful position. After us followed the corporation, then the military, then the clubs—Odd Fellows, Sons of Apollo, &c.

On the ground, the speakers were the Mayor (John Hope Shaw), the Vicar, old Mr. Hall, representing the former corporation, and Edward Baines, the editor of the 'Mercury.'

At the dinner, there was much kind feeling shown ; and, what will most interest you, the Vicar was received most enthusiastically as one who had always taken a warm interest in all that relates to the welfare of the town of Leeds. The Town Council consists almost exclusively of Radicals and Dissenters, so that all this was very marked. I do not apologise for an egotism which will give you pleasure. I do not place an undue value upon these things, but I have an ambition to be loved. From my earliest days my thoughts have been of the happiness of a beloved pastor. To be loved by my family, to be loved by my friend, to be loved by my parish, and this without compromise of principle ; this is the height of my ambition.

I had a great mind to tell the people that nothing in the shape of preferment could ever take me away from Leeds, but I thought it better not to commit myself.

He did, indeed, reach during that final period of his life at Leeds on which we have now entered, the height of his ambi-

tion, as he describes it in this letter. He had lived down suspicions, obloquy, and opposition; he had won the ardent love and esteem of all classes of the people committed to his charge; he had secured for the Church such a dominant position as she enjoyed in scarce any other town in England, and now, to the end of his career as a vicar, he had little more to do than gently to foster the spirit which he had created, and to watch and tend the steady growth of the principles which he had planted. It was a period of intense but, on the whole, of serene activity, unruffled by such painful conflicts and controversies as had disturbed the first decade of his ministry at Leeds.

In a sermon which he preached on September 2, 1851, being the tenth anniversary of the consecration of the parish church, he took a review of the progress of work in Leeds since that event: and as usual he assigned the chief credit of it all to his flock and to the clergy by whom he had been assisted, putting out of sight his own inspiring energy which had really been the source and mainspring of it all.

I rejoice (he said) to think that all men of all sections of the Church, both of the clergy and of the laity, who have any pretensions to be called religious, have been actively engaged; and what has been done must be regarded as the triumph, not of a party but of the Church.

And let us see the result. After expending 28,000*l.* in rebuilding this the parish church, you have in the course of ten years erected ten new churches, some of them at a cost of not less than 15,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* To the whole of the Church population among us, the expression of our thanks is due; not only to those who have literally given of their wealth, but to those who with less means have raised money through begging cards, and to the poor by whose pence those cards were filled.

Assisted by a legacy of 20,000*l.*¹ bequeathed for church purposes in Leeds, you have erected seventeen parsonage-houses, thereby securing to as many districts the advantage and blessing of a resident minister.

The parish of Leeds, one and undivided at the period when this church was consecrated, has already been formed into seventeen

¹ From Mrs. Mathewman.

parishes, all of them endowed, and the clergy have increased from twenty-five to sixty.

With the aid afforded by the National Society, and by grants from the Committee of the Privy Council, you have liberally contributed to the erection of twenty-one school-rooms, to many of which are attached houses for the masters; and you have during the last ten years provided school accommodation for 7,500 children, of whose general proficiency a favourable report has been made by the Government Inspector.¹

He then went on to speak of the seasons of commercial distress, and of the deadly pestilences of Asiatic cholera and Irish fever, by which the town had been visited; and how bravely they had been met; with what patient fortitude on the part of the poor, with what generosity on the part of the rich; with what fearless devotion to their duty on the part of the clergy, one of them (the Rev. Edward Jackson) having been brought to the gates of death by cholera, and another, William Stanley Monck, having died of the Irish fever.

And then turning to the deeper part of his subject—the internal work—the growth of grace in individual souls, he asked, ‘Has this made equal progress with the external works of which I have been speaking?’ The hearts and consciences of each must answer for themselves. But this much he could say. ‘Some, who ten years ago were among the careless, are now among the most energetic of the brethren; and many minds, once in doubt, are now devoted to the truth as it is in Jesus. There have been confirmed in this church 4,500 young persons, and of these the greater number have continued to be communicants.’

Lastly he spoke with thankfulness of the spirit of brotherly love which had lately prevailed between the several classes of the community.

There was a time when the good cause was likely to be retarded by our divisions; may the God of truth and peace pardon what is

¹ By confining his retrospect to the last ten years, he did not state the whole of the church-building and school-building accomplished since he had become Vicar, which amounted to thirteen churches, and accommodation for 10,000 children.

past, and continue to us the desire to unite in the great work which presses upon every Christian philanthropist ; namely, to devise the means of extending the comforts of life, and of opening the enjoyments of civilised society to the great mass of the working population, and at the same time of defending the rights of property, and of preserving the principles of social order ; of vindicating the cause of the poor, and of asserting the responsibilities of wealth, and at the same time of binding all, the employer and the employed, in the bonds of brotherly love ; of encouraging freedom of enquiry and independence of mind, and at the same time leavening society with the religious element, leading men to the only Saviour, and educating them for eternity as well as for time.'

The subject referred to in the last words of this passage was one which pressed very heavily upon the mind of the Vicar and the rest of the clergy in Leeds. In spite of all the work which had been accomplished, so rapid was the growth of the population that there were large masses who were lost to the influence, not only of the Church but of Christianity, and even of civilisation, especially in the suburban manufacturing districts. Writing to Vice-Chancellor Wood in 1851, he says, 'you at a distance cannot understand the savage ignorance, the embittered barbarism of our manufacturing villages ; you can have no notion of the ignorance which prevails, and which, being unchecked by superstition, is ready to break out into terrible acts whenever there is an opportunity. This it is which makes me so anxious about education.' A committee of the Ruri-decanal Chapter of Leeds was appointed in September 1851, consisting of the Vicar, as Chairman, and six other clergy,¹ to consider the best means of reclaiming the lost portion of the population.

Their report was issued on October 20, and it is remarkable for suggestions which were then regarded as startlingly novel, but which have since been very commonly put into practice with the most beneficial results. The following were the most important. (1) The multiplication and division of services in the Church ; (2) the establishment of short services specially

¹ Mr. W. Sinclair, Mr. J. D. Dixon, Mr. E. Jackson, Mr. J. H. F. Kendall, Mr. H. W. Short, and Mr. James Fawcett.

adapted to children ; (3) the celebration of Holy Communion at a greater variety of hours ; (4) services and preaching in the open air, or in a movable building or tent ; (5) an authorised hymn-book ; (6) the extension of the diaconate and revival of the subdiaconate ; (7) the promotion of popular education, not only by means of schools for the young, but also by the establishment of scientific institutions, reading-rooms and libraries for adults.

In harmony with the spirit of the last suggestion a great deal of the Vicar's time and attention were bestowed, during this period, upon improving by every means in his power the moral and intellectual condition of the operatives and lower middle class. If he could not make good Churchmen of them all, he felt that he might prepare the way for the reception of religious truth by helping to cultivate among them a taste for literature and science, and a spirit of rational enquiry. And as a healthy body is an essential condition of a sound mind, he earnestly advocated the provision of opportunities and means for wholesome recreation. He gave a lecture at the Music Hall in 1853 in favour of the early-closing movement, opposed the encampment of the militia on Woodhouse Moor, a piece of high and heathy ground adjacent to the town, and prompted the Town Council to secure it as a public park for the benefit of the inhabitants. He would not support in 1856 a scheme for providing bands of music to play on the moor on Sundays, but neither would he sign a protest against it drawn up by thirty-eight clergy in Leeds and the suburbs, because he considered that it was based upon a false conception of the nature of that holy day. He therefore preached a sermon in the parish church upon the subject of the 'Lord's Day,' exposing the common confusion introduced by the Puritans between the Sabbath and the Sunday, and pointing out that while the Sabbath was a Divine institution, for the observance of which direct and particular commands had been given by God Himself, the Sunday was of ecclesiastical origin. It had, indeed, been set apart by the Church for worship, mental repose, and bodily rest ; but with these objects innocent recreation was not in-

compatible, and could not reasonably be prohibited if it did not involve severe labour on the part of those who provided it, or interfere with religious duties.

The addresses and lectures which he delivered in Leeds and other places between 1850 and 1859 would fill a volume, and it would be impossible within the limits of this memoir to give a particular account of them. Considering that they were all prepared in such intervals of leisure as he could snatch from his daily labour of carrying on a voluminous correspondence, writing sermons, visiting the sick, and the innumerable other calls which split up the time of a parish priest in a large town, they testify to extraordinary fertility of thought, industry in research, rapidity in composition, and physical strength. For they were by no means the light and flimsy productions which might be expected and pardoned in one distracted by the manifold avocations of a vast pastoral charge. The lectures on Queen Elizabeth, on Marlborough, and on the Crusades, were in matter and in style such as no scholar who had made the study of history his constant employment would have been ashamed to own. And like the biographies of the Primates which he wrote in his old age, they are lighted up with gleams of original humour, and studded with wise and weighty practical observations which could not have come from anyone but himself; from his large-hearted human sympathy, and his great experience of human character. Hence he was equally happy in his addresses to artisans in their Mechanics' Institutes, and in his lectures as President of the Church Institute, or of the Philosophical and Literary Societies, when he spoke to a cultivated audience. Judging from the reports of these addresses, I think it would be true to say that he never failed on the one hand to put his hearers in good humour by exciting their mirth, and on the other, by giving them sound, wise, practical advice, to teach them to be contented with their lot, yet animated by a spirit of honourable ambition; and above all, to impress upon them the deep, the paramount importance of acquiring a knowledge of religious truth, and of discharging all the duties of life upon religious principles.

Passages detached from their context necessarily lose a great deal of their force, and it is very difficult, out of so large a choice, to select the best specimens. A very few, culled from a large number of lectures and addresses, are all which can, within my limits, be presented to the reader.

In his address at the opening of the Mechanics' Institute at Holbeck (a suburb of Leeds), he observed that what men disliked was not labour, but only that labour in which they took no interest, or which they were compelled to do against their inclination. 'What tremendous hard work,' he said, 'one class of persons perform—the fox-hunters; they are most laborious men but the secret of the matter is that they call their business pleasure.'

Speaking as President of the Philosophical Society, he remarked that it could not be complained that there was no demand for serious reading, but he said,

We do complain that such writers as Robert Montgomery and Martin Tupper should be the representatives of the public taste. The blame lies, not with the manufacturers, but with the consumers. Too frequently a truism adorned with pomp of language, and illustrated by metaphors evoked from earth, sea, and heaven, is urged as a discovery; and it is notorious that, while writings of deep thought, however clearly expressed, are not only not circulated, but sometimes actually regarded with suspicion, works filled with pompous truisms are circulated by thousands among whole classes, who have recourse to them because they consider serious reading a duty.

At the opening of the East Ward Mechanics' Institute, of which he was president, in the course of a long and very able address, he observed:

When we look at the animal creation we see that God has created large classes of animals gregarious; they are wretched and miserable if they are left in solitude. It is difficult to say *why* this is the case, and I believe that the only reason which can be given is that our benevolent Creator has so ordained it to increase the sum of happiness. Amongst these creatures of our God who are thus constituted, man is one; man is a social creature, man in

solitude pines, becomes miserable and dies. We are social in everything we do ; associated to carry on business ; associated for purposes of religion ; and indeed without association it is impossible that civilisation can be advanced. We associate also for the purposes of amusement and recreation, and so strong is this feeling in human nature that men will associate for evil if they are not associated for good. If we look to the alehouse, we shall see that it is filled not in the first instance by men who have acquired an appetite for drink, but that generally it has been resorted to for the purposes of social enjoyment. . . . This being so, the very best thing we can do to counteract these habits of vice is to establish such institutions as the present. . . . But when persons come here they have only taken one step ; there are few who will not be led to seek a higher and a better knowledge than that which is here provided. I see around your walls many mottoes, all of them requiring some knowledge on the part of those who read them, because while they assert a truth, they do not assert the whole truth. For instance, I see here 'Wisdom is wealth.' There is a sense, no doubt, in which this is true, but we know that all wise men do not become wealthy, for besides wisdom there must be energy and exertion ; neither does wealth, properly speaking, signify riches, but 'well-being' in all that concerns body, soul, and spirit. On the other wall I see the motto 'Knowledge is power, light and happiness ;' so it is ; but what kind of knowledge ? The knowledge of our duty to ourselves, to our neighbour, and to our God. . . . We have subscribed together to afford the means to all classes in this ward to benefit themselves. There is one other object, a most important one ; to promote a cordial understanding, brotherly love, and kindly feeling between these various classes.

Small though our strength, let each do what he can ;

Whate'er conduces to the march of mind,

Whate'er binds man in closer ties to man,

Should in each generous heart a patron find.

These glances, brief and imperfect though they are, at the untiring efforts of the Vicar to improve the moral and the intellectual condition of the working people, and to increase the sum of their happiness and comfort, will enable the reader readily to understand the enthusiasm of their devotion to him, and the extraordinary amount of influence which he could exercise over them. One who carefully watched his career

from the beginning, remarks : 'His real strength was in the working classes. He was from his first coming to Leeds the working man's Vicar ; he wished to be this, and they recognised the justice of the claim. Popular was he, and few ever more deserved it ; for whatever the special object or occasion, he was always found advocating the interests of the operatives, and was ready with his purse (often far beyond his means), as well as with his pen and his voice, to serve their cause.'

Their gratitude to him, and their confidence in him were continually being testified in a variety of ways, sometimes pathetic, sometimes amusing, but always striking. On the occasion of the Queen's visit to Leeds to open the new Town Hall in 1858, twenty thousand members of the Friendly Societies who had permission to line the streets during her progress through the town, requested the Vicar to sign an address and present it on their behalf to her Majesty. In his reply to their application the Vicar said : 'That the Friendly Societies of Leeds should have selected me, not only to present the address, but to sign it on their behalf, thereby constituting me as their representative, is esteemed by me as the highest honour I have ever received during the thirty-three years of my residence as a clergyman in the manufacturing districts.' But the crowning token of the confidence which the operatives reposed in him was given shortly after this event. There was a strike among the colliers in the neighbourhood of Leeds. They proposed that their claim should be referred to three arbitrators : the first arbitrator to be chosen by the masters, the second by the men, and the third by the Vicar. 'It is a blessed thing,' he writes in a letter to Sir W. P. Wood, 'to have the working people looking to the parson as their friend, and never did anything occur which has given me more pleasure than this transaction.'

The secret of their attachment to him and confidence in him was to be found primarily in the transparent reality and honesty of his sympathy with them, and the purely disinterested nature of his desire for their welfare. His exertions never savoured of a perfunctory, professional character. They were

the outgoings of his whole heart to and for the people, and he won their hearts in return. 'I find that wherever I go,' he says in one of his letters, 'for instance to the cheap concerts, when I enter the room there is immediately a cheer of welcome from the gallery, and this reminds me that to get at the working classes we must enter into their amusements. One of my curates found the most unlikely man in his district going to church, to the astonishment of his neighbours. When asked why, he said, "Oh! I heard Vicar speak at Recreation Society and he seemed a good old chap, and so I thought I'd hear what he had got to say in church." To-morrow I am going to dine with my lodge of Odd Fellows, the Jolly Sailors. I shall be the only gentleman present. I have dined with my brethren in this way for many years, and what they like is to see that I enjoy the thing, which I do; and do not come in condescension. They are so considerate, by the way, that I have just been writing a note to the secretary to insist upon his not sending a cab for me as they proposed, at the expense of the lodge.'

And, of course, on these occasions his playful genial mirth, which was so large an element of his nature, found free vent, and contributed in no small degree to charm and captivate the company. It came out also in his intercourse with individuals, as well as whole assemblies of the humbler rank, and was often happily blended with serious advice. The story has often been told of his persuading a drunkard to become a total abstainer without taking the pledge. To show that it was no impossibility he said that he would become an abstainer himself. 'Let us try the plan together for six months,' he said, 'and see how we get on.' 'Ah!' said the man, 'but how is each to know whether the other is keeping his resolution?' 'It is easily done,' said the Vicar, 'you come and ask my missus once a month, and I will go and ask yours.'

On returning from his autumn holiday in 1857, he writes: 'The rough Yorkshire greeting is very pleasant. One labouring man who met me said, "Joost take this to oblige me," offering me a bunch of flowers he had gathered on a walk into the country. When I demurred he said, "Now do; for I like

yer teaching." Another said that he wished I would have a cheap photographic likeness taken of myself, and he would hang it up at home. He laughed heartily when I told him I was so ugly that my granddaughter cried at the sight of me. 'These were strangers to me.'

If by sacerdotalism be understood the assumption of too much power by the clergy, and a consequent loss of sympathy with the people whom it is their business to influence, from any such error the Vicar of Leeds was utterly free. His power over the people mainly consisted in his being thoroughly one with them. No man ever held the doctrine of the priesthood more firmly than he did. No man ever more continually bore in mind that he was a parish priest, answerable before God for the souls committed to his care, and that the ultimate aim of all his intercourse with his flock was to bring them nearer to Christ. But this recollection, instead of impairing, only enhanced and sanctified all those strong human sympathies to which he was by nature inclined. If the friend was never forgotten in the priest, the priest was never forgotten in the friend.

Hence it was that frequently to the end of his life he heard from persons whom he had quite forgotten, or whom he had never known, that something which he had said—it might be in a chance conversation in the street, or in an address at some Mechanics' Institute, or a few words in a sick room—had touched their hearts, led them to reflect, and become the turning-point in their lives. The effect, however, would probably have been transient in a great number of cases had not such persons been very commonly moved, by what they had seen and heard of the Vicar, to become members of one of his classes, or to follow him to the parish church, where by the means of grace, coupled with his teaching, feelings could be trained into principles.

It must not be supposed because the Vicar, during the last ten years of his residence in Leeds, was frequently engaged in addressing mechanics' institutes, attending meetings of benefit societies, or giving lectures on historical and literary subjects, that the more directly pastoral work was in any degree

diminished. Partly owing to the cessation of controversy after the collapse of St. Saviour's, partly owing to the able assistance of a large staff of curates, he had more leisure to vary the field of his labours; he endeavoured to 'become all things to all men, that he might by all means save some;' and he did not hesitate to resort to any legitimate and innocent means of bringing people within the scope of his influence. But such work as I have been describing was done out of the superfluity of his energy; it was not suffered to displace or supersede in the smallest degree the round of pastoral labours, which went steadily on, month by month, year by year. All through his journals during this period, week after week may be read the unfailing entry on Monday, 'class at 4, class at 8;' on Thursday, 'class at 8;' and during the season of Lent, with very rare exceptions, every day, 'preached in the parish church.' The ordinary entry on Sundays is 'preached in the morning and evening at the parish church,' and this is frequently prefaced by the entry 'rose at 4 to write sermon.'

His habit of early rising was pertinaciously maintained, and, from the entries in his diaries, he seems to have considered his morning very short if he did not get to work before half-past five o'clock. Many who heard him preach a course of sermons at Oxford in 1858 'on the duties of a young pastor,' will remember how earnestly he recommended this practice, and described the advantages of securing those quiet hours, before the practical work of the day began, for reading and meditation, and how the student 'as he listened to the cheerful crackling of the fire lit by his own hands,' would sit down to his books with a clear head refreshed and invigorated by sleep. The reminiscence of one who, during a visit to the Vicarage, peeped into the study at six o'clock in the morning, supplies a characteristic anecdote of the student. It was at a time when he was beginning to be much dissatisfied with the proceedings at St. Saviour's. It was a saint's day, and his guest, a young clergyman, had got up early with the intention of going to Communion there. It was a winter's morning; 'seeing a light in his study, I looked in and found him hard at work over his books. "Where are you

going?" asked the Vicar. "To St. Saviour's," I replied, "to the early celebration." "You'll see nothing but their backs," he said, and buried himself again in his books.'

So much has been said about his zeal and his efforts on behalf of the education and social elevation of the humbler ranks, that it must be borne in mind that he was no less active also in promoting, within the sphere of his influence, the education of the middle classes. His lectures at the Church Institute were given with a view not only to inculcating sound Church principles, but also to infusing a taste for literature and general culture. He earnestly advocated the Oxford middle-class examination scheme, and it was largely through his efforts that steps were taken to remodel the old Grammar School at Leeds in 1854 on a sound basis, and that the practical success of the scheme was secured by the appointment of Dr. Barry (now Principal of King's College, London) to the office of Head Master.

In April 1858, the foundation-stone of new buildings for the Grammar School was laid by the Bishop of Ripon. A letter in which the Vicar describes the proceedings of that day contains also an account of his own work, and of the position which he then occupied relative to all classes and all parties in the town, and it will form, therefore, a fitting conclusion to this general survey of his life during the last nine years of his ministry.

To Sir W. P. Wood.

April 8, 1858.

Our Easter passed off in a manner which made me very happy. We had nearly 600 communicants, and the largest congregation in the evening that I had ever seen, and gloriously was the Easter Hymn sung. I preached from the heart, and felt that my words were telling, which is always a happiness, and a kind of happiness which I seldom enjoy out of my own pulpit.

Easter Tuesday was a busy day. The Bishop laid the foundation-stone of the Grammar School, with a beautiful service and an admirable address. We then gave the boys a dinner, to the high table of which subscribers were admitted. I was, of course, in the chair. Barry spoke admirably, and of me personally with such affection, that if I had not been in the chair I should have cried,

but I gulped down my maudlin with a glass of wine. Then we went to Church, where the Bishop gave us a beautiful sermon, one of those sermons which remain upon my mind. He offered to go in his robes to open the schools, and to say grace for the children. He spoke of me as 'his valued friend the Vicar,' which made my heart, as darling Jim would say, go 'pit-a-pat.' And then, when we were breaking up, my wife was taken by surprise by the presentation to her of a splendid Prayer Book. That wonderful woman has been doing the work of a giantess.

I have now had seven months of more incessant labour than at any other period of my life. I have, besides all my parochial work, preached, lectured, or made speeches on the average eight times a week, exclusive of cottage lectures; and I have done this with more ease and satisfaction to myself than at any other time. Pretty well for an old gentleman of sixty. Have I not good ground for thankfulness to our Heavenly Father? I have thrown myself heartily into town work, and have taken an active part in preparation for the British Association.

The kindness and consideration I have received from all parties and persons have been very cheering. Never was dear old Leeds so united—Dissenters and Radicals have been really on many occasions scrupulous in their desire that nothing should occur to annoy me. I like all this, it is one of the enjoyments of old age. All seem to sympathise with a working old man, and such I must appear to most of those who are now active in parish work. When I came here, old men, thinking that by my position I was placed above them, were inclined to snub me, and I am a bad man to be snubbed; now they show deference to my age.

That willingness to work for him, that deference paid to him, which are alluded to at the end of his letter, were among the most practical proofs of the magnetic attraction whereby he drew the hearts of those with whom he had to deal. Active indeed and laborious as he was himself, the success of the work which he accomplished in Leeds could not have been by a hundredth part so complete, had he not been generously and nobly supported in it by his fellow-workers, clerical and lay. The curates looked up to him with a kind of filial and reverential affection. He did not minutely define their work. One of his maxims was that if you wanted anyone to serve you well you

must trust him, and give him free scope to work out his own plans in his own way. Hence he was very careful in selecting men whom he believed to be sound in principle, and then he handed over to them the charge of certain districts, and did not interfere with them in any of the details of their work. The curate could rely upon the sympathy and advice of his Vicar in all cases of difficulty and upon his hearty support and encouragement in all undertakings, provided they were consistent with the principles of the Church ; but he knew very well that if he was not loyal to those principles the wrath of the Vicar would come down upon him with the force of a sledge hammer. 'When I engaged a curate,' he once said to me, 'I used to bargain with him : "I do not care for what you *think*, and you may discuss with me in private matters of opinion ; but we must *work* upon a common *principle*, and if you think it your duty not to do what I require, or take part against me, I shall consider you bound, without any violation of our friendship, to resign. There must be unity of *action*. And as the top sawyer is immovable, when the time for separation comes, the under sawyer must retire."'

In early days, before the division of the parish, the districts assigned to each curate were necessarily very large. One, who was curate from 1840 to 1842, writes to me : 'The day after I arrived, the Vicar said, "Come with me and I will show you your district." It was the York Road. An upper room for a school was the only stronghold of the Church. He said, "There's your district ; there are 12,000 people in it. Do your best, and when you are in difficulty come to me. Open the front door and knock at the study door." I soon had to find my way to the Vicarage. "Oh ! Mr. Vicar, it is all over, I have got into such a scrape." He laughed and rubbed his hands and said, "That's capital ; it will do you good ; just the very best thing that could have happened to you."'

'Incumbents,' he used to say, 'talk about *my* curate ; the phrase is wrong both in law and idea ; the curate is the curate of the parish.' His relation to the curates was half-brotherly, half-fatherly ; the younger ones turned, and never in vain, to

Mrs. Hook for affectionate maternal sympathy and counsel ; they were for the most part as elder brothers to her children ; and the Sunday evenings, when all the curates came to supper, were like the weekly gatherings of a large family ; and on the evening of Christmas Day the Vicarage was a scene of exuberant and childlike mirth and frolic, in which the Vicar himself was the leading spirit and actor.

And amongst the laity, in like manner, there was never wanting a large number of men of wealth and influence who were staunch and loyal to him and to the Church, who were ready to back him up by every means in their power and on all possible occasions. Such were pre-eminently the two Mr. Halls, father and son, Mr. Christopher Beckett, Mr. William Gott, Mr. Horsfall, Mr. James Garth Marshall, Mr. John Hope Shaw, Mr. Wheatley, and many more ; and last must be mentioned—although in some respects foremost of all—Mr. Joseph Mason Tennant, one of the most humble-minded Christians who ever lived ; a man who shrank from notoriety but never shrank from duty, and was always ready to discharge the onerous and troublesome tasks which no one else would do, taking no credit to himself. Referring to his indefatigable labours as one of the secretaries of the Building Committee, the Vicar was accustomed to say, ‘Joe Tennant really built the parish church.’ It might also with truth have been said that he supported it after it had been built, for in the capacity of Vicar’s churchwarden he for many years undertook the whole responsibility of raising the necessary annual amount for the repair of the fabric, and other church expenses.

Although the last nine years of the Vicar’s residence in Leeds were years of great happiness and prosperity, yet the long strain of toil was beginning to tell upon him, in spite of his robust constitution and elasticity of spirits. He was accustomed to say that it is not work which wears life, but worry : and that in the last decade of his ministry at Leeds he felt the effects of all the worry, the turmoil, and the strife by which the first decade had been marked. There was little, if any, visible diminution of strength, and the round of work was manfully

kept up with unabating zeal and perseverance ; but all through this period, more especially as he approaches the age of three-score, in the entries in his journals and letters to friends he frequently complains of extreme fatigue, depression of spirits, and intense longings for retirement. He deprecated all preferment involving hard labour, such as popular rumour was constantly assigning to him, when bishopric after bishopric fell vacant and he was passed over. There were only two things which he wanted, rest and money. He was weary and poor. His private means were small, and the annual income of the living, which for some time had been reduced by the division of the parish, was often more than consumed in family expenses, in paying a large staff of curates, and contributing with reckless generosity to works of charity and Church extension.

Rest came at length in a form most congenial to him. But money came not. The Deanery of Chichester, which was offered to him by Lord Derby in February 1859, is one of the poorest deaneries in England, and he consequently remained a poor man to the end of his life.

The account of his departure from Leeds and settlement at Chichester must be reserved for another chapter. To fill in and colour the foregoing sketch of his work, besides the group of letters which will form the appendage to this chapter like all the rest, I have introduced some extracts from his journal, which was regularly kept from 1850 to 1859, and some short scraps gleaned from a variety of letters which are not of sufficient importance to be inserted whole.

*To his Wife, during the dangerous Illness of their Daughter,
Mrs. Anson.*

February 1850.

My heart is constantly with you ; devote yourself to our darling child. Be sure that I will for your sake take care of myself. I will be *so* good, I *will* indeed. I broke down yesterday in the ‘ prayer for all conditions of men.’ I rallied directly, but still when once I have broken down, I am tearful for a long time. I have therefore stayed in and kept quiet to-day, writing Ecclesiastical Biography, which greatly employs me. I have placed all in the hands of our

Heavenly Father, who has been so merciful to us, and then whatever happens will be right.

February 25.—Slept till six. Then wrote sermon. A most busy morning—incessantly interrupted. My head beyond measure distracted. These callers ought to spare me in Lent. Class at three, and lectured for an hour. So poorly I could not go to afternoon service, preached in the evening and then had another class.

March 8.—This has been a brilliant day. I wrote sermons from six till four, and so have got on well with my work. Three sermons written this day; preached in the evening.

Good Friday, March 29.—Rose at 5. Morning spent in reading and meditation. A sermon by Alban Butler, full of fancies and not edifying; then Baxter's 'Saint's Rest.' A little put out by an insolent letter from B —, another from Walter Farquhar objecting to my letter,¹ and another from Richard Cavendish urging me not to publish. But by the grace of God got my mind calm, though not so fervent in my devotion as I expected to be. N.B. Never open a letter again on Good Friday. Preached with fervour in the evening. Then read St. Augustine on St. John to get my mind ready for Easter sermons.

Friday, May 10.—Up at 5, heavy and stupid. Reading almost the whole day, Bull, Sherlock, Stillingfleet, Waterland, Newman, Athanasius, to get my mind filled with thoughts of the Holy Trinity to prepare my Trinity sermons. Preached in the evening.

Wednesday, May 15.—Writing sermon; anxious to get my charity sermons finished this week. Visited the sick. During the anthem at church this afternoon fervour of devotion returned. God grant that it may last!

Saturday, October 5.—Wrote Ecclesiastical Biography. Read conclusion of Lord Mansfield's life of Campbell, and Lord Redesdale's life by Townsend. Visited sick. Nervous about my letter,² which appeared to-day in the papers. I am very bold in loading a gun, bold enough in firing it, but when I hear the report, then I am like a child, who runs away in terror.

Saturday, October 12.—Wrote my sermon for to-morrow morning with much fervour, obliged to write some copy of Ecclesiastical

¹ On the Gorham Judgment.

² To the Secretaries of the Church Union.

Biography, the printer's devil waiting. This put me out. After dinner felt discontented with the sermon I wrote for to-morrow evening and wrote another. My literary labour this day, two sermons and Ecclesiastical Biography, is too much.

Sunday, November 24.—Preached morning and evening. Some fervour in the morning. Oh! how my soul longeth after God! Oh that I might go away to some peaceful place, and prepare for my change!

January 1, 1851.—As soon as clock had struck twelve, we sang 'Praise God, from whom all blessings flow,' and then we administered the Holy Communion to 300 communicants, ten clergymen assisting. Employed morning in writing life of Ridley. I begin this year under the deepest depression of spirits; very miserable indeed. The public affairs of the Church, and especially the wretched business at St. Saviour's, make me very melancholy, O God! my God, be with me! Forgive me the sins of the year past for the sake of Jesus Christ, and oh! give me happiness under a sense of pardon, peace, and reconciliation with thee. Bless, oh! bless the Church of England.

February 16, Septuagesima Sunday.—Preached morning and evening. I beg most thankfully to record that the fervour of devotion, which I had lost for some months, has returned within the last ten days. O my God, never, never let me depart from Thee!

February 20.—Writing Church Dictionary for 12 hours, with a slight interruption by a call from Lady Harewood and Lady Louisa Lascelles. At work again in evening.

February 24, Monday.—Cold very bad; up at 5, to write Church Dictionary; preached at 11, class at 4. Visited sick; class at 8. Knocked up at night.

Easter Day.—A blessed and glorious day,—I was much excited this morning; an immense communion. Preached morning and evening; much fatigued. The church crammed morning and evening. May the Lord God bless us!

July 14.—Wrote Ecclesiastical Biography all the morning till 12, when I went to Committee. Then home to Ecclesiastical Biography. Mr. Knott, the new vicar of St. Saviour's, called. He would not talk, and I was determined to be silent, so that for the better part of twenty minutes we sat and looked at each other. Class at 4 and again at 8.

December 29, Monday.—Writing sermon; visited sick. Class at 4, tea party to my evening class at 5, when, to my great astonish-

ment, they gave me a Prayer Book splendidly bound. May God requite them for their kindness to me!

January 3, 1852.—A quiet day, spent in writing from 5 in the morning till 4 in the afternoon—Sermon, Ecclesiastical Biography, and articles for Dictionary. Time pleasantly passed; at 4 visited sick. In the evening with my dear family, all my darling children with me.

January 6.—Read life of Waterland. To church at 10 for wedding, the full service. I preached, it having been arranged that this should be the concluding service of the Jubilee.¹ We shall send the Society upwards of 1,000*l.* I came home tired and feel altogether unwell. Took a walk with Anna, and finished Van Mildert's 'Waterland.' In the evening I danced a quadrille with my six children—no fool like an old one.

Good Friday.—Wrote sermon, preached morning and evening. Fell asleep between the services, fasting not suiting me. The labours of Lent are over. I have been able to preach every day but two. Am I a more advanced Christian this Lent than I was last? My conscience will not permit me to answer in the affirmative. But O Thou Searcher of hearts, Thou knowest how earnestly I desire to be sanctified. O Jesus, my crucified Saviour, make me love Thee more!

March 2, 1853.—All morning consumed in writing letters, dreadful nuisance; preached in evening. A letter from Robert, very angry that I am not Bishop of Lincoln. Wood knows that I have determined to refuse a bishopric if offered. A man of fifty-five must not increase his responsibility.

March 26, Easter Eve.—Wrote two sermons this day, preached in the morning, but stayed at home in the evening to write my second sermon for to-morrow. Very, very tired. During the whole of this Lent, we have had bad weather.

Easter Day.—Preached morning and evening. Upwards of 500 communicants. An immense congregation in the evening. Altogether it has been a happy Easter Day, though my soul has not been so much elevated as it has sometimes been. I am indeed very much knocked up by my Lent work. O my God and Saviour, have mercy upon me! May the love of God be shed abroad in my heart.

June 6, Winchester.—This morning passed happily with James.

¹ Of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Thence to the Isle of Wight. Roamed mournfully over my old parish—like walking through a graveyard; every house a monument. But oh! how beautiful is this place! Oh for a cottage in the dear Island!

December 2.—Dr. — is dangerously ill. He has been an incessant enemy of mine. Oh! how I should like to receive a kind message from him!

December 26.—Dr. —'s son called on me and asked me to go to his father. Found him very thin and ill. Told me he was conscious that his feelings and conduct had not been towards me what they ought to have been for many years: and he wished to ask my forgiveness. I told him that whenever there was a quarrel there were sure to be faults on both sides, and that there must be no question as to the more or less, but that the forgiveness must be mutual. I kissed his hand, and we wept and prayed together. O God, have mercy on him and me for Jesus' sake! I have had a taste of Heaven, where part of our joy will surely consist in our reconciliations.

1854. *February 5, Sunday.*—Preached morning and evening. The churchwardens refused to permit the organ to be enlarged, and I have been obliged to defy them. I told them that I had had Dissenter churchwardens and got on well with them, and Chartists and got on well with them, and that I am not going to be bullied by Evangelicals. Told them that I meant to enlarge *my* organ in *my* church, and that they have nothing to do with my freehold. If I interfere with the convenience of the parishioners they may proceed against me in the Ecclesiastical Court. They seemed alarmed and ashamed.

September 5.—The visit of the Bishop of New Zealand has been eminently successful. But the news of my grand-daughter's arrival into the world having come in the morning so much added to my pleasurable excitement that I had a difficulty all day to keep from crying. Indeed, during the services I had many a quiet little cry. God make me mindful of my latter end! I have lived to see my children's children. God grant that I may also see peace upon Israel! Rather aristocratic at our services. Lord Carlisle, the Harewoods, &c., present and lunched with me afterwards.

September 6.—Had nearly 200 shopkeepers to tea to meet the Bishop, together with the clergy. Sent the Bishop away with 224*l.* collected at meeting.

1855. *February 28.*—Soup-kitchen has been opened to-day. Eleven hundred loaves have been given.¹

September 16, Sunday.—Preached morning and evening on the victory. Large congregations: excited and nervous. Tried to show that the blessing of peace is always attended with evil, and that the evil of war is often accompanied by blessings. The first is not unalloyed good, nor the second unmitigated evil. As a storm is necessary to clear the air, so a war is sometimes necessary to clear the moral atmosphere and to prevent luxury from degenerating into effeminacy.

Monday 17.—Very tired. Did not rise till half-past five. Read all day the 'Words of the Lord Jesus,' by Stier. In the afternoon prepared for the illumination. My transparency was 'Old England for ever!' with a V. R. beneath, which some of the people took for Vicar (R)ook. Walked out with wife and Charlotte to see the illuminations; generally saluted as 'Old' Vicar or 'Old' Doctor. A band came with a mob to the Vicarage, and cheered me and played a psalm tune.

The tune alluded to was the 'Old Hundredth;' the Vicar, in his ignorance of music, mistook this for 'God save the Queen,' and, appearing at a window, cheered lustily, to the inexpressible amusement of the assembly.

1856. *February 15.*—Wrote sermon: preached in the evening. I declined signing the petition against opening the Crystal Palace on Sundays. I am convinced that it is a hypocritical movement on the part of the instigators, influencing the passions of the pious.

March 22, Easter Eve.—Up at half-past three to write my two sermons for to-morrow. I could not during the former part of this melancholy week raise my spirits to write an Easter sermon.

Easter Day.—Up at five, as a new idea struck me in the night, and so I wrote a new sermon. A blessed festival; very large communion: immense crowd in the evening.

Easter Monday.—Dreadfully knocked up; did not rise till eight. Brain being excited I kept myself quiet all day and read light books. Presided at great tea-party at Grammar School of Sunday School teachers in the evening.

¹ There was great distress in Leeds this year on account of the depression in trade caused by the Crimean war.

June 15, Sunday.—Preached twice at Chapel Royal. Then went to Hampstead. On reaching home found a note from the Duke of Newcastle telling me he and the Duke of Cambridge had heard with admiration my ‘Lord’s Day’ sermon in the morning, and asking me to meet his Royal Highness and the Crimean heroes at dinner to-morrow.

Monday, 16.—Dined with Duke of Newcastle. The Duke of Cambridge thanked me for yesterday’s sermon, and talked of his attendance at the parish church when he was quartered at Leeds. I was introduced to Lord Aberdeen, and Sir Edmund Lyons asked the Duke to introduce me. I sat at dinner next to Sir H. Rawlinson, the traveller. Never saw so many stars and ribands before.

October 1.—Studied 119th Psalm in Augustine, Hengstenberg, Calvin, Jebb, &c. People have sent me a ‘Morning Post’ in which there is a kind article upon me—more than I deserve. I have examined my heart. I have no ambition left. I do not want to go up—but to go down. I should like a country living. I thank God for His wonderful mercies to me. How wicked I should be if I were not contented in a place which hundreds would delight to have!

Saturday, October 18.—While I was at Church the Bishop called to bid us farewell.¹ He left me his blessing. May the blessing of a good God go with him! I have been but an undutiful son to the good Bishop sometimes, but I have loved him and honoured him as he must be loved and honoured by all who know him. God send us a successor who may tread in his steps!

November 5. . . . Called at Mr. Stone’s, the artist, who wanted to see me to colour the photograph. Terrible ugly fellow I am. Can’t help it. Would be other than I am in many things if I could.

To a Friend.—December.—Although I am quite contented here I think that it would be better for the Church if a younger man were in my place, and I cannot help thinking that a stall in a Cathedral would be well bestowed upon me; a stall at Westminster or St. Paul’s would be *the* thing I should like. I should prefer that to a deanery, because a deanery to a conscientious man would be a very difficult post; and a man of three-score is not a fit man to begin as a reformer.

¹ Bishop Longley had just been translated to Durham, and it was very generally supposed that the Bishopric of Ripon would have been offered to Dr. Hook.

On the appointment of Dr. Bickersteth to Bishopric of Ripon.—This is the first time that I have been placed under a Bishop younger than myself. He is almost young enough to be my son. It is difficult, therefore, at first to produce *filial* feelings towards him, but they will come.

1857.—In the Manchester Exhibition a man came up to me and asked, ‘Am I speaking to Dr. Raffles of Liverpool?’ ‘No,’ said I indignantly, ‘but I presume that you are Cardinal Wiseman.’

November 3.—They sent me last night the subject for my speech (at *soirée* of Mechanics’ Institute). Soon after breakfast Brougham called. He was quite affectionate. I dined with the Mayor at 3.30. Brougham is old and did not talk much. Dean of Ripon, Monckton Milnes, the two Baines’s, Forster, Kitson, and the ordinary run of mechanics men at dinner. Then to the Music Hall; Brougham well received, but certainly did not speak with power. The beginning of his speech was not merely twaddle, but delivered in perfect ignorance of what has occurred during the last ten years. But all of a sudden he said, ‘I suppose you would like to hear my opinion of Indian affairs,’ and then he did burst forth with some of his old eloquence. I was very well received, which, as it was not my own dunghill, gratified me. I seem to have spoken well, which I certainly did not think myself.

Wednesday, 4.—Breakfasted with Kitson to meet Lord Brougham. The moment he entered the room he rushed up to me as if he were going to embrace, and exclaimed ‘Oh! let me again and again and again thank you for your speech last night. It was the cleverest, the wisest, the most practical, the drollest speech I ever heard in my life. Seeing me perplexed as to the drollery, he added, ‘the admirable mixture of the *seria cum jociis*.’ I am too old to be spoilt by flattery, and I have no inclination to become an orator, and so I am glad to have this encouragement given me. I hope it will save me from the extreme nervousness which makes me ill for two or three days before the delivery of a speech, and leaves me weary and weak after its birth.

To a Friend.—Brougham told me old stories at breakfast, but sometimes missed the point, evidently forgetting himself. I was amused with one remark. He said, ‘Wherever I go I am called the *veteran* statesman, the *veteran* orator, the *veteran* everything.’ I don’t see much point in the epithet, and it is not in very good taste to remind a man every moment that his day has passed. But I was touched soon after, when a wish was expressed by

someone that he would come next year, to the meeting of the British Association, as he muttered to himself, 'I never dare look forward a year.'

September 7, 1858.—Writing to a friend on the Queen's visit to Leeds to open the new Town Hall: 'Amidst it all I lacked my old enthusiasm, and suffered somewhat from rheumatism. I must own to a little mortification at first at being entirely superseded on my own dunghill. The Bishop said the Prayer and spoke at the Banquet. But this nasty feeling soon gave way when I found him doing everything so much better than I could have done it myself.'

After meeting of British Association in the same month at Leeds.—Have greatly enjoyed the respect paid to me by the scientific men, and the pleasure of their society; but while 'jolly in society,' I have been dreadfully depressed when left to myself, my mind morbid, excitable and irritable. I cannot help thinking, though it may be morbid, that I am too old for the constant excitements to which I am exposed here. The moment that one thing is over, another comes on. My parochial and Sunday duties are a great drag upon the mind, for the congregations are larger than ever, and other things, when this is the case, tell upon me.

After an inaugural address given in the Philosophical Institute at Edinburgh on November 5, on the comparative advantages of a professional and liberal education, he writes:

The committee found it necessary to leave their own lecture-room and to engage the Music Hall, which was filled with 1,300 people. I entered the room between two M.P.'s, and was surrounded by innumerable Scotch Professors . . . they were most cordial to me in their thanks. This is cheering to me, as I took some pains with the subject and read through all the controversies on Universities from the beginning of the century. The only thing I regretted was not being able to stay longer in Edinburgh. But I had to come back for two sermons yesterday and to preside this evening at our annual tea-party of the Sunday-school Teachers' Association, 1,200 in number. To-morrow I have to preside at the Philosophical Hall, to attend lecture at the Church Institute, and to look in with a speech at the end of the evening at the West End Mechanics' Institute, as they are short of speakers. Next day I have to lay the first stone of a new school, with a speech. This is rather too much for a sexagenarian, and I can assure you I

long intensely for a country living with a garden and a poultry-yard. As six days are appointed for labour and a seventh for rest, so there are six decades in life for work ; the last should be a sabbath, admitting of works of charity and necessity.

In fact he was getting worn out. In December he writes :

I have applied to Lord Carnarvon for a living in Hampshire without success ; it was already promised. I would not ask for anything better than Leeds ; but I think a man may wish to come down in the world. We both of us long to be relieved, not from *work*, but from the weight of responsibility which rests upon us in this place.

But when the offer of the Deanery came, he was heart broken at the thought of leaving his beloved parish, as the following extracts from his journal show.

February 15, 1859.—Preached at Goldsbrough. Lord and Lady Harewood there, George Lascelles and Lady Louisa, Egremont Lascelles and wife, &c. A pleasant reunion. Then home to Leeds, where found letter from Lord Derby offering me Deanery of Chichester. Cannot bear the thought of leaving dear old Leeds. What am I to do ? God guide me !

February 16.—Sleepless night. Determined to accept Deanery—wrote to Lord Derby. Then to Halifax, where I gave lecture to Church Institute, and returned much knocked up.

February 18.—Very poorly all day ; very ungrateful ; instead of rejoicing at Deanery, miserable at the thought of leaving Leeds. Drank tea with Mr. Reynolds, Dissenting minister. Edward Baines there.

February 19.—Told Mr. Hall about the Deanery, which is not yet in the papers. Pretty well known. People cry when they meet me. Dear, dear Leeds !

February 20, Sunday.—Preached morning and evening. Nearly broke down in giving the final benediction.

While the foregoing fragments of his journal and letters fairly illustrate the nature and quantity of his practical work month by month, I ought to add that they give no idea of the variety of books which he read. Besides his favourite standard theologians of the Anglican school, and the Fathers, chiefly St.

Augustine and Chrysostom, whom he was constantly consulting with a view to his sermons, he read at spare times, especially in his holidays, and in railway journeys, a great deal of philosophy, chiefly Sir William Hamilton, Dugald Stewart, and Kant ; English history, chiefly Hallam (of whom, however, he had a poor opinion) and Macaulay ; also biographies, novels, and poetry in great abundance. Moreover, the compilation of his 'Church Dictionary' and 'Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Biography' entailed a large quantity of multifarious reading.

LETTERS, 1850-1859.

*To W. P. Wood, Esq.—Admission of the Jews to Parliament
—Appointment to Ecclesiastical Offices.*

October 19, 1850.

The evil you alluded to refers to the appointment to the highest ecclesiastical offices.

I hope and believe that ere long the Jews will be admitted into Parliament. After the repeal of the Test Act there is no theory of the Constitution violated by their admission, and there can be no practical evil ; therefore they ought, in my opinion, to be admitted. But if a Jew may be in Parliament, a Jew may be Minister. I put this as an extreme case, but still a possible case.

Ought a Jew to have, uncontrolled, the appointment to ecclesiastical offices ?

When the Sovereign disposed of the ecclesiastical offices there was the guarantee arising from the fact that the Sovereign must be a professed member of the Church.

Even this, slight protection as it is, would not be the case when the office of Prime Minister is open to the Jew, and the Prime Minister, very properly, has in his power the patronage of the Crown.

The question is how can you preserve this power to the Prime Minister and yet guard against its abuse ? How give to him a sufficient power and yet satisfy reasonable men in the Church ? Suppose, when a Minister takes office, he were to select two out of the Bench of Bishops, and make them respectively Clerk of the

Closet, and Deputy Clerk of the Closet. (I mention these as titles existing and as having little meaning in themselves.) Let these be Privy Councillors, and let it be understood that the Minister would never appoint to ecclesiastical offices without first consulting them. Should we not then satisfy all parties, except the blockheads? The Minister would still have the patronage and power, but he would have *professional* advice. I would not propose that he should consult the Archbishop and the Bishop of London, because they might not be of his party. Let the Minister choose his two advisers, let them come into office and go out with him. You will say what should we gain thereby, as they would wish to prefer the same sort of persons as the Ministers. This must of course be the case, or you take the power from the Minister.

But the real check on all parties in this country is public opinion. But the public opinion which influences a politician is different from the public opinion which influences an ecclesiastic. The Minister may sometimes like to do what is offensive to the Church because it will please his party. But an ecclesiastic, *known to be the adviser of the Minister in such matters*, though willing to aid his political party, would not like to be a proscribed man in his profession. I say, *known to be the adviser of the Minister*, for the advice given in private, without a sense of responsibility, is very different from that given by those who will be brought to the bar of public opinion.

To W. P. Wood Esq.—The Education of the People.

December 3, 1850.

I wish to consult you on a subject to which I think you have not yet opened your eyes sufficiently wide: I mean education.

When I was in Manchester a fortnight ago one of Mr. Anson's best friends and advisers, a good Churchman and a man of importance, told me that from his position he had to converse with all sorts of men, and that he found that the Lancashire School Scheme with Cobden at its head is almost universally in favour with the people in that part of the country. He remarked to me that if the Church gave a 'cold back' unreasoningly and perversely to all educational movements, the education of the people would be taken virtually out of the hands of the Church, and he wished me to think of some mode of meeting this evil.

Since my return home I find that this Lancashire system has

gained ground in Yorkshire. We have a Yorkshire Education Society, which has as yet done nothing, though it is professedly established to carry out the Government scheme. The *real* men, the men in earnest in this Society, such as James Marshall and others, are desirous of a conference with Cobden, and wish the conference to be attended by all sorts of men, including myself Now, I want to know whether you think as I think—that Cobden is honest in this matter. I mean whether he has, as I have, *really at heart* an efficient education for the people, giving to the teachers of religion free access to the people, or whether it is a mere political movement on his part. If he is an honest man, willing to concede where concession is reasonable, I see no reason why I should not meet him if James Marshall asks us to a private dinner party to talk the subject over.

In discussing the matter at Manchester, Mr. Durnford, who is the leading High Churchman in the neighbourhood, told me that my fault had been that I was in advance of the age; and, curiously enough, the secretary of the Yorkshire Society said to Mr. Jackson, ‘Dr. Hook was in advance of the age, but the age is now getting in advance of him, though the friends of education feel that deference is due to his opinion.’ This was a sop of flattery, but the fact is observable. And what do you think is the great objection to the plan I proposed, omitting the details? The promoters of the Lancashire plan say to me, ‘Your plan is a very good one; but then *you* insist on everyone receiving a *religious* education; but why might not the infidel, the man who thinks it wrong to prejudice the mind of his child to any religion, send that child to a Government school?’

Now you will observe here that infidelity has taken a new shape. It is a sect, demanding to be tolerated. I say a sect, for it has its regular preachers, teaching morality, especially prudence, temperance, and domestic virtue, apart from and in bitter hostility to religion.

In the next place the evil which I wished to avert is coming to pass. And if we do not look about us, depend upon it, we shall have secular schools established by Government and controlled by the ratepayers, to which we shall be denied access. If *we* had moved first, our offer might have been liberal, but we should have gained the control of the schools. Our fight will now be to escape being excluded.

Dissenters have miserably failed in educating. They see that

the Church beats them. They will join the rising movement—all but the really religious among them. The Church has done much, but that much is little compared with the real wants of the people.

After the Bishop of Ripon's investigation into the teaching and practice of the Clergy at St. Saviour's in December 1850, as related above, a former vicar of St. Saviour's wrote to the Bishop asserting that Dr. Hook had held in 1845 the same opinions touching Confession which were now condemned at St. Saviour's. The aim of the assertion was to insinuate that either he was inconsistent, or that if consistent, he ought to fall under the same condemnation as that which had just been pronounced upon the clergy of St. Saviour's.

This charge drew forth three letters of indignant vindication from the Vicar to the Bishop: from which the following passages are extracted.

Vicarage, Leeds: January 30, 1851.

. . . In this large and extensive parish many persons have, from time to time, 'opened their griefs to me' and sought from me 'ghostly counsel and advice.' Persons have come to consult me from distant places. The duty is a most unpleasant one, from which, while always ready to discharge it when called upon, I shrink, from an unaffected feeling of my own incompetency to discharge it properly. I frequently have directed people to seek other advice, and sometimes that of laymen, as in the case of children whom I have referred to their parents, husbands to wives and wives to husbands.

From my own experience of this portion of the ministerial office I should arrange those who come to a clergyman for advice under the following heads:—

1. Persons who have their consciences burdened with great sins.
2. Persons of unsound mind, morbid feelings, or heated imagination.
3. Persons of scrupulous conscience, and not of strong intellect.
4. Persons who, from the circumstances of the times, have a vague idea that they ought to confess.

Now, with respect to the first class of persons, theirs is a case, sometimes, of difficulty, because great distress of mind does not always prove the existence of true repentance; and where there is

faith to be justified, true repentance must exist. And here, too, when habits of sin have been formed, it is necessary to see the penitents often.

My way of dealing with the second class of persons is to keep them under rather strict discipline for some time, during which time I endeavour to employ their minds by making them study books which will require attention and task their intellectual powers. . . .

The system I adopt is simply that of the Church of England, which would discountenance the *habit* of confession. Many persons have opened their griefs to me : I have sometimes had six or eight cases of conscience before me, and then, on the other hand, for many months not one. I doubtless had some other cases in 1845, when Mr. — came to me, and not one of them remains with me at the present time ; and for this plain reason, that when I have given them advice or comfort, and have put them in the way of regulating their own minds, I dismiss them. I tell them to come to me no more, or to come to me only when new doubts, difficulties, or perplexities occur to them. But the Romish system adopted by Mr. — and his friends being the reverse in principle is also the reverse in its effects. *We* assist people in their difficulties and sorrows, but when we *have* assisted them, tell them to confess to God alone, and no longer to come to us. But *they*, regarding confession as a means of grace, must *urge* men to have recourse to it, and must be hypocrites themselves, unless they themselves confess. . . .

How comes it to have passed that while Mr. — was my curate he never thought of coming to me for confession? that he never thought of it till six years after he had left my church, when he had become the incumbent of another, and after he had been conscience-stricken under the sermon of a clergyman not connected with me and strongly opposed to Mr. —'s school of divinity? How is it that no curate of my church—and I have had many—no officer, lay or clerical, of my church, has ever made a confession? How is it that not a single member of my own family, not one of my own dear children, for whose spiritual welfare I am bound before all things to watch, ever come to me or go to anyone else for confession?

It is because I hold that while confession may be occasionally necessary as *mediciné* to a mind diseased, it is an exception, not the rule ; and I teach them to regulate their own minds, and to go for confession to God alone.

How is it that I never go to confession myself? Often, very often in my life, God knows, I have required and sought ghostly counsel and advice, but in my early years I sought and opened my griefs to a friend who was, and is, a layman; and for the last two and twenty years I have obtained it from one who is bound to me by the closest ties that can bind together two human beings, and without whose tender care and affectionate support I should not have been able to endure the hard warfare I have had to sustain during the last fourteen years, when I have had to defend the Church of England first from one extreme and then from the other. While Mr. — was yet a child, and before some of the clergy of St. Saviour's were born, I was labouring as a minister in the *via media* of the Church of England; and there I hope, through evil report and good report, by the grace of God, to pursue the even tenor of my way to the end of my days.

To a Lady.

Leeds: May 26, 1851.

I do most heartily congratulate you on the approaching marriage of your son. I am a great advocate for marriage, and for early marriage. It is one of the misfortunes of modern society that young persons cannot marry early in life, and when they first fall in love. We are told that it is not good for man to be alone, and what we are told we find by experience to be true. The Scriptures permit exception to this as to other rules, but a Church which represents celibacy as a higher state than the 'holy estate of matrimony,' so 'forbidding to marry,' has on it the brand of Anti-christ—see 1 Tim. iv. 3. . . . I hope that to gentleness of nature the lady adds sufficient strength of will to keep her husband in good order. The wisdom of the heart is wiser than the wisdom of the head, and in heart-wisdom woman is superior to man. A happy home is, therefore, in my humble judgment, one in which the lady has at least her proper influence. . . . As to Church matters, the Romish movement is an infidel movement, and it is predicted that in these last days there will be a great falling away. Wherever Romanism prevails, infidelity has sway; and it is through Romanism that many will pass into atheism. Among the lower classes even now the infidel and the Romanist parties are forming an alliance. If you wish to see how closely Romanism and infidelity are connected I would strongly urge you to read Meyrick on the Church in Spain. . . .

We must be very careful not to send men over to Rome by decrying our own Church. Although England is the first and most glorious nation in the world, and the Church of England the best and purest Church that has ever existed from the Apostolical times, we of course have our faults ; I have no objection to their being pointed out, but whenever you find a fault, look out at the same time for an excellence and a virtue ; or at least show that a greater fault exists in the apostate Church of Rome. If we do nothing but abuse our mother we shall soon depart from her. . . . She is not faultless, but she is the bulwark of Christendom.

To Sir W. P. Wood.

June 3, 1851.

My dearest Solicitor,—I am bilious, low-spirited, cross and disagreeable, and therefore I intend (D.V.) to be with you on Saturday.

To Sir W. P. Wood—Social Reform.

December 1851.

I am *not* a socialist, as you not long since insinuated. I fully agree with the articles in the 'Edinburgh' (Greig's) on that point, but I wish to see facilities afforded to the working classes to form joint-stock companies, and means devised to give them a greater interest in the success of the speculations made by their employers.

There is an evident feeling among the working classes that there is to be a scramble, and that is what the unprincipled desire.

I wish we could break down the barrier which separates the middle and the working classes, or rather the professional and the working classes. The latter are too easily managed, but they must be managed by their own men. Their leaders are receiving high wages, and live with all the comforts of life ; but they speak offensively (it is like cant) of their being *only poor* working men. . . .

You statesmen must look about you, for there must be social reform. The people are calmly but with determination devising steps to effect this. Brutal as are the masses, and worse than savages for want of education, their leaders, the honourable, sober, wise, and philanthropic portion of the working classes, are now taking proper measures to redress their grievances. They no longer think of brute force ; they understand that the middle classes

will defend what they have ; but they see that there is *truth* in socialism and communism. They are, perhaps, from all I hear, taking too exclusive a view of that truth, but certainly you political economists take too exclusive a view of the opposite side. At all events, I hear people, religious people and Churchmen, argue thus. By overstocking the market, and over-speculation, the working classes have been brought by their masters, during the last twenty years, three times to the very verge of starvation ; they say that a similar crisis is at hand, and that we shall have a terrible winter. This, they say, ought to be guarded against, and may be guarded against, and shall be guarded against. They think that some modification of socialism will be the means ; and certainly one does not see why a firm, having made a large sum of money by speculation, should not give the workmen a share in the spoil, just as in some insurance companies the directors give to the insured parties a share in the profits.

You will laugh, probably, at my politics, but living as I do among the working people, I cannot but share in their feelings to a certain extent, and this, not political reforms, this social reform is the grand point which must occupy the mind of the philanthropic politician for the next half-century. I am rather inclined to side with you as to Parliamentary reform ; nothing can be worse than the present Parliament. I rejoice to see the commercial interest represented by Cobden and his friends ; but Cobden and Co. are much mistaken if they think that they are not as unpopular among the working classes as the aristocrats. We must have some working men in the House. And I confess I should like to see some persons there who shall enquire how Joey Hume's fortune was made, and what was the number of his pluralities in India.

To Sir W. P. Wood—Position of the Church in Leeds.

Vicarage, Leeds : February 1852.

I am like a man when he has put on a silk gown and is relieved from that horrible work of *drawing* ! I am relieved from my Ecclesiastical Biography, which, as far as the MS. is concerned, is finished : and so, as you have time to read, you will hereafter be honoured with more frequent epistles. This said Ecclesiastical Biography has occupied my leisure moments for several years : the work is not one which brings credit to the author, but I hope that it will be useful.

The Bishop travelled the other day with a lay gentleman who did not know that he was the Bishop, but entered into conversation with him, and informed him that he often visited Leeds, and was full of admiration of the quiet progress the Church is making here. He said 'there was a consecration of a church last week, the fourteenth erected since Dr. Hook was Vicar. In any other place there would have been placards all over the town : but they do things so quietly in Leeds : it was treated as an ordinary occurrence. I should have liked to be there had I known of it. Were you there, sir?' he said, addressing the Bishop. After a time he said, 'I suppose you are a minister of the Church of England?' and on receiving a reply in the affirmative, he continued, 'I was dining yesterday with a leading Dissenting minister in Leeds, and I said to him, "I suppose it is all up with you here?" He said, "No, not quite *that*, but we feel as if we were bound with a strong cord, and not permitted to go an inch farther than Dr. Hook pleases." . . .

The leading Chartist and Socialist in this town said the other day to a friend of mine that when the Dissenters declaimed against the Church that it possessed an income of seven millions, his reply always was, 'If the Church *does* possess seven millions, there are no millions which get back so quickly into the pockets of the people ; and if there is to be property, it is the best property, for any working man's son may obtain a share in it.'

To a Lady—Selfishness.

Vicarage, Leeds : 1852.

Selfishness is the sin more particularly difficult for those who move in high life to overcome, as they are accustomed from early youth to see all persons conspiring to make them think self the first consideration. I have of late seen something of high life, I have long been familiar with the lower classes of society, and I belong myself to the middle class, and I am much impressed with the extreme difficulty which parents encounter in the two extremes to bring up their children in a *really* Christian manner. The difficulties are widely different, between the highest and the lowest classes of society, but each of those classes has difficulties from which the children of professional men and tradesmen may easily be saved if parents are wise. But we all have this in common, the sin of selfishness—not *regard* for self, for that is right, but such a regard for self as to disregard the claims of others, and to make the

interest of self the only concern of life. The mark of a converted heart is that we glow with disinterested benevolence and desires to promote the glory of God and the well-being of human nature. . . .

I have been much pressed by work lately. Besides an unusual number of sick cases in the parish, I have been engaged in the formation of a Penitentiary for the West Riding, to the establishment of which I find more indifference than I expected, and I have had also some letters to answer, and suggestions to offer on subjects not so easily settled as the subject of my correspondence with your ladyship. One letter is from a young lady to ask whether she may marry a German Jew with whom she has fallen in love, *in the hope of converting him!*

To Sir W. P. Wood—Convocation.

Vicarage, Leeds : Crispin's Day, Anniversary of Agincourt.

My dearest friend,—I have stood on tiptoe this day and drunk to the memory of Harry the King, Bedford and Exeter, Warwick and Salisbury, as well as my good Lord of Westmoreland, although he was somewhat faint-hearted at first. . . . I have some thoughts of going next year to America, and I shall pay my expenses, or try to do so, by a 'Visit to the American Church,' which I shall write in the shape of letters to you, but I shall keep them in a book and send them to you in a mass. I always feel so little certain about foreign letters that I cannot bring my pen up to the scratch of writing long letters to friends on their travels, or when I am travelling to friends at home.

I agree with you in what you say about Convocation. It is curious enough that I had this morning, before receiving your letter, talked the matter over with the Bishop of Ripon, and told him that I did not wish any immediate action, but that I thought the present movement a Providential mercy. It will strengthen, I said, the hands of our friends in the House. And it will do so thus. Lord Shaftesbury's faction, and the Plymouth faction, are insisting upon a Parliamentary change in the Liturgy and organisation of the Church. Now, you can hold up Convocation as the bugbear to prevent this from proceeding farther. You will not permit Convocation to legislate without Parliament, but you must protest against Parliament legislating for the Church without Convocation.

K K

This is according to your Radical principle : to perfect the system we have received, not, as the Chartists, to act on an abstract theory.

The Low Church are in alarm lest, if Convocation meet, some strong measure should be taken in favour of the orthodox view of Baptism, and they evidently do not wish to have a Convocation until they see whether they have a majority. They have encouraged an address against Convocation. The moderate men on the other side wish to meet this address. I told them that I thought it undignified to get up a counter address ; but suggested a letter to Bell and myself, the Proctors : in fact, I have drawn up the letter to myself. A *talk* about Convocation will do good ; but we are not prepared to act. And yet there are some practical points which will require synodal action soon : to wit, the offering of episcopacy to foreign Protestants ; the assistance to be rendered to Romish countries wishing to reform. I merely indicate the kind of questions which might profitably arise.

I agree with you also in what you say of the Church. We both were too *sectarian* in former times : a snug little sect would be comfortable. But once set a *little* church in action and you want the restraint of an external power. See our Church in Scotland and even in America.

To Sir W. P. Wood—Rumours of appointment to the Bishopric of Lincoln.

Leeds : March 1853.

I have never for a moment dreamed of being a Bishop, and have therefore been amused by the manner in which it has been assumed that my appointment was certain. I have actually received an application for the appointment of my private secretary !! People in Leeds regarded the appointment as already made, and only concealed by myself from feelings of delicacy.

At fifty-five years of age—and such I shall be if I live to the 13th of this month—a wise man will not seek to increase his responsibilities and labours. Every year I must become less efficient. A few years ago I should have liked as a Bishop to set an example of episcopal simplicity as well as labour—not, I trust, from any ambitious motives. But this has now been done by the Bishop of Ripon and the Bishop of Oxford, and will be done by

others. And even then, I was conscious that my talent is not that of a ruler. It is under this conviction that I would seek a quieter sphere than this of Leeds, if I could. I think I could even now write a history of the Church of England from the Conquest to the present day if I had leisure, and to engage in such a work has been my wish through life. If I had my choice of life, I would have an independence sufficient to enable me to educate my children, have a house in Hertfordshire, where I could pursue my studies ; and a Lectureship in London, for I think that with my experience I could do good by preaching to educated people—a house in Herts and the Preachership at Lincoln's Inn or the Temple—*that's* what I should like. I have perhaps preached more sermons than any man in England, but it has chiefly been to the uneducated. I should like to try my hand upon the educated. *There* is a castle in the air for you.

But really these things are very much beneath one's thoughts, when one is within fifteen years of the limit of human life. My thoughts of preferment are higher : yet I have no ambition for the highest places in the Kingdom of Glory. God knows they are out of my reach : but there is the dread of being shut out ; not so much from the fear of Hell as from horror of seeing that dear countenance of the Divine Saviour averted from me.

Lord, have mercy upon us !
 Christ, have mercy upon us !
 Lord, have mercy upon us !

To Sir W. P. Wood—On appointment of Dr. Jackson to the See of Lincoln.

April 1853.

For myself, you know that I consider myself as one of the least-fitted persons for a bishopric in the present position of the Church. I can scarcely conceive a person less fit ; and I should not like to give up my long-enjoyed liberty of plain-speaking of things and persons. I have been for thirty-two years the mastiff of the Church. I have barked at her enemies, growled at the nasty little children who go out of her courts to play in Conventicle Alley, and then come back with their pinafores torn, and their faces begrimed with dirt ; and I have loved the good children of the

house, and I like to be patted on the head by them ; but what a mad dog would that mastiff be who should expect to be made a butler or house-steward ! And what a hard master would he be who should think of thus rewarding his dog ! No ! give him a comfortable kennel.

He was urged, in May 1853, to go to America as a deputy for the S. P. G. He wrote to decline, on the score of expense ; then, finding that parishioners would help him and were pleased at the offer, he wavered for a short time. He writes to Sir W. P. Wood :

I am very much inclined to think that I ought to go. I doubt whether anyone, except the Bishop of Oxford who cannot go, would so well understand the American Church feeling as myself, and would be able to unite with genuine John Bullism so much admiration and love for brother Jonathan. I have already in my mind my sermons, both before the Convention and when I first preach in Trinity Church.

On the other hand, I am getting old. I do not fancy the voyage in the midst of the equinoctial gales ; and, in fact, 'non sum qualis eram.'

I have been in high good humour with my flock. My people met me at the Holy Communion in greater number than on any preceding Whitsun Day. And in the evening we had an immense congregation, and my operatives responded to my call in a charity sermon to the amount of 58*l*. There, ye Westmonasterians—shame to you ! You will see that I am not at all in a modest humour to-day, but don't be alarmed. I have plenty to humble my pride and to keep me lowly in my own eyes as well as in those of other people.

His family and friends, especially doctors, were all averse to his going to America, and he yielded, not reluctantly, for in a letter written soon after this decision, he says : 'You can have no idea how much older I have become in mind and constitution during the last two or three years. A few years ago I should have felt very unhappy to decline such an offer as the present. But now I feel a great desire for retirement and repose, and a shrinking from all duty except that which comes in routine.'

To the Rev. — —Sudden and Gradual Conversions.

Leeds: July 30, 1854.

I suppose that we should all of us be agreed in thinking sudden and conscious conversions are possible, and that they are sometimes to be urged. But are there not diversities of gifts? Are we not to judge of the indwelling of the Spirit in ourselves, not by our feelings, but by its effect upon our lives? The holiest man I know, whose secret soul I have known from childhood, has always been, as he is, improving, growing in grace. Another dear friend of mine was converted as suddenly as ever you could wish, if by conversion you mean an acceptance of the Lord Jesus as the only Saviour? Surely both of these are equally under grace and the object of Divine favour; though one can and the other cannot tell me when the operations of grace became first perceptible to his soul.

To Sir W. P. Wood—Church Extension.

November 14, 1854.

Last week two churches were consecrated, making the number of churches built during my incumbency amount to twenty. We laid the foundation of the twenty-first church the week before, and then we shall have done with church building for a time. We shall have one church for every 6,000 of the population, and considering the number of Dissenters in each district this is sufficient for the present. We must now turn our thoughts to multiply the clergy for each church. I shall endeavour to prevail upon men of fortune to support for a certain period additional curates in each district. We have one instance already: the munificent manager of Price's Candle Manufactory supports a curate in one of our districts for three years. And I think of getting the mill-owners, wherever I can, to pay one curate who may superintend their mills as well as work among the people.

To the same.

November 18, 1854.

Please to present my humble respects to my lady, and ask her to purchase a quart bottle of Japan ink, and to place it on your study table. It may be put to my account in the bill of endless gratitude. Really, with failing eyes to have to read such writing as yours, in ink almost invisible, is no joke.

To the same—A fish for an Invitation.

Leeds: May 28, 1855.

Will you kindly ascertain for me whether my lady is aware that I preach in the Chapel Royal on the second Sunday in June. If she be, perhaps she would invite me to pay you a visit. Please tell my lady I will try to be a better boy than I was last time.

On the 6th I go to Hertingfordbury. Last time I slept in that house I was a schoolboy; I now return as a grandfather.

I hope you observe my craft in changing the title of our school.¹ It is a deep design to frustrate the counsels of the Vice-Chancellor. I heard from Barry that your honour thought you must insist upon Greek in the lower school. 'Oh ho!' says the Vicar, 'is that the case? Then we won't have two schools, but divide the Grammar School of Leeds into two departments; the upper and lower departments.' Isn't that clever?

My wife has gone to the parish church schools with a carriage full of tea-urns and buns, and I am now going to address 4,000 children, so no more from

FISHING HOOK.

To the same—Difficulties in educating the High-born.

Leeds: September 1855.

. . . The young men to whom you allude are, you must bear in mind, under the most unfavourable circumstances possible for good education—if we except the lowest grade of society.

They belong to what are in fact aristocratic families, extending the word aristocracy to others besides people of title.

They have this in common, that, do what they will, unless the parents are very wise, the circumstances by which they are educated (not less than by professed instructors) are against them. From early life they have been accustomed to comforts, and have had few difficulties to contend with. They have generally obtained what they want on easy terms; they have seen their parents ever ready to help them out of scrapes; they have known nothing of money difficulties.

Except when they are singularly thoughtful and good, such youths come to the conclusion that whatever scrapes they get into, the 'governor' somehow or other, after a little 'rowing,' will get

¹ Leeds Grammar School,

them out ; that there is, at all events while their parents live, a home to go to.

It seems generally to happen that persons so educated cannot be brought to their proper senses until they have got into some serious scrape, suffered some affliction, or fallen in love with some worthy object.

A very religious youth escapes—one young person in a family escapes, but another doesn't, because parents are almost obliged to have the same discipline and indulgence for all, and what does for A may not do for B.

I write from observation, and I have been able to observe from being much consulted.

To Sir W. P. Wood—Temptations of the Soldier and the Clergyman compared.

Leeds : December 31, 1855.

. . . The temptations of the army, as you say, are great ; but are they greater than those of the clerical profession? When we think so, are we not taking the worldly rather than the revealed view of sin, thinking one class of sin more venial than another !

I have seen so much of clerical life that I have a dread of *hereditary* clergymen ; of those, I mean, who simply take Orders because they have been bred in a clergyman's house. The temptations of a young clergyman are to idleness, hypocrisy, and malignity. And they are fearful temptations, creating Pharisaism. The temptation of idleness is not so great as it was. But hypocrisy is variously disguised. It lies under the question which is so often asked, is this or that clerical? A young clergyman is tempted to appear better than he is. And the controversies of the day encourage a malignant spirit, which is mistaken for Christian zeal.

In the army I do not find any great inclination to treat religion with disrespect, though the temptation is to that kind of hypocrisy which induces men to appear less religious than they really are. The great temptation is to the sins of sensuality ; but is a good regiment in this respect worse than a college?

To one about to become his Curate.

Leeds : March 16, 1857.

My dear—,—The time is now approaching when, by the Providence of God, we shall probably be brought into a very close

relation to each other, and it is proper, therefore, that we should have a clear understanding of our relative positions. The first great question *you* only can decide, whether you have a call from God to his sacred ministry. The outward call we know you have, in that by his Providence the Lord has so ordered events that you have received a proper education. Whether God the Holy Ghost has spoken to your soul, and your soul has made response, can be known only to yourself; *you* only can know whether the new heart is created within you; that principle which originating in love to God, manifests itself in disinterested benevolence, and in zeal for the salvation of souls. If it be so, all glory be to God!

As regards your relation to me, an Incumbent engages a curate with one only object, that he may be a help to him in the work of the ministry. The business of the curate, therefore, is to do his work, not in the way which the curate may think best, but in the way which the incumbent may direct. If you feel (knowing my principles) that you cannot help me, you ought not to come: where you are a hindrance rather than a help, you ought not to go; for God's work must be done decently and in order. If you are willing to work under me, even though you may think yourself wiser than myself, then may the Lord prosper your work among us.

I mention this after considering the tone of your last letter. You must pardon me for saying that I did not like the manner in which a young layman spoke of his bishop; assuming the superiority; nor did I like your reference to the chaplain; I know nothing of Mr. —, but you say you regard him as 'a (pattern) bigot;' he holds his opinions strongly, perhaps he denounces strongly those opposed to him, but is he really more a bigot in fact than the young man who denounces him as a bigot? It is better not to call names. I heard a man, not long ago, condemning another as a bigot because (in my opinion very properly) he spoke of Romanism as a heresy; and that very person, a short time after, spoke of Presbyterianism as a heresy, and yet he did not at first perceive that if one were a bigot, so was the other.

I shall send you a little tract by this post, which I request you to read, as it states my views on the present state of things; and you will then be able to judge how far you will be able to act with me. You will perceive that I am a decided anti-Tractarian as well as an anti-Recordite, and I should not like a curate of mine to adopt the affectations in dress, gait, or cant of that party. Cant is particularly offensive to me; the cant of Tractarians is, I think, worse than that of the pseudo-Evangelicals.

I request you to turn these matters over in your mind, and then come here to bring men to Christ, acting in accordance with the discipline of the Church of England, and on the principles of the Reformation, resolute to oppose Romanism, the form through which infidelity is working in the present day; equally opposed to all forms of error, but dealing charitably with all men, however erroneous they may be, and glowing with zeal for the conversion of souls to Christ our Lord.

*To Vice-Chancellor Wood—Deprecates Testimonials and
Preferment.*

Leeds : October 29, 1857.

. . . At Radley, Sewell informed me of his extreme kindness, for which I shall be for ever grateful, in agitating in favour of a testimonial for me. I was overwhelmed by a feeling of gratitude, though my mind revolted against the idea, and the more I have thought of the subject the more convinced I am that the course he proposes is not desirable and would be an utter failure.

If I were to die, I have little doubt that my parishioners would like to show their affection to one who has served them affectionately for twenty years and more, and few things I should like more than that their affection should take the shape of a vicar's scholarship attached to the Grammar School, so that, being dead, I might still benefit my people. But before my work is done such a movement is premature: it will give offence, it will provoke attacks, and all for nothing. For what I have done has been simply my duty, and—I speak seriously—what a person with a better temper would have done far better. I say nothing of talents, for I believe talents, beyond a certain point, are rather in a parson's way than otherwise.

But this I set aside; my friends may be partial, and I love them for their partiality, but my whole soul revolts from the exaggeration of my merits, whatever they are, which this movement would imply.

When one dies, then such things seem to come naturally. The heart is softened, one likes to raise a monument to a friend, and I should prefer this sort of monument. But, my dearest friend, put a stop to this at once, I beseech you.

Another thing annoys me very much, and Sewell, like many others, has alluded to it—my not having been noticed by Government.

I think this most unfair. If I had made high preferment my object, I have that mediocrity of talent which might have enabled me to obtain my end.

I deliberately preferred another course : I determined from my youth to support my own opinions, and without restraint, I, with my eyes open, made myself what all Governments would regard as an 'unsafe man.' It revolts me, therefore, to hear myself made a subject of remark, because I have not been preferred. A man has no *right* to take his own course, and then to complain that he has not the rewards which are designed for another course.

I would therefore entreat you never to ask for preferment for me. I grow more and more attached to Leeds ; and any little difficulties I have in money matters are occasioned by my indulging too expensively in the luxury of curates—a luxury which has almost become a necessary of life.

To Lady Elizabeth Grey.

Leeds : August 24, 1858.

I write to express, on the part of Mrs. Hook and myself, our deep sympathy with you under your present great affliction. You have numberless sources of consolation which will, no doubt, be brought to your heart by the Divine Comforter, in whose inspirations alone real comfort is to be found. He heareth prayer, prayer being appointed as one of the means by which our ends are to be obtained, and exertion the other. While *you* are exerting yourself, by the study of Scripture, to realise to your soul the true grounds of comfort, *we* can join with you in prayer, and we may be certain that, so far as consolation and even spiritual joy will be conducive to your soul's health, they will be imparted. Whenever the time comes to bid farewell to one 'not lost but gone before,' the parting pang must be acutely felt, but perhaps we feel it less when the parent precedes the child ; and in your case, you can dwell upon the blessed thought that she who has passed on from the militant to the triumphant Church had won, by her Christian virtues, the respect—I may say the affection—of those who only saw her from a distance, but who revered one who, in a generation very different from our own, exhibited in the highest rank an example which went far towards effecting that reformation in the moral tone of society which we have lived to witness.

Spiritual advice to an Invalid.

Leeds: August 25, 1858.

Till yesterday, I had no idea of your having suffered so much and being still so weak. Your letter shows that you are able to exert yourself, and self-exertion in regard to your mind is what you require.

Your mind, as is generally the case, sympathises with your body and is morbid. And as such you must treat it.

And in dealing with your mind, first of all, try to master the idea that you are not responsible for what you cannot help.

You complain of the coldness of your heart.

You have not purposely and deliberately made your heart cold.

Your coldness of heart is therefore at the present time simply a disease.

If you had a cold fit in an ague, you would not be reproaching yourself; you would send for a physician.

If you were cast away on the coast of Lapland, you would not be blaming yourself for feeling cold, but if you saw a fire lighted you would approach it, if you saw fresh clothing at hand you would put it on.

So now, look out from yourself to Jesus, the great Physician of the soul, look out from yourself to the Spirit of God, and array yourself in the righteousness of Christ. And then you will see where the fault lies. We are all too apt at all times to become idolaters, and when we think that we are worshipping God to erect Self in God's place.

Instead of thinking only how you can serve your God and Saviour, you are now thinking of your own salvation, your own spiritual condition.

Have no thought about yourself. Whether you believe it or not, you are safe in Christ's hands. But think of your God. How can you serve Him? One way, and one way only, is appointed. You serve Him by submission to His will. His will it is that you should now serve Him without any pleasure in His service, with coldness, almost deadness of heart. Was not our dear Lord and Master tried in like manner? Shut your eyes, clasp your hands, and say deliberately, 'If it be possible, O Father, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless not my will but Thine be done.'

The comforting influences of the Holy Spirit may be withdrawn

from you, as they were from our gracious Master, when He exclaimed, 'My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?'

But nothing can take you out of your Heavenly Father's hands, and the Lord Jesus assures you, 'He that cometh to Me I will in no wise cast out.'

Offer yourself to God to suffer the worst, under the humble conviction that He doth not willingly afflict the children of men, and that He afflicts you therefore because it is through affliction that you will be prepared for that particular mansion in the kingdom of glory to which you are predestinated.

Faith, faith—trust in God—this is what is required.

I repeat it—You should resolve to resist as a temptation your desire to examine yourself. Go out of yourself, and think of your Heavenly Father. Nothing will aid you in doing this more than a reception of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, if in preparing you will not have recourse to the usual self-examination which is recommended to those who are living in the world, but confine yourself to meditation on our Lord's sufferings.

At baptism, God adopted you in Christ as His child. His child you still are. You have been, as we all have been, an erring child, and you have received and are receiving chastisement from your loving Father; but you have never done what would lead to your disinheritance. We must pray for your restoration to bodily health and mental health, but as for your *spiritual* health, of *that* we have no doubt.

The best thing to read when the mind is morbid is the only book which is without a fault—the Bible; the four Gospels without note or comment. I would read the text in what is called the Paragraph Bible, without the divisions into verses and chapters.

To the same.

Leeds : September 13, 1858.

Of all calamities that relate merely to oneself, I think that depression of spirits is the worst. I have suffered from it acutely at times, as most people who have high spirits usually do; and I know, therefore, how to sympathise with you. I know also that while the expression of sympathy is always soothing to the sufferer, yet it is impossible to talk the evil down. We must pray for its removal, and seek employment such as circumstances will allow.

In reading, I doubt the effect of *light* reading: I should say that the best is to read what is tragic and affecting. . . .

On these occasions it is a comfort to open one's heart to one who can understand us; . . . although, in point of fact, there is nothing to say but only this, 'I am depressed in spirit, the comforting influences of the Holy Spirit are withdrawn from me; nothing you can say will comfort me. I can hardly pray for myself; therefore, pray for me and with me.' And this reminds me to observe that in these cases, as in others, it is sometimes very salutary to pray aloud. The sound of one's own voice is cheering and rousing. When, in health and strength, we are walking in a solitary place, on the mountain or on the sea-shore, it is astonishing what force it gives to prayer when we venture to converse with our God audibly—sometimes even with a shout of praise.

To the same.

Leeds: December 8, 1858.

I much rejoice to have under your own hand a confirmation of the good report of your progress towards health, which has given us much joy.

I still think that you do not understand the nature of your *spiritual* complaint; instead of worrying yourself about your feelings, you should direct your attention more entirely to your faith. 'Do you deliberately accept the Lord Jesus Christ as your only, your complete, Saviour? If you do, then you ought to be assured of your salvation, for our gracious Lord saith, 'Him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out.' Do you really believe this? Then your desponding feelings, except so far as they are connected with your physical weakness, will disappear. If they do not, then you do not really and fully believe that the Lord Jesus Christ is a Saviour omnipotent to save; and to that point, not to your feelings, you should direct the whole force of your mind. Give yourself a task. Do not read the works formed on the Methodistic system, or the Pusey school; but go to the Bible at once, and there seek employment. For example, you might harmonise the life of our blessed Lord, seeking to bring his whole history from the four Evangelists under one head; or else you might collect the passages from the Prophets which relate to our Lord's humiliation and glory, or you might collect from the Epistles all the references there made to His sufferings and their sacrificial character.

You see what I mean. It is desirable to take your mind off from yourself. By employing yourself in investigations relating to our dear Lord and Master, you will have more and more faith in Him, and by reading at other times such books as I have mentioned, you will be learning how to employ your mind, and in what way to pursue your investigations.

I wish further to remark that when our gracious Master saith, 'Come unto Me,' He does not say that you are first to love Him, and then to come. No ! Come to Him that you may be made to love Him. He does not say, Come, because you *are* melted into contrition, but come that you *may* be melted into contrition. Come, not *because* you have a deep conviction of sin, but come that your conviction may be made deep. Come to Him for everything, for help when weak, for hope when desponding, for comfort in sorrow.

All that you have to do at the present time is deliberately to say : 'I place my soul in the hands of the Lord Jesus Christ ;' and then, as far as this world is concerned, to obey your doctor's orders.

To Sir W. P. Wood, on his Birthday.

November 29, 1858.

May the Lord God Almighty bless you, and all who are dear to you ! Is there not a heavenly melancholy, as the years pass on, which are leading us to eternity ? Oh ! if I, poor sinner, may be but a doorkeeper in my Heavenly Father's house ! How solemnly real these thoughts become as we grow old ! Well, I will not go on, for on these occasions I get *pleasantly maudlin*. I feel now as if I should like to lie down on a sofa, and let the tears quietly flow, and my thoughts unconsciously rise to heavenly communion. But it must not be, for I have a class, and a cottage-lecture to give when I have finished this letter ; and they will be gentle teachings which I shall utter, for the thought of you, my friend, leads me to the past, and the past is gentle.

The following letter, from Mrs. Hook to her husband, is undated, but is seemingly in reply to one of rather a desponding character from him, late in his career at Leeds, when both were beginning to feel that the work was too much for them and had better pass into younger hands :

I have been sorry of late to see you shrinking from being mixed up in public matters, and a public man who does so, soon gets out of the current of existing events, and is thrown high and dry upon the shelf.

Those who know you, do not measure you by the standard by which you judge yourself. You have been appointed by God's providence to do a very great and important work, and gallantly you have done it. But the qualities required for *carrying forward* the work are more to be found in younger men, whose intellects have been refined and sharpened, and led to look more into the *details* of things; but who would not have had the warmth and largeness of heart, and courage, to have *begun* the work. Your great success has been owing to your great powers of sympathy and spiritual knowledge of the workings of men's hearts, and (if I may say so) where you have failed, has been where you have lost your sympathy, and have thought of yourself more than of others. You have had a life of great trial, but when I recollect what the Church was thirty years ago, and what it is now, and remember how you then seemed alone to hold the principles to which she owes her revival, I cannot allow that your work has been in any degree thrown away. I have been ever ready to accept your apparent want of *worldly* success as a token of God's approbation of your work; though I fancy sometimes, when I go among strangers, that you carry more weight, and command more respect, than most of those who sit in the high places in the Church.

I feel, therefore, that we can go on doing good here still, though, perhaps, not so much as younger and fresher people could do.

Your letter has brought out this, and as I *am* so awful a personage, perhaps you may read it with allowances for my stiff, austere mind, which can presume to see that those I love are not 'absolute perfection.'

I do not further speak of myself, because I don't want to think of myself. I find self-contemplation very weakening; and if one could separate one's sins from one's trials and sorrows, remember the former and forget the latter, it would go far towards making me more able to stand against the difficulties which arise in the narrow path.

CHAPTER XI.

DEPARTURE FROM LEEDS.—LIFE AT CHICHESTER FROM
1859 TO 1867.

OF the body of twenty-five Trustees who had elected Dr. Hook to the Vicarage of Leeds in 1837, many had now been summoned from this world. Mr. Robert Hall, who had been so especially active in forwarding the election, died in May 1857, soon after he had reached the height of his ambition by becoming M.P. for the Borough of Leeds. He had begun his education at the Leeds Grammar School, and shortly after his death, the Vicar, presiding at the distribution of prizes to the boys, bade them revere his memory 'as a model of patient industry, as the bright example of a good and upright man, who from his earliest years had earnestly devoted himself in a religious spirit to the cultivation of those talents which God had given him.'

Mr. Henry Hall survived his son several years. As senior Trustee in 1837 he had announced to Dr. Hook his election to the Vicarage, and as senior Trustee he now, at the age of eighty-six, received from the Vicar the announcement of his resignation, which was formally made in the following letter.

To Henry Hall, Esq.

Vicarage, Leeds : February 19, 1859.

It is my duty to announce to you, and through you to the Trustees of the Vicarage of Leeds, to the Churchwardens of the parish, and to my parishioners generally, that Her Majesty the Queen has been graciously pleased to confer upon me the Deanery of Chichester.

By the acceptance of the Deanery, I shall not be a gainer in point of income, and I wish you clearly to understand that I do not consider any office in the Church of England to be more important or more honourable than that which as Vicar of Leeds I have had the happiness to occupy for twenty-two years.

Neither am I anxious to retire from work. Wherever I may be I shall, by God's blessing, do with my might what my hand findeth to do, and if I do not find work I shall make it.

But when a man has passed the age of sixty he must anticipate ere long a diminution of his powers, physical if not mental ; and it is easy to retire from duties voluntarily undertaken, while it would be painful to find oneself unable to discharge with vigour the duties which pertain to one's station in life. There are, in addition to my pastoral duties, responsibilities attached to my present office, which, from the altered state of ecclesiastical affairs, have involved me in difficulties likely to increase and to be a source of anxiety and care.

These circumstances have weighed so heavily on my mind that I had fully determined in the course of a few years to have retired from my present post.

I have felt also that the Act of Parliament which, with the sanction of the Trustees, I obtained for the division of the parish, although it has long been in gradual operation, could not be completely carried into effect so long as I remain Vicar of Leeds.

I believe it, therefore, to be for the good of Leeds as well as for my own advantage that I should make way for a younger man—a wiser and a better man, I sincerely hope—but certainly not one who can be more devoted than I have been to the service of Leeds.

The pang of leaving a place where we have found a happy home, devoted friends and generous parishioners for more than twenty years, will be felt acutely by my wife and children as well as by myself.

I have taken a lively interest in the various improvements, secular as well as ecclesiastical, which have taken place in town and neighbourhood during the period of my being a denizen of Leeds. I have rejoiced in the increased and increasing good understanding between the employers and the employed ; in the success of the educational movement ; in the social progress which is visible among the working classes ; and particularly happy have

I been in sharing in the kindly feeling and Christian charity which has of late years prevailed among us.

I shall leave Leeds with the happy conviction that while I have fearlessly asserted and maintained my own opinions, I leave behind me many dear friends, not only among the members of my own communion but also among Nonconformists of almost all denominations, and among men of every shade of political opinion. Let me hope, too, that I leave without an enemy.

If any man has done me wrong, I have forgotten it. If I have done wrong to any man, I hope he will forgive me. My frequent prayer will be that the blessing of God may rest on this town of Leeds, and on the various parishes into which my old parish will be divided, and that, through the mercy of the blessed Redeemer Whom I have humbly wished to serve, I may meet the friends from whom I part on earth, *there* where those who meet will part no more.

To yourself, my dear sir, besides the respect which I have, in common with every inhabitant of Leeds, for your high character and faithful services as a magistrate and an efficient supporter of the charitable institutions of the town, I am bound personally by ties of gratitude for a course of unvarying support, sympathy, and friendship, from the day when you first greeted me as Vicar of Leeds to the present hour.

This letter, although dated from Leeds, was in fact composed at Eydon in Northamptonshire, of which his son-in-law, the Rev. Arthur Empson, was rector. To this quiet and beautiful village he loved to retreat at times from the turmoil and bustle of Leeds, and to enjoy the society of his daughter and her family amidst rural seclusion and repose. And when his appointment to Chichester had become known in Leeds, and his tender and sensitive heart was torn to pieces by the mingled congratulations and lamentations of his beloved people, he fled to Eydon to escape distressing meetings, and to recover the tone of his health and spirits. The tumult of conflicting feelings by which he was agitated is beautifully described in the following letter to the Bishop of Oxford:

Leeds: February 20, 1859.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—The overflowing of your sym-

pathetic heart is indeed a comfort to me. My heart is strangely perverse, and I may say the same of my wife.

Lord Derby has in the kindest manner given to me the piece of preferment which, of all others, I should have selected if I had my choice ; but we cannot raise our hearts to be joyful : thankful we are, most thankful and grateful, to Lord Derby and the Queen, and we can express our thanks to the King of Kings ; but the thought of leaving dear old Leeds—Leeds, of which I have thought and dreamed, for which I have laboured, and which I have loved for two-and-twenty years—this is painful, and ought to be painful. All my children write to me grieving over our separation from dear old smoky Leeds. I am going to my daughter's in Northamptonshire to-morrow ; for I really cannot stand the meeting dear old friends, many of whom come up to me and shake hands, and then burst into tears. I have been ill, nearly confined to bed, for the last two days. But I have done right, and I *do* rejoice and shall soon be *very* glad ; only, just now I am like a man dying, anxious to enter into glory, but still weeping to part from friends.

On March 17, in company with his wife, he paid his first visit to the quiet old city which was to be to him as a tranquil haven in his old age, after the long, laborious, and at times tempestuous voyage of the years which were past.

On Saturday, March 19, he writes in his journal: 'This day I was installed Dean of Chichester. It seems very strange that I should be here, as I had no idea of preferment from the Crown. I think that I shall like the retreat. It is what I have longed for. I had some prayer in the Robing-room when I was left there by myself. When I went into my stall, I saw dear old Wood's white head, and I then wept heartily, which was a comfort.'

On the following day he preached in the Cathedral, taking for his text Ecclesiastes ix. 10: 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.'

The main lesson of the sermon was, that the first enquiry of a humble-minded Christian ought to be, not, How can I be most useful? but, What is my duty? What are the commands of my heavenly King? and faith in the special Providence of

God would enable him to answer the question. 'If,' said he, 'circumstances be assigned to us, not by chance but by God, then the Christian man will hear, in the circumstances under which he is placed, the voice of the Lord saying, "In performing the duties of thy station, thou art performing the duties to which I call thee." This it is which gives dignity to the humblest office.'

To act on this principle was to follow the example of our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ.

Although He came to be our Prophet, Priest, and King, yet He did not take that honour upon Himself, He did not begin His ministry until He was called to it. For nine-and-twenty years he was labouring, a poor man, earning his daily bread in a carpenter's shop. . . . He did not say the hammer, the chisel, and the saw are beneath the consideration of one conscious of miraculous powers; He did not enquire whether He could not be more useful in debating with the Pharisees, or in seeking to conduct the councils of the Sanhedrin. He obeyed; His was a life of obedience during those nine-and-twenty years, when, with a heart bleeding in pity for mankind, He stirred not from his obscure abode, but did with his might what in Joseph's shop His hand found to do.

After preaching this sermon he did not again appear in Chichester, except for one or two chapter meetings, until he came to reside, at the end of July. The interval was chiefly occupied in paying visits, answering letters of congratulation, and preparing for the inevitable and much-dreaded time of departure from the dear old home at Leeds. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Leeds were busily preparing to testify their sense of obligation to one who had laboured so long and so strenuously to promote the highest interest of all classes in that great town. A large meeting was held in April, in the Town Hall, to consider what form the testimonial should take. It was attended by persons of all shades of opinion, political and religious; the chief speakers were the Mayor, Sir Peter Fairbairn, Mr. Beecroft, M.P. for Leeds, Mr. John Hope Shaw, Mr. Denison, Mr. Forster, Mr. Lupton, and Mr. E. Baines. Several of the speakers were Nonconformists, and some of

them had once been very vehement opponents of the Vicar, but all now united in one common desire to do him honour.

The resolution passed at this meeting was: 'That a subscription be raised as a testimony of gratitude for the vast benefits conferred by the Rev. Dr. Hook on the town and neighbourhood of Leeds during the twenty-two years he has filled the important office of Vicar.'

As the time fixed for departure drew near, the entries in his journal become very mournful. 'Very low in spirits,' 'much depressed,' 'sorely depressed,' occur again and again all through the month of June. His health, too, was disordered. On June 26, he writes in his journal, 'Too unwell to go to church this morning, but preached my last sermon in the evening to my dear, dear congregation, with much pain of body and mind.'

By the last sermon must here be understood the last preached on Sunday to the ordinary Sunday congregation, for his farewell discourse was delivered on the evening of St. Peter's Day, Wednesday, June 29. In the afternoon of that day the new Dean and his wife had been entertained at a great banquet in the Victoria Hall, when they received such a variety of presents and addresses that the bare enumeration of them is all which can be attempted in these pages.

The great testimonial from the whole town consisted of a casket containing 2,000 guineas, and an address, which was read by Dr. Barry. The address was written and illuminated on vellum and richly bound in crimson velvet.

Another casket containing 270*l.* was presented to Mrs Hook as an offering from the ladies of Leeds.

A silver centre-piece and an address were presented by the Leeds Society of Odd Fellows.

A clock and candelabra were given by the choir of the parish church, with an address from which I cannot forbear quoting a few words: 'For the proud position which we hold as one of the first choirs in England, we have you to thank, nor would we monopolise the sympathies which choirs in all parts of the kingdom share towards one who has helped to

place the music of the Church on that footing which it ought to occupy in the worship of God. We have been taught by you what is the meaning of the words, "Neither will I offer burnt sacrifices unto the Lord my God of that which doth cost me nothing." Our congratulations are most sincere; our regrets most deep; our prayers, we trust, no less fervent, that God's reward for doing God's work may be most richly yours.'

There was an address also from the Central Short Time Committee of the West Riding, thanking him for his sedulous efforts on behalf of the Ten Hours Factory Bill; an address from the Leeds Church Sunday-school Association; one from the teachers, and another from the scholars of the parish church Sunday-schools, from the communicants' class, from the church-wardens, and from the Trustees of the living.

Amidst all this mass of testimony to his work from the people of Leeds, it is due to Coventry to mention that he had not been forgotten there. The vestrymen of Holy Trinity parish had sent him a congratulatory address in which they declared that 'none can better appreciate than ourselves that devoted zeal and energy which have received a well-deserved, if somewhat tardy, recognition at the hands of those who have the disposal of the highest patronage in the Church. We retain, after a lapse of more than twenty years, a grateful sense of your services; we feel their influence for good still working among us, and we pray that God may continue to bestow a like blessing upon your labours in His cause in that new field of labour upon which you are about to enter.'

The Mayor of Leeds, Sir Peter Fairbairn, presented the testimonials, and spoke as befitted the municipal head of that great town. 'And now, my dear sir' he said, at the conclusion of his speech, 'in the name of the subscribers, in the name of this goodly company, and, I will venture to say, in the name of the inhabitants of Leeds, I bid you heartily and reluctantly farewell, but we pray that great and wise Providence which rules over the destinies of all, to bless and preserve you and yours through all time.'

It was a hard task for the Dean to reply to all these

addresses after his health had been drunk with ringing cheers by the great assembly, but it was harder still to say his farewell words to the enormous crowd which thronged the parish church in the evening. Every foot of standing-ground was occupied, and hundreds were unable to gain an entrance. Never, surely, from any pastor's lips did the passage with which that sermon was ended fall more appropriately than from his: 'Watch ye; stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong,' for never had any pastor more manfully, sturdily, yet lovingly, upheld that faith himself in which he then exhorted his flock to remain steadfast. And when the service was ended, and he appeared outside the church, the cheers of the crowd were overwhelming. In a letter to Vice-Chancellor Wood, he writes: 'The thing that did really upset me most that day was the shout of the populace in all the streets from the church to the Vicarage, and their rush to shake hands with me. If I had not thought it better to avail myself of a cab after a time, I verily think I should have been carried home on the people's shoulders.'

But perhaps the little farewell presents which he received from individuals among the poorer classes of his flock, touched his heart more deeply even than the cheers of the multitude.

On the original of the following letter, there is written in his own hand, 'This, which is to us an affecting letter, comes from a poor shoemaker, with a beautiful pair of boots.'

Rev. Sir,—Sometimes we are at a loss how to express what we feel—one thought displacing another, until all is confusion in the mind. I am just in that position at this moment.

Do me the favour to accept these boots—a poor gift, I own, but cheerfully offered. I lament your loss, but you go with the best wishes and earnest prayers of

Yours most respectfully,

HENRY GREENWOOD.

In a letter, written about the same time, in which he had occasion to enlarge on the paramount duty of winning souls to Christ, he observes, 'How, even in temporal things, His work

may bring down a blessing, I can show by what affected me deeply yesterday. The people of Leeds are raising a fund to present me with a parting testimonial, and a poor woman, a pauper, went to the master of our house and gave him a four-penny-piece, asking him to add it to the fund, because, she said, that twenty years ago I was an instrument in God's hand for the conversion of her daughter. The poor woman gave her all, and the transaction to which she alluded has long since passed from my memory. So wonderful are the things of God !'

The true Christian, who lives in the habit of self-examination, and whose practice always falls so far short of the standard at which he aims, is wont to feel humiliated, rather than elated, when honour and applause are bestowed upon him with a lavish hand. And such is the feeling which seems to have been uppermost, when the brief record of his last day in Leeds was penned by the late Vicar in his journal.

'This day I bade farewell to dear, dear Leeds. Oh ! my God, when I look back to the past, how many, how wonderful are thy mercies ! and what a poor weak sinner am I !'

And next day, with many a tear, and many a 'longing, lingering look behind,' he tore himself away from the smoky town, with its forest of chimneys, and its great grim piles of warehouses and mills ; not an endearing place to the stranger's eye, but full to him of tender memories, dear to him as the scene of many hard-earned victories in the cause of the Church and of education and social reform ; dear to him as the abode of loving and grateful hearts.

And what a contrast between the Leeds as he entered it in 1837, and the Leeds as he left it in 1859 ! He found it a stronghold of Dissent, he left it a stronghold of the Church ; he found it one parish, he left it many parishes ; he found it with fifteen churches, he left it with thirty-six ; he found it with three schools, he left it with thirty ; he found it with six parsonage-houses, he left it with twenty-nine.

'The picture of your work,' wrote the Bishop of Lichfield (Lonsdale), in congratulating him on his preferment to Chichester, 'is, I fully believe, without a parallel, or anything

like a parallel in the ministry of our Church. You must indeed feel uneasy in your present ease.'

And so he did, until he had made for himself work of a new kind. He came to Chichester at the end of July. The Deanery was under repair, and the family resided for several months in a house in South Street. The sudden cessation of work, the complete relaxation of body and mind from the state of tension to which both had been daily subjected for so many years, and the softer climate of the south, experienced for the first time in the heat of autumn, all combined to throw him for a time into a condition of physical languor and even depression of spirits. The forming acquaintance with persons who did not stand to him in the interesting relation of a flock to their pastor was at first strange and tedious to him, and the petty details of chapter business were irksome to one who had long been accustomed to deal with matters on a larger scale, to indicate like the general in command, or the chief engineer, the main line or principle of operation and leave the details to subordinates.

It was some time before he could take a lively interest in the plans which were under discussion when he came into office for remodelling the interior of the Cathedral. His predecessor, Dean Chandler, besides spending 3,000*l.* upon the building during his life, had bequeathed 2,000*l.* to be expended wholly or in part upon rendering it more available for the purposes of public worship. This sum was increased by public subscriptions, and it was proposed that the whole should be devoted to the execution of various improvements as a memorial to the late Dean. Foremost amongst the alterations was to be the opening of the nave to the choir, from which it had been parted off by a massive screen, or rather vaulted passage of stone called the Arundel shrine, upon the top of which stood the organ, and the pews and galleries by which the choir was encumbered and disfigured were to be swept away.

The following letter from the new Dean, just before he came to reside, to the Rev. C. A. Swainson,¹ has reference to these designs.

¹ Now Canon Residentiary of the Cathedral, and Lady Margaret Professor at Cambridge.

To the Rev. C. A. Swainson, Prebendary of Chichester—Proposed alterations in the arrangements of the Cathedral, Chichester.

Leeds : June 1859.

I confess that I do not take much interest in the present movement to alter the Cathedral, and I think if it could have been delayed a year or two, the thing would have been done better ; but the step was taken before my appointment, and I can only go on with it.

You should create a demand before you think of a supply ; as far as I can see, the present choir is sufficiently large for the congregation, and the present movement will give offence to certain respectable persons who have long slumbered in their pews, and do not like the idea of being ousted from their aristocratic position. Why enlarge the choir before the enlargement is demanded ? Why not look first to the spiritual fabric and see whether *that* can be enlarged ? If it cannot, we may as well remain as we are.

The course I should have supposed to have been best would have been to secure a series of first-rate preachers for the afternoon, and so to fill the choir as to make it unpleasant and inconvenient to all parties, who would then clamour for a favour at our hands, which we could grant on our own terms ; instead of now going, cap in hand, to ask for a patronage which will be grudgingly bestowed. Our first object should be to win souls to the Lord Jesus Christ : when souls are caught, then there will be both peace and zeal.

The Dean, however, himself soon created the demand which he recommended in this letter. Hitherto it had been the custom for one sermon only to be preached in the Cathedral on Sundays. This was in the morning. The Dean only preached in his turn with the Canons, resident and non-resident, and the Archdeacons.

On the first two Sundays after Dr. Hook came into residence the Archdeacon of Chichester preached ; and in his diary for the second Sunday, the new Dean writes, ‘ Feel quite guilty at having passed another “silent Sabbath.” ’ He resolved that no longer silent they should be. An act was passed in chapter that henceforth there should be a sermon in the afternoon as well as in the morning, and for the afternoon sermon the Dean

made himself responsible. On Sunday, August 14, he writes in his journal : ' I preached in the afternoon ; a large congregation ; the Bishop was present. May our Heavenly Master, the great Bishop of souls, bless the work now commenced ! ' The work of alteration was soon afterwards begun in the choir and the service was performed in the nave.

Having been placed on the Cathedral Commission in 1852 he had already acquired a good general knowledge of the constitution of cathedral establishments in England, but on the principle proclaimed in his first sermon at Chichester, of ' doing with his might that which his hand found to do, ' he lost no time in making a careful study of the statutes of his own Cathedral, that he might understand the exact limits of his authority. Day after day, all through the month of August, may be read in his journal, ' Busy in studying the Statutes, ' ' Busy with ' Acts of Chapter. ' ' Translated the form of installing a dignitary, ' and the like.

But his energies were soon to be exercised on that far greater work which was to be the chief employment of the remaining years of his life. Mr. Bentley, the publisher, had asked Bishop Wilberforce to write a series of lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, which the Bishop from lack of leisure, declined to undertake. He suggested the new Dean of Chichester as eminently qualified for the work ; and before the end of September 1859, the scheme was floated, and in the following letter to Mr. Bentley the author's first conception of the nature of the work is sketched out.

The Deanery, Chichester : September 26, 1859.

My dear Sir, . . . I think it may be expedient that I should state the character of the work I contemplate. I design to write a series of biographies, on philosophical principles, showing the influence of the age upon the individual, and, as the case may be, the impress of the individual mind upon the age. I shall introduce each life, or each group of lives, with a general review of the state of affairs, political and ecclesiastical ; I shall also trace the spirit of the Reformation, gradually rising from an early period. In no case will I slur over a fact or defend a character at the expense of truth :

but although I shall be as impartial as I can be, it will be with the candid avowal that I write in the spirit of a Protestant of the Church of England, in which spirit any comments that may be necessary will be made.

The title I give as below :—

Title.

‘ The Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury : from the Mission of Augustine till the Death of Howley. By Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., Dean of Chichester.’

This resolution to embark upon a large literary work may be said to mark the beginning of a new epoch in his life. He became a different being. The literary vein or element in his character, always strong and active, but always from a sense of duty, kept subordinate to the demands of his pastoral vocation, had now free scope and became dominant once more, as it had been in the days of his boyhood. The practical side of his character receded, and at times almost vanished out of sight, so that those who only knew him during this period could scarcely believe that they saw in him one who had been the most active and able parish priest of his generation.

But the change is easily accounted for. In the first place the historical work in which he engaged was of a very laborious and engrossing nature. People are apt to talk of ‘ literary ease ’ as if an author were always sitting in an arm-chair, and could lazily scribble down any thoughts which float into his mind. But it may be affirmed without hesitation that all literary work of high merit is the fruit of severe and very fatiguing toil. In the composition, indeed, of poetry, and works of fiction, it may be said that the only materials to be used are the products of the writer’s imagination ;—his ideas ; but these ideas have to be sifted, marshalled into order and clothed in the best language which he can command ; and this is a very laborious process. But the labour of the historian is perhaps still more exhausting. He has to search for his materials, to select the most trustworthy sources of information, to balance conflicting evidence ; sometimes he is perplexed by paucity of matter, sometimes by an

overwhelming and bewildering abundance ; sometimes a single page is the expansion of facts painfully picked out from a great variety of books or documents, sometimes it is the condensation of whole volumes after careful perusal and reflection. Even the physical exertion of taking down books from their shelves, hunting after those which have perversely gone astray just when they are most wanted, turning over first one and then another, and lastly sitting down at a table and driving the quill for hours, is not small, and to an aged man becomes exceedingly fatiguing. 'I cannot wield a folio,' was the complaint of Dean Milman in his old age, 'as I used to do.'

The Dean of Chichester resolved to execute his task with thoroughness. He consulted as far as possible original authorities, and was not content to take secondhand statements. The work grew as he advanced far beyond the dimensions which he had anticipated ; his own conception of it enlarged, and his power of execution increased in proportion, until from a compiler of the lives of primates he rose to be the historian of the Church of England. The consequence, however, was that while his literary ability and vigour for a time increased with experience in his work, his practical powers diminished. There was little scope for them in Chichester, and as the infirmities of old age inevitably crept on, he had less and less strength and spirit to spare from his literary labours for any other work. The wonder is that he had so much.

The fall of the Cathedral spire in 1861 involved him for a time in all that irksome work of begging, attending committees, and making speeches, which he had looked forward to escaping when he retired from Leeds. He did it and did it energetically, but it was inexpressibly wearisome to him, and he often laments in letters to Vice-Chancellor Wood and others, that he could not call up any of his old Leeds enthusiasm for work of that kind. The fall of the spire also entailed heavy expense upon him when he could ill afford it ; for it occurred before he had recovered from the expenses of removing from Leeds and repairing the Deanery, and he thought it right to contribute one year's income, 1,000*l.*, to the restoration of the ruined fabric.

Hence, also, the literary work which he had begun rather as an occupation for his leisure became a business at which he toiled for the purpose of making money.

As soon as he had fairly set out upon his historical enterprise he resumed his early rising, which he had dropped for a time on first coming to Chichester, and he maintained it unbroken up to the last year or two of his life.

Notwithstanding, however, the absorbing interest of his work and the pecuniary motives for speeding it which often pressed upon him, he complied but too readily with the numerous requests to preach or lecture which were continually being made to him from all parts of the country. Sometimes, indeed, these excursions were a refreshment and recreation to him; but as his bodily strength declined with the advance of age, he returned enfeebled from his journeys, and disabled for the labours of authorship. Yet he had so long been accustomed to place his services with reckless self-forgetfulness at the disposal of his friends, and to consider their applications for help as calls of duty to be obeyed if it were possible, that he was continually committing himself to engagements which overtasked his powers, and of which he bitterly repented when the time came for fulfilling them.

At length, partly in jest, partly in earnest, he was made to sign the following declaration, which was drawn up by one of his sons:—

I hereby confess that I have done very foolishly of late in undertaking too much preaching, contrary to the advice of my wife and family, and I hereby promise from henceforth to attend to all their admonitions in that respect.

Signed,

W. F. HOOK, D.D., F.R.S.

In the presence of

{	K. COOKE,
	R. HOOK,
	C. HOOK.

But the ill-health of his wife after 1867, and her death in 1871, from which the break-up of his own health may be said to begin, checked the inclination to move far from home for

any purpose, and such remaining strength as he had was henceforth increasingly devoted to his history and his weekly preaching in the Cathedral.

The period of his greatest vigour after he became Dean, extended from 1860 to 1867, in which year the state of his wife's health first began to excite alarm. His energies during this period were occupied primarily with his history, the first five volumes having been published before the close of 1867; secondarily, with the restoration of the Cathedral after the fall of the spire; thirdly, with writing lectures and sermons for special occasions. His correspondence also was very voluminous, for, besides old friends, former parishioners, and others, often strangers, who applied to him for religious advice, he was now constantly in communication with literary friends, more especially Professor Stubbs and Mr. E. A. Freeman, being under great obligations to both for most valuable criticisms and suggestions throughout the composition of his history.

CORRESPONDENCE.

NOVEMBER 1859 TO DECEMBER 1867.

To Vice-Chancellor Wood.

Chichester: November 1, 1859.

I am going to take a ten days' holiday in the north, and how think ye the Northerners mean to entertain me? Six sermons, three meetings (which I hate), a large tea-party, and a lecture at the Philosophical Hall. Now, your honour will please to observe that this seems much to a southern Dean comfortably shelved; and till I had all my work well prepared, I could not find that pleasure in writing to you which I now do. Do not be afraid, dear monitor, of my incurring liabilities in the south. I do not feel called upon to do so. I did so boldly in Leeds at one time, because unless I had, nothing would have been done; but here I consider all that kind of work as finished. Our heavenly Father has placed me here at the end of life to prepare my own soul for eternity, and those whom I bring around me by my preaching. I am taking no active part in the cathedral restoration, and have not asked for any sub-

scriptions: I wish it to be clearly understood that it is not my work. The alterations are made as a testimonial to my predecessor, and all I have to do is to see that the work is well done. . . . In Leeds, on the contrary, everything depended upon me; others worked details, but the weight was on my shoulders.

To the same.

April 20, 1860.

This is the first letter written from the Deanery: we slept here for the first time last night. At five o'clock this morning, I opened my study window and walked upon my turf. The birds were singing delightfully. . . . I lifted up my heart on high and prayed for you and yours, and glorified Him who giveth a diversity of gifts, to every man severally as He will.

The same hatred of injustice which prompted him to stand up for Newman almost to the last, and to vote against withholding the salary of the Greek professorship from Mr. Jowett, fired up at the narrow-minded opposition offered to the appointment of the Rev. F. Maurice to the Incumbency of Oxford Chapel, St. Marylebone. He wrote the following letter of sympathy to Mr. Maurice, and signed an address to the Bishop of London in favour of the appointment.

Chichester: July 20, 1860.

My dear Mr. Maurice,—If any steps are to be taken to protect you from this abominable puritan Persecution, I for one shall be most happy to stand by you. I am not one of your disciples, though I read you with edification, and because I differ from you in some things, I may be the better friend in this infamous narrow-mindedness. All parties should unite, or we shall be, many of us, burned at the stake.

Yours most truly.

To the Rev. W. Stubbs.

August 14, 1860.

. . . I ought now to tell you the nature of my work, or rather its object and design. When *you* write, you write for the learned few: I am writing for the million. I wish to produce a readable history of the Church of England. I am not going to publish dissertations or enter into discussions with the learned; but where facts are disputable I give in the text my own conclusions, and I wish to refer the reader in the notes to the various authorities, that

he may be at liberty to draw other conclusions if he will. I write as a thorough Protestant John Bull, disliking everything foreign and cordially hating Rome; but, I trust, as an honest Christian man, prepared to tell the truth even when it is against us, and so to shame the devil.

Our Church begins with the commencement of the Middle Ages, and is a history of the corruption of doctrine, until, the corruption becoming intolerable, the Reformation became a necessity. We then have the development of the Reformation till the Revolution of 1688; then the history of that Latitudinarianism which is to develop itself into—what? Shall we fear into infidelity? That is a subject for some future historian.

I am desirous at the same time, in every possible manner, to show that Christianity was all the while doing its great work on the souls of holy and humble men of heart; that faith, though not wholly independent of doctrine, can still justify amidst much doctrinal corruption. It was not till the publication of the creed of Pius that the *faith* was attacked.

To Sir W. P. Wood—*The Religious World.*

Chichester: October 1860.

. . . Do not take my allusion to the 'religious world'¹ as a joke: it is part of my whole theory. I arrange my people under the following heads:—

1. Religious men of the world, the highest type of whom is — among the laity, and among clerics, S. Oxon.
2. The really laborious and pious in a smaller sphere: unknown saints, doing their work well, and thoroughly happy in their communion with God. . . .
3. The religious world: good men, but narrow and exclusive, working well, but without any expansiveness of love, and thoroughly given up to party, with more of worldliness than they are conscious of. . . . They have in all ages assumed a name implying that they and they only are the religious people. The monkish party in the Middle Ages stood out from the Church, defied Episcopacy, did what they pleased in parishes and dioceses, and called themselves 'the religious.' The same party now has added to the word 'religious' the word 'world'—I hardly know why.

This party you will always find at the top of religious society

¹ See Introduction to vol. i. of *Lives of the Archbishops*, p. 8.

doing much good, but perhaps more mischief. My object is to show the good and the mischief done by them in every age: active in good works, but adopting the fashionable formulas of error, introduced the devil only knows how.

To the same.

November 15.

I have just received a note from Bentley to say that 1,500 copies of my 'Archbishops' were sold on the first day to the London booksellers, and 1,000 copies ordered to be printed immediately for country orders.

To R. Bentley, Esq.—Contemplates writing Lives of the Archbishops of York and of Armagh.

The Deanery, Chichester: December 2, 1860.

My dear Sir,—I received a letter yesterday from Archdeacon Churton, telling me that he had received a proposal from a respectable publisher for the publication of 'The Lives of the Archbishops of York,' a kind of opposition to me. My answer has been, that if 'The Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury' remunerate me for my trouble, I shall forthwith commence 'The Lives of the Archbishops of York,' to be followed by 'The Archbishops of Armagh.' I mention this because it may be expedient for you to give a hint to the trade that such a work is in contemplation; it will never do to have two works of this sort in the market at the same time.

To the Bishop of Oxford.

Chichester: January 28, 1861.

My dear Bishop,—In Elizabethan language 'I entreat you to be good Lord to me' and let me off from preaching this Lent.

I am in the middle of my second volume. I have to preach a Lent course here, and to provide for certain sermons and lectures at Leeds, and my medical friend warns me against undertaking more mental work. So, I say it again, do let me off.

I am getting old—sixty-three next March. I am not, like you and Origen, *omnifariam doctus*: my abilities are only moderate, and cannot grasp many subjects at the same time. I am indeed always absorbed in what I am about, and I find it very difficult to write upon a given subject. My sermons are the pourings-out of sudden thoughts. I cannot beat my brains. I have not seen the

'Saturday Review,' but I will get it this day and will take it in. I care little for reviews, except so far as they increase the sale of the book. I always endeavour to do my best, and if my best is bad I cannot help it. . . . I do hope I may get back some people to a wholesome 'Church of Englandism.'

To Sir W. P. Wood—Fall of Cathedral Spire imminent.

Chichester : February 18, 1861.

Before this reaches you, you will perhaps have heard that Chichester steeple has fallen, and that our cathedral is a heap of ruins.

Up to the time of my writing, the tower is standing ; what may happen in the course of the night I cannot say, but every hour gives us strength.

Yesterday after service the builder informed us that he could not answer for the security of the fabric for an hour. The men worked all night ; a hundred workmen arrived this morning Immense beams have been sent, and we are propping the tower with timber ; and if we succeed in doing this, we shall then be able to build up the four centre piers. Great progress has been made but still, if a storm comes on to-night, it will, I fear, be all up with us.

We have made ourselves responsible for the amount of our income, in trust that the public will be generous, and we have given orders that no expense be spared. On that point we have no fears, if it shall please God to crown with success our endeavours to save this house.

Bulletin.

February 21.

Our patient survived the fearful storm of last night. We had fifty men at work all night. There was some fearful oscillation of the tower, and the main pier sank. If we could only have a few days' calm weather it would be a comfort. We hope to have a jacket round the main pier. I walk about like a guilty man, for people will lay the blame on me, though I have done nothing : the whole work began before I came here.

Soon after one o'clock the same day the spire fell. Mrs. Hook, from the front of the Deanery, saw it reel and then go

down. She then went into the study at the back of the house and told the Dean, who had retired there knowing what must happen. He was leaning over his table sobbing, his face buried in his hands.

To Vice-Chancellor Wood.

February 22, 1861.

My beautiful spire, my dear cathedral! I was certainly too happy; and so far as this is concerned, I thank our heavenly Father for His chastisement; but the poor Chichester people have lost the one distinction of their city. . . . [He then discusses various schemes—some of them rather wild ones—for raising money to pay his share towards the rebuilding.] One thing, however, I have determined: I *will* rebuild the spire, if I beg my bread, if God will but preserve my life for the seven years which remain till I am threescore and ten.

To the same.

Sunday, February 24, 1861.

I do not like to show my face in Chichester, so I am going to preach in the country. You know me as I know myself: I am soon knocked down, and then I squeak, but I soon get up again, and I hope to regain my energy; but something, I am sure, is bodily in all this: the will must overcome the body, but the great fat body first of all paralyses the will.

To R. Bentley, Esq.—Fall of Chichester Cathedral Spire—Delay to Literary Work.

The Deanery, Chichester: February 24, 1861.

My dear Sir,—I will send the volume early next week, God willing. I had fully hoped to have the second volume ready by the spring, but that is now impossible. You have heard of our dreadful calamity: my beautiful cathedral is in ruins, and I must devote my mind and time to raise funds for its restoration. I have little doubt, however, that I shall, God permitting, be ready with the second volume in October, and with the third in the following spring. What I have now to do will only interfere with my literary labour for a month or six weeks. On Tuesday next we have a public meeting, when I mean to contribute towards the restoration of the cathedral my gains from the 'Archbishops': if you can

make a rough guess of what my gains from the first volume will be, I should hope to be able to state it ; I presume, of course, that the statement will only be an approximation to the truth.

Yours, in great sadness.

To the Hon. and Rev. Francis Grey—Fall of Cathedral Spire.

The Deanery, Chichester : March 8, 1861.

My dear Mr. Grey, . . . You will have seen the calamity which has befallen our beautiful cathedral. I am thereby involved in the kind of work from which I fled when I sank down into a deanery, and quitted dear old Leeds and Yorkshire. Committees and sub-committees are again the order of the day—begging and speechifying—all of which I heartily dislike, and all of which, therefore, is wholesome work for Lent.

Most truly yours.

To the same.

Ventnor, Isle of Wight : March 13, my birthday, 1861.

I intended to send you a line before starting yesterday, to say that the Queen gives 250*l.* and the Prince 100*l.*

I have come here for two days of absolute seclusion : for the good of my soul. I enter this day my sixty-fourth year. Having led an active life, I require more time at the end of it for meditation and self-examination. Pray for a poor penitent ; but I know you do.

To Sir W. P. Wood—Meeting at Brighton to raise Money for rebuilding Spire.

Chichester : March 22, 1861.

The meeting at Brighton yesterday was a great success. I could not write to say so yesterday evening, for we were so tired on our return that we took a Lenten repast and went to bed, where we remained for ten hours. I am now beginning to breathe again and to feel comfort.

The sum of 14,300*l.* was raised in the room. Scott's estimate is 50,000*l.* Lord Chichester, the Lord-Lieutenant, presided. The Duke of Richmond read the report, and made a very sensible speech, containing a quotation from a celebrated work, the 'Lives of the Archbishops.' The Bishop of Oxford outdid himself. My

wife says that your humble servant spoke well. This gave me pleasure, for when I sat down I remembered that I had forgotten half I had intended to say, and mangled in the delivery points which I expected to be telling. This mortification of vanity is all right so long as nothing material was omitted.

To the same—The Writers of ‘Essays and Reviews.’

Chichester : October 1861.

. . . B— does not agree with any one of the Essayists entirely, but he seems to do so on the whole, and is all for freedom of enquiry. I have told him that nobody objects to freedom of enquiry and opinion, but all object to dishonesty. If the writers had resigned their preferments they would at least have proved their sincerity, but what we object to is their obtaining an extensive hearing for their opinions from the circumstance of their being English clergymen—their opinions would otherwise have been comparatively harmless, except to themselves.

To the same—On the Death of the Prince Consort.

Chichester : December 16, 1861.

The present public calamity comes upon us like a private affliction and I know how *you*, in the dual number, will feel it. We must pray for the Queen. The blow to her must be awful. When we grow old we become habituated to the loss of friends ; not that our feelings are blunted, but they are calmed by the thought that we shall soon follow. But the separation of two lovers in middle life, after a long career of uninterrupted happiness ! Oh ! what can support the poor Queen, but an abundance of grace from the Divine Comforter, for which a nation’s prayers will go up to the Throne of Grace.

I am one of those who are rendered gloomy by the anticipation or fear of evil, which is indicative of insufficient faith, but when an evil has occurred, my faith always rebounds, and I not only believe it to be, but seem to see it, as a blessing in disguise.

It may be that this calamity in early life was required to make the young princes *think*. They may require schooling in adversity, as their mother was bettered by prosperity. For the Prince of Wales we must indeed earnestly pray.

To the Grand Master of the Order of Odd Fellows and the Board of Directors—On the Death of the Prince Consort.

Deanery, Chichester: April 28, 1862.

Dear Sirs and Brothers,—When, in the year 1858, Her Majesty the Queen, and His Royal Highness the Prince Consort, visited Leeds for the purpose of opening the Town Hall, the committee of the United Friendly Benefit Societies unanimously appointed me to sign in their behalf the dutiful and loyal address to Her Majesty, which they also commissioned me to present.

This high honour was conferred upon me, as on other grounds, so on the ground of my having been for more than fifteen years an active member of the Order of Odd Fellows; and feeling that I have done nothing subsequently to forfeit the confidence then placed in me by the operative classes of the North, I venture to address the Order through you at the present time.

My object in doing so is to propose that at the next meeting of the A. M. C., on Whit Monday, we express our sympathy with our beloved and widowed Queen, and testify our admiration of the talents, the wisdom, the domestic virtues, the patriotic exertions of the noble-hearted Prince, who, having adopted England for his country, won his way to every truly British heart. He was eminent as a statesman, as a man of literature, as a man of science, and as the patron of the artist and of the skilled artisan, but he was *pre-eminently* distinguished for the enlightened zeal which he invariably manifested in the cause of social progress. His heart's desire was to increase the comforts, to elevate the position, and to ennoble the character of the operative classes of society, by offering increased facilities for education in every department of human knowledge, and by encouraging those habits of temperance, prudence, and brotherly love which form the object and principles of our Order.

What I venture to suggest is, that each member of our Order should subscribe one penny in addition to their present payments, as our subscription towards the erection of a monument to the memory of the Prince, whose death is a national calamity, and calls for a manifestation of public gratitude. Money thus collected, from an order which numbers nearly half-a-million of members, will be a noble contribution, and as a friendly rivalry exists among the various benefit societies (and as many of us, myself among the number, belong to several) I have very little doubt that the

example set by the Odd Fellows will soon be followed by our other friends.

I am, dear Sirs,
Your faithful brother and servant

To Sir W. P. Wood.

Chichester : May 19, 1862.

I wish in the first place to complain of the treatment I received at my hotel in Great George Street.¹ I do not like to find fault ; but if the landlady does not mend her manners, I don't know what will happen. When I arrived, she appeared all dressed out in grandeur on the top of the staircase, and exclaimed in shrill tones, 'What have you come for? We didn't expect you. We haven't a hole or corner in which to stow you. What can have induced you to come here?' And so on. I shouldn't so much have minded it for myself, but there were several persons present, and what they must have thought of it I cannot tell. I went off immediately and found lodgings at an hotel in Arlington Street.²

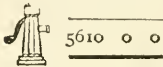
I beg leave to pay my bill with my draft enclosed.

PUMP AT ALDERSGATE.

Messrs. Drinkwater, Dropsy, & Co.

Pay to the Landlady of 'The Vice-Chancellor's Wig,' or order, five thousand six hundred and ten draughts of cold water.

W. F. HOOK.



To Bishop Wilberforce—A Newspaper wanted, to do justice to the Church.

July 1862.

. . . The two classes I have mentioned are great readers, but read only newspapers. But you will not find in any of our great towns any newspaper worth reading, which understands Church principles, or supports the Church. There may be a Conservative paper which damns us with a faint patronage, afraid to say much, for fear of losing to the Conservative cause a few Methodist votes.

¹ The residence of Vice-Chancellor Wood.

² Residence of his brother, Robert Hook, Esq.

But we are damaged by journals such as these. We cannot obtain a hearing without a considerable outlay, though in the end, I feel sure, we should succeed.

If you will raise about 30,000*l.* I think you may do much, by purchasing some telling newspaper—in Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, Cheltenham, Brighton, &c.—paying a really well-informed editor a thousand per annum for five years, and expending about 500*l.* to pay contributors. At the end of five years it will be a gaining concern.

I am not speaking of a *religious* journal :—a religious newspaper is a nuisance—I speak of a common newspaper which shall be liberal on points of social reform, and as you like in politics. What we want are clever newspapers which will state the truth about the Church ; which will not engage in petty polemics, but will really convey information, and counteract those false statements which at present Liberal journals invent in malice, and Conservative journals circulate in ignorance.

To Vice-Chancellor Wood.

July 1862.

Since I have been a Dean, I have come to a conclusion at which you must have arrived long ago. It would be a good thing for the charitable public to take our incomes into their own hands, and, after deducting household expenses, spend the rest, as the said charitable public may think proper. It would save stamps for letters and time in the writing of them. What used to be petitions come now before us almost as demands.

The first two volumes of his history, especially the life of Anselm, were rather unfavourably criticised in some of the leading reviews. This accounts for the rather despondent tone which marks the following fragments of letters, written during the latter part of this year, to Mr. Bentley and Vice-Chancellor Wood.

It will be impossible for me to be ready for the press before the spring (of 1863). The first two volumes have suffered materially from haste, and it will be very difficult to make the next volume an interesting one. . . .

I had almost made up my mind to lay the work aside : but I

spent last week at Worcester, where I read a life of Wulfstan before the Archæological Institute ; and the manner in which the students of history¹ spoke of my 'Archbishops' encourages me to resume my labour. . . .

I made a mistake in the selection of my subject. A few years ago any work relating to the Church of England would have sold. I had not marked the change in the times. Now, among literary men generally there is a dislike of the Church, if not an hostility to Christianity. The clergy, as a body, are not in the present age reading men. For ordinary readers the work is too dry, and among critics there is a jealousy and dislike of everyone who does not belong to their little clique.

He soon rallied, however, from this state of unreasonable depression. If easily downcast by disapprobation, he was no less easily cheered by encouragement. His extreme sensitiveness, indeed, to praise or blame was part of the childlike simplicity of his nature. His favourable reception at Worcester by distinguished members of the Archæological Institute, and his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society the year after—small matters as they might seem—really raised his spirits in no slight degree. On the other hand, much dejected as he was at first by the unfavourable criticism of his first two volumes, he profited largely by the lessons which they taught him. He became more careful and deliberate in his work. Volumes iii. and iv. were brought out together in 1865. They were concerned with the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, one of the most difficult periods to deal with in English history, yet they are full of life, freshness, and interest. From this point the work obtained the increasing approval of those who were most competent to judge of its merits, and its success may be said to have been assured.

During the composition, however, and progress through the press of these two volumes his spirits again sank at times to a very low ebb. This was the result of a combination of circum-

¹ Dr. Stanley, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Foss, and Mrs. Green were present at this meeting.

stances. The sale of his first two volumes was not so remunerative as had been expected, and this at a time when an accession to income would have been peculiarly acceptable for various reasons. 'As I grow old,' he writes, 'I am becoming enamoured of money, but the fair damsel will not smile upon me.' And in another letter: 'Everything is going against me in my old age. I have failed in everything. When I think, however, of the raw material I had to work, and the diabolical temper with which I was cursed, I think it a marvel that I have got on as well as I have: this is my one hope for hereafter. . . . But I cannot get up the steam—I am broken down; a fat old cumberer of the earth.' But these fits of dejection were shortlived; often, indeed, they were dissipated by the very act of pouring out his complaints to his sympathising friend Vice-Chancellor Wood; and he plodded manfully on at his work, rising sometimes as early as half-past three in order to get through the amount which he had allotted to himself as his day's task.

To Rev. A. P. Stanley, D.D.—On his appointment to the Deanery of Westminster.

Chichester: November 15, 1863.

I cannot help writing to tell you how glad I am that you are to be the new Dean of Westminster. Never was a better appointment made, and it must be in accordance with your own tastes and feelings. You will be surrounded by historical associations, and will be provoked into describing scenes connected with the very vitals of English history.

The history of the Sanctuary of Westminster, what a tale could that locality tell of broken hearts, and disappointed hopes, and deeds of virtue and of crime! May I be permitted also to congratulate you on your approaching marriage. I look upon a good wife as a means of grace intended by God to soften man's heart, and to prepare it for that heavenly joy which is experienced by those over whose hearts the love of God is shed by the Holy Ghost, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. How *all* is love when we approach our Lord!

*To Bishop Wilberforce—Declines to sign Declaration against Judgment of the Privy Council in favour of Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson.*¹

Chichester : March 19, 1864.

My dear Bishop,—I am quite determined *not* to sign the Declaration.

After the sin I committed in taking part against Hampden, without having first examined his works, prompted rather by zeal than by a spirit of justice, I vowed a vow that I would never take part in similar proceedings until I had thoroughly investigated the subject.

You know my reasons generally for objecting to the Declaration, because I am, of course, aware that you have been in correspondence with Vice-Chancellor Wood. We had fully discussed the subject before the Judgment was given; as the Archbishop of Canterbury had told me, and the Lord Chancellor had told him, what the Judgment would be. I will publish my reasons if you wish it, but, having retired from the world, I would avoid controversy if possible.

I object to any immediate action which will seem to place individuals in opposition to a decision of the Court of Law, and make it appear that *we* are the evaders of the law instead of those who by the Judgment are admitted to be, though not punishable, yet equivocators.

I am afraid that we cannot doubt, from the whole scheme of Christianity, that the consequences of sin are eternal, and that, opposed to the Papists, we must regard this world as our only purgatory, overwhelmingly, horribly awful as the conclusion is. But to make 'punishment' an equivalent for the word *κόλασις*, *without explanation*, is, in my opinion, considering the state of public feeling, most unwise.

The whole subject must be now fully sifted through controversy. As to an attempt to silence men by authority, you must remember that there is only one authority before which the mind of England lies prostrate, and that the 'Times' is against us. . . .

¹ Two of the writers in *Essays and Reviews*, who had been condemned in the Court of Arches, but were acquitted by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

In a speech made at a Conservative meeting at Oxford in May 1864, Lord Robert Cecil (now Marquis of Salisbury) said : 'It has been observed that no one can be a good Conservative who is not also a good Churchman. I beg to invert the proposition. Depend upon it, no Churchman exists worthy of the name who is not also a good Conservative.' This singular assertion, which was in keeping with the general tone of the meeting, provoked the Dean to write the following letter, which appeared in the 'Times' of January 9.¹

On the Connexion of Political Parties with the Church of England.

31 Great George Street, Westminster : June 7.

Sir,—I am compelled by a sense of justice to request your permission to offer a few observations upon a manifesto which has lately emanated from a party in Oxford, whose object it is to bring the Church of England back to the false position it occupied at the close of the last and the commencement of the present centuries, and to make it subservient to the purposes of a political party. We may feel confident that a retrograde movement will not be permitted by those who took an active part in Church matters some thirty or forty years ago. They maintained, and will still maintain, that the Church, a national institution, is concerned with politics only so far as politics form a department of morals, that is to say so far as they relate to those principles which all Englishmen hold in common. We assert that the Church is elevated above those controversies which have reference merely to the application to existing circumstances of these our common principles, that application of our principles through which we become Whigs or Tories, Conservatives or Radicals, as the case may be. We may range ourselves with any of these parties as we see fit ; our political relations have nothing to do with our position as Churchmen.

But although we may be confident that there can be no retrogression in this respect, yet, as I was for many years a parochial minister in a district where Churchmen were not inactive, I am in duty bound to affirm that I always found among the Liberals some of the most enlightened, the best-informed, and the most munificent

¹ It was this letter which excited so much admiration on the part of the Dean's old Birmingham scholar (see above, p. 89), and brought them into communication again after the lapse of thirty-five years.

supporters of the Church of England. Within the last few weeks no less a sum has been raised within the borough of Leeds for Church purposes than 25,000*l.* and there is little doubt that the sum will be doubled before half a year shall have elapsed. The originator of this fund is a gentleman who, though distinguished for his moderation, has always belonged to the Liberal party. Some of the largest contributors to the fund are Liberals, and one of them was elected some years ago by the Liberal party to represent the borough in Parliament. Within the last month I have been consulted by a gentleman, who sat as a Liberal in the Parliament before the present one, on a plan he has devised to raise a large sum of money to increase the episcopate in the north of England. The venerated diocesan under whom I acted for nearly a quarter of a century, although he took no active part in politics, had been attached to the Liberal party before his consecration and voted with it in the House of Lords. Of him, without fear of contradiction, I may say that he was a model of what a bishop ought to be. I date this letter from the house of another Churchman, whose Church principles have been identified with my own from our early manhood—from the time when we first thought sincerely of religion; and he has not only been through life what some would call an advanced Liberal, but he served as Solicitor-General under a Liberal Government, and was by a Liberal Minister appointed to the office of a Judge.

I am only bearing testimony; I am only speaking of facts with which I have been myself connected or concerned. There are others who can bear witness to the same effect.

I am not asserting that Liberals are better Churchmen than Conservatives. If the Conservatives were attacked, I should bear the like testimony to their munificence and zeal. I only affirm that the Church of England belongs to no party or faction in the State. They who differ most widely in their application of our common principles, Whig and Tory, Conservative and Radical, may all find in the Church their bond of union, and meet together in brotherly love.

As I have borne testimony to the Churchmanship of Liberals, permit me to write a few words also in behalf of the working classes. For thirty years I lived among the working classes in the manufacturing districts; I worked with them, I learned to honour and respect them. I bear testimony to the wonderful advance which has been made by this class of society during this period, to their gradual formation of habits, both of prudence and temperance, and

to their cultivation of the other virtues to which social science has called attention. I do, therefore, heartily rejoice to find that the leaders of the two great parties in the country, the Earl of Derby, emphatically the friend of the working man, and Mr. Gladstone, have arrived at the conclusion that the time has come when, to include a considerable portion of this meritorious class of our countrymen and brethren, there must be an extension of the suffrage. I rejoice to find that these great statesmen are prepared to promote good-will among men by offering as a boon what, if delayed, will with much ill-feeling be demanded as a right. The principle is conceded; the extent of its application is a secondary consideration.

To E. A. Freeman, Esq.

September 12, 1864.

First of all, let me thank you for what you have said of St. Anselm and St. Thomas. You have opened to me a world of thought, or, to change the figure, you have ignited a train of mental gunpowder of which you may hear the report hereafter, if an old man of sixty-seven may talk of an hereafter in this world.

To the same.

November 30, 1864.

I am writing a long letter, and in a less scrambling hand than usual, because I have done with vol. iv. I have, indeed, nearly completed vol. v. But iv. is now with the printer. As so much of vol. v. is ready, I may mention that any literary job you can get for me, I will gladly undertake, for the sake of filthy lucre. When I have paid my 100*l.* a year to our spire, and a similar sum to Queen Anne, my professional income is only 800*l.* And although my living at Leeds was a good one, I could not have done a quarter of a century ago what I did then, unless I had spent freely, and set an example of that liberality with which that noble place abounds, but I left the parish a poorer man by 4,000*l.* than I was when I entered it. Consequently, while I have still two sons at the University, I look with some anxiety to the proceeds of my literary labours.

I do not know how Mr. Public will receive the two volumes I am now giving him. I am afraid the 'religious world' will be offended, because, in writing the lives of the Archbishops of the Middle Ages, I have been writing the lives of statesmen and lawyers, rather than divines; most of the Archbishops were Prime

Ministers, and some of them were great men in that character. People make a great mistake in supposing that, in the Middle Ages, ecclesiastics sought civil employments for Church purposes. The very reverse is the correct view. Statesmen and lawyers, men educated as such, when devoting themselves to the civil service of their country, accepted Church preferments instead of salaries, and so used the Church for State purposes.

To Sir W. P. Wood.

Chichester : December 28, 1864.

I do not know that the army is a profession we should *select*, but my experience induces me to think that it is an admirable school for those who will *make* the army their profession; and the highest examples of Christian excellence have been found, from the time of Cornelius to Havelock, in military men. Where dangers are the greatest, the converted heart finds grace strongest. . . . I am amused sometimes at seeing how much more simply very great folk live than the moneyed aristocracy—the merchants with whom I am most familiar. . . . One likes to get glimpses of life in classes either higher or lower than our own. One generally sees simple tastes in the old aristocracy; pomp in the *nouveaux riches*; good breeding, and a desire to please, in what Cobden calls the aristocratic portion of the working classes.

To Sir W. P. Wood—An interview with Ranke in the State Paper Office.

Chichester : June 24, 1865.

When I was in the Rolls House, Mr. Hardy told me that a German was in the next room collecting materials for a life of William III. He said Macaulay had only written the life of William for the English. ‘No,’ said Mr. Hardy, ‘not for the *English*, but for the *Whigs*.’ The German was Ranke. I had thought of Ranke, the author of the ‘History of the Popes,’ as an old classic. It never crossed my mind that he could be living and writing. That work of his is one of the few of this age which will live for ever.

‘Shall I ask him to step in here,’ said Mr. Hardy, ‘or will you call on him?’ Of course, I chose the latter alternative as the more respectful. I expected to see a gigantic German, a kind of knock-

me-down author, when I was presented to a diminutive, untidy, good-natured, chatty, unpretending man, more like a Frenchman than a German. You know my bump of veneration is strong for great men, and I bowed low, but he, being nearer the ground, bowed lower still. I mentioned my obligations to the 'History of the Popes.' 'Ah!' he said, 'you will make use of me now that you are coming to my period. I am impatient to see the fifth volume; you will have to touch on Germany.' At this proof of my fame being European, I raised my head, and could not lower it sufficiently to see my little friend until I sat down. I did sit down, and information oozed out of him from every pore.

False Humility—Reconciliation of Friends.

December 21, 1865.

My dear Captain Moorson,—I agree with you in what you say about men's feeling proud when they profess humility, &c. This shows that we ought not to talk about religion except to the spiritual friend, who knows our whole state—I mean, of course, *subjective* religion. Where it is a duty to speak of one's religious feelings, there is grace given to prevent the conversation from being injurious; where we speak freely of virtues to a person who knows our faults, there is seldom any detriment caused to the soul. But to speak even of faults to one not thoroughly acquainted with us is a snare, for the impression generally felt is, 'How strange that so good a man should have such a fault! One could think it scarcely possible, and it is counteracted by so many virtues that in him it is scarcely a fault at all.' In short, the less we talk of our spiritual state to others, or think of their spiritual state, the better—unless there be some spiritual object in view. Of all horrible jobs, the most horrible is a strict self-examination as to motives! It is enough sometimes to drive a sane man mad. From all strict self-examinations we rise hating self. But oh! what comfort there is when we have to apply to our souls that most blessed of texts—
If any man sin, we have an advocate, &c. We see how much we need forgiveness in the first instance, and in the next how much cause to love.

If you wish to reconcile Mr. A. and Mr. C. you must avoid *explanations*; when explanations once begin, another quarrel ensues. I would go to Mr. A., and ask him whether he wished to promote God's glory? and when he answers in the affirmative, I

would say, 'Mr. C. does the same : be ye therefore friends,' and I would then do the same by Mr. C.

Too much thought of self is at the bottom of the quarrel. I wish someone who has a right to speak would tell them so. You, of course, cannot. As a spiritual adviser, I have reconciled friends by being able to point out this fact to one of the parties at least. It is astonishing how much God's work is impeded by our not sacrificing self.

To E. A. Freeman, Esq.

January 1, 1866.

I write 'my Lives' conscientiously, dealing gently with the characters of those whom I shall probably soon meet in the other world, but I believe most impartially. When you see my *Life of Cranmer*, I think you will be of opinion that I do justice to all parties, though my inclination is to be too lenient, as yours is to be too severe, in your judgments. I have striven to guard against my fault. You, I see, take the popular view of Cranmer's character, and forget that he did not commence life, or even his primacy as a Protestant. A Protestant he did not become till the middle of Edward VI.'s reign. As to persecution, I have my theory on that subject, which will appear, God permitting, in my introductory chapter. I am glad that burning is gone out of fashion, for I am quite persuaded that both the Puritans and the leading scientific men, and the Liberals in politics, as distinguished from honest Radicals, would soon unite in burning me. What a fine blaze my fat carcase would make !

To Mrs. Henry Clarke—a list of Engagements.

Deanery, Chichester : September 11, 1866.

My dear Aunt Clarke, . . . When I shall be able to join you at Northfield I do not know, for it is on anything but a holiday that I am going. I shall have to preach, lecture, or speechify three or four times a week. I so hate public meetings, not having the gift of extempore speaking, that I decline attending them in general. But what can a fellow do? Sir John Coleridge asks me to speak at Exeter, and the Archbishop of York at York; and a request from Col. Akroyd and Mr. Wheatley Balme is to me as a command. So that now I have to preach, on the 21st, an anniversary sermon at what was poor Laurell's church in London. On the 23rd, I have

to preach for Miss Gilbert's Institute ; on the 25th, to speak for S.P.G. at Exeter ; on the 26th, to preach for choirs at Tiverton ; on the 27th to speak at a school dinner, in which Walter's new relations are interested ; then to Leeds, three sermons and two lectures ; then to York, speak at Congress and sermons on Sunday ; then two sermons at Berwick-on-Tweed. Lecture at Newcastle. Sermons at Morpeth, and at Sheffield. Lecture at Derby. While these evils are impending, Mr. Bentley writes that if my 4th, 5th, and 6th volumes are not ready in December, it will be a pecuniary loss, as in the spring people will be busy in politics ; but I cannot write away from my books. . . .

To Mrs. Hook—Meeting old Friends.

Headingley, Leeds : October 1866.

Here I am at last in our old home. The darkness, the smoke, and the dirt have certainly increased, but there are still as warm hearts as ever. All along the line from Derby it was a shaking of hands at almost every station. My old friend, Richworth, who was in the first class that I formed at Leeds, and whose appointment to the station at Derby was a loss to me twenty-eight years ago, has risen to be station-master. People were evidently amused at our greeting. I exclaimed, 'Why, Richworth, how old and fat you have grown !' He returned the compliment, and then we talked of old times and how we had both risen to comfortable berths in our old age. At Sheffield junction the ticket-collector exclaimed, 'Why it's t' old Doctor,' and gave me his fist, and called two subs to do the same. . . . When we stopped at the triangle at Leeds there sat on the wall an engine-man. He looked at me for a time, and then poked his oily fist into the carriage, 'Eh ! Mister Hook, come to see t' old place again ?' His comrade joined him and added, 'Come for Reform Meeting on Friday, eh ! Doctor ?' and then we all laughed. At the station I was surrounded by friends.

To Vice-Chancellor Wood.

Chichester : November 1866.

I greatly enjoyed my visits to Castle Howard and to Escrick. In both places I have been entertained as if I were a duke, and told never to wait for an invitation, but to consider myself as a visitor whenever I came to the North of England. This is not an

appeal to my vanity. It is because I am remembered as having fought the Church's battles in times gone by. Many persons tell me that they owe much to me. After the abuse I have received, this is pleasant. High-bred people are certainly agreeable companions. They make you feel so much at home. *Fashionable* people are the exact opposite. I have a contempt for fashionables, but I like to converse with the descendants of historical peerages, and to talk to them or joke them about their ancestors.

To a Friend—Even-handed Justice.

November 22, 1866.

. . . I am sorry you put in print that article about curates. In a letter it was a fair piece of wit, and I laughed at it heartily and made others laugh. But it is wrong to turn serious matters into ridicule. Nobody wants you Freethinkers to go to church, but if you do go, you should recollect that churches are not built, like lecture-rooms, to afford you intellectual amusement. Preaching or prophesying is an ordinance of the Church and a means of grace, and however humble the instrument may be, the good is done by the Spirit of God, and if we are humble-minded, we may find in the dulllest sermon some one sentence which may be applicable to our own case.

When we go to church it should be not to sit in judgment upon the *preacher*, but to sit in judgment upon our *own hearts*; and you are very different from me, if, when you place yourself as the party accused, you are not self-condemned.

Again, you Freethinkers are queer in your intolerance. I do not like all the practices which Woodard adopts, but that man has raised a hundred thousand pounds—many thousands contributed by himself—for the purposes of education—for, with an income of thousands, he lives himself like a curate, his private expenses chiefly consisting in a liberal allowance to his son, a soldier. Instead of praising him for his meritorious exertions, you attack him for the ceremonial, which, whether right or wrong (*I think wrong*), he thinks necessary for keeping women in order. He did *not* use a crosier, nor would the Bishop have permitted it. If anyone had a right to complain, the complaint should have originated with me. From time immemorial the Dean of Chichester has had a processional cross carried before him, and I believe that I am the only dean of the old foundation who has retained the cross.

Archæologists have contended, I believe, that we have not the old processional cross, or that we have Protestantised it. I am informed, for I was not present, that Woodard presented to the lady superior, or whatever she is called, a cross in the right form. Lady Caroline spent her fortune upon this school, and Woodard contributed three times as much as was given by her. I think that Liberals, while condemning the excesses, should certainly make allowance for that admixture of human weakness and folly which is discernible in every human act and virtue.

He spoke in the debate on Ritual in Convocation in 1867 at the urgent request of Archbishop Longley, as mentioned in the foregoing letter, but much against his will. He could not get up any interest in petty questions of Ritual : he thought the extreme Ritualists an insignificant set, and had great objections at all times to repressive legislation.

The health of Mrs. Hook, undermined by the strain of her laborious, anxious life at Leeds, had long been failing. The first of a series of fits which were the evidences and effects of a mortal disease occurred on March 12, 1867.

The collapse in her health was the beginning of a break in the health of her husband. He was never quite the same man again.

In July of that year he writes :

I am an old man, nearly seventy, and I have received a shock from which I shall never recover. I am so weak that I am ready almost at any time to weep, and can scarcely refrain sometimes when preaching. I am getting into my second childhood.

That 12th of March ! I can never forget it. For my wife my *tenderness* has increased : that *branch* of love, not the *love* itself. I feel that she is as dear to me as ever : but I never thought so *tenderly* of her before. She is not *the* wife who lived before that shock. She has become, if possible, more lovable, but instead of being the shepherdess, she has become as one of the lambs. It used to be for her to think of us all. Now our whole mind and heart must be devoted to her service. But when I think of this change I am overcome. I do not want faith. I can appropriate, to my own case, all that I have said to others, but my shaken frame becomes tender. Things constantly occur on which the first

impulse is to say, 'Take it to your mother : she will explain it.' Alas ! then comes the feeling, 'this we must not let her do,' and then the other feeling, how far should we conceal from her anything that may annoy her, and then the agony that things are not as they were, and then the deep, overflowing gratitude that we have so many blessings left, and then the feeling that we shall soon say 'It is finished.'

In the autumn of this year Mrs. Hook spent some time at Aberystwith with her youngest daughter, who for the next two years was her indefatigable and skilful nurse. The Dean visited them as he was able, and the following letter was written from that place.

Obedience to Bishops.

Queen's Hotel, Aberystwith : August 1867.

My dear Lady— . . . I read your husband's letters to the Bishop with much interest ; in tone and in control of a tried temper, they appeared to me to be admirable ; they were what everyone who knows your husband would expect ; the letters of a Christian gentleman.

I think it very far from right to push things to an extreme, and while violating the spirit of the law, to contend that the letter of it has been obscured, and that, therefore, no action can be brought, against either an infidel or a papist, labouring each in his vocation among our people. And others of that stamp look upon the Church in the light of an establishment, and then they contend that they adhere to the letter of the establishment, and so have a right to the higher positions in the Church. This is wrong, but surely it is the very same thing in the opposite extreme, which our Ritualists are doing. As Colenso and Co. sail as near as possible to infidelity, so the Ritualists sail as near to Rome as their party can ; and each finds a pleasure through the quirks of the law in defying the authorities.

When things are really indifferent, if I were a parochial clergyman (which alas ! I no longer am), I should make a point of yielding to the wishes of my Diocesan, unless he issued a command. I think that your husband and Mr. — have made this distinction wisely and well, between a *wish* to be attended to, and an illegal *command*, on account of its illegality to be resisted. Here is in the hypothesis an open question—You issue a command. Because

you have no right to command I refuse obedience ; or, here is an open question, e.g., preaching in surplice or gown. You wish for uniformity in your diocese, and as the majority use the gown, you wish that I would do as others are doing, and to your wish I defer : or, here is a question on which a doubt has been raised, e.g., the lighting of candles, or standing in front of the altar : in a doubtful matter I abide by your judgment. I would here observe that I hold that none but the clergy of the parish should preach in the surplice ; strangers should wear their academical dress : this was the rule before the Reformation. Also, when we talk of doubts being raised, we find some wrong-headed persons saying : ‘ I have no doubt upon the subject, and therefore I shall not apply to the Bishop ; ’ but the question is, not whether A, B, or C, may have a doubt or not, but the question is, whether the public have a doubt as to what the law is ; then I think every bishop is authorised to lay down the law for his own diocese, and the other clergy are bound to act according to his decision.

To E. A. Freeman, Esq.

September 24, 1867.

. . . You write *down* to your work, and therefore you must write well. In the life of Lanfranc and the Norman Archbishops, I had to write *up* to my work, and I only wish that at threescore years and ten I might hope to recompose that portion of my work with my present increased information. In my life of Cranmer, on the contrary, and in all that remains of my work, I write *down* to my work, and I shall be exceedingly angry if you do not refer to me as an authority on what relates to this period. I have not been obliged to search for my facts. I was so well acquainted with all the history of the Reformation, home and foreign, that I sat down to write Cranmer’s life with all the ease and confidence with which I write a letter. Five and twenty years ago, indeed, I wrote a life of Cranmer, and I have ever since been filling my commonplace book with thoughts and facts of the modern period of English History. It is nearly twice that distance of time (in the year 1821) that I began my theological studies, reading first the original historians in the primitive Church, and then occupying myself for seven years in Patristic studies : on those studies I had to fall back, during my active life as a Pastor and a Preacher. From those studies (having given only a year to the intervening period) I set to work on the Reformation.

It is rather provoking, as Buckle once said to me, to think that some ignoramus will get up after twenty-four *hours'* reading to criticise what is the result of twenty-four *years'* study and thought. And this, while I get justice from you and a few others, will be the case with me, and with you too. We cannot help it, while criticism is permitted to be anonymous. I particularly like your system of avowing all your articles, speaking your mind and not being ashamed of it. Men may disagree with you, but they cannot say that you are not brave and honest. The difference between the man who writes *up* to his subject, and the man who writes *down* to his subject, is in my opinion simply this, that in one case the conjectures are valuable, and in the other they may be, or may not be. Perhaps as to his facts, the man who writes *up* to his work is more to be depended upon, for he dares not conjecture anything, but he loses the *vis*, the confidence, the boldness to criticise his authorities.

To E. A. Freeman, Esq.

1867.

Our communer asserts that the expenses of the Cathedral have been trebled since your humble servant was Dean—an assertion which I consider an honour, and therefore at our chapter dinner when we are supposed to be quite by ourselves, I proposed 'three groans' for the Dean. This was rapturously accepted, when we heard a giggle. Our two vergers had not left the room, but were behind a screen. We made them join in the toast and swear silence.

In November 1867 the Cathedral was reopened.¹ The event was celebrated by an octave of special services, which were attended by a great concourse of people from all parts of the country. Sermons were preached by the Bishop of Oxford, the Bishop of Illinois, the Bishop of Worcester, the Bishop of St. Andrews, and others, so that on this occasion, as at the opening of the Parish Church at Leeds in 1841, a visible proof was presented of the practical harmony of different branches of the Reformed Catholic Church. The music under the skilful direction of the Rev. Walter Hook, at that time succentor, and

¹ For a fuller account of the fall and restoration of the Cathedral spire, see my *Memorials of the South Saxon See and Cathedral Church of Chichester*. (Bentley, 1876.)

the very able organist, Mr. E. H. Thorne, was as near perfection as could be desired. But although the completion of this arduous work of reconstruction was a great relief to the mind of the Dean, he was heavy at heart, owing to the state of his wife's health, who was absent from Chichester, being unable to encounter the fatigue and excitement of the event. He mournfully owns in letters to intimate friends that he felt none of that enthusiasm with which, in his earlier and happier days, his whole being would have glowed at the successful accomplishment of so great an undertaking.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LAST DAYS AT CHICHESTER, 1868-1875—ANECDOTES—
CORRESPONDENCE.

THE long and laborious life which has been traced in these pages is now drawing to an end. The last seven years were marked by a gradual declension in bodily strength and mental vigour. But although the ebb had begun, it was the ebb of a mighty tide, and now and then it rolled up, so to say, a powerful wave which reached almost as far as the high-water mark of past days. Three volumes of history were brought out between 1867 and 1871. They contained the lives of Warham, Cranmer, and Pole, which are among the very best in the whole series, besides an introductory chapter on the Reformation, full of weighty matter, and written in his freshest and most vigorous style. Two main causes may be assigned for the excellence of his literary work at so late a period of his life. One was that he had now got upon historical ground where he felt thoroughly at home. The sixteenth century was an era in the history of our Church which he had studied from his youth; he was familiar with all the great events and the great characters of that memorable period. He had now only to fill up gaps in his knowledge by consulting sources of information which were either not known, or not accessible, in his earlier days, and to correct his estimates or impressions by the aid of these researches.

In the next place, partly owing to the precarious state of his wife's health, and partly to his own increasing age and feebleness, he was less inclined to leave home for preaching, lecturing,

or any other purpose, and consequently all his remaining strength was more concentrated upon his historical task. Moreover, after each repetition of the fits which marked the progress of his wife's illness, and left her weakened in body and mind, his spirits sank to a very low depth, and his family and friends always urged him to resume, as soon as possible, his literary work, believing it to be the most effectual and salutary diversion for his thoughts.

The great political events of the years 1868 and 1869—the accession of the Liberals to power, and the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church—engaged a particularly large amount of his interest, owing to his personal regard for Mr. Gladstone and his love for his old friend, William Page Wood, who was now made Lord Chancellor.

The question indeed of the Irish Church was one to which he had given some attention twenty years before. In 1848 his friend, then Mr. Wood, M.P. for Oxford, had spoken and voted in favour of a measure for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and I have found amongst Dr. Hook's papers some fragments of a letter written upon the subject to Mr. Wood, with a view to publication—an intention which was not carried into effect. Probably he was persuaded to withhold it from publication on account of the very cutting remarks at the conclusion upon the conduct of the Whig Party towards the Church, and upon Lord John Russell, who was then Prime Minister.

The arguments of this very remarkable letter may be briefly summed up under the following heads :—

1. The real burden upon the population of Ireland is not the Protestant, but the Roman Catholic Church. The support of the Protestant clergy does not, generally speaking, fall upon the poor, but upon the landed proprietors. The Roman Catholic clergy, on the contrary, are mainly dependent upon the very heavy dues and offerings which are most rigorously exacted from an impoverished people.

2. If, then, we would really assist the people of Ireland, it must be by relieving them from this oppressive tax : in other words, by endowing the Roman Catholic Church.

3. It would be affectation and prudery in a nation which has supported heathen idolatry in India, to be very nice or scrupulous about endowing the Romish Church in Ireland.

4. It would have been a blessed thing if, at the time of the Union, the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland had been established. 'Presbyterianism was established in Scotland, and our Church was overthrown in 1688, because to the great body of the Scottish people Presbyterianism was endeared, as Romanism is to the people of Ireland. I do not see then how or why we should object to the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, or why we should deal out one measure to the Scotch, and another to the Irish.'

5. But owing to the violence of Protestant feeling, this measure of justice would have been impracticable then; and probably it is for the same reason impracticable still. Even the Presbyterians of Scotland would probably resist the attempt to give to Ireland the boon which they themselves possess, of having that form of religion established to which they are attached.

6. Granting therefore that we cannot at present establish the Roman Church in Ireland, can we not endow it?

7. Yes, out of the revenues of the Protestant Church, which are largely in excess of its requirements.

8. But is not the property of the Church sacred: must it not be preserved intact for those places and purposes for which it was originally given?

9. This principle can no longer be maintained. By the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Commission, our rulers have declared that it is lawful to take from a parish or diocese which is too highly endowed, and to bestow the surplus on another diocese or parish. If the commissioners have a right to deal with the property of the Church, without reference to the intention of those who left it, for what they consider the good of the Church, why should not the property of the Church be dealt with in like manner for the good of the country at large?

10. Let then the whole property of the Protestant Church in Ireland be placed in the hands of commissioners, to be divided on equitable principles amongst the Roman Catholic and Protestant Clergy. Grants also must be made to the ministers of all denominations, on certain conditions, otherwise they will have a grievance. But—

11. If the Church in Ireland is deprived of part of her property,

she ought to have more liberty, as a compensation for the sacrifice, otherwise she will be placed at a positive disadvantage as compared with her Roman Catholic rival. She should be permitted under proper limitations to elect her own bishops, and to regulate her own affairs in canonical synods, to which the laity should be admitted as an auxiliary element. Grant this, and the bargain is a fair one. The Church receives a 'quid pro quo.' You take our property, and restore us our liberty; and those who look to the spiritual welfare of the Church rather than to its property would be gainers.

12. This, however, is precisely what the Whigs will not grant. They forget their principles of liberality when the Church is concerned. They would force upon us, if they could, such alterations in our liturgy and doctrine as would drive loyal Churchmen out of the Church. They are prepared to make all kinds of concessions to conciliate the Roman Catholics, but they will never loosen the fetters of the Protestant Church. They think they have us beneath their feet, and though they rifle our pockets, they will keep us in subjection. There is therefore no hope of obtaining a measure which will deal justice to the *whole* people of Ireland, while the Whig party is in power.

It will easily be inferred, from this summary of his views in 1848, how he regarded the proposals of Mr. Gladstone in 1868 for dealing with the Irish Church. On the one hand he thoroughly concurred in the justice and expediency of dis-establishing it. Whatever the cause might be, an Established Church which had failed, after three centuries, to become the Church of more than one seventh of the whole people, could not, he conceived, have any right to be maintained as the *Established* Church. On the other hand, he regretted that no other Church was to be established in its place. As patriots, churchmen could cordially uphold the Presbyterian Establishment in Scotland, and as patriots, English Jews could support the Church in England. As a patriot, therefore, he would have welcomed the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, because it was indisputably the Church of the people in that part of the kingdom.

In like manner, while fully conceding the right of the state

to take the property of the Church for the benefit of the people, he thought that this end would have been more effectually and more equitably promoted, had the revenues been divided amongst the several religious bodies of the country, instead of being diverted to charitable and educational purposes.

Some of these views were brought forward in a sermon preached in Westminster Abbey on July 25, 1868, at the consecration of Dr. Atlay as Bishop of Hereford. But above all things he deprecated, alike in this sermon and on every possible occasion, both in public and private, the faint-hearted cry that the Church of England was in danger, and that she would soon be treated as her neighbour in Ireland was to be dealt with. In the first place he was wont to point out that such an apprehension was based on ignorance or forgetfulness of the vast difference in the position of the two churches relative to the people. In Ireland, an insignificant minority only were attached to the Protestant Church, of which the endowments were preposterously large compared with the work it had to do. In England, not only did the Church comprise more than half the population, but also there was no other religious body which could in numbers or efficiency, *standing alone*, pretend to compete with it; whilst its endowments were but an insufficient equipment for the vast labour it had to undertake.

But secondly he maintained that such querulous alarms indicated alike a want of patriotism and a want of faith. If it should be the will of the majority, in a free nation, to withdraw from the Anglo-Catholic Church in Ireland, or elsewhere, the honours and the emoluments of an establishment, the patriot and the Christian would submit without feeble complaint, or pusillanimous fear. The persons, indeed, who thought scorn of our ancestors, because they preached the doctrine of passive obedience when the chief power was vested in the Sovereign, were the very persons who in a democratic age urged the minority to yield patiently to the will of the majority. But the Christian principle was the same in both cases. Be prepared to make large sacrifices; die rather than give up a principle: but if the things at stake be only wealth, rank, and station, yield all

freely, rather than provoke by resistance those disturbances which call into action the worst passions of mankind.

Our Bishops (said he, in his sermon at the Consecration of Dr. Atlay) may be expelled from Parliament, and our other clergy may still be branded as the only persons in this realm of England whom a free people are not permitted to elect as their representatives in the House of Commons ; but of that commission which our chief pastors received when He, before whom Kings and Democrats will one day tremble, breathed upon them and constituted them His ambassadors—not the ministers of men, but the servants of God—they can never be deprived.

Men cannot deprive us of that history which connects the Church of the nineteenth century with the Church of the first. They may deprive us of the advantages of an Establishment such as we have admitted them to be ; but here the Anglo-Catholic Church remains, and will remain, prepared, it may be, to do a greater work under oppression and difficulty than it ever attempted under the corrupting influence of worldly property.

The disestablishment of the Irish Church was almost the last great public question in which he took anything like a keen interest. The views which he held respecting it, in 1848 and 1868, proved how thoroughly, and for how long a time, his mind had shaken off the narrow prejudices of the old Tory school in which he had been brought up ; how calmly and dispassionately he could form a broad, statesmanlike judgment upon matters of national importance. Nor did he now scruple to avow that in many respects he was, and long had been, in principle on the side of the Liberals. Writing to the Bishop of Oxford in November 1868, he says :

I can sympathise with Gladstone better than you can. I, like him, was for my misfortune born and bred a Tory. When I devoted myself to the manufacturing districts, my sympathies being easily excited, I became heart and soul a Radical. But I have been timid in declaring myself, not liking to offend old friends. Had I been a public character, I should have come to his standing point, though by a different road from that pursued by him. I should have swum down the stream from Toryism to Radicalism

in a style easily understood by a good fat swimmer, who seems scarcely to disturb the water. They might have pelted me from the shore, but I would have swum calmly on, and I should have shown how my principles of philanthropy were not changed, but developed.

Very little need be added, respecting the last seven years of his life, to the letters which are placed at the end of this chapter. As his wife's health slowly, but surely, declined, so did his own strength and spirits ebb. To what a depth of dejection he sunk at times may be understood from the following letter, written in December, 1868, to his old friend, now Lord Hathorley, shortly after one of his wife's severe attacks of illness.

. . . I am deeply depressed. My old joyousness has forsaken me. I long continued as lively as a boy, but my wife's illness has crushed me to the earth. I take a gloomy view of things. I live again in my darling boys ; indeed, for them only I live. I wish I could do more for them. My life has been a failure. I have done many things tolerably ; but nothing well. As a Parish Priest, as a Preacher, and now as a Writer I am quite aware that I have failed, and the more so because my friends contradict the assertion. I am quite the old man, and wish for peace and quiet at the end : but I cannot help feeling what a fool I am, and what foolish things I have done. I suspect that I am like Joseph Wolff, eccentric. . . .

In the autumn of 1868, he had revisited Leeds, and once more in the autumn of 1869 he went amongst his old friends in the North and in the Midland counties, including Birmingham and Coventry. But although his spirits rallied at the time, and in preaching and lecturing on such occasions the force of old associations and the sight of old faces revived in him some of his ancient energy and fire, yet the recoil was great, after the excitement was over, and the fatigue was more than his bodily strength could well bear. Writing in December 1869, after his return home, he says, 'Here I am in my nest again, and I have now bidden farewell to dear Birmingham, to dearer Coventry, to dearest Leeds.'

There was now at the head of the Government one who appreciated the Dean's character and rated his past services to the Church at their true value. For such services Mr. Gladstone considered that one of the smallest and poorest deaneries in the kingdom was but a scanty and unworthy remuneration. He was anxious to redress the wrong, and he resolved to pay him the honour at least of offering him such preferment as he deserved, and such as a few years before he would have thankfully accepted. Mr. Gladstone was aware that all offers were probably now too late ; and the following letter, written to him by the Dean in February, 1870, showed that to ask his acceptance of a bishopric would be a vain and empty compliment.

. . . I have never—at least not since I was forty years of age—been desirous of preferment, and if I had not had a large family, my delight would have been to serve the Church for nothing. If anyone had offered me a bishopric, which from my position as Vicar of Leeds might have been possible, I believe that I am perfectly sincere in saying I should have refused it, simply because I am fully convinced that mine is not the character fitted for a place in which caution is more required than impetuosity.

I was in my place at Leeds, and I only left it when I had reached the age of sixty-one, because my medical friends informed me that it was necessary both for myself and my wife, whose labours were greater than mine, to relax. . . . I will not deny that I should have liked the offer of preferment, but it was only to indulge the feelings of a naughty pride. I should have been proud to refuse it, and pride, under every aspect, is wrong.

But although a bishopric was out of the question, and indeed it would have been unseemly to offer such an arduous office to a man worn with hard work, and past the age of three-score years and ten, yet there was no unseemliness in offering a deanery of higher value and greater importance than Chichester, and it was within the bounds of possibility that it would be accepted.

Accordingly in the spring of 1870, the Deanery of Rochester was offered, but declined. Then in January, 1871, came the offer of Canterbury. This was indeed a temptation. To be

Dean of the Metropolitan Cathedral Church, to live hard by the tombs of the Archbishops whose history he was writing, and the library, so full of materials for his literary work—this was a position which a few years earlier it would have afforded him the most inexpressible gratification to occupy. The ample emoluments, too, of the office would have secured for him such pecuniary ease as he never had enjoyed.

For a day he wavered in his decision ; but just at this crisis his wife was visited by another distressing attack, and that completely turned the scale. ‘It would be madness,’ he writes, ‘to go : it would kill her. We have worked together for forty-two years, and we will go out together.’

Moreover, when he seriously considered the situation in all its bearings, he felt that he was no longer equal to discharging the duties in which it would have involved him.

The following letter therefore was written on January 16, to Mr. Gladstone.

. . . Canterbury is not a place to which an old man may retire. It is a situation which demands the energies of a younger and more vigorous mind. I think also that it is hardly fair for an old man to stand in the way of the succeeding generation. And I am quite sure that when a man is in his seventy-fourth year, it is to preferment in another country, that is an heavenly, that he ought, in deep humility and in entire reliance upon his Saviour’s mercy, to look. Besides this, the removal would interfere by a consumption of time with my literary labours. It would have been an advantage to be near the library at Canterbury, but this would not compensate for the loss of time, or rather its consumption in other occupations. My wife, too, is a great invalid, and it would never do to involve her in the fatigue of moving, and of forming new acquaintances. She has for forty-two years shared all my labours. . . .

As I have said before, I feel the honour as well as the kindness of your patronage. I can only raise in return what Gray so beautifully describes as ‘the small voice of gratitude.’

I shall be satisfied if you will believe me to be, affectionately and gratefully, Yours.

A few months only after this letter was written the blow fell upon him which had so long been impending. On May 5,

1871, his wife was taken from him. She was only fifty-nine, and in the natural order of things would have survived him, but the long strain of anxiety and work had prematurely worn out her constitution, less robust than his.

It was a bright warm day, and the sweet spring air, and the cheerful song of birds came in through the open windows of the room, where her family watched her failing breath, while her husband, with an extraordinary effort of self-command, read the commendatory prayer and pronounced the blessing. On the 11th, he followed her remains to the churchyard of the little village of Mid Lavant, two miles from Chichester, of which the writer of these pages was then Vicar. The breezy slope descending to a quiet valley, and facing the soft smooth swelling downs, seemed a fitting spot for the last resting place of one whose strength had been spent in crowded noisy towns : while the fresh green of the hills and woods, on that sunny spring morning, were in perfect keeping with the words of Christian hope and love, which were said and sung beside the grave.

A marked decadence in the Dean's strength dates from this event. His youngest son, who was the only unmarried member of the family, had for the past year lived at the Deanery, and ministered with a filial love utterly regardless of self to the comfort of his parents, and he now remained to be the companion and guardian of the survivor. About a year afterwards, this son's marriage brought to the home of the aged Dean another inmate, who was as a ray of sunlight in the house, and the son and daughter-in-law took care of him, with a tenderness and a skill which could not be surpassed.

But the regulating influence, which had been for more than forty years the ballast, so to say, of his life, was gone : and those who knew him most intimately could perceive that, from this moment, he was an altered man, not only in health, but also to some degree in character. No one was more aware of this alteration than himself. On June 21, he writes :—

I do not get the better of my grief. I am cheerful enough in society : my sympathies being easily aroused ; but when I retire to

my study, the happy past will come before me, and tears will flow as I think that all is gone.

I am all right as to faith. When I take up her book of 'Daily Meditations,' and raise my mind to heavenly thoughts, the 'not lost but gone before' is full of blessed consolation. But I have lost my counsellor, my guide, the dear one who was always ready to soothe me in my troubles, to rouse me from my depression, and to urge me on to work: and sad is the blank which cannot be filled.

Nevertheless, in the course of the summer his son succeeded in persuading him to resume his literary work, and to complete the life of Archbishop Parker, which had long been laid aside. The volume appeared in the spring of 1872, and is one of the most valuable in the series. The character and position of Parker, and of the Church of England, at that critical epoch, are grasped with a force which bespeaks the veteran travelling over ground with which he is thoroughly familiar. On the other hand, the infirmity of age is betrayed in a tendency to repetition and prolixity, and occasional faultiness in the structure of his sentences. The revision of his manuscript for the press, and the correction of proof-sheets, was a labour for which he had always a great aversion and little aptitude, and but for the painstaking diligence of his son and other friends, it would at this time never have been got through at all.

The same tendency to prolixity now became visible in his sermons. His voice retained all its sweetness, but lost much of its volume, and though at times, even within a few months of his death, he could preach with something like his old vigour, the Cathedral was no longer thronged with the crowds which came to listen to him in earlier days.

Meanwhile Mr. Gladstone, thinking that by the death of Mrs. Hook the chief obstacle to the Dean's leaving Chichester was removed, offered him the Deanery of St. Paul's, in the summer of 1871, and of Winchester in the Autumn of 1872. But it was far too late. In declining St. Paul's he writes: 'I am, indeed, most gratified and most grateful. . . . Ten years ago, oh! how I should have liked to fight the good fight of faith

among the citizens of London . . .’ And of Winchester, in like manner, he writes to Dr. Wilberforce, who had now become bishop of that See : ‘Ten years ago there would have been no situation I should have liked so much to occupy, and as I have told Mr. Gladstone, it would give me pleasure to act as first lieutenant in a ship commanded by your lordship. But in my seventy-fifth year, it would be absurd to move, and it would be wicked to keep out from the post some younger and more able man.’

This letter shows that the Dean had forgiven, though he never forgot, the grave error of the Bishop, as he conceived it, in having in the autumn of 1871, officiated in a Presbyterian Kirk in Scotland, using extempore prayers instead of adhering strictly to the prescribed forms of the Church. The indignation of the old mastiff, as he sometimes called himself, the watch-dog of the Church of England, was thoroughly roused by this transaction. He wrote a fierce letter of reproof to the Bishop, signed, ‘Yours faithfully.’ The Bishop of course defended himself adroitly and manfully. ‘As to using the Kirk, I no more encouraged Presbyterianism in that, than, if I had preached the gospel in a cowhouse, I should have encouraged vaccination. No Presbyterian minister was present. You say I ought to have said our whole office ; why ? I showed my colours, began with our confession, got no responses and saw it was maltreating our service.’ But the Dean was far from satisfied, as the following letter will prove :—

Have you stated the whole case ? When you have performed Divine Service in churches or meeting-houses of any kind on the Continent, did you not use the Service of the Church of England ? The offence given in the present case to a few old men, whose prejudices may not be worth consideration, is this :—that you did *not* in this instance conform to the Church in Scotland : the *only Church* there, if we believe the Articles of the Creed. This is expressly stated. Your extempore prayer has been the subject of admiration and praise on the part of Presbyterians. If you used the Prayer Book, to which on such an occasion the strictest attention was peculiarly important, ‘cedit quæstio ;’ if not, please to

bear in mind that our annoyance is occasioned *not* by your using the Kirk, but by your *omitting* to use the Prayer Book.

During the last four years of his life we met almost daily, and as we slowly paced up and down his own lawn or mine, the conversation most commonly turned upon the events, the characters, and the controversies of his old Coventry and Leeds days : occasionally of earlier times. These were the subjects of which he most delighted to talk, and I to hear. Most of his sayings and stories about himself, which have been woven into the foregoing narrative, together with some others which are placed at the close of this chapter, were told to me during these quiet strolls.

His walking power, however, failed very much during the years 1873 and 1874, and he had two heavy falls, once when walking with his friend Lord Hatherley in the meadows south of the city, and once in the Cathedral. He became dropsical ; and at times a total and fatal collapse seemed imminent. But towards the close of 1874 he rallied. The tenth volume of his history containing the lives of Grindal, Whitgift, Bancroft, and Abbot, was completed and brought out early in 1875. It is the first in which a very palpable falling off is visible throughout in general style of execution. The wonder is that, having been written piecemeal, in the intervals of bad health, it was not more disjointed and incomplete. During the spring and early summer of 1875 his health and spirits seemed to be improving. He was in a serene and happy frame of mind. He preached regularly on Sunday afternoons in the Cathedral : occasionally with some of his old force. He worked with some interest at his 'Lives of Laud and Juxon,' and the manuscript for volume xi. was sent to press.

He had brought down his history to the close of what may be called the Reformation period : and at this natural resting-place it pleased God that his hand should stop. Thus was he *felix opportunitate mortis*. The illness which became mortal was creeping over him from the beginning of October. His spirits sank and he became unusually silent. He was wont to

say that he did not fear *death*, but that he dreaded *dying*. The physical part of it was full of horror to him. He never could bear the sight of a corpse ; and the recollection of seeing that of his infant boy at Coventry made an impression upon him which he could not forget. He used to shudder when speaking of it, and generally referred to it when mentioning his horror of dying. But of death itself he had no fear, though his thoughts concerning the future were always coloured with a deep humility. He said to his son a great many times as the illness gained ground, 'I cannot pray much, but I can trust implicitly in my Saviour : ' and again, when the disease slightly affected his head and he was unable to make any exertion of brain, he said, 'I cannot *address* God in prayer, but my thoughts are full of prayer.'

Nearly always, when his private prayers were being read aloud for him by his son, he himself put in the names of those for whom he desired specially to intercede. After he had ceased to take any audible part in the prayers, about two days before he died, they were read as usual by his bedside ; but as it was thought that he was unconscious, all who were at home came into the room. 'He had been accustomed,' writes his son, 'to give me his blessing after prayers till towards the end, when he asked me to act more ministerially towards him. But on this evening he stopped me as I began, and spreading out his hands he pronounced the benediction over us. It was a moment of consciousness, and almost the last that he had. The whole of the last fourteen hours he was unconscious, and one may almost say that he passed away in sleep. So mercifully did our Heavenly Father have respect to the only weakness of the flesh that had given terror to the thought of death.'

Early on the morning of Wednesday, October 20, the tolling of the Cathedral bell announced to the inhabitants of Chichester that the Dean was no more. On the 27th his body was borne into the Cathedral where the first part of the funeral service was performed. The lesson was read by the Rev. H. B. W. Churton, with a sweetness of pathos which will not easily be forgotten by those who heard it, and the quartett and chorus,

'Blessed are the Dead,' from Spohr's 'Last Judgment' was most beautifully sung by the choir. Thence the remains were conveyed to the little country churchyard where his wife's body had been interred, and were laid to rest by her side. The Bishop of Chichester and Dr. Atlay, Bishop of Hereford, who had been the Dean's successor at Leeds, here took part in the service. The prayer beginning, 'Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts,' was sung by the choir to Purcell's music, and the hymn, 'Jesus lives,' immediately after the blessing.

Although the life of the Dean in Chichester had been mainly devoted to literary work, yet he was not only deeply respected by all the inhabitants of the city and neighbourhood, but also, by a large number, deeply beloved. Such was the warmth of his human sympathy and such the captivating charm of his manner, that many felt affection for him to whom he had spoken but a few words in the whole course of his residence amongst them. All the shops in Chichester were closed on the day of his funeral, and delegates from the Odd Fellows and other societies swelled the long train of mourners which followed the body to the grave.

The clock and chimes which have been placed to his memory in the massive old bell tower of the Cathedral will serve, we may hope, for many generations to remind the citizens of one who more than most men understood the value of time ; one who, prodigious as his industry was, never thought that he had done enough, and found the day only too short for all the work which he strove to put into it.

In Leeds Parish Church an altar tomb of alabaster, on the north side of the choir, supports a recumbent effigy of him in marble, which is a perfect triumph of artistic skill.¹ There he lies with hands raised in prayer, in the midst of the church which he built, and as if taking his rest in the heart of the great town which he loved so well, and for the welfare of which he so nobly toiled. A large church has been built at Leeds to his memory : but in some senses Leeds itself is the most remarkable and impressive monument of the man ; not only in its

¹ The sculptor is Mr. Keyworth, Junr., of London and Hull.

multiplied churches, vicarages, and schools, but in the spirit of churchmanship infused into a large body of the people, and in the dominant position secured for the Church throughout the whole place.

Mr. Newman, in his 'Lectures on Romanism and Popular Protestantism,' published in 1837, wrote: 'There certainly is a call upon us (Anglicans) to exhibit our principles in action, and until we can produce a diocese or place of education, or populous town, or colonial department, or the like, administered on our distinctive principles, doubtless we have not so much to urge on our behalf as we might have.' The passage would seem to imply that some successful practical application of Anglican principles should be regarded as a test of their claim upon our allegiance. The career of Dr. Hook at Leeds supplied such a test, nor can it be doubted that the work which he accomplished has encouraged many to follow the path in which he took the lead, and has helped largely to the spread of those sober High Church principles which, amidst all the medley of conflicting schools of thought in the present age, seem to be steadily gaining ground amongst the English people.

I have reserved for this place a few notices of his personal characteristics, physical and mental, and to them I have added some anecdotes, and such fragments of his conversation as I could recollect, which could not be conveniently wrought into the body of the foregoing narrative.

In boyhood, youth, and early manhood he was spare and bony: but though muscular and strong, he never was agile, and was rather ungainly in his movements. His hair was red, and as a boy at Winchester, he was commonly called 'red hackles Hook;' but as time went on, this redness became fainter, and in his old age his hair turned a silvery white. With advancing years he grew stout, especially after he became a total abstainer. The plainness of his features was, as the reader of his letters will have observed, a subject upon which he often jested; yet this want of symmetry was forgotten in conversation with him, being redeemed by the sweetness of the smile which lit up his countenance, and by the melodious tones of his voice. There

was, moreover, a certain lion-like appearance about his whole head and face which gave an impression of great strength, and won the admiration of Mr. Richmond when he sat to him for his portrait. In his massive frame, and in some respects in his features, especially in the low but bossy forehead, he resembled Samuel Johnson; and there were some other points of likeness between them: such as occasional twitchings and contortions of the face, fits of depression, a choleric temper, a constitutional dread of dying, and an antipathy to foreigners.

Like most great men who have been able to make bodily and mental exertions of an extraordinary kind, he possessed the invaluable power of recruiting his energies by going to sleep at any moment and in any place. On one occasion at Leeds, after a very hard day's work he came home exceedingly tired and went to bed at six o'clock. About eight o'clock, a messenger came from a country house about three miles distant to know what had become of the Vicar, as he was engaged to dine there. His youngest daughter went up to his room, waked him with some difficulty, and asked what answer she was to give. 'Tell the man,' he said, 'that I have gone to bed, and the deuce won't get me out of it again before to-morrow morning.'

The great strength and compass of his voice was no doubt largely owing to the astonishing depth and breadth of his chest. An amusing instance of his chest power occurred when he was staying at Eydon Rectory with his daughter, Mrs. Empson. It was one of the very few occasions in his life on which he had a really severe cold and was confined to his bed. Like many persons who enjoy robust health as a rule, he was easily alarmed by an attack of indisposition, and often fancied that his constitution was breaking up. On this occasion he asked the doctor in most plaintive tones whether he thought he was going into a decline. 'Well, sir,' said the doctor, 'please to draw as long a breath as you can,' which he did, and 'it seemed,' said the doctor afterwards to his daughter, 'as if it never would end. I almost think that I could have gone one half the way to Banbury (ten miles distant) while he took his breath, and the other half while he was giving it out.'

His voice, which was a full, rich tenor, penetrating, yet soft and flexible, was doubtless a great aid to his influence as a reader, speaker, and preacher. But beautiful and musical as it was in itself, it would have been comparatively ineffective had it not been the natural expression of deep and genuine feeling. Alike in reading the Liturgy or the Lessons, and in preaching, there was an utter forgetfulness of self, a total absence of mannerism, a mingled tone of earnestness, humility, and reverence.

And thus, as it has been well said, his reading was 'touching and effective just because no effect was aimed at,'¹ and it was commonly remarked that it was 'as good as a sermon,' or 'a sermon in itself,' to hear him read the lessons.

He was indeed always so much absorbed in the thoughts suggested to him by the course of the Service that he frequently uttered them aloud unconscious or forgetful that they were audible by the congregation. These soliloquies were often pathetic, often instructive, often exceedingly humorous and amusing. On one occasion, after pronouncing the benediction, 'may the blessing of God &c. remain with you always, Amen,' he was overheard earnestly saying, 'And I pray God it may be so indeed to all of us.' So again in the Holy Communion Service after the sentence, 'Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners,' he used frequently to ejaculate, 'Of whom I am the chief.'

In like manner, he would often make comments on the lessons as they were being read in church. I was once sitting next his stall when the 1st chapter of the Epistle of St. James was read, and after the verse, 'My brethren, count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations' he observed to himself, 'a very hard thing to do,' and after the precept, 'be ye doers of the word, not hearers only,' he exclaimed, 'Ah! that is just the difficulty.' These running comments on the lesson were curiously blended with remarks about his tooth-ache, from which he was suffering at the time; such as 'The pain is coming on again,' and the like.

¹ The Rev. H. B. W. Churton, in the *Clergyman's Magazine*, January 1876

One of the Priest-Vicars one day being about to read the second lesson, which was from the Epistle to the Hebrews, announced it as such and such a chapter from the 'Epistle of *St. Paul the Apostle* to the Hebrews,' upon which the Dean was heard to remark, 'So you've settled that question, old fellow, have you?' alluding to the much debated question who the real author of that Epistle was.

It was part of the childlike simplicity and honesty of his nature, that he never could affect a vigour and freshness of spirit which he did not feel, or, on the other hand, conceal the buoyancy or depression of spirits which he really was feeling. Thus on one occasion, in his latter years, when he happened to be in unusually good health, as he came down the steps from the choir into the nave of the Cathedral with an almost springy tread, and with a smile on his face, he was heard to say, 'Here we go.' And on the contrary, one day when suffering from languor, as he mounted the pulpit stairs slowly and painfully, he groaned, 'I can't get up, I can't get up,' but having reached the top, he said more cheerfully, 'O yes I can, after all.'

His fund of humour was deep and inexhaustible, and came out at every turn and in every imaginable variety of way—in boisterous romps with his children—in letters, in conversation, in impromptu rhymes, and not seldom in his sermons, as well as all his other writings. Sometimes, especially in sermons and letters on grave subjects, his sayings were, properly speaking, more witty than humorous; and generally consisted in placing an opponent in a ridiculous dilemma by some sudden and unexpected turn in the argument. Thus, for instance, when preaching in an Evangelical Church in Liverpool, and defending a reference to the ancient Fathers for assistance in the interpretation of Scripture, he observed:—'We are told that we ought to refer for our divinity to the Bible, and the Bible only. God knows, my brethren, that I wish the Bible were more extensively read than it is, and no one can regret more than I do to find the Bible so generally superseded by tracts.' He then pointed out that the treatises of the Fathers were after all only tracts; 'so then,' he continued, 'we are both tract readers: the

only difference being that some of us go for these tracts to St. Chrysostom, and St. Basil, and St. Athanasius: others to a modern Religious Tract Society, no more infallible than the Church of Rome, though the members of both seem to rely on their traditions with undoubting confidence.'

The same cast of wit was manifested in his reply to a proposal made by the ministers of four denominations that he should join with them in the pastoral supervision of the workhouse. He was sorry, he said, that he could not accede to the plan, for although the writer of the letter was pleased to designate him a *generous foe*, he regarded the writer as an *erring brother*. They could not be offended at his refusal, for he understood that they intended to exclude from the arrangement ministers who were not Protestant and Trinitarian. Now he would exclude all who were not Protestant, Trinitarian, and *Episcopalian*. Their principle therefore was the same.

I subjoin a specimen of humorous verses, dashed off as a reply to a lady who had sent him some Devonshire cream.

He drank milk and cream in large quantities, and when the Bishop's cows were being milked just outside the old city wall, which was the boundary of the Deanery garden, the Dean might often be seen making for the cow-house with a large tumbler in his hand, and copious were the draughts which he stole from the Episcopal cows: a practice which was the subject of much joking between the Deanery and the Palace.

To Mrs. Adair, on receiving a present of Devonshire Cream.

Dear Mrs. Adair,—
 You certainly are
 Most kind to prepare,
 And send to us here,
 Such delicate fare
 As the cream clouted there,
 Where, in Devonshire air,
 The cows can repair
 To pastures so fair,
 To chew and to stare,

Our milkmaids declare
That, whatever their care,
They none of them dare
Their cream to compare
With yours rich and rare.
But oh ! Mrs. Adair,
I could not forbear
To take more than my share
Of that delicate fare ;
And you must be aware
What the penalties were,
When, driven to despair,
And tearing my hair,
I did bellow and blare
In a horrid night-mare.

The following parody of Macaulay is about the cleverest piece of humorous writing which he ever composed. I have thought it too good to be omitted, although being addressed to his intimate friend Sir W. P. Wood, some of the allusions may not be very intelligible to the general reader, and it must be borne in mind that the references both to his friend and other public characters were intended to be broad caricature.

By way of explanation it may be observed that Dickens, in his preface to 'Bleak House,' had made some severe remarks upon the equity courts, which Vice-Chancellor Wood at the Lord Mayor's dinner commented upon as uncalled for and unjust. The 'obscure parson in the North' is of course Dr. Hook himself. The judge who attended the early services at Westminster Abbey was Vice-Chancellor Wood, and Bealings is the home of his brother-in-law in Suffolk where he commonly spent his Christmas Vacation. The foot notes are of course part of the travesty.

REIGN OF VICTORIA—1856.

Courts of Justice.

THE Court of Chancery was corrupt. The guardian of lunatics was the cause of insanity to the suitors in his court.¹ An attempt at

¹ See *Bleak House*.

reform was made when Wood was Solicitor General. It consisted chiefly in increasing the number of judges in the equity court. Government was pleased by an increase of patronage ; the lawyers approved of the new professional prizes ; the Government papers applauded.¹ Wood became Vice-Chancellor. The incorruptible patriotism of John Russell offered a firm but ineffectual opposition to the job.² The reforms gave no satisfaction to the public. One suitor out of two was discontented with every judgment given by the new judges, and appeals were frequent.³ The Reformed Courts found a solitary defender ; and he was an interested one. A strange place was chosen for the defence of the High Court of Chancery, It was at a lord mayor's feast, when, amidst the fumes of wine, even a Vice-Chancellor may be permitted to see double, and to err in judgment.⁴ Dickens was disgusted and dealt such summary justice to the offending judge that he did not again venture to appear at a lord mayor's feast for two whole years.

The office of judge in a Court of Equity became almost a sinecure. The judges passed their time pleasantly in examining the curiosities of the Paris Exhibition : or in carrying on flirtations with pretty quakeresses, and teaching their parrots to talk at the sea-side.⁵ When compelled by the rules of Court to be in London, they occupied themselves by giving dinners and dining out.⁶

The new Equity Judges confounded religion with superstition. They were much influenced by an obscure parson in the North, who resembled the unprincipled William II. in the colour of his hair and his arbitrary temper, to whom it seemed that prayers were no prayers unless said in a surplice, the babe no Christian unless marked with a cross, and the bread and wine no memorials of Redemption or vehicles of grace, if not received on bended knee.⁷ Under such influence the judges neglected the duties of life to attend the daily service at Westminster Abbey, and were in the habit of closing their courts to enable them to assist in the consecration of Churches which, when consecrated, remained un-

¹ *Bell's Life in London ; Law Times.*

² *Correspondence of Lord J. Russell and Lord Cranworth.*

³ *Life of Vice-Chancellor Stuart, passim.*

⁴ *Bleak House, Preface.*

⁵ *Wood's Correspondence with Hook, vol. xxi. p. 960.*

⁶ *Lady Wood's Diary.*

⁷ *Hook's Correspondence with Wood, vol. xv. p. 1005.*

filled. At the Abbey the silk gowns were represented by Whateley, a connexion of Marlborough,¹ and the stuff gowns found an occasional representative in the person of Robert Hall.²

At the close of 1855, the Equity Courts were without business. People had become weary of seeking justice where justice was not to be found. The state of the Bench was unsatisfactory. Cranworth was feeble ; Knight Bruce, though powerful, sacrificed justice to a joke ; Turner was heavy ; Romilly was scientific ; Kindersley was slow ; Stuart was pompous ; Wood was at Bealings.³

Thus manifold were the ways in which his exuberant humour found a vent. It is indeed in the *variety* of his powers, as well as in the force of character stamped upon all he said and did, that his chief claim lies to be considered an *extraordinary* man. He was at once an active pastor, an eloquent preacher, a laborious student, a voluminous letter writer, an able historian, a witty humorist, a wise practical moralist, an earnest Christian, an ardent patriot, and, every inch of him, a sturdy Englishman.

ANECDOTES, SAYINGS, ETC.

He was once preaching in a country church on the anniversary of its consecration. It was the day before a festival, and the proper services for the festival were used. Immediately after the sermon he left the church and went to the parsonage, instead of remaining to Holy Communion. On being asked afterwards whether he was unwell, ' No ! ' he replied, with warmth : ' I did not choose to stay. When one is in a high church or in a low church one knows what to expect, but when the service of one day is transposed to another one cannot tell what is coming next.'

On another occasion, in a church where he was to preach the consecration sermon, he was requested to wear the black gown in the pulpit. When the Nicene creed was over he did not go into the vestry, but had a black gown brought to him within the altar rails, where he took off his surplice and put on the gown before the

¹ *Life of Whateley.*

² *Life of Hall.*

³ *Lady Wood's Diary.*

congregation with a grave and deliberate formality of manner which to some present who understood the humour of the thing was exceedingly entertaining.

A large meeting had been held to memorialise Government against the proposed union of two Welsh bishoprics. The resolutions had been drawn up by a young clerical friend of his, whom he wished with characteristic generosity to bring into notice. So, while speaking at the luncheon afterwards, he took hold of his friend, lifted him off his legs, and cried, 'Gentlemen, I am now carrying the resolutions.'

Soon after the consecration of the parish church some of the congregation threw out hints that the Sunday morning services were rather too long, there being so much music. One day, coming out from church an old man said, 'Pudding cold, Vicar, pudding cold.' Next day the Vicar said to one of his curates, 'We will shorten the service by leaving out the musical responses to the commandments.' The curate remonstrated; it would be inconsistent to read these when all the rest of the service was chanted. 'Inconsistent!' cried the Vicar, 'I never was consistent; I never could have got on as I have, had I been consistent.' And for several days after, he harped on the advantages of not being consistent.

'I remember years ago, one Sunday, that I had to preach at the Chapel Royal; and in those days the old Duke used to attend the service there, and when he was in town the congregation may have numbered generally some seven or eight persons, but when he was out of town perhaps two or three. And on this occasion he was out of town. Well! the morning prayer was over, and the clergyman who had said it had to leave for duty elsewhere; and by the time I had mounted the pulpit the clerk had gone into the vestry to stir the fire. I was left alone with the congregation! Under the circumstances it would have been ridiculous to have preached the sermon, and down I went to the congregation and told *him* so. *He* said—it was a young man I knew—"Oh! I have come a long way on purpose to hear you preach. I beg you will proceed." "No!" I said, "I really can't think of such a thing. Besides, how very personal you would find the sermon. But I'll tell you what I'll do. I think I know where you are going after service, and I will walk across the Park with you and give you the heads of my sermon

as we walk along." Then I and Samuel Wilberforce, *Esquire*, walked across the Park together !'

'I often write fiercely,—too fiercely : but I can never talk angrily when I meet my opponent face to face.'

'As to your question' [respecting a detail of ritual] 'I must observe that I am not a good ritualist, for I left all ritualist arrangements to my seven curates, only interfering to prevent nonsense.'

'The great object is to win men to Christ. Go *with* their prejudices as far as you can : not like too many of our brethren, who love to run counter to them.'

'Some preachers think only of their sermon : others think only of themselves : the man who wins the soul is the man who aims at it.'

'In preaching, first state your case : then state your facts : then make out your case : then sum up. Learn your sermon almost by heart before you preach it. If your sermon is not in your opinion a good one, deliver it as if you *thought* it was a good one.'

Some one having asked him whom he would recommend as a model for a good style in sermon-writing, he smiled and said, 'Don't take any model. Don't imitate anybody. Think well first what you have to say, and then say it in your own way in as simple and forcible language as you can command.'

'Do your rector's work, but let him get the credit of it, and then you are sure to be good friends.'

'Nothing better can happen to a young pastor, after entering upon his work in a parish, than to suffer a defeat and to *bear it well*.'

'Stick to your principles, but don't have too many of them. No man is more tiresome than he who makes a *principle* of everything which he happens to *like*, and therefore *won't* yield.'

'I do not count for much any sacrifices of worldly comfort when a man is paid by notoriety and power.'

'Archbishop Harcourt used to chide me in my younger days for speaking and writing too freely. "If you don't mind your tongue and pen," he said, "you'll never get on." My answer was,

“I am in the place that exactly suits me : I don't want to *get on*, and I would rather speak out my mind.”

‘My love to my Saviour has long been with me an enthusiasm, and from the joy I experience in my old age through his Holy Spirit I wish to win others to Him. Christianity is not only happiness in reversion : it is happiness in hand.’

‘Enthusiasm often leads us into scrapes, but then it wafts us to regions of enjoyment unknown to those whose minds are ever groping in this world's darkness. It exposes us to the ridicule of those who are “coldly correct and classically dull ;” but then it brings down heaven to earth.’

‘I often think on that divine friendship between our blessed Lord and St. John, which has invested friendship with a sacramental character. It is a sweet beginning to a prayer for a friend : “O Thou who hadst in St. John a disciple whom Thou didst love, and who didst love the home of Martha and Mary and their brother Lazarus,” &c. How admirable is the plan of the Church collects, which our Protestant primates can never understand : to wit, an invocation, which is a kind of introduction, indirectly pointing to the petition, then the petition, one and single, then the reference to that name and those merits through which alone we approach the Holy One.’

‘When I preach for a temperance society I shall take for my text “The Cities of Refuge.” There are hospitals for special forms of bodily disease ; of the eye, of the lungs, and so on. Temperance societies are hospitals for weak wills. The man in a sound state of moral health ought not to have recourse to a hospital.’

‘Confession in the Anglican Church is to be exceptional, not habitual—a remedy for a disease. The great aim of the priest who hears confession should be to enable the person to do without confession, as the aim of the doctor should be to enable his patient to do without a doctor. Out of thirty-five persons who sought me for confession at the beginning of one year, I had but two or three left at the end of it, and then I thought I had done well.’

‘A gentleman once came to me who said he was contemplating secession to the Church of Rome and wanted advice. I soon found that his mind was really quite made up, and that to argue with him

was vain ; but I chose to assume that he was still in doubt, and said, "You are in a dangerous state, and it is my duty to impose a penance on you : read the first volume of 'Bingham's Antiquities,' and when you have finished, come to me and tell me what effect it has produced upon your mind." In the course of a few days he returned and said he had read a little of "Bingham," but found the quotations so inaccurate, that he did not care to go farther. Such is the force of prejudice, for Bingham is remarkably exact in his references.'

A young artisan in whom he took great interest, and who was permitted to visit him whenever he pleased, seeing a light in his study as he went to work at five o'clock one cold winter's morning, went in. He expressed surprise that the Vicar should turn out at so early an hour. 'Well, my lad,' the Vicar replied, 'it takes a deal of courage to get up at all, and it requires only a little more to get up at four.'

At a Church meeting, more seats being required, some benches were borrowed from a chapel hard by. 'You see,' said the Vicar, 'if the Dissenters won't adopt our ceremonies, we don't object to borrow their forms.'

'The reason why I have published so many tracts, pamphlets, and sermons nearly on the same subject is a conviction, that to make an impression on the public mind you must keep up an incessant and running fire : a few attacks, however strong and sturdy, are, in this superficial age, of little avail. Reiterate, reiterate, reiterate : you must act on the principle of "gutta cavat lapidem."'

'There is much hatred of the Church among the working people as an aristocratic institution ; but there is no love of Dissent. The feeling prevalent with them is that all religion is humbug, and that we each support it as a *party*. Party feeling indeed has usurped that class of feelings which should bind them to the Church : I believe many of the lower orders would die for their party ; their leading men seem unable to realise any other idea. My Chartist churchwardens would do anything for me consistent with their duty to their *party*, and would come and tell me that the Church *party* would do themselves good if they would do this or that : they could not imagine ever having a wish for anything but the good of your *party*. A Chartist once stopped me in the street and said, "Well, Vicar, I sits under you now." "I'm glad to hear

it." "Aye, and I'm quite satisfied." "I am sorry to hear that, because I wish to make those who sit under me *dissatisfied* with themselves." "That's all right ; but I used to go to meetings ; but now I don't, for when the working people want anything the Dissenting ministers are not to be found, and we begin to see that the Church parsons are the people for us." Now this shows the feeling. Here was a man who had some religion, and justified his going to church to *his party* on the ground of *our party* not being opposed to his.'

'A good talker is often a very poor writer, because he has got out of conversation all the exercise which his intellect wants. He is inspired by company, just as another is inspired by taking a pen into his hand.'

'Irvingism is High Church run mad.'

'Lord Aberdeen a little before his death sent a message to me that he wished me to know that he had twice mentioned me for a bishopric, but the proposal was vetoed. Lincoln I guess was one, Sodor and Man the other. Lincoln would have been at once refused, but Man!—that *would* have been a temptation.'

'I once preached before the Social Science Association in Westminster Abbey : afterwards I dined with Lord Lansdowne, who asked me sarcastically what Social Science meant. He added, "I know what the Social Science Association means : it means an association got up to do honour to Lord Brougham."'

'A little diversity of character is advantageous in marriage. On the man's side a degree of ardour which excites to action : on the woman's a degree of gentleness which restrains this ardour within due bounds : this is the proper thing. Ardour without gentleness degenerates into savageness, and gentleness without ardour into insipidity.'

'When I travel on the Continent, if I find myself next to a German at the table d'hôte, I open the conversation with two questions : "Do you speak English?" "Do you hate the French?" If he answers "Yes" to both, I say, "Oh ! then we shall get on together."'

'I have endeavoured in my history to throw myself into the feelings and principles of all parties, giving to all their due, though

not concealing my own convictions. My temptation to violate my rule in this respect is when I have to do with a Frenchman or a Puritan.'

'If circumstances are bad, all the more reason why you should make the best of them and not the worst. I hate people who are always finding fault with the Church. Never cry "stinking fish."'

'I am slow to suspect any one, though rather inclined to be violent when I have detected a rogue.'

LETTERS, 1868-1875.

To E. A. Freeman, Esq.—Character of Cranmer.

February 24, 1868.

By the Sectarrians I mean those members of the English Church who talk of 'our beloved Church,' and regard it as a Sect founded by S. Cranmer aided by S. Henry. They are perfectly mad against me. I wrote the Lives of Warham and Cranmer with a view of showing how unhistorical is the position taken by Sectarrians of 'the established Church.' The Reformation fairly began in Warham's episcopate, when Cranmer was a nobody. Pocock and others of his school are offended by my not making out Cranmer to be a worse character than he really was.

I believe him to have been a *very* good, weak, rather worldly man, and I am sure I felt, all the time I was dealing with the hard facts that go against him, that I should probably have been as bad as he was, under similar circumstances. I will go any length in seeking to palliate his conduct, and I really think I have done so, but I cannot go the length of regarding him as a Saint or a hero.

To the same—Erasmus and Pole.

There is something deeply interesting to my mind in reading contemporary letters. I had last year to make myself thoroughly acquainted with Erasmus. What a fine old fellow he was, with all his faults! How charming are his letters! Very different are the letters of Pole. Erasmus was a man of genius, creating the language in which he wrote. It is Erasmian Latin.

Pole, a good man, but not more than a man of talent, affects the Ciceronian style. You know that Erasmus says what he thinks. Pole, before writing, thought only of what a man in his situation ought to write, and then affected Ciceronian phrases. I was brought up by Dr. Gabell to be an intense admirer, as I was at one time a great reader, of Cicero, so I read Pole with a certain amount of pleasure. But if I met Erasmus I should go up to him, shake hands with him, and make a joke. To Pole, I should take off my hat, and say I felt much honoured by making his acquaintance; feel shy, and get away as fast as I could.

To Lord Justice Wood—Declines to become a Member of 'Nobody's Club.'

March 9, 1868.

As to the letter of 'Nobody,' I am a 'clubbable man.' Of several clubs I have been called the father; and last week I received a visit from Mr. Reynolds, a Dissenting minister (or, as they call themselves, a *Nonconformist* minister), who formed with me at Leeds a Conversation Club still in existence. It was a grand club; it consisted of twenty members, but never more than nine were permitted to attend. We met weekly at one another's houses. Invitations were sent to the first nine: perhaps six sent excuses; then the six remaining from number ten were invited, and so on.

The nine sat at a round table, drank tea, and had a literary subject proposed for discussion (which never was attended to). The conversation was general. The chairman kept the talk, however, to literary or scientific matters. I wish we had a sufficient number of men of erudition to make such a club here, but here we are very unliterary. I should, I make no doubt, enjoy 'Nobody'—for I should meet many contemporaries.

But (without having much pride in me) I owe it to myself to decline. My father was a 'Nobody,' the Norrises, the Watsons, the Churtons, and many of my old friends were Nobodies, I longed often to be a Nobody: it was a silent object of ambition, until I arrived at that time of life when one wishes for nothing. I saw contemporaries—even juniors—elected, not persons higher than myself in public estimation, but I was passed by.

And having been passed by, I do not choose, in my old age, to take my place as a junior member. I only say this, because it was a club from which, from the persons forming it, I had a right to

expect that my being one of them would be considered a pleasure. I always dismiss these trumpery feelings from my mind immediately. Still they have existed, and now that I am reminded of them, I think I am not doing wrong in positively saying, I will never be a Nobody. I will remain a Somebody, as I shall be while I may call myself

Your devoted Friend.

To Lord Justice Wood—Patience and Prayer.

Chichester : March 9, 1868.

I am truly sorry for our friend —, but his is what I call a *wrestling* case. He is undergoing a trial of temper and of faith. His *heart* forgets what his *head* would acknowledge, that whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth. We may weep when we are scourged, but excess of howling and self-vindication is the effect of a want of faith. We may be angry when we are wronged, but excess of anger is sin.

What is to be sought for? A new heart, which shall *feel* as well as *say*, 'Father, not my will but thine be done.' And how are we to obtain that new heart in which the idol Self will be cast down and the throne of God erected? It will be said 'by prayer,'—yes : but not by the quiet utterance of a wish, as in our ordinary asking and seeking. There must be a *knocking*. The Prince Israel must *wrestle* with God. Go into your room—lock your door—prostrate yourself before God—cry aloud, it may be, for hours, but get not up till there is a spirit within, saying 'Thy prayer is heard.' I have known persons comforted in an hour, I have known others weeping a whole night. Some will call this enthusiasm ; but I *know* it to be a means of peace and strength—*permanent* peace and strength.

To R. Bentley, Esq.

March 30, 1868.

. . . You mistake Pole's character. There was no man who held all Protestant doctrine more strongly than Pole. He and the illustrious Paleario, Contarini, Sadolet, and Vittoria Colonna were the great Reformers of Italy. Pole held Lutheran doctrine long before it was held by Cranmer—if by Cranmer it was ever held at all. He was a strong upholder of the Papal *discipline*, but he scarcely escaped being burnt at Rome for a heretic. If you are interested in these subjects you had better read Mrs. Roscoe's

‘Vittoria Colonna,’ and Mrs. Young’s ‘Paleario.’ The ladies are very strong Protestants.

To the same.

1868.

. . . Pole is one of the greatest prelates our Church has produced. I hope that you have not directly or indirectly spoken of the new volumes, as if I had undertaken to write the Life of a ‘Protestant martyr’ when writing the life of Dr. Cranmer.

For what or in what cause was he a martyr? Poor fellow! burning must be a terrible death, so we must not be severe upon him, but never did man ever tell such a heap of falsehoods—lie upon lie, as he did to *escape* martyrdom. He died at last, because, like the rest of us, he could not help it, but he lied like a trooper to put off the inevitable hour as long as he could. He had sent others to death because they disagreed with him in opinion, and his opinions were always changing. He said he died a Catholic. What are we to believe? What kind of a Protestant was he? like Mr. Froude or Dr. Cumming? But I really do not think he was so bad a man as Lord Macaulay, Mr. Pocock, and others make him out to have been. He was, I am convinced, a well-meaning, good-natured man, though he did burn a few people, and I am inclined to think he did more good than harm to our Church, though the harm he did through his want of fixed principles, his time-serving, his indolence, and his worldliness was great.

Remorse.

Deanery, Chichester : April 9, 1868.

My dear Dean of —,—At the house of mourning and at the graves of my youngest grandchild and its great-grandmother, my wife’s mother, there have been great searchings of the heart.

My conscience smites me for having written a harsh and un-called-for letter to you, some time ago, under a fear lest, in defending you on one occasion, I might seem insincere.

I do *not* ask you to *forgive* me, for that, I am sure, you have already done.

I do *not* ask you to *forget*, for that depends upon the memory.

But I do ask you to believe me when I say that I am sorry, very sorry, that I wrote that letter if it gave you any annoyance.

Do not trouble yourself to acknowledge the receipt of this letter, but please to consider it as confidential. I should not like any-

one except a kind-hearted man to see this letter. A mere man of the world would laugh at it, and one does not like to be laughed at. . . . An old man passing out of the Church militant—oh! how I hope and trust, into the Church triumphant—wishes to depart in peace, forgiving and being forgiven.

Yours very truly,

To Lady Elizabeth Grey.

September 27, 1868.

I wish that I had received your letter at the beginning instead of the end of the week. I remember with so much pleasure the last visit I paid to Castle Howard, that if such had been the case, I should have contrived to accept the very kind invitation of the Admiral and Mrs. Howard, but I could not now change my plans without putting others to an inconvenience, which I should not be justified in doing. To-morrow I am expected by seven grandchildren at Eydon, with tips in my purse for the elder ones, and toys in my bag for the younger; I must be at Chichester (D.V.) on Wednesday to receive some Leeds friends. I wish Mr. Grey could have been in Leeds parish church, from which I have just returned this evening. There was a choir of fifty persons, and I suppose that our musical services were rendered as nearly perfect as is often heard. I preached to a mob of old friends, there being 'no room for standing, miscalled standing room;' you might have heard a pin drop. Will you tell Mr. Grey that I was seldom more gratified than I was by the receipt of his kind, flattering, warm-hearted letter; I do love warm-heartedness.

To the Bishop of Oxford.

1868.

I have felt the death of dear Archbishop Longley most acutely. I could not restrain my tears yesterday, when I thought of him. I should have liked to have had one little conversation more with him before his departure.

For the first ten years, our opinions, when he was my diocesan, on many points differed; for the last ten we were entirely one. I have known him therefore as an opponent almost, and as a friend, and I can truly say I never met with anyone so just, so patient, so placable, so considerate and kind, as the dear good Archbishop, whose example by God's blessing has had the most beneficial influence upon my character. . . . I knew him from our Christ Church

days, and always found him beloved. He had not genius, but he had considerable talent, and talents indeed which were peculiarly useful to him in his various situations.

To the Bishop of Oxford.

November 1868.

I hope you do not feel disappointed.¹ Perhaps few men have had more failures than I, but not disappointments, for I have always had a tendency to think the place I am in the best. An old friend was laughing at me the other day, because I have thought at different times the Isle of Wight, Birmingham, Coventry, Leeds, and Chichester, each in its turn, a Paradise on earth. It may be so, but only comparatively, for my first ten years at Leeds were years of most bitter persecution.

I failed as a pastor, I failed as a preacher, and I shall fail as an author, notwithstanding your kind support; but still I am a jolly, fat old fellow, only anxious now to obtain a good start for my sons.

To Lady Elizabeth Grey—Sympathy—Old and Modern School of High Churchmen—The Privy Council.

Deanery : January 30, 1869.

. . . I do not like to intrude again on your brother's sorrow—at least, not immediately. You will perhaps, therefore, let him see this letter, with my kind love: I think of him often. There is something very comforting in communion with one another in prayer, which the infidel and careless cannot understand. The whole character of sympathy, the impulse to weep with them that weep, and to rejoice with them that do rejoice, is a mystery, but we see its object and we should surely cultivate it: I doubt whether a clergyman can become a good pastor without it. Some people say it is more difficult to rejoice with them that do rejoice than to weep with them that weep. I cannot say that it is so with me; but we are all so differently constituted. I flare up, as it were, when I hear of any unexpected happiness coming to those whom I love; and I am sure that this is the case with you, judging from the kind manner in which you allude to my son's preferment. . . . As to the latter part of your letter, I have only to say that I am perplexed and confounded by the state of things in the Church of England. A man of seventy-one finds himself pushed on one side

¹ At not being made Bishop of London.

by a generation which 'knows not Joseph,' and, though I kept up my sympathies with the younger generation longer than most men, I cannot understand the young men at the present time. . . .

When *I* was called a High Churchman, we meant by the word one who, having ascertained that the Church of England was reformed on the right principle, cordially accepted the work of the Reformers, hating Rome as much as Rome hates us. We meant by a High Churchman one who, thinking the Church wiser than himself, observed her regulations and obeyed her laws, whether we understood them or not. My only quarrel with the Evangelicals was, that instead of asking what the Church required, they did what they in their unwisdom thought expedient. The Church was reformed on the right principle, therefore I bow to her decision : the Reformers who applied that principle were more learned men than I, and to their judgment I defer. If the proper authorities in the Church see fit to make changes to meet the exigencies of the time, all I require of them is that they adhere to the principle of our Reformation and I will then obey them.

I see no objection to the Committee of Privy Council being our final court of appeal : they do not form a synod, and here is the mistake so often made. In an ancient synod the members were legislators as well as judges. If they decided that such or such a thing was contrary to law, they might say 'the law is a bad one, therefore we will make a new law.' The Committee of Privy Council does nothing of the kind. I wish to obey the law : you say that the law says one thing, I say it means another—and who shall decide? It is a question, not of opinion, but of fact : and who can deal with such a subject so well as lawyers? Who could be worse judges than ecclesiastics, who would endeavour to bend the law to their opinion?

The old High Churchman was wont to say, 'I will do what the Church orders me to do.' 'I like,' he might say, 'lights upon the altar ; but if *you* dislike it, let us ask what the law says. To ascertain that fact I go, not to parsons but to lawyers, who are not to make the law, but to discuss what it was made by ecclesiastics.'

To E. A. Freeman, Esq.—Character of Pole and Cranmer.

October 1, 1869.

. . . Oh ! by the way, Pole is out. He was printed five months ago, so it seems to me like an old story. I have given his history

impartially, and, as my manner is, I have stated facts without thinking it necessary at all times to defend his consistency or to account for his conduct. Many important actions originate in the very lowest motives, and the best intentions sometimes result in the worst of measures. A man may be a bad man at twenty, and a saint at fifty, or at fifty he may belie the promise of his youth.

When men are decidedly religious or decidedly irreligious, it is comparatively easy to write their lives. When men are *goodish* men, like Cranmer and Pole—seeking the kingdom of heaven and its righteousness, *but* not in the *first* place—when their religion is evidently contaminated by their worldliness or their passions, or their worldliness only partially restrained by their religion—when they are without sufficient strength to resist the temptation to do wrong, but are so weakened by the reproach of conscience as to do the wrong timidly, thus serving neither God nor mammon—then it is difficult to do them justice, and the party prejudices of the judge have scope for action. It is said of Barham that he said, when a boy, to an equivocating schoolfellow, ‘If you *do* tell a lie, tell a good one.’ The *goodish* men tell the lie, but by their vacillating manner they let it be perceived that they are conscious all the while of being liars, and so they betray themselves to others. There is nothing like straightforwardness for this world and the next.

To E. A. Freeman, Esq.

December 20, 1869.

I have been visiting my old friends in Warwickshire. I was a curate at Birmingham forty-one years ago, and afterwards an incumbent, or rather vicar, of a parish in Coventry; and as in the autumn I went to pay a farewell visit to my friends in Yorkshire, so now I have done the same in Warwickshire. One old man said to me, ‘Why, sir, when you were here we all thought that you would be Archbishop of Canterbury!’ Is that a compliment, showing how highly I was esteemed when young, or a rebuke, showing how I belied expectation? I then went to see my son, the Vicar of Morton, all happy in the first days of marriage. I preached for him three times, and one of his parishioners was kind enough to say, ‘Your father, sir, is the peertest old gentleman I ever seed.’ So I return to my quiet nest well pleased and satisfied.

Novel-reading.

Deanery, Chichester : May 2, 1870.

My dear Mrs. Akroyd,—My heart is very thankful for your continued good report of my very dear friend. I do not know whether he has ever seen me in a rage, but my curates used to tell me that my frown was terrible, though I could not retain it long. Please to tell the colonel that if he does not obey you, or if he dares to *think*, I shall be soon at his sofa side to give him a terrible frown.

I hope he likes novels, there is nothing like novel-reading to an invalid. I am reading to Mrs. Hook every evening some old friends of ours—Miss Austen's novels, 'Pride and Prejudice,' and 'Emma.' They will bear reading over and over again.

I am thus repaying my wife, who during one of my illnesses read to me all Walter Scott. I place my example before your husband, because he is pleased to think better of me than I deserve, and therefore I put before him a fact which is worthy of imitation. Indeed I always have a novel in hand. I read slowly, and consequently my children and grandchildren laugh at me, because a novel lasts me a long time, but when a man has much to do, a little time thus spent does the mind good. I do not urge this on your husband when he is in health, because he can find recreation (which I never could) in field-sports, but I insist on it when he is an invalid.

He will be amused by the following case. A lady of fortune complained of great depression of spirits, and this was partly occasioned by the fact of her having a pale and sickly complexion, although the doctor said there was nothing really the matter with her. So we, the doctor and I, put our heads together. I prescribed a course of Walter Scott, the doctor prescribed a judicious application of rouge to her cheeks. The visitors exclaimed, 'Dear me, how well you look ! Her maid said, 'Missus can't lay down those *pious* books which the minister has given her.' She got well. Whether she left off the rouge I cannot tell, but she continues to read novels with moderation ; her chief *business* being in her schools. On the other hand, I lately attended an old man in London ; he had made 500,000*l.* in business. When he became too old for business he sent to me, as he was anxious about his soul. But he could not give his mind to *that*, so he was utterly miserable from having nothing to do ; and he could not comprehend the pleasure to be derived from a work of fiction. We should

cultivate our *tastes*, as your dear husband does. In him are wonderfully united a love of work, and an appreciation of art (or of other men's work), as is the case always when the sympathies are easily excited.

To F. T. Palgrave, Esq., on the Death of his Infant Son.

August 3, 1870.

When a baby is taken from the evil to come, the sorrow which the parents experience meets in general with very little sympathy, but with you and your wife under your present affliction my wife and I can sympathise, for a similar affliction was ours, and although thirty-three years have elapsed since we wept over the cradle, not of our eldest *child*, but of our first-born boy, we never forget the pang which his death occasioned us, while the very fact that they are few in number who can sympathise, supplies a fresh ligament to bind together the hearts of the parents.

One source of comfort is to be found in the certainty that we have a new treasure in heaven.

In the spiritual house which the Divine Architect is building, He requires stones of every size, small as well as great, the fresh unstained soul of childhood, and the soul that has been hewn and chiselled and beaten into shape by the cares, temptations, and struggles of life. We are each predestined to our place in the great spiritual building, and life in this world is the time for the preparation of the stones; while part of our happiness hereafter will, no doubt, consist in our seeing all has been ordered so as to qualify us for our eternal position.

To the Rev. Dr. Stoughton.

I take the trouble of writing because I value your friendship, and because the course pursued by — has, in my humble judgment, a tendency to destroy the good understanding which is beginning to exist between Churchmen and Dissenters, and to which, as you say, I have within my humble sphere conducted.

That good understanding exists, why? Simply because we agree to differ on religion, and find in literature a bond of union.

We may differ in our opinion as to the real importance of our points of difference. I may think them of importance, and another man may think the points of difference relate to unimportant matters. Be it so:—But don't let me tell a lie, and say that no

real points of difference do exist between us. At the proper time, let those who will, discuss our differences. Controversies, we know from Scripture, there must be ; only in social life let us meet as friends. How? By setting aside those points of difference upon which our minds are made up, and conversing on the many things on which we know that we agree.

*To the Rev. E. Jackson—On hearing of the mortal Illness of
Mr. J. M. Tennant.*

April 1872.

. . . My dear dear old Tennant ! my kind, my faithful friend to whose sympathy I could always look ! though we are separated, and though I may even yet go before him, I cannot help grieving to think that we shall in this world meet no more, and it is a rule with me with regard to others as well as to myself, never to oppose nature, when nature is sanctified, but only to guard against excess, whether of joy or of woe. Afflictions are sent to make us grieve, just as joys are sent to make us grateful. And so, while I pray for poor dear old Tennant, I will weep for myself. Oh that I were like him. He never seemed to have any one object in view except to do his duty, and he thought it his duty to labour for his friends. In committee, when anything was to be done which no one liked to attempt, Tennant always seemed to think that, as a matter of course, the labour devolved on him, and he would undertake it. I never knew a man in whom self was so entirely ignored : and oh ! how humbly did he rely on his Saviour's merits ! how patiently did he wait upon Him !

A stern Refusal.

The Deanery, Chichester : August 14, 1873.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from you, dated the 12th instant.

That letter contains the copy of an address which you and some of your co-religionists propose to forward to Prince Bismarck, for the purpose of expressing your approbation of his treatment of the Jesuits residing in the German Empire.

You call upon me to attach my signature to the document. Opposed as I am to intolerance, and to persecutions either direct or indirect, in every shape and form. I *decline* to sign the address.

If, for political purposes, the Emperor of Germany sees fit to

banish from his dominions any sect, either Romish or Protestant, his Majesty has an undoubted right so to do, provided that he is supported by a majority of his subjects.

But no Prince can be justified in employing for the furtherance of a mere sectarian object, the power with which he is invested for other purposes. The document you have forwarded to me perverts a political movement into a sectarian act, which I am convinced was never contemplated by the Emperor or by Prince Bismarck.

Much might be said on this subject, but I shall content myself with expressing a hope that no persons who can rise above mere party feeling will sign this document until they have considered well St. Luke ix. 55. I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant.

After the unhappy events at St. Saviour's, Leeds, there was a long cessation of intercourse between Dr. Hook and Dr. Pusey. How their friendship was renewed will be learned from the following letters, which will be read with satisfaction by all who deplored the temporary estrangement of two great minds and noble hearts.

Deanery, Chichester: July 1873.

My dear Canon Liddon, . . . Your presence to my brother is invaluable,¹ and not less so to me; for a friendship that passing through time is to last for eternity, as is the case with Christian friendships, is a treasure above all price. . . . May God Almighty bless you for your brotherly kindness.

Can you add to your favours? Can you tell that saint whom England persecuted, our dearly beloved Pusey, that I should like, as I am passing out of this world, to be permitted to renew the friendship with him which in my youthful days was my joy and crown of rejoicing?

Dr. Liddon conveyed this message to Dr. Pusey, who replied as follows:—

Sidmouth House, Malvern: August 1.

My dearest Hook,—Thank you much for your loving message which Liddon conveyed to me, and for your loving prayers while I

¹ Dr. Liddon visited Mr. Robert Hook ministerially during his death illness.

was so ill at Genoa. God heard them, and I can now walk about (though my breath is still weak) and write my Commentary.

What a long life of friendship it has been since 1819, when I used to come down from my garret to your rooms in Peckwater fifty-four years ago! Who could have imagined what lay before us! I am so sorry that some whom I sent to St. Saviour's worried you. I always studied you, though I was misinformed in two cases.

I am grieved to hear that you are suffering, and that your brother is passing away. Death has swept away more of those whom I love in these last few months than for a long time before. I need not ask you to remember me, since you do this so earnestly, as I you, during our remaining pilgrimage.

God be with you now and ever.

Yours affectionately,

E. B. PUSEY.

To the Hon. C. Wood—On the Public Worship Bill.

June 13, 1874.

I must confess that if I were to appear among you,¹ I should have great difficulty in selecting the subject on which to speak. The modifications of form which the Public Worship Regulation Bill has undergone, with all its twistings and turnings, have rendered it impossible for me to know exactly what the Bill is—it is certainly no longer the Archbishop's Bill. It certainly deserves to be thrown out, or to be so modified as to be tantamount to a rejection, for his original Bill was not drawn up by a person qualified to meet all the difficulties of the case. . . .

We will, however, let this pass. Unsupported by the majority of prelates, the Bill was altered by Lord Shaftesbury and the Lord Chancellor. We may truly say that there are four Bills now before the House of Lords, and probably this will become a fifth Bill before it is sent to the House of Commons.

These appear to me to be grounds of complaint, and when we look forward to the debates in the House of Commons we cannot hide from ourselves the fact that if anything is passed, it will manifestly pass without time for deliberate consideration on the part of those whom it chiefly concerns.

This appears to me to be the great practical question at the present time. Justice is conceded to every institution for which

¹ Having been pressed to attend a meeting held to consider the measure.

Parliament legislates. Are we to say, except the Church of England?

Another point to be considered is this, that the Bill appears to aim at a uniform observance of the rubrics irrespectively of the state of things which custom has gradually introduced, and of the desire of the congregation or of the parishioners generally.

I think that everyone who carefully considers our position will admit that a general observance of the rubrics is as much as ought to be imposed by the courts. Any attempt to compel uniform observance will lead to efforts to change the rubrics, and these efforts will be full of danger. As this seems to be the object of all the Bills, we may predicate a want of wisdom with regard to the whole measure: the difficulty of legislation is much greater than persons generally suppose; I do not wish to grant too much latitude.

It appears to me (and on this principle I have always acted) that in towns where more than one church exists, one of those churches may be fairly devoted to choral services, but it becomes a very different question when a parish exists where there is one church only; it will be often found that the majority of parishioners in such parishes are opposed to that which is now known by the name of choral service. In such cases, after enquiry made by the Archdeacon, we might fairly leave the decision as to the kind of service to be adopted to the bishop of the diocese. So long as the bishops retain their liberties and do not form an episcopal bench with the Archbishop at its head, my experience shows me that the bishops will on these occasions generally come to the right conclusion.

We are to remember that the bishops who really value their spiritual authority are almost as much concerned in the Bill as they who are regarded as the inferior clergy.

I should be sorry indeed to see swept away the episcopal jurisdiction in the first instance or an act establishing a law by which any three people may disturb a parish. The bishops are judges, and if their courts require to be reformed, most of them will unite themselves with the Lower House of Convocation, in proposing measures for that purpose. But let it be remembered that the Church of Christ is an episcopal Church, and let us not be among those who, retaining the episcopal name, by petty acts of legislation would deprive the bishops of those powers they have received, not from man, but from God.

The setting up of a judge and robbing the Church to pay him may be consistent with the notion of a Dissenting legislature. The clergy who devote their lives to parochial work are regarded as sufficiently remunerated when their salaries amount to 200*l.* or 300*l.* a year. The incomes of the bishops have been so reduced, that, liberal as they are in their donations for Church purposes, they cannot reach the munificence of their predecessors. Why, then, are we to take 4,000*l.* a year out of the property of the Church, to pay a lawyer who will receive his appointment for political or party services? The Noble Lord, who presides as an Ecclesiastical Commissioner, is a person respected by all who know him, but why he should be paid out of the Church funds for doing what would be better done by a Churchman, is a question which is often asked, and will soon become one of considerable importance, for, we may fairly ask, when will this system stop? If we rob the Church to make provision for a lawyer, we shall ere long find lay officers appointed with salaries which would endow at least twenty new cures—for, depend upon it, 4,000*l.* is but a beginning.

I will not detain you further, and I do not write in a desponding tone, for there is still a great man in the House of Commons, who will, I am confident, watch over the interests of the Church which he understands and loves.

To the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone—The Purchas Case.

April 21, 1875.

. . . The chief blame in this case rests with Mr. Purchas. He obtains notoriety by defying his superiors, and damages the Church by refusing to defend his case when he is prosecuted. Judgment was given in an undefended case.

I signed a protest against the Judgment, because for two and twenty years, at Leeds, I had consecrated in the eastward position. But I show that while claiming liberty for others, if the liberty is granted by the Church, I consider the position of the celebrant a thing indifferent, as we do not use it in this Cathedral.

My end is so fast approaching, that I do not enter into modern controversies, except when the trumpet is sounded by you, and then the old war-horse pricks up his ears.

To Lord Hatherley—The coming End.

August 5, 1875.

I have been wonderfully struck by what you told me, of Professor Airy's remark, that the wonders of Providence are to be seen

in the microscope rather than in the telescope. When you find the Divine Providence coming down to the minutest of things, you see at once that insignificant as you may be, you cannot be passed over. These thoughts crowd upon the mind, as the end draws nigh, and oh! my friend, what should we do without a Divine Saviour. As one groans over the past, one looks with hope into the future, and yet one feels that, love Him as we may, we do not love Him as we ought to do. Pray for me, as I for you.

To Mrs. —, on the Death of her Husband.

October 6, 1875.¹

For your kind, affectionate, and pious letter I return you my most cordial thanks.

For your dear husband I entertained respect, as well as affection, and I am thankful that I was instrumental in giving you some years of happiness.

I am old, seventy-eight, and very infirm. My contemporaries are passing away, and I expect soon to receive my summons.

Pray for me.

¹ Written a fortnight before he died.

LETTER FROM LORD HATHERLEY TO THE
EDITOR.

My dear Nephew,—I write in fulfilment of my promise to supply you with a brief account of the school and college life of my late dear friend, your father-in-law. Our friendship began in 1812, soon after I had become a commoner at Winchester, and continued to his death in 1875. It commenced almost at first sight; though nothing could be imagined more improbable than that our several ages, dispositions, prejudices, and family training should have allowed such a result.

In the first place when we met each other in 1812 at Dr. Gabell's school, which was associated with the ancient foundation of William of Wykeham at Winchester by the style of 'Commoners,' 'Hook Senior' (for we knew no Christian names) was over fourteen years of age, and I was not yet eleven; he was tall, strong, and impetuous, I was a short, small, and ordinarily quiet child. He had been imbued from childhood with High Church notions as they were then understood, and with the genuine old Tory doctrines of the political party then in power. I had been brought up in the Church of England, but my political instruction had been in what was then thought to be the radical school, and these impressions had been strengthened by very constant reading, even in childhood, of the 'Morning Chronicle' and 'Cobbett's Register.' To this it may be added, that the positions in life of our parents were wide apart. His father was a beneficed clergyman, and a Canon or Prebendary (as he was then called) of Winchester Cathedral, and his career, through the influence of his father-in-law, Sir Walter Farquhar, had been attended by the favour and personal notice of the Prince Regent; whilst my father was engaged in business in the City of London, and was, not long after this time, honoured by the personal confidence of the Princess of Wales, the Regent's ill-used wife.

Besides these discrepancies, both 'Hook Senior' and his brother Robert had brought with them from Tiverton School but little acquaintance with Latin and Greek, and on the part of my friend I may say but little disposition to acquire it ; whilst I found from an early period perhaps too much pleasure in entering into competition with others in these studies whenever the opportunity was offered me.

Notwithstanding the improbability of our forming a friendship for life, it was by God's providence so ordered that from December 1812, or thereabouts, till October 1875, when he was taken from us, we scarcely passed a fortnight without either meeting or hearing from each other by letter.

Our friendship began in a most unsentimental manner. His backwardness in study had occasioned him to be still in a low form of the school, and therefore subject to fagging, and we first foregathered at a large fire in Commoners' Hall, being engaged, under the system of domestic slavery which then existed, in preparing the breakfasts of our respective masters. This led to our interchanging such thoughts upon the pursuits most agreeable to us as our young minds could suggest, and I soon found that, though backward in the studies of the school, he was very forward and vigorous in mind.

He was far beyond, not only myself, but most other boys nearer to his own age in the school in his acquaintance with English Literature. He was especially well acquainted with the great works of Shakspeare and Milton, and with other standard authors of English poetry, whilst he had already begun, under his father's roof, to read some of the then accepted authors in Divinity. At that time, I think, the works of Archbishop Secker, and Nelson's 'Fasts and Festivals' were most commonly referred to by him. As a proof that I am not antedating, by defect of memory, his early acquaintance with Shakspeare, I may mention that I have since his death been allowed to possess myself of the very edition in which we often read together, and which on the fly leaf bears his name with the date 1811.

In a few months after our return to school in January 1813 we became inseparable. I was able to assist him in the ordinary course of school study, which service he more than repaid by forming my mind to an enjoyment of our English authors, and an appreciation of Shakspeare and Milton not common in early boyhood. Besides these, our favourite authors, we read together as

years passed on any new works that made their mark. He was plentifully supplied with these from home. Amongst others I recollect Walter Scott's successive poems, Maturin's 'Bertram' and Milman's 'Fazio': the latter, however, was, I think, sent to me by Hook after he had gone to Oxford. But whilst thus assisting me in the perusal of our English classics, he did me the yet greater service of forming my mind to a genuine delight in reading for its own sake, whereas the desire of excelling rather than a delight in excellence had been my motive to exertion. And even now looking back on our long course of life side by side, I own his moral superiority in this respect. He was singularly free from the low ambition of surpassing others, and though there may at one time have been some degree of self-indulgence in his avoiding the labour of acquiring knowledge through the medium of languages with which he was not familiar, yet even in his schooldays he conscientiously encountered this labour when convinced that it was his duty so to do, irrespective of any competition with others.

I will not enter into details of the progress of our friendship from year to year, but may briefly state the course of our school life. I passed him in the school owing to his comparative indifference to competition in the study of Latin and Greek; but when I had reached the sixth or highest form in the school, I strongly urged on him the desirableness of an effort to reach that form in which we should then pursue our studies together, and at the same time he would have the advantage of being solely under the direct tuition of Dr. Gabell, the Head Master. The regulation established by Dr. Gabell facilitated such an exertion. Any boy who had once attained a place in the form immediately below the sixth was offered promotion at any time to the sixth form on condition that he passed a voluntary examination in a book of Livy and one Greek play. I had myself been thus promoted over the heads of several boys otherwise before me in the school, and I succeeded in directing Hook's mind to the same course. He had no great difficulty in achieving our object. I went over with him the same book of Livy and the same play, the *Medea* of Euripides, as I had myself taken up for my examination, and we had the great pleasure of pursuing exactly the same studies together for the residue of his school career, that is till 1817, or more than half a year.

Meanwhile our English readings had become more and more frequent, especially during the summer evenings, when we used

to build ourselves an arbour for the summer in a thick hawthorn tree, and taking our several editions of Shakspeare with us, read out by turns the various parts of each play. Besides his pocket edition, already referred to, he possessed one by Reed in twenty-one volumes, the whole of which (notes and all) we swallowed if we did not digest them. In the year 1814 (I think) he instituted an 'Order of St. Shakspeare and St. Milton;' April 23, Shakspeare's birthday and death-day, being our chief festival. Of this Order we two were styled the Founders and Knights Grand Masters, and to it were admitted a few of our common friends as Knights Grand Crosses, amongst whom was the present Sir W. Heathcote.¹ We did not omit to read prose authors, and the 'Spectator' was a book in frequent use.

From what I have already stated you will readily understand that he obtained but few school distinctions. A book prize attended his successful effort to reach the sixth form *per saltum*, and he gained the silver medal for public speaking, being undoubtedly the best orator of the school. He was also at the end of his career distinguished as our champion, and was selected to fight any inhabitant of the town (including on one occasion some soldiers of a regiment in the barracks) in case of infringement by them of our privileges.

Dr. Johnson has said that a debt of gratitude is due to the memory of all schoolmasters by whom men who have distinguished

¹ The following is the description of the Order copied from the blank page in one of the volumes of the pocket Shakspeare :—

A List of the Knights of the Most Poetical Order of SS. Shakspeare and Milton.

W. F. HOOK,	}	Founders and Knights Grand Masters.
W. P. WOOD,		
HENRY MINCHIN,	}	Knights Grand Crosses.
*EDWARD AUSTEN,		
WILLIAM HEATHCOTE.		
PHILIP HEWETT,		

By His Majesty's Command.

W. F. HOOK,	}	Secretaries of State.
W. P. WOOD,		

GOD SAVE KING

SHAKESPEARE.

* Better known as Austen Leigh, a nephew of Miss Austen the novelist, and author of a memoir of her.

themselves, as did my friend, were trained ; and I cheerfully and gratefully acknowledge the debt we both owed to Dr. Gabell as an instructor. That, indeed, was the only title (*informator*) that he enjoyed as connected with the foundation : the Warden (at that time Dr. Huntingford, Bishop of Hereford) being the chief governor of Wykeham's College. But of 'Commoners' Gabell was the 'master,' and I always thought him very deficient in the qualifications necessary for that post. His chief deficiency was a total distrust of the boys, which led him never to believe their statements. It was this defect which (subsequently to Hook's leaving the school) led to a rebellion. But as a teacher Dr. Gabell excelled. He possessed the happy art of thoroughly searching out every boy's ability and industry, by methods of his own, with which I ought not to encumber your pages, and further he felt, and therefore conveyed to generous and intelligent young minds, an enthusiastic love of the best classical literature. Learning by heart formed a prominent part of the teaching of the school, and this circumstance probably in a great measure kept Hook back in his progress. His memory was not accurate in details, while the amount of recitations from Latin and Greek poets of which some boys were capable was portentous. A noble lord is yet living¹ who committed to memory the whole (I think) of Virgil's *Æneid* and several books of Homer. Winchester has always been a hard working school. Accuracy was insisted upon ; work was not slurred over, nor was brilliancy considered to be any compensation for indolence. The school has produced hard workers through life. The Archbishopric of Canterbury and the Speakership of the House of Commons have been each held once, and the Great Seal three times, by Wykehamists within my memory, and I have sat in a Cabinet where three out of sixteen members had been educated at Winchester.

As boys we all took much interest in politics, though I think out of 200 probably less than one-quarter were Whigs, and I was almost a solitary Radical. Hook established a Parliament which sat in the deserted Palace of the Bishop. I think that of its members only Sir Alexander Malet and myself have survived. Our debates were no doubt highly esteemed by ourselves : they were perhaps none the worse for the absence of reporters, or even a gallery.

I have not yet noticed the tie which more especially bound my

¹ Lord Saye and Sele.

dear friend and myself together from boyhood to age. It so happened that I became a prefect at the early age of fifteen. The prefects were entrusted with the discipline and management of the school. There were eight of them in Commoners presiding over 142 other boys, and two in each week were responsible for the general order of the school. It had become almost a rule that these eight boys should receive at stated times the Holy Communion. I had not been confirmed, and this led me to think very seriously about the whole subject ; and first whether I ought, as it were compulsorily, to take so serious a step at all, and secondly whether I could properly do so before confirmation. This latter point, however, was, shortly before the time for communicating, set at rest by the Warden of the College, Bishop Huntingford, holding a confirmation in the College Chapel. I submitted my anxieties on this head to my friend, as I did all my other difficulties in matters of religion. I need not dwell more on the subject. Suffice it to say that he consulted his father and some others of the clergy upon it, supplied me with books on the subject of Confirmation and Holy Communion, instructed and encouraged me in every way ; and thus my first Communion was the special cement of our life-enduring friendship, and a foundation was laid on which, notwithstanding every difference of opinion in matters less grave, we could rest as on a rock.

During our holidays we used to see each other occasionally only. In the winters of 1815 and 1816 my father, having been elected Lord Mayor for two successive years, resided at the Mansion House. Hook, when in town, lived in Conduit Street at the house of Sir Walter Farquhar, his grandfather. He contrived a plan of our meeting for an hour or two each day in St. Paul's Cathedral. At that time anyone could be admitted there on payment of two-pence, and was allowed to remain as long as he pleased, and many a time did we pace the aisles together for hours when the service was over. In the summer holidays, my family usually resided at Little Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, and at times Hook was in that neighbourhood at Roehampton, staying with his uncle, Mr. Thomas, afterwards Sir Thomas, Farquhar.

The first letter of a series which continued without interruption for nearly sixty years was written to me by Hook on December 29, 1816. It is dated from Winchester, where his father was then residing as Prebendary, and addressed to me at the Mansion House. I copy a small part of it. He was still a school-boy, but

intended (as ultimately was the case) to leave Winchester School at the end of the long half-year terminating in July.

I went on Thursday to Southampton to see Mrs. Siddons, whom I heard so much ridiculed here by two of her acquaintances that I scarcely expected to be able to tolerate her ; but I found her most kind and pleasant. She said she had known me when I was a child, and was happy to renew the acquaintance. In the evening, after dinner, she gave me my choice of what she should read to me, and I chose 'Macbeth,' which she read through, passing over a few uninteresting scenes. She acted Macbeth quite as well as Lady Macbeth, and of course surpassed Kean in every respect. Though she is sixty-two yet she looked most beautiful when she was reading, and I can very well fancy her once being 'with matchless beauty crowned.' But what I liked most to hear, was Satan's speech to the Sun, in Milton, which she read most charmingly : her voice and manner suits entirely with Milton. I took a long walk the next morning with Miss Siddons, who is a very sensible, agreeable girl, and, some people think, very handsome. Mrs. Siddons was very condescending, and in talking over several of Shakspeare's plays, showed a great deal of taste, learning, and judgment. She took, however, the part of Lady Macbeth, in which I could not quite agree with her, and her daughter helped me to defend poor Macbeth, against whom Mrs. Siddons was rather spiteful. . . . By-the-bye, I shall have free access to John Kemble's library, which you know, according to Steeven's account, is the best in England for old books and valuable and scarce editions, not of classics, but of old English authors.

At the beginning of February 1817 I received another letter from him, of which I give a short extract in order to show the passionate enthusiasm which his affection always evinced towards me. It was poured forth in prose and verse, and from youth to age, and I will only give this specimen of what you and all he loved well know to have been his characteristic : the most unselfish, ardent devotion to his friends. He refers to his returning to school a week before I should be there, owing to his father leaving Winchester, to explain which it may be mentioned that the school was open for the reception of the foundation boys who returned a week before the commoners were obliged to do so.

. . . I shall not be able to avoid going to Commoners on Sunday night, and thus I shall spend a whole week without you ; you may well imagine how miserable I shall be, for I could better spare you in any other place than that in which every turn I take will bring you to my remembrance ; but stay as long as you can, for you may be assured that I can have no greater pleasure than knowing that you enjoy yourself ; and if you could, I would not wish you to hurry back into Commoners on my account, as I do not reckon myself at all selfish, but I *think* and hope that I feel more pleasure in your happiness than

in my own, and I only write this that you may take compassion, and whenever you have a moment to spare and *remember me*, may just send me a line of consolation, even if it is every day, and but a line. I write to you now because I am very dull, too dull to read even our dear Shakspeare, and I want to complain, and so pitch upon you to be the person to be plagued with hearing my complaints. I had an offer of going to Oriel this instant, there being a sudden vacancy, and not going back to Winchester, but I much prefer returning; indeed I should be wretched if I did not go back this half-year, for though Oxford may have some greater comforts than Winchester, yet the enjoying your company at the one and not at the other would make the one most delightful, the other most uncomfortable, and though we shall separate at the end of next half-year, the thought of not spending one more half-year with you would have made me wretched. Gabbell most *strongly* advised my staying, and I am glad to stay.

When the end of the long half-year arrived, July 1817, we underwent our first real parting, and very sad it was. We paced the long galleries at the back of the bedrooms in Commons for an hour or two in great grief. In the holidays he met with some slight accident, and I went from Twickenham to see him in London, after which he wrote me a letter, of which I have copied a small part to show the extreme warmth of his feelings in return for a very slight service.

My most beloved Friend,—I cannot possibly wait an instant, without expressing to you my deep and heartfelt gratitude for your conduct towards me during the last two days. Had you not before this had possession of my heart, your late kindness would certainly have given you a just title to my affection. Indeed I do not repent of my foolish action, since by that means I enjoyed so very much of your society, and since owing to that I spent two of the happiest days that I ever did spend. Again, my dearest Wood, let me express my gratitude to you for foregoing the pleasures of your holidays, and shutting yourself up in the room of a poor sick fellow.

I returned to Winchester in September 1817, and in November received a letter from him referring to a squib which he had sent to the 'Sun' newspaper. He had at all times much of the exuberant humour of his Uncle Theodore, subdued as years went on by the graver realities of his life, but always ready to break forth when he was in the company of an intimate friend. I insert the first portion only of this letter.

I have become an author already. On Sunday last I sent a squib to the 'Sun' newspaper, which it has published in yesterday's edition. The name of

it was 'The Meeting of Jacobins.' I will send you the paper if I can get one. I ought not to send you a copy, as there is in it 'The Lord M—r and Jacobins of the City of London. The Lord M—r returned thanks.' Tell me directly if you are sulky. I tell you honestly, I am not certain whether it was not an interpolation of the 'Sun,' because it is not in my foul copy, and because they have thought fit to insert a puff at the end of it in favour of their paper, but I plainly tell you that I should have inserted it if I had thought of it, but I rather think I did not. Not that I think your father a Jacobin *precisely*; but as I call Lord Grey, under the title of Lord Dapple, a Jacobin, and likewise Mr. Brougham, you will not be angry. . . . I shall cut you up some time or other. God bless you. I love you with all my heart and soul.

I spent the Christmas holidays of 1817 in Paris, whither my father summoned me and my younger brother from Winchester. Whilst there I received a letter from him dated Winchester, December 30, A.N.A. 5, the latter form being an abbreviation for 'Anno nostræ amicitiaë,' which he adopted to mark the date of our friendship, begun in 1812. In this letter he affects to treat me, not very consistently, as a Jacobin and as a friend of Napoleon. The following is a short extract :

I took it most kind in you, my beloved Wood, to write to me so soon after your arrival, when you could so well have pleaded want of time and various other excuses. I do nevertheless earnestly request you not to think that I shall be offended if you do not write often, for it is my wish that you should see everything, and as your stay is but short in Paris, I will wait patiently till you leave it to hear of all the wonders to be seen there; but you must not humbug us untravelled folk, and you must not return as the monkey that had seen the world, for let me tell you, Mr. Alderman, I will have none of your airs. Your letter was as instructive as it was amusing, as replete with good advice as it was with just observation. I was scarcely ever better pleased with a letter even from you, and all your letters must please your adoring friend. I see that you did not sleep in the diligence, but had your eyes and ears open, and from the beginning I augur well of your excursion. It will enlarge your ideas by letting you have an insight into the ways and customs of foreign nations, and make you, Mr. Jacobin, learn to respect, love, and reverence the sacred establishment of our blessed constitution in Church and State. You seem to have seen a great deal in a short time, and to have been struck, as everybody is, with the magnitude and magnificence in which Royalty lives in France, and the misery of the poorer orders. You will not, I conclude, wish for those sumptuous palaces in England. Let our Prince have his 'Thatched Cottages,' and be able to keep up the dignity of his state—we want no more. I would rather see the Louvre and Tuileries in France than in England. With the pictures perhaps you were at first dazzled, but I think your taste will soon reject the false style of French artists, for I understand since the departure of your friend at St. Helena, most of the pictures are of the French school, which,

in my humble opinion, is no more to be compared to the English, than I to Hercules. We have undoubtedly more and better pictures in England, but in a free state the sovereign cannot monopolise all the good things. Every nobleman and almost every gentleman in England has at least two or three pictures by first-rate artists. Not so in France, where I believe you will find that almost every picture of worth belongs to the royal family. Were all the first-rate pictures of the English, Italian, and Dutch schools in England to be collected, I doubt not but that we should fill a room much longer than half a mile. Your English indignation is justly roused by the plan of justice in France, and your English heart naturally revolts at the idea of want of liberty of the press ; but I think if you consider the present character of the French, and the weak foundation of the French government, you will acknowledge that France is not at the present time fit for liberty of the press, which is always so much open to abuse that it is even at times dangerous to our firmly fixed government, and consequently would be replete with danger to the ill-built fabric of the French Constitution.

In the next letter, dated from Whippingham January 4, 1818, A.N.A. 6, he tells me that he is to go to Christ Church, Oxford, in about a fortnight. There are some observations I feel impelled to quote from this letter, owing to the happy direction which at this early period it gave to the subsequent correspondence of a life.

May our affection, which is already gigantic, grow every year till it reaches that heaven where it can never be made twain. Remember, my adored friend, that the first and the most essential part of friendship is to mark the faults, and *then* to love the virtues, of the object of our affection. Remember that none but a friend can tell us our faults ; that it would be presumptuous and invidious in anyone else so to do ; and, therefore, I put the marking of our faults before the admiring of our virtues. But the seeing them is not enough ; they must be told. No man can view his own errors ; they must be told to him, and pointed out to him, before he repents. Bear in mind that when Cassius says, 'a friendly eye would never see those faults,' Brutus admirably replies, 'Flatterers would not, though they be as huge as high Olympus,' thus drawing the direct line and denominating him, who, by most men, would be called a friend, to be, in many instances, nothing more than a flatterer. This I do not mean to apply to the morals, habits, and customs, but even to the lowest and least observed faults. When we were together such freedom we always exercised without reserve ; therefore, in our letters let our remarks on one another's train of thought, style of letter-writing, and action be free, open, and more inclined to blame than to praise, for I mean to tell you honestly and truly everything I do, everything I think, everything I feel. Amen. Thus ends my sermon ; and if you are not asleep, I will now be a little merrier.

My correspondence with Hook after he left school was constant. I missed him and his guidance only too much ; for a

growing dissatisfaction with Gabell's mismanagement of the school, especially his want of confidence in the boys, led to a rebellion in May 1818, in which I took part. It is enough to say that although I then thought, and still think, that grave grounds of complaint existed, I have never ceased to regret the pain I gave to our Head Master, with whom personally I was rather a favourite, and the greater pain I must have given my parents. Happily no evil consequences resulted from it to the school, nor indeed to my own subsequent career. I was deservedly sent away from the school, an opportunity being first offered me of saying that, owing to my youth, I had been over-persuaded. This notion was not true in fact, nor under any circumstances would it have been likely to meet with my assent. But besides this, all the head boys had signed a paper before the rebellion broke out, to the effect that whatever happened to one should happen to all. The Head Master and second master in conclave called up the first and third boys and expelled them, keeping me confined in a separate room till this had been done ; but from the window of this room I saw and conversed with these two boys, and then on being summoned to judgment stated all the facts, and said that my course was clear. I then went home, taking also my younger brother¹ with me, who had signed the same paper. These statements will explain my friend's next letter.

. . . I am heartily sorry for the Rebellion. In the first moment I was so pleased with it that I scarcely considered the merits or demerits of the case ; but now, when I reflect upon the great kindness and affectionate care of Gabell for the school, I cannot but feel sorry when I consider the injury it may do him. But all this would not affect me in any serious manner, as your banishment perhaps will. All my fears have been raised by Heathcote telling me that Coplestone, the Provost of his college, says that he shall not receive Porcher if he hears that he has been at all active in the Rebellion. Are you, my most beloved Wood, sure of getting in at Cambridge ? Is there no doubt ? Did you take an active part in the business yourself ? Austen, who saw Ward, tells me that you did. I hope you did not, but, my most dear William, think not that I mean to upbraid you ; I should myself have done the selfsame thing, but I should have repented of it afterwards most likely. I trust that by this time your father has forgiven you. Send me word if he has or has not.

My younger brother was sent back to school, and before the end of May I was travelling alone through France to Geneva. At Geneva

¹ Mr. Western Wood, afterwards M.P. for the City of London.

I remained, passing through the usual course of philosophy at the 'Auditoire,' for two years. My way was made smooth by the presence of some near relatives at Geneva, who before my arrival had made arrangements for my living *en pension* at M. Duvillard's, the Professor of Belles Lettres. There were, at different times, some six or seven people, English, German, and French, in the same pension; one of the Englishmen being an old Winchester schoolfellow. I alone, however, followed the course of the Auditoire. I wrote a few lines to Hook from Calais, and again from Geneva, where I received my first letter from him, dated Christ Church, May 24, 1818, and during the two years of my residence at Geneva our correspondence never flagged. I will not, however, overload this narrative by further extracts from his letters. Suffice it to say that they indicate much divergence of his thoughts from the work of the place, and contain constant expressions of regret at his disappointing those who were interested in his distinction, and who believed (as I ever had) in his powers of mind, if he could once be brought to fix them earnestly upon his work. He wrote once or twice a poem for the Newdigate prize, which he sent to me for criticism, but with the exception of Divinity he read little which could avail him from a University point of view. His 'set of companions, though always young men of ability and worth, were, owing to his college being Christ Church, men of higher worldly position than himself, and did not encourage him in study. In a letter dated March 6, 1819, he says: 'You asked me in your last whether I study with anybody—no, nor ever will without I can do so with you. You asked with whom I most associate. My acquaintance here is not extensive, and I am not a bit more with one person than another.' His college tutor was Dr. Vowler Short, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, to whom he was much attached, and of whom he always spoke with gratitude.

My letters interested him because we had many interesting persons then living at Geneva, with whom I had such acquaintance as a boy can have with men. Amongst our Professors were De Candolle the botanist, De la Rive, Pictet, and Rossi, afterwards a peer of France, and finally Prime Minister of Pius IX. in his days of zeal for reform, in whose service he was assassinated. He came to Geneva as a refugee from the despotic government of Pius VII., which drove him from Bologna. Dumont, Sismondi, and the late Duc de Broglie were also then residing at Geneva.

On July 1, 1819, Hook wrote me a rapturous account of his first pilgrimage to Stratford-on-Avon.

In May 1820, just as I was about to pass an examination for the degree of 'Bachelor of Letters' at Geneva, Queen Caroline happened to pass through that town on her way to England. My father was anxious that I should avail myself of an offer to travel in her suite. We were to meet him and Lady Anne Hamilton on the road. This I accordingly did, meeting them at Montbard, and all of us proceeding to St. Omer, where we met Brougham, then the Queen's Attorney General, and Lord Hutchinson. It was then that the offer was made to the Queen to receive a large annuity, on condition that she should not take the title of Queen, or attempt to land in England. Her answer was her departure that same evening from St. Omer to sleep on board an English packet, whence she despatched a letter addressed to Louis XVIII., stating her desire to free him from her unwelcome presence on French soil, though she had thought that some of the ordinary tokens of respect might have been paid to one whose brothers had perished on the field in supporting the monarchy of France. I pass over, however, this episode of my life, intensely interesting as it was at the time to me; believing, as I then did, and still do, that the wicked charges against that persecuted woman were false. I only mention the mode of my return to England because it occasioned some trouble, as I afterwards learned, to my dear friend, whose family were strong Tories, and had been personally favoured by George IV. Hook, however, never wavered even for a moment in his devotion to me; his mother, also, was aware of his affection for me, and she was uniformly kind in promoting it.

It so happened that I was laid up with ague, caught whilst travelling by night through the marshes of St. Omer. I could not, therefore, go to him, nor indeed did we meet till late in 1822; for as soon as I had recovered from the ague I made a journey, lasting from June to October, with persons employed in getting up the case of Queen Caroline abroad, to whom I acted as a volunteer interpreter for the Italian witnesses, until a regular interpreter could be obtained. In one letter written to me just before I left England he says: 'I forgot in my last to tell you that I called on Gabell as I passed through Winchester, and after having laughed at the likelihood of your becoming a real rebel, he said, "Remember me, when you write, most particularly and kindly to him, and tell him that he will always find a welcome in my house." He ex-

pressed the greatest regard for you. When I was there I met a young lady who asked me much about our Oxford Commemoration, and I told her how delighted I was to hear the simultaneous hurrah, the magnificent and glorious burst of enthusiasm, the moment the name of Robert Southey was mentioned : that it was also not a little pleasant to see one poet applauding another—Milman cheering his brother bard Southey, and quoth Dr. Gabell, “you have the honour of speaking to Miss Milman.”’

I met Gabell myself not long afterwards, when he was most kind to me, and I felt all my penitence for the rebellion renewed. I had to cut short my Italian journey just as I was about to leave Rome for Naples and Sicily. The horses were at the door when I received a letter from my father, enclosing one from the Rev. G. Macfarlane, Fellow of Trinity, who was to be my private tutor at Cambridge, informing me that if I were not in England by October 21, I should, by the University regulations existing at that time, lose a whole year. My friend was now working hard for his degree, and I had to set to work at my Cambridge studies in Trinity. We did not, therefore, meet till late the next year.

In 1821 he came to town for the coronation of George IV. ; but we did not meet then, as no doubt there was a difficulty in our doing so either at his home or mine, the minds of our relatives being so differently affected as regarded the unhappy position of the queen.

It was not till the summer of 1822, nine months after his ordination, that Hook and I again met. I was then about to make a short visit at Southampton, and met him by arrangement at Winchester, having a delightful walk with him for a few hours over all our old haunts, especially the meadows in which we used to read. I will not attempt to describe the joy of this happy meeting, at which we agreed that if it were possible we would contrive some meeting for a longer period in the next year. Unhappily for the remainder of my vacation in this year, I suffered from disordered health, chiefly in the form of a most troublesome giddiness, which was afterwards yet more aggravated, and threw me very much back in my preparation for my degree. Our scheme consequently, which included a visit from him to me at Cambridge, had to be postponed till the next year. I had numerous letters of the kindest sympathy from him during the whole of my illness. In one of these, dated September 17, 1822, he says, ‘I have read lately nothing—yet I have read the novel of “Evelina,” and am trudging through “Sir

Charles Grandison.” I mention this because about the same time I had often talked of Richardson’s novels with Macaulay (then an undergraduate), who, when I said that I had got through ‘Sir C. Grandison’ after seven attempts, replied, ‘You will not enjoy it till you have read it seven times through.’

In a letter dated June 1822, after some remarks on Scott’s last novel, the ‘Fortunes of Nigel,’ and upon a novel by Lockhart, called ‘Adam Blair,’ he proceeds : ‘By the way, I must not omit to recommend to you a book which has entertained me very much, entitled “Pen Owen.” It is a new novel, and what pleases me is that it is quite void of that canting and whining sentimentality and that sometimes blasphemous saintism and methodism with which so many modern novels abound.’

Several years after this I discovered that his father was the author of the book. I had often laughed at his vehement ‘John Bullism,’ which adhered to him through life, and in reference to this he says, writing in December 1822, ‘I am not quite so national as you think, and if ever you give me a little more of your much desired society, and talk of foreigners as you did and can do, I will promise to be an apt disciple to liberality : to *your* liberality, not to Leigh Hunt’s.’ (Leigh Hunt was at that time the editor of ‘The Liberal.’)

In January 1823 he writes, after reading Moore’s ‘Loves of the Angels,’ and the first act of Byron’s ‘Heaven and Earth’ in ‘The Liberal’ :

I think it (Moore’s Poem) a complete failure, and in parts quite wicked, although I will do him the justice to say that I believe he did not intend to be so. I am very much averse to poets coming into contact with the Almighty, or straying into the infinitely incomprehensible. He is pleased to represent the angels of God, the participators of infinite happiness, as finding heaven dull, and descending upon earth to gratify, not their love, but their lust. I am indignant and sorry. The fact is that even the sublime and heavenly Milton soared too high, and in his third book he offends me much by introducing the reader to the Almighty Himself. But if Milton did not succeed in the regions of heaven, what modern poetaster can hope for success? Lord Byron’s ‘Heaven and Earth’ in the ‘Liberal’ is in parts extremely fine, and throws Tommy Moore quite into the background. There are parts which are almost sublime. . . . But when I praise ‘Heaven and Earth’ I may be influenced by having heard it most beautifully read by my uncle Theodore.

In May 1823 he wrote a letter, from which I extract the following passage. The playful ideas about our future careers which it contains were in some respects singularly in accordance, in others

as singularly contrasted with the actual facts of our subsequent lives.

I am, at present, in the most melancholy mood—distressingly so. Some evil must be impending, or is it the sudden return of winter after the summer-like autumn we have spent? I feel that loneliness of heart and mind of which I do often complain. I think after all I must get me a wife; but where shall I find one to suit my taste and disposition, and if I do find such a one, will she not be worse than a fool if she accepts such a wretch as I am? How delightful would it be to have a small cottage in some sequestered shady valley, with a wife who could understand all the sentiments of my heart, and enter into all my feelings as you used to do: to have her there equally the friend of my friend, who would find in my house a pleasant retreat from the toils and worries of a lawyer's life. I could fancy you nursing, with almost parental fondness, my second boy, William Wood Hook, taking a delight in his improvement, and urging him by presents in the career of learning, while I should hold you up to him as the model of perfection in virtue and true religion as well as learning. Then we should laugh heartily at all your bachelor peculiarities, and fit up one room peculiarly for you, just according to your taste and ideas of comfort. N.B. When we pay a visit to London we shall always refuse your offer of a room in your house in the most delicate terms we can, dreading the damp beds, and unaired dungeony rooms of a bachelor's house—but we shall be very happy to dine with you. At length a change will take place; and we shall feel a little awe at your approaching visit, and mount wax candles instead of muttoms in our candlesticks, and talk big among our neighbours; 'because why? why because' my Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Lignum, and Baron Billy-squad is coming to pay us a visit—and we shall find you just the same good, dear, affectionate, unaffected creature as before; and your lordship will take my son, William Wood Hook, under your lordship's more immediate protection, and will give my eldest boy a living, and offer to get me a Deanery or a Bishopric, which I of course shall refuse; and then I shall be proud of having such a friend, and I shall make a memoir of your life, and, *à la* Jimmy Boswell, take minutes of your conversation, and treasure your *bon mots*, and make selections from your letters, and leave it to my son to be published when we are both dead and gone; and then—and then will be an end of our eventful history.

He was indeed most blessed in the wife to whom six years later he was united, but he did not pass any portion of his married life amid rural or sequestered scenes. I soon followed his example as regarded marriage, and fulfilled his anticipations by presenting my godchild (not, however, bearing my name), his second son, but the eldest surviving, to the first benefice which became vacant after my appointment to the office of Lord Chancellor. Alas! after a short life of usefulness, he was but a little while since removed from this life, but reunited, as I hope, to his loving and beloved parents.

I answered his letter with some corresponding wish common

enough to those who have a laborious life before them, that we might live in 'some secluded abode, blessed with our own society and that of our wives and children;' for in a letter dated June 4, 1823, he quotes this passage and says, 'I do assure you that with the addition of health I should think this dream of yours, if fulfilled, would be happiness complete. Let us labour some twenty years hence to bring it about. But alas! twenty years! how awful is it to think of the change which may take place between this and then! To one or both of us Time will perhaps—nay, will probably be changed into eternity; or, if permitted to linger yet longer in this world of misery and turmoil, our hopes, our wishes, our ideas may suffer a dismal change: a dismal one, I say because few persons are bettered by contact with this filthy world. Well, my dearest friend, let us pray for the blessing of the Almighty, and may He grant what I hope and think may really be the case, that our friendship may never, never end.'

After the six years of friendship during the remainder of our unmarried life which succeeded this letter, we lived to thank God for forty-five years of uninterrupted friendship between ourselves, our wives, and his children—a union broken only by the sad removal of his wife four years before his own decease. But such retirement as I had imagined was not reserved for us: once only did I again, some years after we were both married, refer to the possibility of it, and I was struck with his reply, 'When you have no more work to do you will die.' A sense of the privilege of working for his heavenly Master was never absent from his mind. It overcame his strong bias to literary self-indulgence, the strongest temptation that can be offered to men of vigorous powers of thought.

In January 1824 I took my degree, and in October 1825 I obtained a Fellowship at Trinity; but as I was reading for the bar in the chambers of an equity draughtsman throughout the year 1824, whilst Hook was occupied in his clerical duty as his father's curate at Whippingham, we seldom met, but our correspondence was constant. When his father was made Dean of Worcester in 1825 my friend frequently resided at the Deanery, but early in the year 1828 his father was unexpectedly seized with a fatal illness and died at Worcester, aged fifty-six. Writing in February 1828, soon after this event, Hook says: 'Our circumstances are at present not the most brilliant, but I am philosophical enough not to care about that. Much interest was used with the Lord Chancellor (Lyndhurst) to procure for me my dear father's living of Stone,

worth about 800*l.*, which had been taken in exchange for Whippingham ; but his lordship merely sent me a very kind letter, promising future patronage and offering me a living (which proves not to be vacant) of 300*l.* a year. He was an old friend and school-fellow of my father.' In fact, my friend's family was but ill provided for. His younger brother was placed in a way to be provided for in Herries and Farquhar's bank, but his mother and a sister much younger than his brother were left with himself dependent on a very slender fortune.

In the summer of 1828 his mother took for a time a small house at Leamington, whither he accompanied her and his sister for a short holiday, and here I paid them a visit. He preached a sermon at Leamington which attracted the attention of Dr. Jebb, the Bishop of Limerick, who was then staying there on account of his health. Bishop Jebb asked him at once to visit him, and they had much happy intercourse, their acquaintance speedily ripening into friendship. He was greatly pleased with this occurrence, having much revered the character of the Bishop, and being in a manner almost acquainted with him by perusal of the well-known 'Correspondence' between him and Mr. Alexander Knox. Several of the letters that passed between Hook and the Bishop have been printed in the 'Life of Bishop Jebb,' by his chaplain, the late Rev. Charles Forster.

During my stay at Leamington the benefice of Holy Trinity at Coventry became vacant. This was a benefice in the gift of the Lord Chancellor, and on talking over his letter before referred to, we resolved to go over to Coventry to make enquiry about the nature and special character of the duties that would be required of an incumbent of that parish. The result was that Hook applied to the Lord Chancellor, and on October 3, 1828, he wrote to me, 'I have just heard from the Chancellor. He has, in the most kind and flattering manner, conferred upon me the Coventry living. I have no time at this agitating moment for more than most earnestly to request your prayers.'

We had both been somewhat misled in supposing the income of the benefice to be 500*l.* a year, but I do not think that the facts, if known, would have altered Hook's wish to undertake the work, for he could not but be conscious that he had powers of usefulness which waited but the opportunity for development.

On November 29, 1828, he wrote to me to mention the error about the income of the living ; not with any great amount of disappointment, but in that easy temper with which he always took

matters of mere worldly consideration. 'The living,' he writes, 'is only 360*l.*, and there is no house. This is a bore on two accounts. First, I cannot do all the good in my parish that I could wish with so small an income: and secondly, I cannot marry.'

On February 11, 1829, he slept for the first time in his parish, and wrote me a letter, from which I transcribe the following passage :

I write to you at night just before I sleep for the first time in my parish. Think of the overpowering sensations of thus entering upon a new sphere, where the good that I *may* be the instrument of doing is great, but where the mischief of which I *may* be the cause is incalculably greater. I have been rash and presumptuous in seeking this situation, for which, unless I am strengthened from above, I am utterly unfit. Think of this, and think of poor me when you are praying. You know not half my weakness; you know not how much I stand in need of the renovating, the assisting grace of God. There is a communion of saints, and one Christian benefits in the prayers of another. It is delightful to reflect on this: it is delightful to think that we may, in some way or other to us unknown, contribute to the welfare of our friends by our prayers—that there is unseen fellowship among true Christians. May the God of heaven, for His blessed Son's sake, shower down upon you, my most dear friend, every blessing, both temporal and spiritual; and now, while I am praying for strength, now when I am incurring these awful responsibilities, let your prayers be united with mine. Pray for me and my flock, that I may be able to do my duty and they theirs.

Scarcely more than a month after this I received a letter from him dated March 11, 1829, full of joy, announcing his engagement to your dear mother-in-law, the commencement of happiness which was never interrupted save by her death; and in the following August I was enabled to mention my engagement to her with whom I have enjoyed up to the present hour every blessing that a union, unclouded by aught but that which may at times have overshadowed us from without, could bestow. It pleased God that the marriages thus formed increased our friendship, and more than doubled its brightness by the no less warm attachment of those who had succeeded to the first place in our affections. And here I fitly break off the narrative of our youth, leaving to you the exposition of his later years; and only making, in conclusion, a few remarks upon the salient points of his character and career.

There was in him a rare combination of genius in devising, and industry in carrying into effect, schemes for the full development of the power of the Church; first, in evangelising those large

masses of our population whose hearts so few had been able to reach, and then in building up their faith upon a firm foundation. His special inspiration in this great work was, as we who knew him best believed, to be found in the unbounded sympathy of his Christian love, first, towards his Saviour, and through Him to all for whom that Saviour died. He was thus delivered from narrow exclusiveness on the one hand, and on the other from an unreal, though apparent, breadth of fellowship with any save those who were, like himself, devoted to his Master's cause. For the one great characteristic of his course was in all things reality. Hence in more than one instance he gave support to men from whom, in many serious respects, he differed, if only convinced of their Christian earnestness. I remember especially the period when Mr. Newman published his celebrated Tract XC. After having received a letter from Hook expressing his great regret at the publication, and his disapproval of its tone, I was surprised by another letter consequent on the part taken by the Oxford authorities against the author, in which he says, 'I have nailed my colours to the mast, and intend to stand by Newman.' His firm adherence, however, to his own principles became so well known after a short experience of his parochial ministrations in Coventry and Leeds, that he found ardent helpers ready to support him in any work which he undertook. Hence the extraordinary results of his ministry in increased churches and schools. I remember going with him one evening to a gathering of 600 Sunday-school teachers who had 12,000 pupils under them. But this energy of feeling, if confined to sympathy only, would have done but little. His industry was unparalleled. He rose before five o'clock, and was at his literary work from six to nine, and after his breakfast at the latter hour he devoted his whole time to his parish, morning and evening, with the exception of a Saturday evening's holiday. He was bold and fearless to a degree which is rarely experienced in one who was also tender and loving as a woman. He was keen in discerning and persevering in upholding the true interests of the great Anglican branch of the Church Catholic, now extended over the larger portion of the globe. Whatever doubts might be suggested as to the expediency of Bishop Luscombe's appointment, in which he took a leading part, it was the beginning of our largely developed colonial and foreign episcopate. For the Church in the great borough of Leeds he acquired a position which it had never before attained. On all public occasions, such as the opening of

the new Town Hall by her Majesty, and the like, he and the other clergy, mainly through his influence, were to be found occupying a prominent official position. His influence was built up on a solid basis of Church principle, and was felt to extend to many of the neighbouring industrial centres of our manufacturing districts. To the present day 'T'ould Vicar and t' wife' are household words among the old inhabitants of the great parish of Leeds.

He foresaw the development that education must receive in a free country, and he was one of the earliest to secure for the Church her true position in forwarding that great work, not by the exclusion of others from the field of labour, but by her own superior activity. He was intolerant only of pretension and indolence, and in the midst of indefatigable labours he had no leisure for petty ambitions. The scanty portion of leisure that public duty permitted him to enjoy was devoted to his home, and that devotion was requited by the unbounded affection of his happy household.

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