

sacrifices for unity with all loyal Churchmen. But never let our thirst for unity tempt us to forsake the great foundation principles of the Bible and the Church of England. The more faithful we are to these principles, the more good men of other schools will respect us, even while they disagree with our views. Trimmers and compromisers are never respected, and carry no weight with them. John Bunyan's "Mr. Anything" in the "Holy War," was kicked by both sides. Boldness and honesty are always respected, and especially when they are combined with courtesy and love. Then let us strive so to live, so to preach, so to work, and so to love, that if other Churchmen cannot see with our eyes, they may, at any rate, *respect* us. Above all, let us never forget to pray, in the words of our Liturgy, that "all who profess and call themselves" Churchmen, as well as "Christians, may hold the faith in the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life." Prayer for unity is prayer according to the mind of Christ.¹

J. C. RYLE.

ART. II.—THE IRISH UNIVERSITY BILL.

II.

IN the gracious speech from the Throne at the close of last Session, the Queen expressed a hope that the Bill which had been passed by Parliament for University education in Ireland would "supply what is needed for the advancement of learning in its higher branches" in that country. These words appropriately represent the object of Parliament and the desire of the country; but, as we observed last month, the success of the scheme is still problematical. We shall all rejoice with the Queen, if the hopes to which Her Majesty has given expression be realised, and none the less, if the success of the measure evidence some abatement of the more extravagant claims of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. This, however, we dare not anticipate. It cannot be too often repeated that it was not with any expectation of conciliating the Ultramontanes, but from a desire to do that which is right, fair, and reasonable, that Protestant politicians supported the Irish University Bill.

Our Protestant principles constrain us to concede the utmost freedom of opinion and of action consistent with the general

¹ This Paper is Mr. Ryle's Swansea Congress Paper; it contains some important passages which want of time made it impossible to read on that occasion.—ED.

welfare of the people; but such concessions are not made by way of compromise, and they are certainly not met in a conciliatory spirit. It is the proud boast of the Church of Rome that its principles are immutable, and we have abundant evidence that this boast of *semper eadem*, though contradicted by the doctrine of development, and falsified by the Vatican decrees, is still true—too true—as regards the spirit and temper which direct the policy of Rome. It is a spirit which cannot endure opposition—a temper which will accept no compromise. It is a policy which contemplates the absolute supremacy of the Latin Church—a policy which has been the cause of very much of the difficulty attending English rule in Ireland; which has entirely created the difficulties of the Irish University question, and now renders the success of the present scheme doubtful.

Bearing all this in mind, we have to forecast the probable future working of the recent Act, and, after a careful review of that which has been done, to consider that which remains to be done.

The Act which has received the royal assent empowers the Queen to found a University in Ireland by charter, and provides for its constitution as a corporation, for its chief officers, its senate, and its convocation. The charter will vest in the University the power to confer degrees, except degrees in theology, and in the senate the general government of the University. The senate will prescribe the conditions, as to his subsequent education, with which a matriculated student is to comply, and the examinations which he is to pass, but may not require residence in any college, nor attendance at lectures or any other course of instruction, except for a degree in medicine. The senate is also to prepare a scheme to be laid before Parliament for the better advancement of University education in Ireland by the provision of buildings, including examination-rooms and a library, in connection with the University to be founded, and by the establishment of exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, and other prizes, or any of such matters, subject to the following conditions:—The prizes shall be (1) awarded for proficiency in secular subjects only, (2) open to all students of the University, and awarded in respect of either relative or absolute proficiency, and subject to such conditions as to age, &c., as the senate shall impose, (3) regulated as to value and number so as not to affect injuriously the University of Dublin and Trinity College, (4) subject to abatement in the case of students holding prizes of a similar character in any other University or College. The Act provides also for the dissolution of the Queen's University, with a saving clause as to the Queen's Colleges and the University officers.

This is what Parliament has done. The more important part

of the work yet remains to be done. First, Parliament has to sanction the scheme which is to be prepared by the senate. It is to be hoped that a thoroughly capable senate will be appointed to do the work intrusted to it. Upon this will depend, to a great extent, the success of the undertaking. If a satisfactory scheme come before Parliament, well digested, carefully adapted to the circumstances of the case, and in conformity with the pledges of the Government, and with the spirit as well as the letter of the Act, the progress of affairs will be greatly facilitated. But the scheme will demand most careful consideration at the hands of the Legislature, so that the conditions imposed may be strictly exacted. Nothing of the nature of religious tests or of denominational endowments can be sanctioned, and special attention will be required to the conditions attached to University prizes. It will be necessary carefully to limit the ages of candidates for these prizes, whether "relative," *i.e.*, competitive, or "absolute," and to provide that whilst the standard for a pass, either for matriculation or for a degree, shall not be unreasonably high—not more severe than at Oxford or Cambridge—the absolute prizes shall be won by those students only who reach a higher standard and pass in honours—who acquit themselves with a distinction worthy of public recognition.

The object ought to be not to make honours cheap, but by offering these prizes to all students without reservation, to encourage higher education in Ireland by stimulating all alike to strive to attain the standard which they represent.

Amongst the duties imposed upon the senate, the Act empowers that body to prescribe not only conditions as to the age of candidates, but also as to "their liability to perform duty." These somewhat vague words were not noticed or explained in the course of the debate. As the University is not to be a teaching body, it is not easy to interpret them; but seeing that religious tests and religious instruction will be excluded, Parliament will certainly not permit any conditions to be attached to fellowships or scholarships which would require residence in, or connection with, a college, upon which it cannot impose a conscience clause.

In the next place, Parliament will have to deal with the attempts which may be made to impart a denominational character to the new University. That such attempts will be made may be regarded as certain. That the Cabinet, according to their solemn pledges, will steadily resist such attempts, and that Parliament will steadily support them in this particular, is, it may be hoped, equally certain. The nature of these attempts is sufficiently indicated by the amendments moved when the Bill was in Committee in the House of Commons. The desire to disendow the Queen's Colleges will probably be confined to Irish Roman

Catholic members. The proposal to charge the endowment permanently on the Consolidated Fund, or to take it from the Church surplus, so as to withdraw the votes from the annual consideration of Parliament, will probably not be seriously pressed until the new Institution has been established on a firm basis. But attempts to secure results fees for denominational institutions, to endow a Roman Catholic College, to require the winners of the lesser University prizes, as a condition inseparable from their enjoyment, to pursue their studies, for a definite period, in some seminary, and to attach to fellowships conditions requiring the possessor of them to reside and to teach in some College—attempts of this nature will be made, perseveringly made—sometimes openly, perhaps sometimes covertly—and will demand constant watchfulness and steady resistance in Parliament on the part of those who desire to see higher education in Ireland a reality, and not a sham.

It has been already observed that if a satisfactory scheme for the new University come before Parliament, the progress of affairs will be greatly facilitated; that is, the progress of affairs in Parliament will be facilitated. It remains to be considered—How will Ireland receive such a scheme?

Protestant Irishmen, whether Episcopalian or Presbyterian, are alike concerned to uphold the character and interests of Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges. Though open to all comers, without distinction of creed or race, and deprived of any exclusive sectarian character, these institutions provide for them, or may be made to provide for them, all the educational advantages which they desire, but it will be important for them to see to it that the provisions of the recent Act are strictly observed, so that these institutions shall not be injuriously affected by the scheme of the new senate; whilst the Presbyterians more especially will be also interested in the regulations imposed on matriculated students and attached to examinations for a degree. It may, however, be assumed that a scheme carefully adapted to the circumstances of the case, in strict conformity with the pledges of the Government, and with the spirit as well as the letter of the Act, will be accepted cordially alike by Irish Churchmen and Presbyterians; but they will do well to be on their guard against the introduction of any regulations or customs, within their own control, in their respective educational systems, which may countenance the idea of exclusiveness either in Dublin or Belfast; and so afford room for a plea that the Roman Catholic authorities ought to be paramount and absolute at Cork and Galway.

How the Roman Catholics will accept such a scheme, which, though it may exceed their expectation, must come short of their desires, is doubtful. It would appear that the policy of support-

ing the University Bill in the House of Commons was not generally approved by the Irish Roman Catholic members, and of course it is possible that its opponents may gain the ascendant, and that the old hostility towards the Queen's University may be displayed towards the new institution. We incline to think the new policy will prevail for some time;—i.e., the policy of "take and agitate." So long as the Conservatives remain in office we may expect and must be prepared for an active and wearisome hostility, which will be manifested on all occasions and not least in small worries and petty obstruction, which also may not be without some danger to a thorough-going Protestant policy. But the great danger is that the Liberals, whenever they accede to power, will find that their majority is not sufficient to set the Irish party at defiance, and that a concordat with them is inevitable. It may be, this hope will for the present sustain and restrain the Roman Catholic leaders. Meanwhile it is probable that the question concerning results fees will give rise to a most severe struggle in the House of Commons. Strictly speaking, any money payment obtained by a student on examination, as a consequence of passing a certain standard, ought to be classed under the head of payment for results; but in the common acceptation of the phrase, the accent is generally laid on the second word, and it is the fee to the teacher, dependent on the result of examination, that is regarded, rather than any payment to the pupil. Such fees, though they may be awarded in respect of secular education only, unless they are associated with a conscience clause and a right of inspection to secure its observance, do certainly, though indirectly, constitute a conditional endowment by the State of the denominational institution which receives them. The ministers of the Crown are pledged to oppose this species of endowment, and, were they disposed weakly to yield the point, so strong is the feeling entertained by many Conservatives on the subject, that the concession would undoubtedly break up the party.

In maintaining their opposition to any such proposals it is to be hoped the Government will receive the support, not only of the members of their own political party, but of all classes of Protestants throughout the United Kingdom. It will be well for all parties that it should be widely known that this will be the case. There ought to be no doubt as to the action of the Protestant party in the country on this question. Our opponents will be united. We also ought to be united not only in our principles but in policy and in action.

With the Church of Rome, as an ecclesiastical institution, we can have no sympathy; to it, as a political party, we can make no further concessions. We are united in condemning its theology as dishonouring to the Lord Jesus Christ, the One

Mediator between God and man, and as most injurious to the human soul by the substitution of the traditions of men for the Word of God. We are united in opposing its political influence as fatal to freedom and national progress, because its principles keep men in leading strings, forbid them to think for themselves, and accustom them to lean on the judgment and direction of another. Can we entertain any doubt that where this ecclesiastical institution is allowed, in political and social affairs, free scope of action, it must prove a decided enemy of sound and liberal education? At the same time, are we not constrained to admit that history recounts numerous instances in which the men have been better than the system, and have risen far above it? Yet there are Protestants who entertain a belief that the system itself has undergone an essential change, and is no longer to be feared; and there are others who so dread the system that they would give the men no quarter. Our duty seems to lie between these two extremes. As haters of ecclesiastical despotism, and lovers of personal freedom, we are surely bound to draw a distinction between the men and the system, and to award to each the treatment which our principles enjoin upon us. We may, and do differ amongst ourselves as to the advantages of ecclesiastical establishments and the evils of purely secular education, but in this thing we ought to be agreed; that we will gladly extend to Roman Catholics, as to other classes of the Queen's subjects, the benefits of a sound education, by removing any hinderances thereto which do not involve a question of principle; yet whilst we desire to respect the freedom of individual men to teach and to learn, in subjection to the law of the land, according to the dictates of their own consciences, we will not, under the pretence of encouraging higher education in Ireland, devote public money, directly or indirectly, to the endowment of an institution which experience has proved to be a most bitter enemy of intellectual progress.

JAMES MADEN HOLT.

ART. III.—THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT. THE TURN OF THE TIDE.

This great battle for temperance, with its manifold organisations, its prodigious activities, its pardonable exaggerations, its sometimes morose and brusque asperities, and its unavoidable mistakes, is, perhaps, at the present time on the watershed of its career.—THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

THE cause of Temperance is in a very different position now to what it was twenty years ago. The stream of Intemperance was then rolling its polluted waters along, with scarcely any