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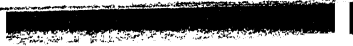
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THE FIRST BISHOP OF TORONTO :

A REVIEW AND A STUDY.

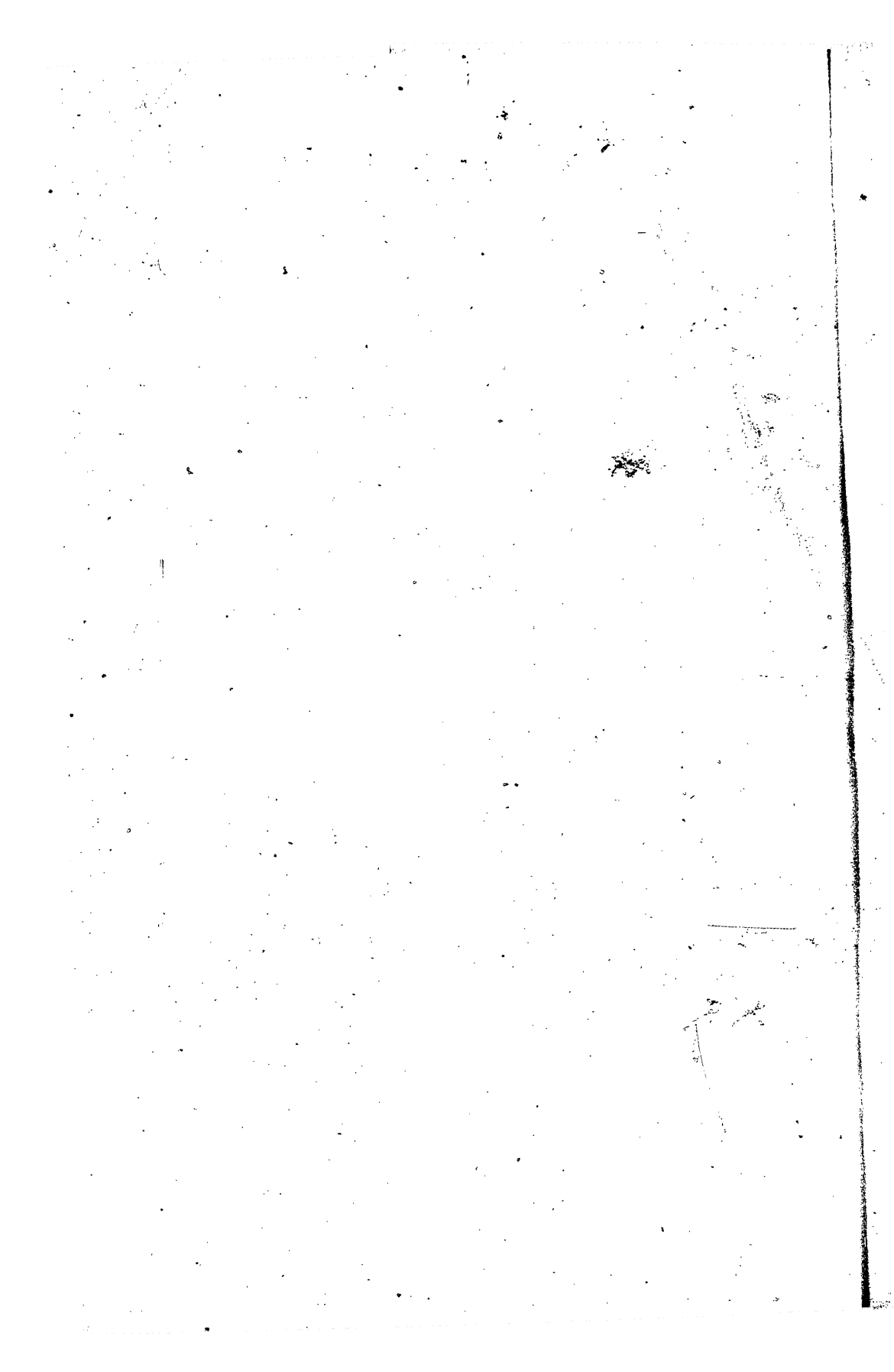
BY

HENRY SCADDING, D.D., CANTAB.

TORONTO :

W. C. CHEWETT & CO., KING STREET EAST.

1868.



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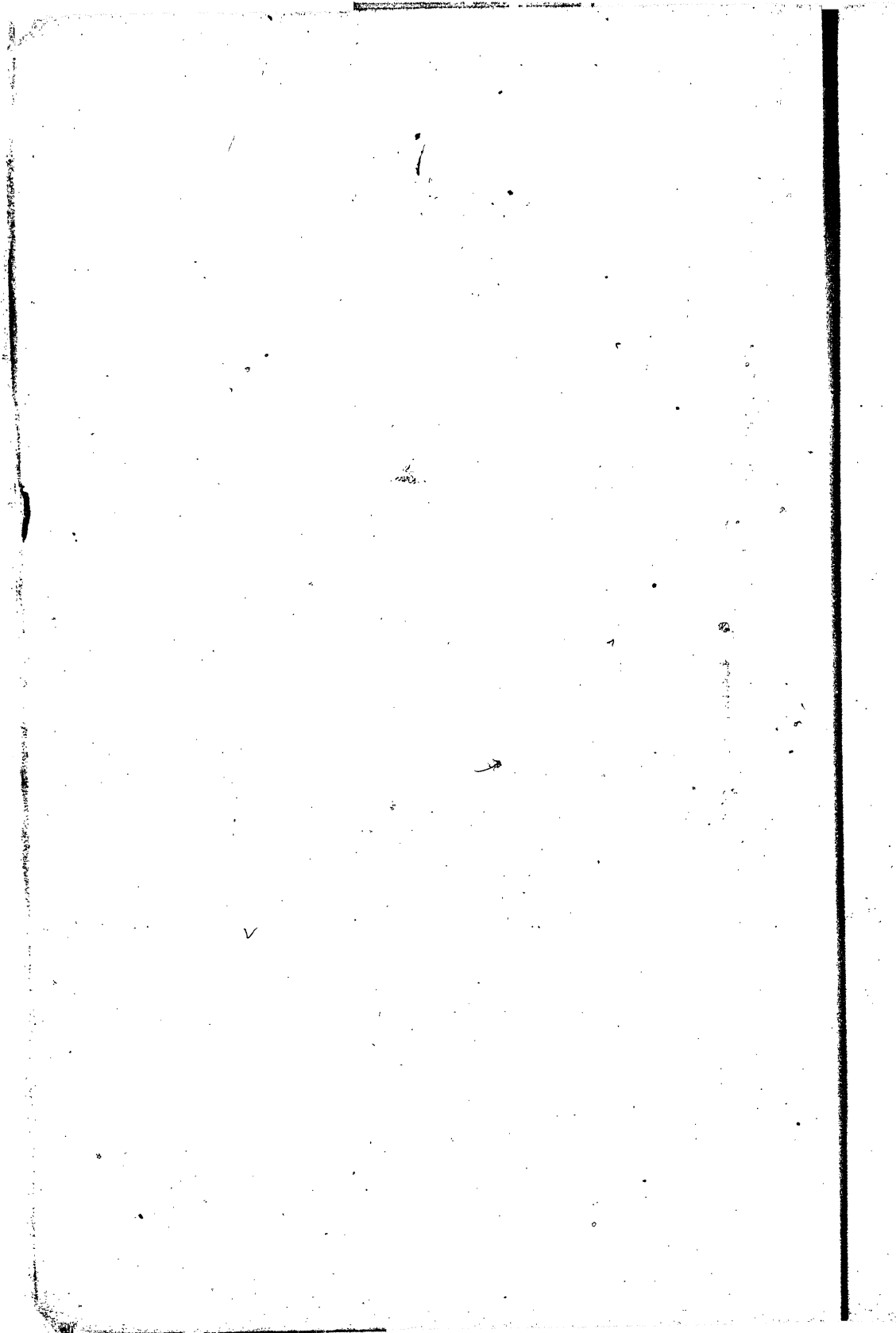
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WITH REAL RESPECT
TO
THE RIGHT REV. ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE, D.D.,
BISHOP OF WESTERN NEW YORK,
WHO, IN HIS "CRITERION," HAS MARKED OUT AFRESH,
SHARPLY AND FIRMLY,
FOR THE EXISTING GENERATION,
THE LINE WHICH, WITH THE WELL-INSTRUCTED AND DISCERNING,
DIVIDES TRUTH FROM ERROR IN ECCLESIASTICAL QUESTIONS;
WHO, IN THE ACCOMPANYING PORTRAITURE,
WILL RECOGNIZE ONE THAT, AGAIN AND AGAIN,
FOR THE PEOPLE COMMITTED TO HIS SPIRITUAL OVERSIGHT,
VIRTUALLY PERFORMED THE SAME OFFICE,
ILLUSTRATING HIS WORDS OF WISE COUNSEL
BY THE CONSISTENT PRACTICE OF A LONG LIFE,
AND (LIKE A DELANCEY, LAMENTED AND BELOVED
ON BOTH SIDES OF THE UPPER WATERS OF THE ST. LAWRENCE)
PROVING HIMSELF TO BE ONE OF THE NOT MANY FATHERS
WHOM CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES ARE PERMITTED TO HAVE,
AND WHOSE MEMORY THEY HAVE LEARNED TO HOLD
IN ESPECIAL HONOUR.

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PREFACE.

Having been physically unable at the time of the decease of the late venerated Bishop of Toronto to do honour to his memory in my place, and in the usual way, I have ventured to throw such thoughts as have occurred to me in connexion with that event into the shape of a historical Review and Study, which I here present to the reader in independent pamphlet form, there being amongst us no Periodical suited to receive papers of this description.

H. S.

10 TRINITY SQUARE, TORONTO,

Jan. 28, 1868.

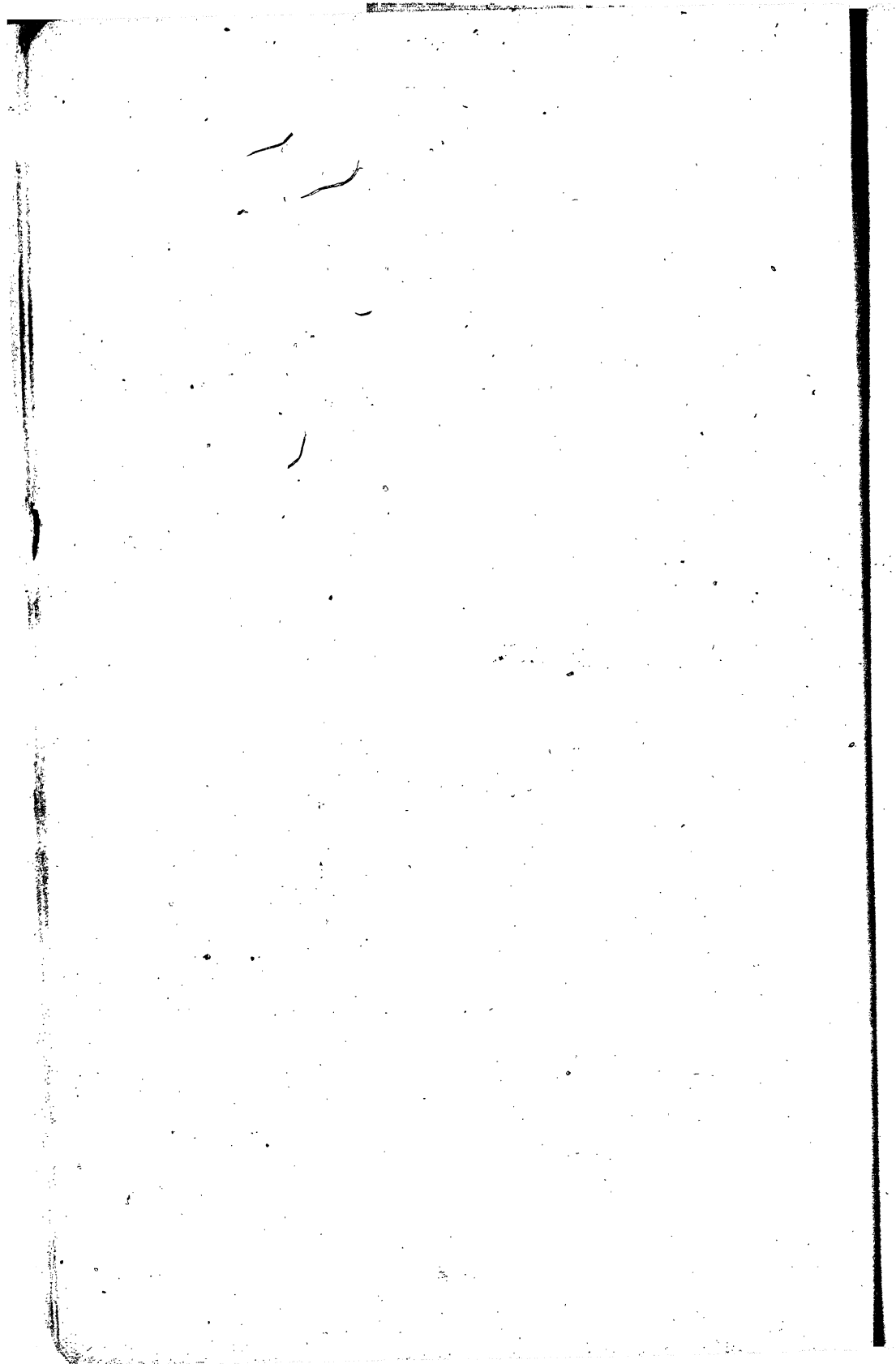
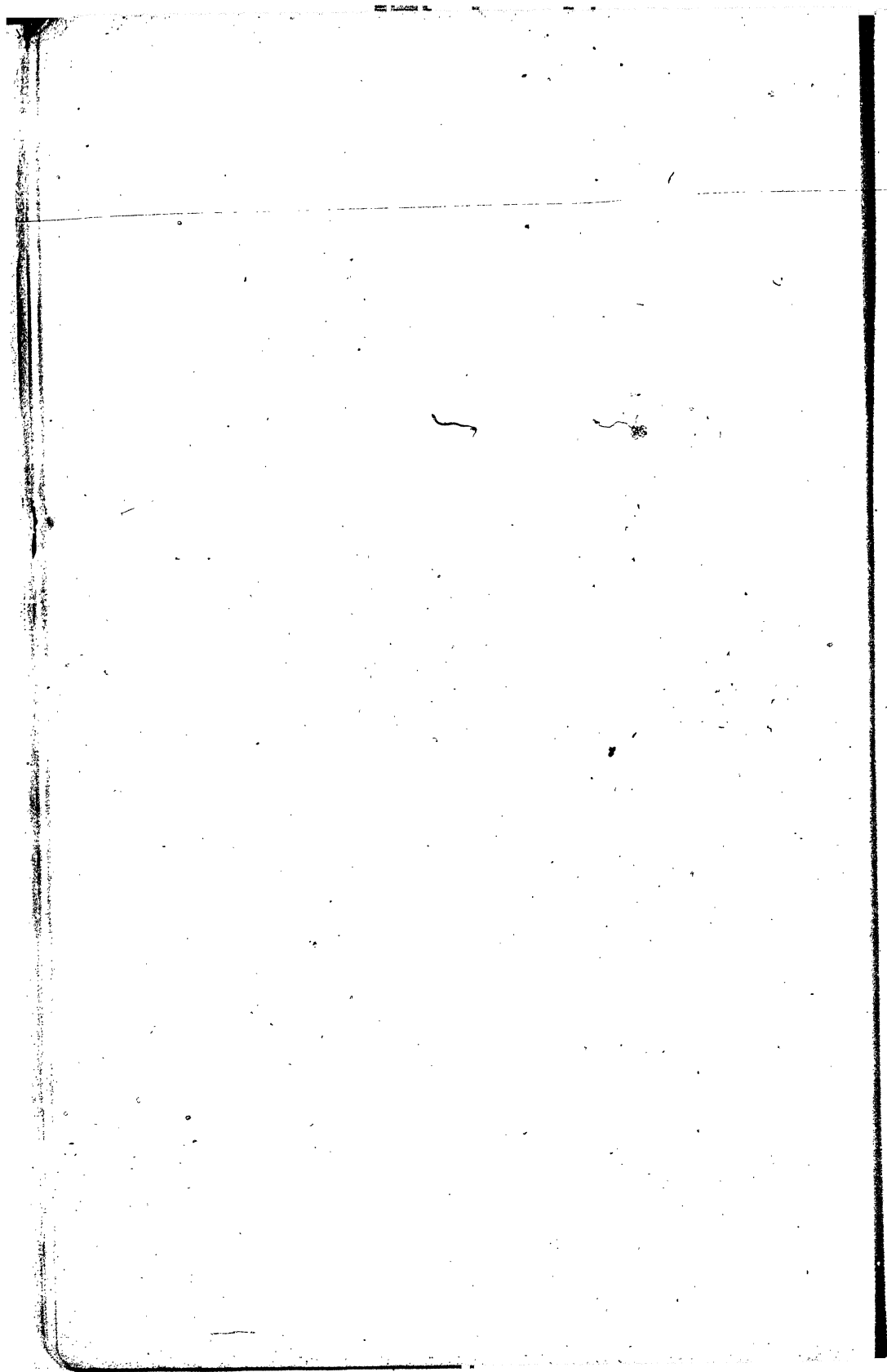


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THE FIRST BISHOP OF TORONTO.

—♦—
A REVIEW AND A STUDY.*
—♦—

Modern historians have discovered the utility of the chance literature of particular periods. The freshness and life which constitute the charm of Macaulay and Froude, as distinguished from their predecessors, arise in a great degree from their not having disdained the pamphlets and popular literature, the autobiographies, diaries, private correspondence and floating discourse of the times in which their heroes and heroines lived. The graphic touches which render so fascinating their word-portraits of William and Mary, for example, of Mary Tudor, Mary Stuart, and of Elizabeth, with the dramatis personæ attendant upon each, have been derived from sources such as these.

In the United States, the fugitive productions, political and literary, of the Colonial period, are eagerly sought after as materials for history; and, in many cases, have been reprinted under the auspices of societies expressly formed for the preservation of such papers. Almost every State and large town has a collection of local documents, possessing at once a sort of family interest, and occasionally considerable importance in relation to public affairs. The vast chaos of printed matter every year accumulating in London, from the sale and dispersion of libraries in England, Scotland and Ireland, is annually ransacked for American pamphlets, which are set apart by dealers in books as having a special value for the United States market.

In Canada a similar minute interest in the past is felt. It

**Christian Recorder*, Vols. I. & II. 8vo. York: Printed at the *U. C. Gazette* Office; 1819, 1820.

has been long strongly manifest among the educated Lower Canadian French. It has extended itself to the descendants of other nationalities. In both divisions of the late Province of Canada, Historical Societies have been instituted. The Government of Canada has authorized from time to time the collection of historical documents in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe, and the results in manuscript and otherwise are preserved for the use of persons interested in such matters, in the parliamentary libraries at Ottawa, Quebec and Toronto.

In the Eastern division of Canada the local materials for the historian are more abundant than in the Western. Tracts, magazines and newspapers have all along there been preserved with some care and interest. In Western Canada, when wishing to verify a fact or a date, it is curious to discover how all but impossible it is to find files of the Papers of thirty or forty years since, or sets of the periodicals that from time to time have had a brief existence. It is thus by no means easy to recover minute particulars in relation to events, discussions and persons, that at particular times made a considerable noise. The difficulty is, in some instances, perhaps a happy one. But for the future, the existence of libraries, public and private, where the productions of the local press are deposited and valued, will render impossible a dearth of historical data.

We are so fortunate as to have at hand a collection of early Canadian works; and among them, a copy of *The Christian Recorder*, a magazine printed partly at Kingston and partly at York, in 1819 and 1820. The numbers issued at Kingston were printed at the *Chronicle* office, by S. Miles; those appearing at York were printed at the *Upper Canada Gazette* office, "for the Editor and R. C. Horne." After two years, the periodical ceased to exist. The volumes consist respectively of 482 and 448 pages. The size is large octavo; the type is a bold pica, the lines running across the whole page; the paper is stout, and the ink remarkably good. At the end of each number, a portion of the matter is in double columns, and in smaller type.

These volumes possess an interest, as having been edited and in great part written by the late Bishop of Toronto, while a

presbyter doing duty at York. They treat of matters connected principally with the Anglican Church in Great Britain and Ireland and Canada, and other dependencies of the Empire.

Had the *Christian Recorder* chanced to have been a general magazine, like the old standard periodicals of the last century, the value of the work would have been greater as a source of minute information, in relation to the civil and domestic history of Canada during the brief term of its existence. As it is, the work is chiefly to be prized as furnishing an insight into the early opinions and views of one who became locally very eminent. It will be of some public interest, probably, to mention that heavy mourning lines surround all the pages of the number for September, 1819, out of respect to the memory of the Governor-in-Chief, the Duke of Richmond, then recently deceased. In the same number is a funeral oration on the occasion of the death of that personage. The number for March, 1820, is draped in like manner for George III., and contains also a funeral oration on the death of that monarch. In the first volume there is a memoir of the Indian chief, Joseph Brant; and in the second volume, a discourse by Samuel Farmer Jarvis, on the Religion of the Indians of North America, delivered before the New York Historical Society. There are papers also on the History and State of Education in Upper and Lower Canada.

We intend to make our notice of this early production of the Upper Canadian press the occasion of a rapid review of the public life and times of the first Bishop of Toronto, delineating his career and recording its results with as much brevity as shall be possible. The history of Dr. Strachan will hereafter form a portion of the history of Canada in general, and of the Anglican Church in Canada in particular. Meanwhile, a review of the kind we have proposed will not be unacceptable to the reader of to-day, who, while absorbed, along with his contemporaries, in things of immediate moment, is apt to remain ignorant of matters that stirred the hearts of the generation passing away, however necessary, in some instances, a knowledge of those matters may be to a right understanding of the existing situation of affairs.

The question of Public Education in Upper Canada was the remote occasion of Mr. Strachan's emigration from Scotland.

Among the wealthier families of Western Canada, the necessity began soon to be felt of securing for their growing sons the intellectual and moral training customary in old countries. In the polity designed for the recently organized Province of Upper Canada, a University was from the beginning included. It was, of course, long before the means and numbers of a young community justified the actual commencement of such an institution; but its existence in the future was kept in view.

About the year 1798 or 1799, certain families in Kingston and the neighbourhood appear to have resolved on opening a correspondence with friends in Scotland, with a view of obtaining from them a tutor for their sons, alluding at the same time to the wider and higher sphere which in due time might be open to the person sent out, so soon as the country should be ripe for a High School or University.

The families referred to—Hamiltons, Stuarts and Cartwrights—when casting about for the education of their sons, appear to have looked towards Scotland rather than England, partly perhaps from national predilection, and partly from a reasonable impression that the economic and primitive University system of Scotland was better adapted to a community constituted as that of Upper Canada then was, than the more costly and more complicated systems of Oxford and Cambridge.

The first Governor of Upper Canada, in a letter to the Bishop of Quebec in 1795, had given it as his opinion, that "the clergy requisite for offices in the University in the first instance, should be Englishmen, if possible;" which was also the opinion, he adds, of Mr. Secretary Dundas. But at the same time he cautiously refers to "the habits and manners of the American settlers;" and expresses his apprehensions in respect to the adaptedness to the community of Upper Canada of "clergymen educated in England, with English families and propensities, habituated in every situation to a greater degree of refinement and comfort than can be found in a new country, or possibly anywhere without the precincts of Great Britain." And in regard to the bishopric which he desired to see at once

established at his seat of Government, he had strongly recommended the consecration of a presbyter long familiar with the New England colonies, a Mr. Peters, as likely to be more acceptable and useful in a new community, than one wholly unused to a population such as that of Upper Canada was expected to be. In the case of Nova Scotia, a clergyman, Dr. Inglis, trained in the colonial service, had already been appointed bishop. In looking to Scotland, then, rather than to England, for an instructor for their sons, the families at Kingston, in 1799, may have been moved also by some of the general convictions which were evidently strong in the mind of the first Governor of Upper Canada.

The educational opening in Canada was duly made known to several young Scottish scholars just starting in life. The one, amongst them, that at length decided to accept, courageously venturing to try his future in the distant and wholly new field of action, was Mr. John Strachan, master at the time, of the Parochial school of Kettle in the county of Fife, and of the age of about nineteen years. *

On the last day of the year 1799, he reached Kingston, having sailed from Greenock at the close of the preceding August.

The work of private tuition was immediately begun. The prospect of employment in connection with a government scheme of education, was found to be more remote than had been imagined.

Public Instruction was to be maintained by the proceeds of crown lands; but these were as yet in a state of nature. Some years must elapse before revenues could accrue from that quarter.

Notwithstanding a momentary disappointment, the resolution was formed to test the new conditions into which his emigration had brought him. It would naturally strike him that the experienced friends by whom he was surrounded, had not themselves decided, without good reasons, on identifying their fortunes with those of the newly organized community of Upper Canada. He would not be long in discovering that they had sketched out a future for themselves and their children. The minute information gathered from them, would furnish plentiful materials for decision in regard to his own case.

It is little to be wondered at, that at the time now spoken of, Mr. Strachan, as a young man educated and trained in Scotland, did not consider himself, in any very strict sense, a member of the Anglican communion. It appears that his parents were of different persuasions. His father belonged to the Non-jurants, that is, to the adherents of that succession of bishops who continued to refuse the oaths of allegiance to the House of Brunswick. Of these, Jacobites as they were termed politically, the stronghold in the Lowlands was Aberdeen, where Mr. Strachan was born. His mother belonged to the Relief Kirk, a communion resembling the modern Free Kirk and based on the rejection of lay-patronage. It is now merged in the United Presbyterian body. He was familiarized in his childhood with the Episcopal forms of worship, by frequently attending, in company with his father, the ministrations of Bishop Skinner of Aberdeen, the Primus of Scotland from 1789 to 1816; but on being deprived of his father, while still quite young, he was afterwards usually taken to the religious services preferred by his mother. But while thus grounded in the principles of the Christian faith, the historic question in relation to the Christian church had not, in any practical way, been brought before him, up to the time of his emigration.

At Kingston he is brought into intimate relations with the Rev. Dr. Stuart, who, although now the official representative of the Anglican Church in that place and bishop's commissary for Upper Canada, was himself the son of a Scottish presbyterian. Dr. Stuart had migrated to Canada from Virginia, and was one of the large group of persons who in the United States and Canada have deemed it a duty for reasons satisfactory to their intelligence, to leave the religious communion in which they were born, and unite themselves, some as clergy, some as laity, to the Anglican communion—a result promoted, independently of the historic argument, by the fact that the offshoots of the Anglican Church in the dependencies of the Empire are necessarily divested of the secular trappings which are urged as grounds of separation in the mother-country.

Doubtless the influence of the Rev. Dr. Stuart with the newly-arrived young Scot, and probably his example also, had much

weight; and we speedily find a resolution formed on the part of Mr. Strachan to take orders in the Anglican Church.

After fulfilling a three years' engagement as preceptor at Kingston, and going at the same time through a course of theological reading, he is accordingly ordained in the year 1803, a deacon, and in the following year, a presbyter, in the Anglican church, by Dr. Mountain, the then bishop of Quebec.

His mission was Cornwall; but he continued to unite with the clerical profession, the office likewise of an instructor of youth in general learning.

We thus see him fairly started in the double career, in both lines of which he was afterwards to be conspicuous. In accordance with a natural law; the strong aptitudes that were in him had sought a place for development, and now in some sort, an approximation to a such place was found. While there is in such cases of course no special forecast of the forms in which the future is to be worked out, there is a powerful consciousness of sure rewards in some shape for vigilance and a strong will. Among the earliest determinations of the future bishop, we happen to know, there was one to be found ever with the foremost in whatever profession he should adopt. This amount of clear purpose at all events on his part, we have learned from one to whom as an incentive to exertion in his youth, the avowal was made by the bishop himself.—Heedfully and successfully, through every phase of his eventful history—

“He heard the constant Voice its charge repeat
Which out of his young heart's oracular seat
First roused him.”

Men bearing the good lowland name of Strachan, had already been distinguished in ecclesiastical annals; and they were all very staunch non-jurants. From 1662 to 1671, Dr. David Strachan was bishop of Brechin. In 1689, Dr. John Strachan was deprived of the incumbency of the Tron church in Edinburgh, for not reading on the day appointed a proclamation from the Estates of Scotland “certifying the lieges that none presume to own or acknowledge the late King James VII. for their King, nor obey, accept or assist any commissions or or-

ders that may be emitted by him ; and that none presume, upon their highest peril, by word, writing, or sermons, or any other manner of way, to impugn or disown the royal authority of William and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland.”—*Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland*, iii. 408. And in 1690, he is deprived of his theological professorship in the University of Edinburgh, for refusing the following test: “I, A. B., do in the sincerity of my heart acknowledge and declare that their majesties, William and Queen Mary are the only lawful and undoubted sovereigns, King and Queen of Scotland, as well *de jure* as *de facto*,” &c. That the refusal of this test might not be understood in any doubtful manner, the inquisitors who administered it had taken the precaution to allege of the same Dr. John Strachan “that in a sermon before the diocesan synod he recommended a reconciliation with the Church of Rome; that he was an Arminian, a Pelagian, and innovated the worship of God in setting up the English service,” &c. Again, in 1787, “the clergy of the bishopric of Brechin elected Dr. Abernethy Drummond, one of the clergy of Edinburgh, to be their bishop; and at the same time they elected Mr. John Strachan, priest, at Dundee, to be his coadjutor in that bishopric.”—*Stephen*, iv. 411. This bishop Strachan, who survived until 1810, consented, with the rest of his brethren, to read the prayer for King George III., when the death of the Pretender was announced. “Well do I remember,” says an old Jacobite of that time, “the day on which the name of George was mentioned in the morning service for the first time. Such blowing of noses, such significant hums, such half-suppressed sighs, such smothered groans and universal confusion, can hardly be conceived.”—*Stephen*, iv. 414.

But of all who, in the ecclesiastical annals, have won honour for the name of Strachan, it happened that there was no one destined to higher distinction than he whom we have just seen beginning a career in Canada, at the opening of the present century. It was during Dr. Strachan's ten years' residence in Cornwall, and his thirteen years' continuance in the same united occupations subsequently at York, that many of the young men of Canada, who became afterwards distinguished

in life, received under his direction their early training. The phalanx of warm friends who in later days stood so staunchly by him, was recruited in great measure out of these grateful pupils.

The theological views to which, as a young student at Kingston, he had been led, may be described in general terms as those of the Bishop Hobart school in the United States; views reflecting, in the main, the principles of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Among English divines, Bishop Jeremy Taylor perhaps (provided the *Liberty of Prophesying* be not excluded) may be taken as an exponent of them. But in no portion of his teaching, throughout the whole of his career, is there any trace of Leaderism, that bane of theology, which renders the voice of every modern school more or less hollow and unreal. In the great Oxford movement, he instantly discerned the gold from the dross, the truthful from the fantastic. Newman, whom he had personally known, was, on his defection, to him "as a stone cast into the sea"—to use an expression of his own in relation to that occurrence.

The general contents of the *Christian Recorder* are an index to the topics that had engaged the mind of its editor. In vol. I. we have discussions on Amusements of the Clergy; British Islands, first introduction of Gospel into; History and present state of Religion in Canada; "Catholic" wrongly used; on the Uses of Learning in Religion; a Series, entitled, "The Confessor," in which difficulties are proposed by correspondents and solved; Family Worship; Dr. Chalmers on Universal Peace; Bible and Prayer-Book Society; History of Benevolent Societies; on Forms of Prayer, &c. In vol. II., Laud's Speech on the Scaffold; Infant Baptism; Analysis of Bishop Bull's Sermons; Writings of the Fathers; on Groaning in Churches; Horsley on the Sabbath; Southey's Life of Wesley; Moral Philosophy and Christian Revelation; Duties of Parish Priest; Last hours of Melancthon; Regeneration; Religious Establishments; Waterland's Sermons; Barrow's Sermons; Frequent Communion, &c.

The passages which we are about to give at length are selected as being illustrative of the opinions held by the editor on the

subject of the Anglican Church in the year 1820. *Qualis ab incepto* the reader of to-day will be inclined to append to the well-known *Caveo sed non timeo*—"Fearless but Prudent"—of his seal, a legend never borne with greater fitness by any possessor of his name.

"It is from not attending to the relation of the several dispensations of religion to each other, and to the sense of the phrases which have been brought from the synagogue into the Church, that we are now disturbed by useless if not pernicious controversies concerning original sin, regeneration, conversion, election, justification and the perseverance of the saints; and until the disputants shall agree to trace the great progressive scheme of revelation from its commencement, it will be impossible to put an end to these controversies."—Vol. ii. 410.

"The sectaries of former times and of the present day are astonished and indignant that our English Reformers did not see the Truth immediately as they see it now, and they lament they ultimately stopped short of the point which they have attained, and that they have retained any portion, however purified, of the ancient system. Now, we consider the gradual progress of the Reformation in England, as a fact of the utmost possible importance to the Church of Christ at large. Nothing was done rashly; not a step was taken without sufficient grounds; and the progress of change so natural to the human mind in such circumstances, and so unlimited and momentous in its possible consequences, was happily checked at that point which has rendered the Church of England the bulwark of the Reformation, as opposed to the superstitions of Rome on the one hand, and to the heresies of many reformed churches and sects on the other; a point so happily fixed, both as to faith and discipline, as to render it ultimately perhaps a rallying ground to those who now on either side most vigorously assail it."—Vol. ii. 412.

At page 82 of the same volume is a striking reference to the Scottish Episcopal Church, showing the deep impression which a study of its case and position had made. "It is a matter of surprise," he says, "to those who are acquainted with the purity and simplicity of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, and

the many intrepid examples of patience, of perseverance and piety which she has exhibited, that more notice is not taken of her in the religious publications of the day, and that while the obscurest of sects are held up to public attention, and very ordinary characters dragged from their privacy and decked with the trappings of a partial biography and held up to admiration, the primitive models of Christian simplicity, self-denial and devotion afforded by this branch of the Catholic Church, are passed over without notice or regard. * * *. It is of great importance to the cause of Episcopacy to behold a society of well-informed Christians adhering to its principles, under circumstances peculiarly disadvantageous, from a deep conviction of their truth. Such a spectacle puts to confusion the assertions of those who have said that this mode of Christian worship could not exist separate from pomp and power, and manifestly proves that, without external dignity, splendor or even protection, it preserves beyond all others its primitive purity, and continues from age to age, without any variation, to keep its adherents fixed in the truth as it was delivered to the saints. In such a state of things, the clergy can have no secular views in entering into its ministry; for their salaries are by no means adequate to their comfortable subsistence: it can therefore only be a desire to be useful, proceeding from the most disinterested motives, that could induce men of learning and talents to devote themselves in such a church to the service of the sanctuary. Let those who pretend that the sister church established in England, so interesting to its friends and so important to the constitution, derives her chief support from her connexion with the state, her legal support, her dignity and splendour; look to Scotland, where the same church, deprived of all those advantages, maintains in everything the same principles, and is held together by the force of opinion, and preserved, though in a state of humiliation, by a strong and uniform consent in the doctrine and discipline of the primitive Church. In the Episcopal Church of Scotland we behold that of England divested of everything foreign and adventitious, as a society entirely spiritual, and yet maintaining the same constitution, the same worship, faith and discipline, not by

the sanction of laws, statutes and acts of parliament, but by motives of conscience, and by sanctions which are considered as divine."

In the Farewell Address to the reader in Vol. II., are some very characteristic passages. Their tone, it will be observed, combining charity and dogma, was calculated to impress if not to conciliate. "The Christian Recorder has treated with kindness and respect all denominations of Christians; but in doing this, the editor has neither compromised nor concealed his own opinions on any subject he was called upon to discuss; and if he has occasionally indulged in encomiums of that Church to which he belongs and to which he is firmly attached by reason and affection, it arises from a deep conviction that she is the only Church that unites in herself the true requisites for propagating the Gospel and retaining it pure when once established. * * * Wherever any feeling prevails against the Church of England it proceeds from ignorance; for were the most violent of her opponents to examine with impartiality her Articles of Faith, her order and discipline, and to read with candour her admirable liturgy,—if he did not feel himself constrained to join her communion, he would be at least convinced that she possesses all the marks of a true Church, and that to be conscientiously united with her, is to be in the way of salvation. In most places of worship out of this Church the congregations are hearers only; the members of them, properly speaking, cannot be said to offer up any religious worship for themselves. The one mind and the one mouth with which Christians are directed by the Apostle to glorify God being in this case, generally speaking, the mind and mouth of the officiating minister, not, as it ought to be, the one mind and one mouth of the congregation assembled."

At p. 355, Vol. I., there is a characteristic remark on the policy of Wesley. Wesley had admonished some of his followers at Brentford that from the hour they took up a position antagonistic to the mother-church "they would see his face no more." "It is to be remembered," the editor of the *Christian Recorder* remarks, "that though he resisted in this particular instance and though he said the practice was inexpedient, and

even unlawful, he was yet constrained to yield when the congregation proved obstinate. His consummate skill in government told him how far he might go; and when courage and decision would no longer avail he always secured a safe retreat."

The system pursued in the School at Cornwall, and afterwards at York, exhibited features that would have gratified the advanced educationists of the present age. In that system the practical and the useful were by no means sacrificed to the ornamental and theoretical or the merely conventional. Things were regarded as well as words. In respect to the latter, we have taken the trouble to look lately into our copy of Ruddiman's *Budiments of the Latin Tongue*. It is a relic of youthful days, bearing the marks of our own devotion to its contents which yet occupying a seat on the benches of the School at York; and we are glad to acknowledge what a good and sensible book of its kind it is: superior in a rational point of view to the Eton manual, unannotated and unimproved, which afterwards took its place. Through the medium of this Ruddiman we received our first initiation into the Latin tongue, giving to vowels and diphthongs a fine North British breadth and depth, unconsciously reproducing tones and sounds familiar probably to Rhaetian or Oscan of old—

"Mouthing out-hollow oes and aes—
Deep-chested music."

Well do we remember the day of our enrolment; and hearing on that occasion one, afterwards a friend during many years, but now departed, repeating with great earnestness to himself again and again some mystic statement about *filia, nata, dea, anima*, making *abus* in the plural. Then in regard to things—the science of common objects—we doubt if in the most complete of our modern schools there was ever awakened a greater interest or intelligence in relation to such matters. Who that had once participated in the excitement of the Natural History class, ever forgot it? Or in that of the Historical and Geographical exercises? We venture to think that in many an instance, the fullest experiences of after life in travel or otherwise had often their associations with ideas

awakened then ; and often compared, satisfactorily and pleasantly, with the pictures of places, animals and persons given rudely it may be, but effectively, in text-books, ransacked and conned in a fervour of emulation, then. The manner of study in these subjects was this : each lad was required to prepare a set of questions, to be put by himself to his fellows in the class. If a reply was not forthcoming, and the information furnished by the questioner was judged correct, the latter "went up," and took the place of the other. This process, besides being instructive and stimulating to the pupils, possessed the advantage of being, as it often proved, highly diverting to the teacher. In an address delivered by the editor of the *Christian Recorder* at a distribution of rewards in his Sunday school, we have a similar process recommended for adoption in institutions of that description. We give first his remarks on the advantages of the catechetical system : "The method of instruction by question and answer possesses many advantages over any other, and is not only the shortest and simplest, but the most satisfactory. In preaching, for example, the speaker proceeds with his discourse without the certainty that he is followed by his audience ; but in catechising, the deficiencies of each scholar soon become manifest, and the teacher knows to what particular points he must direct his explanations. There is no time for inattention or wandering ; the question and necessity of reply, compel attention and recollection. The children, if the teacher proceed with a conciliatory firmness, acquire a lively interest in the lesson, for each is particularly addressed and brought forward into action."—Vol. i. p. 182.

We next give the editor's method in the management of his Sunday school, with a vigorous sketch, which, changing the scene, describes equally well his pupils engaged on secular subjects. "The boys' class" the editor says, "have four questions to answer in writing every Sunday morning. After the names of the class are called, and those absent marked, each produces his paper of questions. The answers are carefully examined, and likewise the writing and spelling, and the best goes to the head of the class, and all take their places according to their merit. Permission is then given to ask questions formed out

of the four questions which they have already answered on paper, or out of subjects connected with them. Questions may likewise be asked about the sermon, the text, the lessons and gospel of the day, the collect, and every part of the preceding service. Now begins the anxiety, the mental exertion, the continued attention, the rapidity of answer, and acuteness of distinction; but it is impossible to describe the full effect of such an examination without beholding it."—*Ibid.* p. 183.

Then there were the ever-memorable "Parliamentary debates." The leading speeches of the great statesmen of England on special questions were learned, and delivered memoriter in proper order. Both sides in the discussion of interesting subjects in politics became thus to some extent familiar. The speakers on the occasion of "debates" were seated on benches set out for the purpose opposite to each other. It was with scenes such as these that the first mention of the historic names of Pitt, Fox, Pulteney, Wyndham, Lyttelton, Walpole (Sir Robert and Horace) was associated in the minds of many of the public men of Upper Canada. These debates, too, formed a part of the grand demonstration on prize-days, before the summer-vacation. A drama, generally one of Hannah More's, used also to be given on those days. Not a little were we ourselves elated at being assigned, on one of these occasions, a part in Milman's *Martyr of Antioch*—at the time a recent publication.

In recording these personal reminiscences here, we depart a little from our plan. But having referred to them, we venture to add one or two more of a kindred nature. A vivid recollection still exists of the salutary awe inspired by the approach even at a distance, of the never-to-be-forgotten head-master. In our time it was the practice of the assistant master, Rosington Elms, or whoever else it might be, to open the school at nine. Then at about ten a look-out was established in a south westerly direction towards a certain corner in the distance, round which in his daily walk from his residence on Front Street the well-known figure of the master would appear, distinguished then, as for nearly half a century later, by the antique ecclesiastical costume of a past age. A sign would make known the expected

apparition, when a hushed silence would pervade the building, growing in intensity as he himself entered, and continuing unbroken so long as it pleased him to pace the apartment, toying with the gold seals attached to his watch, and indulging in a subdued, continuous whistle, for which he was noted elsewhere also, which seemed to keep time with the motion of some busy thought going on within.

To the close of his long life his great interest in children never flagged. He never let slip an opportunity of having something to say to young people. It was a delight to him to draw them out in some way by a little Socratic chat. Nor in this respect did he confine himself to the young. Character was quickly discerned and enjoyed by him in persons of every age. The originals, male and female, of most of our western towns and villages, and of many an isolated farm-house and country-stopping place, were curiously known to him, and remembered by some noted anecdote or saying of theirs. And many a one among such as were thus remembered, in their turn remembered him also by virtue of some passage of sprightly talk that had happened between them.—After a somewhat cognate sort, a great dog presenting himself anywhere would attract his good-humoured regard; while with visitors to his library in later years, the cat that was usually to be seen coiled on a comfortable fauteuil there, will be as memorable and as suggestive perhaps as Montaigne's.

Dr. Fuller, in some reminiscences in the *Journal of Education* (vol. xx. p. 182), speaks of the regret of the school on the resignation of their distinguished master—an occasion which we ourselves also remember. In his testimony to the impartiality of the regime then closed, the venerable archdeacon does not hesitate to renew the *infandum dolorem* of his own experience. "All knew," he says, "that we would receive perfect justice at his hands; that if we deserved credit and rewards, we would obtain them; and that if we deserved punishment, we would be pretty certain to get it, too."

To the judges and other magnates, all quondam pupils of his, assembled to partake of a dinner given them by him on their presenting to him a costly token of their esteem, the sud-

den address, in the old well known familiar authoritative tone, humorously was—"Boys, take your places!" And in good earnest to the last, many very mature men were regarded by him as boys. A middle-aged divine, rather out in his theology, would often be excused by the considerate observation, "He's a young man: he will get right in time." It was moreover amusing in public assemblies, to remark how venerable personages, lay as well as clerical, bold enough in any other presence, would cower under the rasp of a brief stricture from the chair. His own peculiar history combined with his personal character, secured for him this unquestioning kind of deference. Of course no successor, without similar claims, will ever be in the exercise of an authority as arbitrary as his at certain times seemed to be. His demise, like the *Morte d'Arthur*, was the dissolution of the last link of a new with an old era—of the present with the past—with an ecclesiastical past, at all events, which had begun already to look quaint and antiquated, which in the future will look heroic, perhaps mythic.

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils Himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

In connexion with what has been said of the encouragement given in his educational system to a knowledge of things as well as of words, we may add, that to the last he proved himself one who did not desire to restrict the regards of the studious man to narrow limits. To extreme old age he exhibited a keen interest in all matters of modern invention and science. To the setting in motion of enterprizes likely to give useful employment to large numbers, as also to the re-establishment of Manufactories, when checked by sudden disaster, he was always to be relied on for liberal material aid. His familiar form, full of a vigorous activity, even when somewhat bowed with years, was often to be seen venturing among the bewilderingments of the railway tracks, entering with zest into the movements of the impatient yet tractible machines. Also when buildings on a large scale were going on, or any other considerable engineering operation, he was at some time or another there among the workmen. He had always been in his day a general reader.

We remember once feeling ourselves carried back very far by being referred to the philosophic essays of Helvetius, as containing matter with which reading men might be supposed familiar. In interviews with ourselves, frequent and favourite topics were the matters discussed before the Canadian Institute, the meetings of which, of late years, from the great distance of the Rooms, he regretted his inability to attend. He made it a point, however, even at a late period of his life, to show himself occasionally at public meetings relating to the general interests of the community, claiming to be heard "as an old residenter."

From some remarks of his in the *Christian Recorder*, on a scheme for a University course, we find that he desired the young student in theology to be a lover of general knowledge. "In a large seminary," he says, "these [that is, purely theological studies] may be relieved by turning to the book of nature, and reading the perfections of the Divinity in the beauty and sublimity of His works. For these purposes the young divine may examine the heavenly bodies, their astonishing regularity and order; and, admiring the perfection of astronomy, which, in as far as it regards the solar system, may now be said to be complete, as there is not a single motion that has not been accounted for and found necessary to preserve the wonderful harmony of the whole, he may draw the most comfortable proofs of the wisdom, power and goodness of God. Here, likewise, the student of nature might make himself master of chemistry, of botany and anatomy; all of which he would afterwards find useful in his profession, not only in confirming his faith, but in the variety of illustration which they afford him in preaching to the people."—Vol. i. p. 178.

On the death of Dr. Stuart, at Kingston, in 1812, his son, who had now also become a clergyman of the Church of England, and was stationed at York, succeeded to his father's ministerial charge; and Dr. Strachan removed from Cornwall to assume the post thus vacated. York was then a small wooden town, of 1,400 inhabitants, by some years the junior of Kingston. The latter place had sprung up round the stockade of Cataraqui (a fort begun in 1672, in the time of the

French rule), and at an earlier period had borne the name of the Governor-in-Chief, Frontenac. York had been laid out in 1792, by Governor Simcoe, and had, like New York and Albany, been so called from a Duke of York,—in the present instance from the King's second son, actively engaged at the moment as commander of the British troops on the European continent, in the war against the French Convention.

In his new post an occasion soon occurred that brought out several of the traits of character, which helped throughout his life to render Dr. Strachan a man of mark

The measures of Napoleon, in 1807, for the destruction of the commerce of England, had occasioned, on the part of the British Privy Council, certain retaliatory orders, which affected the shipping of maritime nations, and especially that of the United States, who, consequently, in 1812, agreeably to the subtle calculation of the Emperor, declared war against Great Britain. Canada, although clear of culpability in the premises, was doomed to the devastation and carnage which, in this peculiar mode of settling disputes, are inevitable. Moreover, it was expected on the part of the United States, that the struggle would issue in the loss to Great Britain of the residue of her dominions in Northern America.

The invading force occupied the town of York, and set fire to its public buildings. At this critical moment in the annals of the infant capital, we find Dr. Strachan brought, alike by his office and his personal character, into the exact position of a leading ecclesiastic in one of the cities of Western Europe, at the time of the irruption of the barbarians in the fifth century. He is put forward as a mouth-piece by the poorly defended inhabitants, to plead with the exasperated chief of the enemy in possession; and to his vigorous remonstrances is due the escape of York proper from complete destruction.

To the terrified families of the town and neighbourhood, whose natural guardians were for the most part absent on military duty in various parts of the invaded Province, the undaunted bearing of their chief spiritual pastor was a stay and consolation. Amongst them, and in the hospitals by the

bedside of the sick and wounded, he was ever to be met with, adding words of hopeful cheer to deeds of friendly kindness, although exposed, in the duties which he undertook, to imminent personal risk, from the irresponsible violence of stray soldiers and sailors belonging to the forces of the hostile intruders.

In 1818 he was appointed by the Crown a member of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada. Already, in Lower Canada, the Anglican bishop was, from his office, a member of the Upper House. As occupying, in the capital of the Upper Province, the most conspicuous ecclesiastical position, he was by a kind of analogy held eligible to a seat in the Legislative Council. The appointment of a person in holy orders, under the Episcopal rank, to such a position, would scarcely have happened, had there not been a scarcity of men in the country qualified to fill such a station. The discernment and decision of mind evinced by Dr. Strachan in regard to secular as well as ecclesiastical matters, stamped him as one that might be thus distinguished by the Crown. In England, to this day we see men in holy orders sitting on the magistrate's bench. It is a relic of the policy of by-gone ages, when ecclesiastics were chosen to be keepers of the Great Seal, because they, beyond the generality of their contemporaries, were fitted for the office. The policy of the present day, although it has not yet wholly discarded the usage of the past in this respect, is in its tendency opposed to, and will ultimately exclude such appointments, the reason arising from the paucity of qualified men outside the ecclesiastical ranks, having long since been cancelled by facts.

Up to the time of the reunion of the Canadas, Dr. Strachan took part in the legislation of the Upper Province. During a portion of this period (1818-1841), he was also an Executive Councillor; and upon him, in this capacity, as a confidential adviser of the Crown's representative for the time being, the malcontents sought to fasten, justly or unjustly, the odium of unpopular measures.

It was during this interval that the country was agitated by the Ecclesiastical question; and in addition to that source of disquietude, and wrapped up to some extent in it, there was the Educational question also, which, as the community had now

extended itself, and was becoming more and more mixed in character, excited much discussion.

As years rolled on, both questions assumed shapes that took by surprise those persons who had failed to notice the great social revolutions which had long been in progress in the British Islands ; or who, if they happened to be confronted by the symptoms of such latent changes, had learned to denounce them as wholly deplorable. But all those who had chanced to read aright the lessons of modern English history, discerning, so far as practicable, the providential drift of events, could have had no doubt as to what the issue of the contest in both cases would be, sooner or later.

In order that we may understand the Ecclesiastical and Educational questions as they came to be regarded in the Canadian Provinces, and as they were finally settled, it will be useful to take a review of the origin of both of them.

After a retrospect of this kind, too, we shall be better able to do justice to the champions on the losing as well as the winning side in the contest. To judge fairly of the men of by-gone generations, we ought to place ourselves in their position as nearly as possible, realizing their surroundings as fully as we may ; analyzing the mental atmosphere which they breathed, and the moral sunlight that fell on their spiritual vision, noticing the mediums through which it had previously passed, the refractions, diminutions and colorings which it had consequently undergone. We should then probably discover that our forefathers were logical, even when their calculations proved vain : the fault was in the data which formed the groundwork of their reasonings. It is not improbable that even the present generation will be found to have erred in some of its theoretical hopes. It is well to be reminded by conspicuous examples that we are fallible men, even when exercising the utmost shrewdness and circumspection. Let no man pronounce rashly on the powers of forecast of his predecessors, simply because his knowledge of the event enables him to see that they were mistaken.

We shall glance first at the origin, progress and settlement of the Canadian Ecclesiastical question.

On taking possession of her new domain on the continent of North America, England found, in the parts that had been to some extent reclaimed from the wilderness, a branch of the Church of France established and endowed. Many of the first colonists of these regions having been emigrants from Normandy, Quebec was for a time held to be a trans-marine outpost of the see of Rouen.

In the early Christian times, before the complications of the Roman ecclesiastical system had been introduced, these outlying districts of the Church of France would have been held to pass, on the settlement after the conquest, into the area of the English Church, and to come under the care of its spiritual overseers. Large ecclesiastical districts have thus frequently been transferred and retransferred from one jurisdiction to another, in the fluctuations of kingdoms and empires, it being a principle in the early Christian organization of governments, that civil and ecclesiastical boundaries should coincide.

Hopes, visionary enough as they now seem to us, were entertained in some quarters that the French ecclesiastical establishment in Canada would gradually be transmuted into an English one. To understand the ground of such an expectation, it must be remembered that in the times of Louis XIV., XV., XVI., Gallicanism in France was not the eclipsed and slighted thing which it has since become; that its principles were a part of the public policy, and associated with a sense of the national honour; and that consequently, in Canada also, the same principles would have weight in the minds of the educated and intelligent portion of the population. Anglicanism and Gallicanism, on their political side, were known to be in the main identical. In both, "the king's pleasure," the royal prerogative, was invested with a great sacredness. The royal will, promulgated from London, would gradually obtain an acquiescence as real as that given to the word of the great monarch at Paris.

Mr. Maseres, Attorney-General at Quebec in 1766, believed that immediately after the conquest, the Gallican parishes might have been converted, as vacancies occurred, into Anglican ones, by the induction into the living at the will of the

English King, of Anglican instead of Gallican presbyters. "I really believe," he says in his evidence before the House of Commons in 1774, "if it had been done at first, it might have created some immediate inconvenience; but that would have worn out a long time ago. They are a submissive, quiet people. I believe in many places, if a Protestant minister had been put in upon the vacancy of a priest, a very little pains taken by a Protestant minister would have brought over many to the Protestant religion." — *Cavendish: Debates on the Quebec Bill*, p. 137. With like ease, we may suppose, on the principles of Gallicanism, the see of Quebec, when void, might have been filled up by the appointment of an Anglican bishop.

But the very unsophisticated condition of Canadian society which furnished ground for opinions such as these, soon came to an end. The transfer of civil allegiance had taken place without difficulty; the transfer of spiritual allegiance was a different matter.

At the capitulation of Montreal, in 1760, the free exercise of the "Catholic Apostolic Roman Religion" was guaranteed. In other words, the tenets and practices of the Gallican Church already established in the country were to continue as before, only subject to the supremacy of the English King.

By the year 1774, when the Act for the better government of the Province of Quebec was passed, the idea of superseding Gallican functionaries by Anglicans could no longer be entertained. The Parliament guaranteed afresh the Gallican rights. But it was necessary now to consider the spiritual necessities of colonists of British birth who had begun to take up their abode in Canada. According to this Act, viz., 14 Geo. III. c. 83, the tithe enjoined under the Gallican system was to continue to be paid by all the inhabitants; but it was provided that only the tithes paid by the members of the Gallican communion should go to the support of the Gallican clergy. Out of the rest it would be lawful for "his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to provide for the maintenance and support of a protestant clergy, as from time to time should be necessary and convenient."

To explain this reference to tithes, we must remember that

the feudal system of Europe had been transplanted to French Canada, and with it the institution of tithes for the maintenance of the public functionaries of religion. To continue such an arrangement seemed natural enough to English statesmen in the last century, for tithes were still a part of the English system of government. From the time of the Anglo-Saxon kings, a tenth of the produce of the ground had been set apart for the maintenance of public worship. According to the Anglo-Saxon theory, all the estate of the country was vested in the King. Under him the land was divided amongst a few, who held their possessions subject to conditions. Those who tilled the soil under the great land-owners had simply to discharge that function. In communities thus constituted, it was easy to establish the usage of tithes. All that was required on the part of the class thereby to be provided for, was to convince the kings of a supposed bounden duty. The feat was then achieved.

As long as the feudal system continued, or a system tantamount to it, without challenge from any quarter, such a mode of supporting public religious worship, shared in by all, would be likely to go on without dispute, and with no sense of injustice on the part of any.

But let the system, for some reason, begin to be broken up, and, at the same time, along with the creation of a numerous class of land-owners in fee simple, let there arise, from some cause, individual thinking on religious subjects;—let the plea of authority on such points begin to be questioned,—then we should expect to hear of a demur to tithes. We should expect to hear a demand for a change in their appropriation, if not for their abolition. We should expect, under the supposed altered circumstances, to hear demands of a similar character made in relation to other provisions for public worship, if derived from land. We should expect this, because we can without difficulty conceive of cases where the forced continuance of the feudal use and tradition, would seem a violation of the sense of right which is innate in every man.

It consequently strikes us as singular now, that it was so readily taken for granted that tithes would be a perpetual in-

stitution among the inhabitants of Canada. It is one more evidence to be added to the many observable in the debates on American affairs, of an almost Bourbonic want of political forecast in Parliamentary majorities at the close of the last century. They did not comprehend the times in which they were, or the races at home and abroad for whom they legislated.

In the debates of 1774, no member of the House offered a definition of the term, "protestant clergy." *Hinc prima mali labes*. At that period the religious communities developed and developing from the Anglican Church had not acquired the status which they afterwards attained. But they existed; unwotted of or ignored by the statesmen in power and their unquestioning followers; taken into account, however, inconsiderable as they might seem to others, by the thoughtful and very intelligent men that constituted the minority in the English House of Commons.

The officials of these new religious communities had not yet been classed in public documents with those of the Anglican Church; but the minority, in all probability, foresaw that a recognition of them was inevitable in the future. To the influence of this minority is, we think, due the undefined term, "protestant clergy." It is clear, from the debates, that when there was a necessity of referring expressly to the Anglican Church and its functionaries, the mode of speaking was distinct enough on both sides of the House.

The Solicitor-General Wedderburn could use in serious earnest such language as the following:—"When we tell the Roman Catholics of Canada that we will not oppress them, we at the same time tell the followers of the Church of England that whenever their faith shall prevail, it shall have a right to its establishment. As soon as the majority of a parish shall be Protestant inhabitants, then I think the ministers of the Crown are bound to make the minister of that parish a Protestant clergyman; then, I think, it could not be felt by any man an act of injustice to say, that the whole revenue of that parish shall be paid to the Protestant clergyman."—*Cavendish, Debates*, p. 219.

Mr. Dunning's views were more in accordance with what

has proved the inevitable policy :—" My opinion of religious toleration," he said, " goes to all who stand in need of it, in all parts of the globe. It is a natural right of mankind, that men should judge for themselves, and offer up to the Creator that worship which they conceive likely to be most acceptable to Him. It is neither competent, wise nor just, for society to restrain them further than is necessary."—*Ibid*, p. 220.

In like strain, but, as it would seem in the sequel, with somewhat less breadth, Edmund Burke, in the same debate, declared that the recognition of religious tolerance, as a principle of government, was wanted, not only in the colonies, but nearer home :—" The thirsty earth of our own country," he eloquently exclaimed, " is gasping and crying out for the healing shower from heaven. The noble lord [North] has told you of the right of these people [the Canadian Gallicans] by treaty ; but I consider the right of conquest so little, and the right of human nature so much, that the former has very little consideration with me." He did not approve of the application of the term " established " to the Gallican Church in Canada, even when all its rights, according to the treaty, were acknowledged. If that term were to be used at all, it should be in reference, he said, to " that approved religion which we call the religion of the Church of England ; " that is, he indulged the hypothesis for a moment, that there was going to be an establishment, but he does not advocate it ; for all, he continued, " ought to contribute to the support of some religion or other " (p. 233). His proposition was, that the custom of tithes should continue throughout Canada, but that the tithes of the non-Gallicans should be handed over in trust to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts ; a proposition at which the Attorney-General Thurlow expressed his indignation, as being tantamount to saying that " it is a fitter thing to place greater confidence in the wisdom and discretion of a religious corporation, than the King," *i. e.*, the Executive (p. 223). Mr. Burke also threw out the suggestion, that several Christian communities might make use, at different times, of the same public place of worship :—" When the people become divided in their religion, why not follow the generous example

set by the treaty of Westphalia, by which the duties of two or three establishments were discharged in the same church on the same day, the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Reformed Religion? It is an example," he thinks, "worthy of a Christian church; it is a happy union, which has fixed peace forever in those provinces." (p. 224).

The Act of 1774 finally passed, with the proviso that "It shall be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs or successors, to make such provision out of the rest of the said accustomed dues and rights [that is, after paying the Gallican clergy] for the encouragement of the protestant religion, and for the maintenance and support of a protestant clergy within the said province, as he or they shall from time to time think necessary and expedient" (p. 216).

Prior to the conquest of Canada, the whole of Nova Scotia, otherwise called Acadia, had been ceded, by the treaty of Utrecht, to the crown of Great Britain; and in view of the obligations which, in consequence of this cession, had fallen upon the ecclesiastical authorities of England, a spiritual superintendent, with the title of Bishop of Nova Scotia, had been sent out to establish for the people of the recent acquisition, with such speed and permanence as should be possible, the ministrations and institutions of the Anglican Church.

In like manner, the possession of Canada, another immense section of the late French domain in North America, now called for attention on the part of the Anglican spiritual authorities. "I look upon the people of Canada," said Edmund Burke, in the debate on the Quebec Bill, already referred to, "as coming by the dispensation of God under the British Government." The authorities of the Anglican Church in England could look at the matter in no inferior light. Accordingly, the area that had hitherto been occupied by the Gallican Church in Canada was regarded by them as having passed, according to ancient usage, by virtue of the civil conquest, *ipso facto*, into the area over which henceforth the Anglican Church must exercise jurisdiction; and in the early state of the Christian body, before the prevalence of the Roman theories, the Angli-

can branch of the Universal Church would have been everywhere sustained in its judgment and action.

The persons most interested in this transfer of spiritual and ecclesiastic authority, are of course the laity and clergy of the Gallican Church in Canada. With them it took place without recognition; perhaps without their consciousness. Had it happily been otherwise, as, at one time, there was some chance of its being, the semblance of schism which unfortunately exists, would have been wholly avoided. What we desire to be pointedly taken notice of, is this—that the course to be pursued by the Anglican Church under the circumstances in which it found itself was plain—according to the principles of the ancient canons and use; and it was this: that it must occupy the area which had fallen under its jurisdiction: that in resolving on this step, it simply performed a duty, and could not be charged with the promotion of schism.

The establishment of an Anglican see at Quebec in 1793 was connected also with the civil policy which two years previously had led to the division of Canada into two provinces with distinct governments.

The continued increase of the population of British origin suggested the setting apart of a large section of the country for their occupancy under a constitution after the English plan, while public faith was kept with the descendants of the original French inhabitants, still securing to them in the area occupied by them, their peculiar usages and laws.

The same change in the character of the population rendered advisable the appointment of an Anglican bishop for the promotion of the interests of the Anglican Church. And although the bulk of the members of that communion would be found in the later western settlements, it was in accordance with ancient ecclesiastical custom to establish the see of the bishop, in the first instance, in the metropolis of the whole country, leaving to posterity the duty of erecting from time to time additional sees in the other large cities as they should spring up.

The first bishop sent out to the new see by the Anglican Church in England was Dr. Jacob Mountain. An incident

occurred on his arrival at Quebec which is illustrative of the temperate Gallicanism of the day, to which allusion has been made. As the English functionary stepped ashore from the ship, he is saluted on both cheeks by the venerable Gallican bishop of the city. Accustomed as we moderns are to the affected superciliousness of Ultramontaniam, we are somewhat startled by an occurrence that seems to remit us back to the early days of Christianity. Bishop Briand who thus so beautifully exemplified the simplicity of his character as a Gallican ecclesiastic, was at the time a very aged man. For fifty-three years he had ministerially served the Gallican Church in Canada. The duties of his charge were at this moment in the hands of a coadjutor and he died in the following year. It will throw light on the state of feeling in relation to England and its policy on the part of ecclesiastics in Canada thirty years after the conquest, if we mention further in regard to this Christian-tempered man, that it was from the conversations held with him, that the Gallican bishop Joseph Octave Plessis, of Quebec, subsequently so distinguished, derived his knowledge of the causes that had brought about the fall of the French Government in Canada and of the character of the men who directed the affairs of the colony before it had been ceded to England. These conversations, we are assured by the Abbé Ferland, in his Biographical Notice of Bishop Plessis, had their influence on the opinions which the latter formed in relation to the two governments. "In considering the system," the Abbé says, "of vexatious trickery organized against the Church and the people of the country, by some of the chiefs and subordinate employés who were sent by the court of Louis XV., at that time under the sceptre of Madame Pompadour, he could not but admit that under the English government the [Gallican] clergy and rural population enjoyed more liberty than was accorded to them before the conquest."—*Biog. Notice*, p. 14. From the moment of the conquest Bishop Briand was willing to accept the situation of affairs. He may have been one of the enlightened Gallicans on whose sentiments Mr Maseres and others based the opinion that the gradual transformation of the Gallican establishment in Canada into an Anglican one had

been at one time a possible thing. "He had scarcely seen the British arms placed over the gates of our city," says M. Plessis in the oration at his funeral, "when he conceived in an instant that God had transferred to England, the dominion over this country; that with the change of profession, our duties had changed their object; that the ties that had till then united us to France, had been broken asunder; that our capitulations, as well as the treaty of peace in 1763, were so many new ties that attached us to Great Britain, in submitting us to her sovereign; he perceived that which nobody else seemed to suspect, that religion herself would gain by the change of domination." *Ibid* p. 24.

At the risk perhaps of prolonging this digression to too great an extent, we subjoin two other examples of a practically liberal Gallicanism occurring in the period and region on which our attention is now fixed. In 1752, M. Moreau, a presbyter of the Gallican church, and formerly Prior of the Abbey of St. Matthew, near Brest, in France, conformed to the Anglican church and officiated in the communion of that Church at Halifax and Lunenburg in Nova Scotia, ministering in three languages to a very mixed population. And in 1762, M. Maillard, a presbyter of the Gallican Church and Vicar-General in Nova Scotia of the Gallican Bishop of Quebec, was, at his own request, ministerially attended in his last sickness by Mr. Wood, an Anglican presbyter, and was buried by him with the ceremonies of the Anglican ritual. (*Hawkins' Missions*, p. 360.)—The intelligent convictions in regard to the Anglican Church entertained by learned divines in France itself, in the early part of the last century are well known. Archbishop Wake's correspondence with Dupin and others of the Sorbonne took place in 1718. It can be seen at the end of Maclaine's *Mosheim*. The work of Peter Francis Courayer, presbyter of the Gallican Church, proving the validity of Anglican orders, appeared in 1723.

The Act of Parliament which divided Canada into two distinct Governments exhibits the same ecclesiastical phraseology that characterized the Act of 1774 for the better government of the Province of Quebec. The expression "protestant clergy"

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reappears; but along with it there are directions sufficiently explicit for the establishment of parsonages or rectories with incumbents or ministers of the Church of England in every township. But there now appears an important clause to the effect that any of the enactments in relation to the maintenance of Public Worship may be varied or repealed by the local parliament of either of the new provinces; but yet the royal assent was not to be given to any such Act of the local legislature without a notice of thirty days to the Imperial Parliament.

Between 1774 and 1791, the date of the Act to which reference is now made, the older colonies of Great Britain on the American continent had declared themselves independent. To be legislated for by a Body in which they were not represented was one of the grounds of complaint. In the provision for future variation and repeal in the Canada Act of 1791 we can see that the lesson in Colonial policy derivable from the events of the years just preceding had not been thrown away; although at the same time in the guarded manner in which the provision is made, we can also see an effort to save the dignity of the Imperial Parliament.

In 1774 Lord North and his party had supposed that public affairs at home and in the colonies were about to be conducted for ever just as he and they were then endeavouring to conduct them. The French Government had established permanently in Canada the unreformed religion. The British Government could with equal facility establish permanently the reformed religion. But a wiser minority knew that this could not be. In regard to the measures proposed for the better government of the Province of Quebec, Mr. William Burke declared that "the gentlemen who opposed the bill, knowing that it was impossible to defeat it, had almost worked themselves to death, to make it as far as they could, consonant to English liberty, and the principles of the English constitution." *Cavendish*, p. 252. It was this minority or the representatives of this minority that were the authors of the provision for future variation and repeal in the Act of 1791. They knew the growing strength of the parties at home that were demanding not simply

religious toleration, but equality in the eye of the law for all religious opinions and forms. They were persuaded that such a claim having its root in the nature of things would never be relinquished, would of a certainty in another day and generation be recognised by governments. Foreseeing that Canada, like the more southern portions of the North American continent, was destined to be filled with colonists from the mixed populations of the British Islands, they perceived that the English constitution with its theory of amalgamation with the historic Anglican Church could not be introduced there with any chance of permanency. The settlers from the old countries of Europe would be actuated by the different and even opposite systems of thought and belief prevalent in the community just left: amongst these, unity of sentiment in regard to matters either civil or religious, was not to be expected; and certainly could not in any arbitrary way be enforced.

To these conflicting elements, it was also well known, another had recently been added. The newly opened country of Western Canada had become an asylum for refugees from the late colonies to the south of the St. Lawrence and its lakes. These emigrants, although likely, from the fact of their flight from a revolution, to be generally of an unprogressive disposition, would yet bring with them a sharpened intelligence in regard to matters connected with civil and religious rights. It might well be argued by far-seeing persons that a community thus composed could not long exist without manifesting the usual British North American temper, and putting in a protest against every semblance of arbitrary power.

Hence it happened that while in the Act for the division of the Province of Quebec into the new governments of Upper and Lower Canada, there was a show of doing much for the maintenance of the reformed religion as a set-off to the strongly entrenched position guaranteed by treaty to the unreformed religion, the same document contained within itself a provision by the operation of which the proposed safeguards for the reformed religion might be, according to circumstances, either wholly altered in character or wholly abolished. Both sides of the House were probably for the moment gratified; but on the

people of Canada of British descent there was entailed for a series of years a distressing controversy.

In less than one generation the measure of 1791, in as far as it related to a "protestant clergy," began to produce its natural fruit. By the year 1818 the population of Upper Canada had considerably increased, principally by immigration; and the differences of religious persuasion which must always exist in communities drafted from the British Islands were of course developed. The newly arrived emigrant, in search of a "location," found in each township every seventh two-hundred-acre lot unpurchasable. This, he is told, is a clergy reserve. The attention of numerous shrewd, practical men is thus pointedly drawn to the existence of clergy reserves; first, as obstructions to settlement; but, secondly, as to their object and significance. In answer to his inquiries on the latter point, the sensitive covenanter of North Britain, or the stubborn non-conformist of Lancashire or York, is informed that by means of these reserved lands, in the new community to which he is about to transplant his family, the Anglican system of faith and worship is ensured to the people forever—the very system of faith and worship which from his childhood he had been taught heartily to abjure.

It is explained to him that "the Crown" had taken charge of the spiritual interests of the general public. There had been a military conquest. The former sovereign had decreed a provision for his national religion; the incoming lord of the soil could do no less in regard to the approved faith of his own nation.

This did not exclude, he might be told, special religious interests. It was open to the partizans of every phase of belief to obtain lands for their own particular purposes. Land to any extent was still at the public disposal, and might be had for the asking.

Placing ourselves in the position of newly arrived emigrants in 1818, much of all this would seem like the revelation of a new idea; and we need not wonder that with many, occasion would be given for a great diversity of thought.

Some, as members of the great commonwealth of Britain, would not be well pleased to find themselves shut out from an advantage which had emanated from the Crown, the action of which, it must be taken for granted, was for the benefit of all. The larded endowments of the parent state for the purposes of Public Worship, may have been set apart by individuals. To forfeit a claim upon them was an intelligible matter; but here was an endowment confessedly decreed by the Crown, the representative of the whole state. What was it that could induce forfeiture of a share in it?

Others would foresee the embarrassments likely to afflict posterity, were all schools of belief to acquire roots literally in land. Would it not come to pass ultimately that field would be added to field for the spiritual husbandman until scant place would be left for the secular?

Others again would entertain doubts as to the reasonableness of propagating the faith by land at all.

We are not surprised to find that this conflict of opinion among the practical colonizers of Upper Canada resulted at length, in 1819, in a reference to the law-officers of the Crown in England, for some definite interpretation of the Imperial Act, so far as it related to lands set apart for Public Worship.

The decision obtained was—that the ministers of the Kirk of Scotland were included in the term “protestant clergy;” but that no part of the rents and profits of the lands reserved for the purposes of Public Worship might go to the support or maintenance of ministers of dissenting protestant congregations, “these not being included in the ‘protestant clergy’ recognized and established by law.”

To quiet some further apprehensions in connexion with the ecclesiastical question it was deemed expedient by the parliament of Upper Canada in 1823 to pass an Act declaring it to be unlawful to claim or receive tithes within that province. It had not before been expressly declared that the setting apart of every seventh two-hundred-acre lot in each surveyed township was in lieu of the tithe of the products of that township. In Lower Canada the custom of tithe had continued. At first, during the continuance of the French rule, it was decreed that

every thirteenth sheaf should go to the Crown for the maintenance of Public Worship. Afterwards, a complaint being made to the intendant, it was decided that only every twenty sixth sheaf should be reserved; but that the farmer must thresh it out. It was urged by some, that in the absence of a legal declaration to the contrary, this custom guaranteed at the conquest was binding in Upper Canada.

The public mind failing still to be tranquilized by the modifications thus far made in ecclesiastical matters, we find in 1827 a select committee of the English House of Commons appointed to consider the civil government of Canada. In their report they interpret the Act of 1791 more liberally than the law officers of the Crown had done in 1819. "Doubts have arisen," they say, "whether the Act [of 1791] requires the Government to confine [the profits arising from the lands set apart for Public Worship] to the use of the Church of England only, or to allow the Church of Scotland to participate in them. The law officers of the Crown have given an opinion in favor of the right of the Church of Scotland to such participation, in which your committee entirely concur. But the question has also been raised, whether the clergy of every denomination of Christians, except Roman Catholics, may not be included. * * * They entertain no doubt, however, that the intention of those persons who brought forward the measure in Parliament, was to endow with parsonage houses and glebe lands the clergy of the Church of England, at the discretion of the local Government; but with respect to the distribution of the proceeds of the reserved lands generally, they are of opinion that they sought to reserve to the Government the right to apply the money, if they so saw fit, to any protestant clergy."

In the same year an Imperial act was passed, authorizing the sale of a portion of the ecclesiastical lands in Canada, in order that with the proceeds the remainder might be improved. Nothing, however, was said in this document of any change in the assignment of those lands; but, moved by the continued disputations on the question, the Crown, in 1832, invited the Parliament of Upper Canada to act upon the power which they possessed, to vary or repeal the provisions of the original statute.

In 1833, there was accordingly a proposal in the Lower House, to re-invest the ecclesiastical lands in the Crown, for such re-distribution as might be decided on in England. But the Bill did not pass. In 1835, a measure did pass the Lower House, but failed in the Upper, deciding to sell the whole of them within four years, and to devote the proceeds to Public Education. It is said that measures proposed by the popular branch of the parliament of Upper Canada, for the settlement of the question, were sixteen times rejected by the other House, whose members were appointed irrespective of the popular will.

In 1840, an Act was passed by both branches of the Upper Canadian Legislature, by which it was determined to sell the residue of the ecclesiastical lands, and to distribute the proceeds in the proportion of half to the Anglican Church and Scottish Kirk; and half to purposes of "Public Worship and religious instruction, among the remaining denominations, according to the discretion of the Governor in Council." The proceeds of the lands that had been sold under the statute of 1827, were to be divided between the two first named bodies solely.

In 1853, this arrangement was again disturbed; but a decision was arrived at that was final. The Imperial Parliament authorized the Local Legislature, to sell the whole, but to secure to all ecclesiastical persons for their natural lives or incumbencies, the stipends which, at the passing of the Act, they were deriving from the reserve funds.

In the long war waged on the subject of the ecclesiastical lands in Canada, Dr. Strachan was the most distinguished chieftain and combatant. Campaign after campaign was planned and conducted by him; but he found himself steadily opposed by a force that could neither be resisted nor eluded; a force that slowly but with certainty drove him in from the open field to the lines; from the lines to the works; and from the works to the citadel's inmost retreats, while along every inch of the way, he covered his position and his men with consummate skill and unflinching energy and courage. He had accepted the declarations of the third and fourth Georges, in regard to

the perpetual establishment of the Anglican church in Canada, in the true spirit of chivalry. The word of a king in 1774 or 1818, was received as the word of a Tudor or a Bourbon would have been by the average Englishman or Frenchman in by-gone years. The royal will was, with him, in accordance with feudal tradition, endued with a sanctity that was inviolable. The public statute that professed to embody and put in force that will was as a Magna Charta from which in all future time there could be no swerving.

Fifty years ago it was not extensively discerned in Canada that the Act of 1791 was in some of its provisions antagonistic to a principle which had been long struggling for a wider and wider recognition in government, namely, the supremacy of the will of a nation over all individual will. This principle had indeed been saved in the casual but important clause providing for future variation and repeal, should the new community through its representatives so decree when organized and mature. But the tone of the Act in respect to ecclesiastical arrangements, if we leave out of consideration this clause, was calculated to mislead; to mislead at all events those minds that did not recognize or else regarded with no satisfaction, the course which constitutionalism had taken in Great Britain and its dependencies for a century past or more. That Act, as we have already seen, took its tone in a great degree from the policy of the French Crown in relation to Canada while yet a French colony. It was thus, to some extent an exceptional measure in British policy. It created for a moment in a remote nook of the empire a state of things approximating to that against which a great deal of English history is a protest. Calculations based upon the irrevocableness of such a statute could not help coming out wrong.

Furthermore it is to be considered that the interests over which the struggle in Canada took place were those of a separate class. Even within the pale of the communion for whose benefit exclusively or principally the lands for Public Worship were originally set apart, there are misgivings as to the expediency of isolating clergy by means of landed endowments. It is known that in old communities such endowments have a

tendency to render clergy and laity indifferent to each other. With minds biased to some extent by the working of this tendency large numbers of lay people had emigrated. A probability therefore existed beforehand that in an ecclesiastical question such as that which agitated Canada for so many years, the bulk of the Anglican communion would be lukewarm ; as in fact they as a people proved themselves to be : while members of other communions acting under the direction of their official instructors, and all having much to gain, were steadily and unitedly on the alert.

That the Anglican communion came out of the struggle with any relics at all of the possessions contended for, was wholly due to the fact that its champion was a resolute member of the order most deeply interested in the question.

We have next to glance briefly at the Canadian educational question.

When the scheme of Public Instruction for Upper Canada came to receive its crowning institution, a University, it was discovered that here again was involved the same element that had occasioned the trouble in the matter of the lands for Public Worship. So long ago as 1797 a movement, as we have already noticed, began for the securing of an endowment for Grammar Schools and a University ; and five hundred thousand acres of the public domain were set apart for that purpose. Ten years later three Grammar Schools are sustained out of the proceeds of these lands, one at Cornwall, one at Kingston, one at Niagara. Subsequently, from time to time, others are established elsewhere. And no complaint is heard as to exclusiveness in their management. But in 1827 a royal charter is promulgated, instituting a University for Upper Canada under the title of King's College. The terms of the charter showed that the advisers of the Crown in England had not at that time realized the principles which were destined to govern modern colonial policy in regard to religion and representative government. It was still supposed that by virtue of a royal declaration a distinction in favour of the Anglican communion could be arbitrarily made and maintained without gainsaying or demur in the midst of a composite British colonial community.

According to the letter of the charter the new University was, in its government, strictly an institution appertaining to the Anglican Church in Upper Canada. There were to be seven professors in the Arts and Faculties who, the charter declares, "shall be members of the Established United Church of England and Ireland and shall severally sign and subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles." The Anglican bishop for the time being of the diocese in which the University was situate, was to be the visitor; the Governor or Lieutenant-Government for the time being, was to be Chancellor; the President was to be a clergyman in holy orders of the United Church of England and Ireland; and more particularly still, "the Archdeacon of York, in our said Province, for the time being shall, by virtue of such his office, be at all times the President of the said College." But at the same time it is directed that no religious test should be applied to any persons admitted as students or as graduates in the said College, excepting only to graduates in Divinity, who were to be subject to the conditions enjoined for degrees in that faculty at Oxford. The proposed institution was rendered capable of holding lands in the Province of Upper Canada to the value of £15,000 sterling per annum above all charges and to enjoy the proceeds of subsequent purchases and benefactions, without restriction. All these arrangements were to continue for ever. The particular lands that were to yield the £15,000 per annum are not named. But as it was understood that one half of the school-property, reserved for a Provincial University, was to constitute the messuages, tenements and hereditaments spoken of in the charter, the House of Assembly of Upper Canada very soon demurred. They had even been so cautious, prior to the announcement of particulars, as to express gratitude to the Crown for the institution of a University only on conditions, one of which was, "if the principles on which it has been founded shall, upon inquiry, prove to be friendly to the civil and religious liberty of the people."

After ten years of natural but wearisome dispute, the charter is modified, not, however, by the Crown, but by the local Parliament, as if to leave on record instructive evidence of the

successive steps which circumstances rendered inevitable in the march of modern English colonial policy.

Now it was decided that the visitors of the institution should be the Judges of the King's Bench; that in future the President need not be the incumbent of any ecclesiastical office; that the professors and other members of the governing Board should not necessarily be members of the Anglican Church.

Our purpose does not require of us to pursue the history of the provincial University any farther. It is sufficient to have set forth the character and the fate of its original charter, as constructed under the eye of Dr. Strachan, during a visit to England in 1827.

The adoption of the particular public policy thus far followed in the career now under review, receives perhaps additional elucidation when we recal the era in which the early youth of Dr. Strachan was passed. The stirring events of the French Revolution, at the close of the last century, had upon different classes of minds in the British Islands very opposite effects. Men in advanced life were rendered more stubborn than ever in their resistance to change in English law and custom. Their zeal for feudal institutions, and the traditional feudal ideas, became extravagant. A large proportion of the rising youth of the land were also indoctrinated by them with maxims fated afterwards to be painfully unlearned. On the other hand, persons in every stage and grade of life, disposed previously by temperament and other casual circumstances to ameliorations in affairs, became unduly excited, and, failing the check interposed by calmer and wiser minds, were prepared to hurry the nation into a chaos of anarchy. Instances of this sanguine, imaginative class were Southey, Coleridge and Wordsworth, who all lived to be sounder judges of the exigencies of the British people. Of the other class who were quickened in their hostility to the modifications which were needed, and which have since been steadily adopted or kept in view, the King himself, George III., was a conspicuous type—a type repeated in the persons of his favorite political advisers.

Of an intermediate and more salutary effect of the momentous crisis in France, Edmund Burke was an illustration. A

man of wide views and profound intelligence, he had long seen the social and political needs of the British empire, and had long striven to satisfy them. The frenzy of the French people did not alter his opinions on these subjects: it simply made him more measured, more cautious and safe in the methods to be applied in the case of his fellow-countrymen.

At this period of sifting conflict were formed the convictions which guided Dr. Strachan throughout his public career. Endowed not largely with the gifts of imagination and fancy, he was not tempted, with the poets and visionaries, to indulge in social experiment and innovation. His natural temperament and the surrounding conditions of his early manhood, placed him by a kind of necessity among the strongly conservative. His great self-reliance and unblenching courage made him bold in his aims and confident as to their attainment. His unsurpassed firmness secured an unrelenting tenacity of will, and an unwavering perseverance in a line of action once adopted.

The view which he himself took at a later period, of his own general course of proceeding, is set forth in a Circular Address to the Clergy and Laity of Upper Canada, in 1837. "I have laboured earnestly," he says, "for nearly forty years, through good report and bad report, in promoting the peace and happiness of this Province, and its attachment to the parent state. During more than thirty-four years of that period, I have been zealously and, I trust, successfully employed in promoting the cause of true religion, and in the discharge of the sacred duties of a clergyman, and have uniformly acted towards all other denominations with a Christian spirit, which the respectable portion of them will readily acknowledge. I am now approaching the evening of my life, and assuredly I shall never incur the reproach of having sacrificed any portion of the interests of the Church to which I have the happiness to belong, in the wild hope of conciliating her enemies, or from the culpable desire of avoiding the unpopularity which, it seems to be feared, must attach to those who fairly maintain the religion of our Sovereign and of the British empire." He had just before been speaking of a hint thrown out by the Colonial Secretary of the day, in respect to the relinquishment of certain Church

lands. The following passage is very characteristic: "I observe that the letter of Lord Glenelg suggests the possibility, though it by no means expresses an expectation or desire, that I may be found willing to surrender, or to concur in surrendering, voluntarily, the endowments which the King has annexed to the rectories. Happily, the provident caution of Parliament has not left it in the power of any individual to be the instrument of so much injustice. It is not in my discretion to make any surrender of the kind. If it were, I believe it would not be necessary to assure any one who is personally acquainted with me, that I would as readily surrender my life."

In this vigorous and very real "*non possumus*," we have the key note of his life. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to deny that there was largeness in his views. Occasionally a policy was broached by him almost as elastic as that of Burke; and ideas are promulgated greatly surpassing in liberality those of his school within the four seas at home. Unluckily for him, it happened that the growth of constitutional liberty in the British Islands and abroad—a growth to this day as irrepressible in depth and height and breadth as that of the roots and branches of a forest tree—demanded social readjustments to an extent unforeseen by him, and in directions not contemplated in his schemes.

In the *Christian Recorder*, now before us, no protest is entered by the editor against the resolutions of the Canadian Council on the subject of education, presented to Lord Dorchester in 1789. The fifth and sixth of the resolutions run thus: "Fifth, That it is expedient to erect a collegiate institution for cultivating the liberal arts and sciences usually taught in the European universities, the theology of Christians excepted, on account of the mixture of the two communions [Gallican and Anglican], whose joint aid is desirable, as far as they agree, and who ought to be left to find a separate provision for the candidates in the ministry of their respective churches. Sixth, That it is essential to the origin and success of such an institution, that a society be incorporated for the purpose, and that the charter wisely provide against the perversion of the institution to any sectarian peculiarities,

leaving free scope for cultivating the circle of the sciences."—
Vol. i. p. 448.

Again, in the same work, the sentiments expressed in 1819 are in harmony with these resolutions. "I hope," the editor says, "that it [the university] will be founded upon a very liberal scale, so that all denominations of Christians may be enabled, without any sacrifice of conscience or of feeling, to attend the prelections of the different professors."—*Ibid*, vol. i. p. 176. At page 368, a correspondent, in a tone of complaint, remarks: "I should not have known, Mr. Editor, by the *Recorder*, whether you belong to the Church of England or not, you have cultivated so carefully the candour of modern times. Perhaps you consider this a praise, but I, who am old-fashioned, think," &c.

And again, in the speech delivered by Dr. Strachan, at the opening of King's College, in 1844, it is held that the original charter was singularly liberal: "It was considered," he says, "not only the most open charter for a university that had ever been granted, but the most liberal that could be framed on constitutional principles; and His Majesty's Government declared that in passing it, they had gone to the utmost limit of concession."—*Proceedings at the Ceremony of Laying the Foundation stone, &c.*, p. 39. As we have seen already, however, assent was given, in 1842, to a charter of a very different tone, under which the institution was now opening. This again is concurred in as an inevitable concession. It is at the same moment frankly declared that "parents not of the Church of England have the right to expect that their children who come for instruction at this institution shall not be tampered with. Such a right, accordingly," it is promised, "will be conscientiously respected; and dispensations will be given from attending chapel, to those pupils whose parents and guardians require them (p. 51); and when students have finished their regular university course, and proceeded to their degree, such as design to study for the ministry of the Church of England will place themselves more especially under the professor of theology, while the youth of other denominations will depart to prepare for their respective professions" (p. 52).

The process suggested is simple ; but it will be seen that the fundamental gravamen is not removed. The genius of modern complex British society everywhere is not recognized in one of its most ineradicable traits. Its component subdivisions, like individual men in a free commonwealth, will not receive even gifts at each others' hands, if they wear the guise of condescensions or favours. This fact, which is essential, is either ignored or not grasped.

We now approach that portion of the career of Dr. Strachan which commanded the admiration of opponents as well as friends, and from which in history the chief lustre of his name will be reflected.

In 1825, he had been appointed Archdeacon of York. In 1839, he became Bishop of Toronto; not elected by the suffrages of the clergy and laity, as is the custom now, but nominated to the office by the Crown, and consecrated in England by the Archbishop of Canterbury. His administrative and executive talent now found a wide and appropriate field of action. The Anglican Church in Western Canada, then wholly embraced in his diocese, soon began to feel the vigour of the hand at the helm. His first measure was the institution of a Church Society, coextensive with his diocese, which, in the absence of legitimate synodical machinery, not then in existence, might serve to give unity, in some degree, to the efforts of clergy and laity. According to his Pastoral on the subject, issued in 1842, each congregation was to regard itself as a distinct missionary society, its pastor and churchwardens and more zealous members forming a local association, exerting all their influence to bring within the pale of the general Society every baptised person in their bounds. "The Society will in this way embrace within its bosom every grown-up son and daughter of the Church throughout the whole diocese, and give utterance to her voice on all necessary occasions. Its members will henceforth feel that they belong not merely to a small, remote and perhaps insulated congregation, but that they are intimately connected with all the congregations of the diocese, and not of this diocese alone, but of all the dioceses which comprise the Church of England throughout the world." All were

to contribute, through the Society, to the maintenance of missionaries in new settlements and among the Indians; to the circulation of the Scriptures, and Common Prayer Book, and approved theological works; to the support of Sunday and parochial schools, the succour of the widows and orphans of the clergy, and to the assistance of students in divinity. Moreover, landed endowments were to be secured and held, through this association, for the support of their bishop and his cathedral; for archdeacons and other clergy now employed or to be employed; for the building of churches and parsonage-houses of durable materials, and for the insurance of the same. "The diocese of Toronto," thus runs the Pastoral, "will very soon contain four hundred townships, each of which may average one hundred square miles—an extent equal to nearly twenty ordinary parishes in England. But such a minute division it would be in vain to attempt; nor will it for many ages be required by the population. Limiting, then, our contemplated division, for the present, to two parishes in each township, the difficulty of endowing them does not seem particularly arduous. A township contains about sixty-six thousand acres, or three hundred and thirty lots or farms of two hundred acres each. Now, for the endowment of two parishes, six lots, or twelve hundred acres, will be required, allowing each three lots, or six hundred acres. Is it not probable," the sanguine bishop asks, "that in almost every township six or eight lots or farms, which is scarcely a fiftieth part of the whole, will be granted by pious individuals for a purpose so blessed? In many townships much more will doubtless be given, and this will make up for deficiencies in others, where less liberality prevails, or perhaps where we have fewer people."

Had it been possible to breathe into the mass of the Anglican laity the earnest spirit of their ecclesiastical chief, the recent frustration of the will of kings and princes would have proved but a slight injury. The Anglican laity, however, in a new community are not very impressible; they are not quick to be enthusiastic in respect to their own ecclesiastical interests. The battle for the reserve-lands had really not interested the multitude. So far as they were concerned, it was left to be fought

out by their champion in single-headed fashion, assisted by a few acting under his special direction. The mass dumbly looked on, comprehending perhaps but vaguely the points at issue. In the parent state the Anglican laity are accustomed to have every requisite supplied to them without effort or thought on their part. They have only of late years heard that the proceeds of rates and endowments do not absolve individuals from a religious concern in the fabric and multiplication of churches and schools. Adult men and women of the Anglican communion, emigrating from the British Islands, are consequently often taken by surprise when they are informed in their new home of the multiplicity of ecclesiastical cares that appertain to them. It is a novelty with the bulk of them to be called on to take part in the building and repair of churches; in the encouragement of candidates for Holy Orders; in the maintenance of clergy, superior and inferior, with their orphans and widows.

Nevertheless the appeal of the bishop was responded to by many gifts. Wherever he presented himself in his tours throughout the diocese the effect of his own, personal influence and example was felt, especially among the older colonists who would in some instances devote as a tribute to the dauntless energy of their spiritual chief offerings which the cause in the abstract might not have sufficed to draw forth. Col. Burwell of Port Burwell founded a Living with church and parsonage complete, at that place; and presented in addition more than a thousand acres as glebes to various churches. At the close of the first year of the Society's existence we find presented to it in the Niagara district, for example, two thousand three hundred and twelve acres; in the Midland district, two thousand two hundred and twenty-one acres; in the London, Brock, Talbot and Huron district, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven acres; in the Newcastle district, one thousand acres; in the Home district, two thousand six hundred and thirty-four acres. In addition to these donations in land, which are selected as examples, considerable sums of money as annual subscriptions were guaranteed. The bishop himself gave one thousand acres towards an endowment for the see and cathedral.

In 1839, the year of his consecration, but a few weeks prior to that event, a trying disaster occurred. This was the destruction by fire of the church which was about to become the cathedral of the diocese. It was a large structure of stone, built and arranged after the model of the English cathedral at Quebec, and the old Christ Church of Montreal, when situate in Notre Dame street. The wooden church that had preceded it, more fortunate in its history than its less combustible successor, had been erected in part in 1803, enlarged and completed in 1818, and then quietly taken to pieces and removed in 1833, when the stone edifice was finished. The sudden destruction of the new building after an existence of only six years, was just one of those discouraging blows that served to draw out the energies of Dr. Strachan, and to disclose the wealth of resource that was in him to which the Anglican communion in Canada was so often indebted. Within two days after the fire we find it recorded that, at a public meeting at the City Hall, "the Venerable the Archdeacon, with a spirit bowed but not broken by this great calamity, presented a luminous report embracing a plan for the restoration of the sacred edifice to its former commodiousness and beauty."

On his return the following November after his consecration at Lambeth, the sight that greeted him as he entered the harbour of his episcopal city, was his cathedral restored, more complete than ever, for appended to it now was a conspicuous tower and spire, at its apex a golden cross glittering against the sky.

Ten years later this renovated and finished building became an irretrievable ruin in a terrible conflagration which consumed a large portion of Toronto.

Again, with singular promptness was the loss repaired through the unity and decision generated in a large congregation by the bishop's force of character. And on this occasion a great advance was made in dignity of architecture, increasing proportionably the magnitude of the undertaking. The preceding edifices had been oblong rectangular blocks pierced with round-headed windows, convenient and spacious, but without appropriateness of expression. Now, an edifice was put up in accord-

ance with later and juster ideas, fine in outline, capable of being adapted to English cathedral customs; an edifice destined, as it has happened in a manner wholly unforeseen, to be regarded in future ages with a religious reverence as the mausoleum of its founder,—the founder, it may be said, of two, if not three costly predecessors on the same site. Though no other memorial should mark his resting-place before the altar of St. James's, Toronto, St. James's itself would suffice—

SI MONUMENTUM REQUIRIS, CIRCUMSPIICE.

But here we are again anticipating. One other instance of recuperative power in the first bishop of Toronto remains to be referred to; the crowning instance which will inspire posterity, as it inspired cotemporaries, with unfeigned respect.

In 1850 the great educational institution called into visible being through the instrumentality of Dr. Strachan underwent the final change which the public policy of the modern empire of Great Britain rendered inevitable. King's College was converted into the University of Toronto, and became an institution accommodated in the only practicable way to the educational wants of a community like that of Western Canada.

The last semblance of connexion between the provincial university and the Anglican Church, as such, having been removed, the bishop conceived the bold idea of establishing a new university in relation to which there should be no question in the future as to the supremacy of the Anglican Church within its walls.

“An old man broken with the storms of state” was not to be said of him. He had now indeed passed considerably beyond the normal three score years and ten; but his strength of will and vigour of mind and body were unabated. The blade was metal to the back.

After a stirring appeal to the laity of his own diocese, responded to by gifts and promises of money or lands to the amount of some thirty thousand pounds, he embarks for England, lays his case before the two great religious societies there, before the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, before many of the bishops and clergy, and those members of the laity that

are wont to interest themselves in matters connected with "church-education." He at the same time makes application through the Colonial Secretary, Lord Grey, for a Royal Charter for the proposed institution.

He left Toronto in April. He is home again on the second day of the following November. The immediate yield of the excursion was about sixteen thousand pounds sterling; and "had I been able" the bishop himself declared in a speech shortly after his return—"had I been able to remain six or eight months longer in England, to preach and hold meetings in the large towns, and make my object more generally known, I verily believe that I should have realized more than double the amount received."

The circular to the English public, issued on this occasion, by a committee of friends, among whose names that of 'W. E. Gladstone' is to be seen, contains the following paragraph:—"The aged bishop of the diocese, having to begin anew the work which has occupied a half a century of his life, has come to England to obtain assistance from his brethren in the faith. Among other distinguished persons from whom he has already met with the most marked sympathy and encouragement, he has a melancholy satisfaction in referring to the illustrious statesman whom Providence has so recently removed from the scene of his labours and his usefulness [Sir Robert Peel], as well as to his Grace the Duke of Wellington, who has promised to become a liberal benefactor to the Fund he proposes to raise."

On the 17th of March, 1851, the excavations for the foundation of the new institution began. On the 30th of April its corner-stone was laid. On the 15th of January 1852, the building was sufficiently completed to be occupied. On that day the institution opened. It bore the name of Trinity College. A provost and two professors, members of the English Universities, had arrived to mould and inaugurate a system of instruction. In 1853 a Royal Charter was issued incorporating the College and declaring that it "shall be deemed and taken to be a University; and shall have and enjoy all such and the like privileges as are enjoyed by our universities of our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, as far as the same are

capable of being had or enjoyed by virtue of these our Letters Patent."

The Anglican communion in Western Canada was thus, through the persistent energy of its resolute bishop, put in possession of an institution for the training of its clergy, and for the higher education of such of its members as were or should be willing to place themselves under a discipline of the antique type. The institution was, as we have seen, endowed by the joint offerings of individuals and corporations in the mother country and in Canada; contributions to the same object flowing in also from the sister Church in the United States, at the instance of a Canadian presbyter thither despatched, whose advocacy of the new College in that country, as subsequently in England also, elicited considerable sums of money for the augmentation of its funds.

With an educational endowment so procured, there will of course never be any thought of interference on the part of statesmen. It is morally certain there would never have been an interference with a modest endowment even from the waste lands of the Crown, when such lands were abundant in Canada, had it been competent, which it may not have been, except on the ground of expediency, for the representatives of the Anglican Church, at the time of the organization of Upper Canada, to have assumed for that Church simply the status which it at present occupies.

It should be added that the subject of Schools, to be under the exclusive control of the Anglican clergy in Canada, was also mooted from time to time in charges and synodal addresses; but as this was a project in which it was found impossible to inspire an interest to any influential degree among the Anglican laity, its discussion was permitted to drop. The establishment of such schools by authority of Parliament is of necessity out of the question, now that the political theories of which such schools were a consistent part are, as we have again and again seen, given up. Unless, therefore, the Anglican clergy can carry with them the bulk of the Anglican laity, inducing them to tax themselves liberally and systematically in addition to the rates paid by them already for the erection and main-

tenance of schools, it is simply a social irritation to keep up reclamations on the subject. The bulk of the Anglican laity in Canada have somewhere learnt to be peaceable citizens, and knowing that the present system of Public Education is in its general plan the only one practicable under the circumstances, they show that in the main they are satisfied with it. In the matter of a distinctive Anglican training—in addition to the careful working of Sunday schools—much could be fairly done by rendering discourses in the pulpit and lecture-desk interesting and instructive to the young. Such discourses, well studied out and managed with tact, do not fail to interest and instruct men and women of all ages. And this is a part of the commission “to disciple,” which perhaps it may not be right to delegate to schools.

There remained one great project more still to be accomplished: this was the establishment of a systematic organization for the ecclesiastical body over which he presided.

The diocesan society which had already been instituted, did not, as a matter of conscience, embrace every member of the clergy and laity of the Anglican communion. It was a voluntary society, which any one might or might not support. An authoritative institution for the whole Church was wanting, such as the early Christian societies in Asia and Europe possessed. “When the lay members of the Church in any colonial diocese number more than two hundred thousand, and the clergy one hundred and fifty, scattered over a vast region, and thus much separated from one another, it must needs be that difficulties and offences will arise; and how are they to be dealt with?” This is the question asked by the Bishop of Toronto, in his charge of 1851. “The bishop is in most cases powerless,” he continues, “having indeed jurisdiction by his royal appointment and divine commission, but he has no tribunals to try cases, and to acquit or punish, as the case may be. He therefore feels himself frequently weak, and unable to correct reckless insubordination and sullen opposition, even in matters spiritual. At one time he may be accused of feebleness and irresolution; at another, when acting with some vigour, he may be denounced as tyrannical and despotic. On such occasions,

he requires the support and refreshing counsel of his brethren, and their constitutional co-operation, in devising and maturing such measures as may be thought necessary to adopt for the welfare of the Church."

Still adhering to the old political theories of England, it was imagined by some that the Anglican Church in a Canadian diocese might not assemble itself together for the purpose of determining regulations for its own internal government, without permission obtained from the supreme head of the mother Church.

To be certain on this point, an Act of the Provincial Parliament was procured, declaring it to be lawful for "the bishops, clergy and laity, members of the United Church of England and Ireland, in the Province of Canada, to meet in their several dioceses, which are now or may be hereafter constituted in this Province, and in such manner and by such proceedings as they shall adopt, frame constitutions and make regulations for enforcing discipline in the Church; for the appointment, deposition, deprivation or removal of any person bearing office therein, of whatever order or degree, any rights of the Crown to the contrary notwithstanding; and for the convenient and orderly management of the property, affairs and interests of the Church in matters relating to and affecting only the said Church and the officers and members thereof, and not in any manner interfering with the rights, privileges or interests of other religious communities, or of any person or persons not being a member or members of the said United Church of England and Ireland: provided always, that such constitutions and regulations shall apply only to the diocese or dioceses adopting the same."—19, 20 Vic. c. 121.

Before the passing of this Act, however, the triennial visitations of the bishop had assumed the form of convocations or synods, including lay-representatives elected by the several congregations. In the first meeting of this kind, resolutions had been adopted relative to the residue of the lands for Public Worship, relative to the legalizing of synodical meetings, and relative to the establishment of separate schools when possible. In the second, it was decided to adopt the style and title of

Synod, as a matter of inherent right; and steps were taken to prepare the way for the division of the diocese of Toronto into two or three bishoprics, and for the setting-off of parishes in the respective dioceses: the synod was declared to be perpetual, and a standing-committee of twenty-four, half cleric and half laic, was appointed to act in concert with the Bishop while the Synod was not in session.

To the Bishop of Toronto the honour thus belongs of being the first practically to solve the difficulty which in theory besets the admission of lay members into Anglican synods. His example has been widely followed in different quarters of the empire; and it is probable that the custom thus inaugurated in a colony will one day prevail within the dioceses of the mother-church. Of course, there, great prejudices have to be surmounted. We happen ourselves to have been present in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster, when such an innovation was mooted: to us, knowing as we did, what a reasonable thing in practice the custom seemed, it was curious to hear the consequences which imagination conjured up as objections to its adoption in England. The modern church-congresses of England have also grown out of the successful colonial experiment and are pointing the same way, namely, to lay representation in the councils of the Anglican Church.

And who can doubt but that a Convocation reformed and made real, and diocesan synods reformed and made real, with the lay element judiciously but frankly admitted, would bring back a fresh youth to the ancient Mother at home? What is the secret of the anarchy of late years in the ancient historic Anglican church, in respect to doctrine and practice? Is it not the absence of constitutional government? It is obvious to the casual visitor, there is no system observed in the working of that body as a whole, binding its parts together. Each beneficed presbyter may do as he wills. He feels himself amenable to no central delegation representing the body of which he is a local functionary. In every denomination but that which takes its name from an episcopate, there is a real episcopacy, an episcopacy without mystery. We mean that every Non-conformist body exercises over its members, official

and non-official, a superintendence that may be felt. Whilst in the ancient Anglican communion, there is at present virtually no government. What, again, has led to the alienation of large masses of the people from the historic church, notwithstanding its powerful prescriptive claims? Has it not been the absence, now for a long series of years, of a representative assembly, sympathizing with the people, and having the power and will to deal from time to time, frankly and considerately, with grievances as they have arisen? Without a parliament really legislating for the people generation after generation, rationally and justly, in what condition would be the civil affairs of the parent state? With the Anglican communion in Canada and the other dependencies of England, it rests, to aid or hinder, as the years roll on, the renovation of the parent-communion at home: to aid, if by a steady and careful acquisition of intelligence on the part of clergy and laity, synods, general and particular, be rendered fair representative bodies: to hinder, if by the repression of intelligence and the inculcation of theories that are impracticable, they become in their proceedings visibly one-sided.

During the brief residue of his lifetime, the Bishop of Toronto saw two additional dioceses set off from his own; one consisting of its western extremity, the other of its eastern; each organized from its commencement with a synod similar to that which had been inaugurated by himself.

Moreover, he lived to see these three, together with the dioceses of Quebec and Montreal, combined together into an Ecclesiastical Province, with a metropolitan at their head, nominated by the Crown, and all empowered to meet in a Provincial Synod, clergy and laity by representation, for the consideration of matters relating to the Provincial Church as a whole; and on two occasions it was granted him to take an active part in the deliberations of this Provincial Council.

And further, he lived to see carried into effect, a wider combination still, which he had himself suggested and sketched some seven years before. In his Charge for 1860, after speaking of the "proper alterations and modifications" which were needed in the ancient constitution of the Convocation of the

Anglican Church, in order "to meet the improved knowledge and civilization of the present times," and that it might be brought into working order, he adds: "The assembling of such a Convocation, representing the United Church of England and Ireland, would offer a splendid spectacle; and if occasional access in the way of deputation from our colonies and the Church of the United States were encouraged, it would present the most august legislature that the Christian world has ever yet beheld; and although much will require to be done before this sublime convocation can be brought to bear, yet there are no insurmountable obstacles in the way."

A convocation, less comprehensive, indeed, than the one of which an outline is here drawn, but approximating to it, was actually to be seen in the Conference of Bishops of the Anglican communion at Lambeth, in 1867, when, out of seventy-eight prelates assembled, forty-four were from dioceses exterior to the British empire.

There was a peculiar fitness in the fact that, of the series of projects for the well-being of the Anglican Church, which had engaged the bishop's mind throughout a long life, the remarkable Conference at Lambeth should have been the last.

The interest which he took in the proceedings of this council was very great. It was deeply touching to witness the reluctance with which he brought himself to believe that the infirmities incident to an age now extending beyond ninety-one years, forbade his being present at it. With the instinctive consciousness of one formed to be a legislator and judge, he was profoundly convinced that in such an assembly his ideas would have been of weight and value.

It happened to ourselves to be fully cognizant of his lively interest in this as in other things, persons and places, to within a very few days of his departure hence.

With the curiosity of a youthful student, he entered into the details of the great Exhibition at Paris, and other varied particulars of a prolonged visit to the mother country, Switzerland and Germany, with accounts of conversations had with distinguished persons to whom he had himself furnished letters; all of whom, it may be added, were found to keep in

memory very distinctly and affectionately the impression made on themselves by his own strong character, years ago.

The appointment of a coadjutor had been long resisted, as an expedient naturally repugnant to his temperament and mould of mind. It was only just before the last year of his life that such assistance was accepted; and at the moment of his decease, the colleague elected by his Synod had not yet returned from the Conference at Lambeth. So that after all, the great bishop died as he had preferred to do, with his hand solely on the helm. In this last brief interval of his episcopate, the measures adopted and pastorals issued were stamped with the vigour and decision of his best days. Of the former, one was for the establishment of an Infirmary; of the latter, one was for the observance of a Public Day of Thanksgiving. It has been somewhere said, "*Stantem mori Duce[m] oportet, Episcopum concionantem.*" Both conditions were satisfied in the demise of the first Bishop of Toronto. As a leader of his division, he was found at its head, with his armour on; and to the last, his voice was to be heard, not seldom, in the pulpit of one or other of the churches of his cathedral city, or addressing large companies of the newly confirmed.

It has often been affirmed that every worthy human life is a drama—a poem; and that "every man truly lives so long as he acts his nature, and some way makes good the faculties of himself." We have been reviewing a career of the kind here described; a life unusually complete, with strongly marked beginning, middle and close, earnestly occupied throughout with the most important human affairs. We have seen an early unfolding of special powers and aptitudes, and a grand ambition awakened by the consciousness of their possession; aspirations, as they proved themselves to be in the event, based on the nature of things. We have seen a discipline undergone; a discipline of long delays, of disappointment upon disappointment; each issuing in a clearer demonstration of the virtue of the man; of the genuineness of his faith, his hope, his self-control, his fortitude. Finally, we have seen the experience gained in the school of adversity practically applied in the period of prosperity, and every successive elevation in position,

and every additional honor attained, used, not for the furtherance of petty or personal ends, but as a new vantage-ground for securing good to men on the widest scale and for the longest possible period.

We have not touched upon private sorrows, all along mingling plentifully with the stream of outward, visible history; bereavements severing at last almost every earthly tie, and leaving their subject, in respect to blood-relationship, all but alone; although in other respects surrounded by

“ — that which should accompany old age,
As honor, love, obedience, troops of friends.”

Hear, however, the noble bishop himself speak: “My life,” he says, in 1860, “has doubtless been laborious, and, I believe, interspread by a larger number of vicissitudes than usually happen to individuals; but it has on the whole been happy. And now, when near the close, I can look back without any startling convictions, and forward with increasing hope.”—*Charge*, 1860, p. 4.

To the student of humanity, and of divinity too, how beautiful and how consolatory is such a declaration! To the prime blessing of an organization of the best quality, was added uninterrupted health, and a constitutional imperturbability. His was one of those strongly-braced intellects that can rise superior to troubles which crush the hearts of ordinary men. As often as the emergency presented itself, he could summon to his aid the reflection—

“Tis but the fate of place, and the rough brake
That virtue must go through. We must not stint
Our necessary actions, in the fear
To cope malicious censurers, which ever,
As ravenous fishes, do a vessel follow
That is new-trimm'd, but benefit no farther
Than vainly longing.”

He had the power to pass at will from one train of thought to another, and so divest himself of a mental burden. What a sense was there of cerebral cobwebs shaken off, for others as well as himself, in the sound of his brief, explosive, hearty laugh, suddenly heard above the murmur of conversation in

intervals of business at synodal or society meetings, after dreary discussions, threatening at times to be interminable. It was this superiority to the trials common to men that made him the stay he was found to be by many, when involved in serious perplexity and distress. Courageous himself, he inspired courage in others. Of the griefs laid before him, he discovered some view that was hopeful. He often saw something in relation to them, which the immediate sufferer did not. He thus often sent away from him with a lightened heart, those that had come to him desponding. The burden that had bowed them seemed half removed by being disclosed to him. For one, we happen to know that the illustrious Bishop Doane, of New Jersey, when hunted down so unrelentingly towards the close of his life, expressed the deepest thankfulness for an interview with the Bishop of Toronto, who suggested to him considerations of great moment as well as comfort, in the ordeal through which he was passing.

It was words of cheer like these, widely scattered, added to deeds unnumbered of a kindred nature, throughout a long life, that caused the decease of the first Bishop of Toronto to be mourned with a real grief. His loss was felt by very many to be like that which Boswell describes the friends of Dr. Johnson as experiencing, when that sturdy character was taken away from amongst them: "He has made a chasm which not only nothing can fill up, but which nothing has a tendency to fill up. Johnson is dead. Let us go to the next best: there is nobody. No man can be said to put the world in mind of Johnson."—*Life*, iv. 284.

For several years before his departure hence, his well-known form, caught sight of in the streets or at public gatherings for patriotic or benevolent purposes, had been regarded and saluted with the same kind of universal interest that used to accompany the great Duke towards the end of his career, in the parks and squares of London.

The brave part he had taken in the past history of Canada was remembered, and this spontaneously begat the esteem even of those whose politics and theology were different from his. There was an unaffected appreciation of his presence

wherever he chose to show himself. His real kindliness and breadth of character were discerned. His many acts and words of good will and good humour, as known either by experience or tradition, were parts of the common stock from which much of Canadian conversation was supplied. All this will account for the vast multitude that sought to do honour to his obsequies; will account for the marked and peculiar reverence then manifested on the part of the whole city that had grown up around his home, and the three dioceses which his own hand had shaped; as well as for the real love and affection, as of sons for a father, evinced by individuals on that ever-memorable occasion.

His eyesight to the last was wonderfully unimpaired. The principal aid that it required was manuscript in large characters. "Mark ye with what large letters I have written to you in my own hand," one greater than a bishop once had occasion to say to his people. Many of the later documents, whose contents were reverently listened to and marked by the clergy and laity of the diocese of Toronto, were thus patiently prepared in a bold legible text by their chief pastor's hand. But ordinarily his writing was unusually minute, densely filling folio pages of record and report.

Thoughtful and cultivated minds were always arrested by his sermons. In their conception and utterance, it was immediately evident that the ardour of the divine was chastened by the candour of the philosopher, and regulated by the method of the mathematician. Their matter was invariably solid, and pregnant with meaning, and never insipid. If not marked by the brilliancy of genius, or any elaborate artifices of rhetoric, their language was always vigorous and directly to the point.

Of his pulpit style, as formed half-a-century ago, we have several examples in the *Christian Recorder*. We transcribe one, which sounds like himself at any period of his career:—
 "In human affairs, do we not consider the acts of the representative as performed by the person he represents? Without this, the affairs of society, and on many occasions the affairs even of individuals, could never be carried on. But, further than this, even in the administration of justice, if one person represent and act for another, why may he not likewise suffer

for him, particularly when he consents to do so, and the administration of justice is willing to accept him? Have we reason to infer, that if a representative, abler than the sinner or person represented, was to offer himself, and who is not only willing to suffer the penalty threatened by the divine law; have we not reason, I say, to infer that such a representative would be graciously admitted, and that the merited punishment would be transferred to him, and even the impending wrath of heaven would be averted, and the joyful tidings of pardon and eternal hope proclaimed to every sincere penitent? In fine, the translation of punishment, so far from being contradictory, is entirely agreeable to reason, and the guilty person may escape by the sufferings of another substituted in his room. To apply this reasoning more particularly, we have to remark, that the condition of our blessed Lord was such as rendered the sufferings which he sustained for us fully answerable to all the punishments that would have been inflicted on sinners. By his sufferings, every end was accomplished that could have been promoted by the personal sufferings of the offenders. He was a blessed person, of infinite dignity and excellence, and might not only be justly accepted on our behalf, but by this oblation satisfaction for the guilt was fully obtained, and the forgiveness of sins and the hopes of a blessed immortality extended; and all this perfectly consistent with the divine perfections, and with the order and dignity of God's moral government."—*Christian Recorder*, vol. i. pp. 175-6.

In the same tone and strain we find him discoursing in 1860: "Without entering further into the distinction between natural and revealed religion, which I believe will gradually disappear as we advance in knowledge, I will merely observe that the most mysterious parts of the gospel will be found essentially connected with the nature and government of God. Hence it is no mark of wisdom to despise the resources of human reason, and still less to slight the light of the revelation which can alone conduct our reason to just and profitable conclusions. Reason is the compass by which we steer our course, and revelation the polar star by which we correct its variations. The Scriptures, generally speaking, do not reason, but exhort

and remonstrate. Nor do they attempt to fetter the judgment by the subtleties of argument, but to raise the feelings by appealing to plain matters of fact. Now this is what might have been expected from teachers acting under a commission, and armed by undeniable facts to enforce their admonitions. But though there is no regular treatise in the holy Scriptures on any one branch of religious doctrine, yet all the materials of a regular system are to be found there. The word of God contains the doctrines of religion in the same way as the system of nature contains the elements of physical science. In both cases the doctrines are deduced from the facts, which are not presented to us in any regular order, and must be classified before we can arrive at first principles. Hence those who would teach natural religion with profit, must arrange the facts which it offers into a system; and they who would explain the ways of God must arrange the materials which are so amply furnished in the Bible, but which are presented apparently without plan or order. I would therefore consider all objections to systems of divinity to be as unreasonable as it would be to object to the philosophy of Newton, for having elucidated the laws of nature and arranged the phenomena of the heavens. The ways of God are very complicated, as we all feel, and the manifestations of His will so infinitely diversified as at times to appear opposed to each other. Hence it is only by an enlarged view of His providence, that we can see the beauties and estimate the value of that revelation which He has given us. It is a great mistake to suppose that revelation has been given to save us the trouble of thinking. Its object is to teach us to think aright; to prevent the waste and misapplication of our faculties, but not to supersede their exercise. And though I am persuaded that no degree of study would ever have enabled man to arrive at accurate conceptions of God and His government without the aid of revelation, I am no less certain that revelation itself will not endue men with religious knowledge without study, meditation and reflection.”

—*Charge*, 1860, pp. 20-22.

The scene in the cathedral-church, on the delivery of a triennial Charge in former days, while yet the whole of Western Canada

formed the diocese of Toronto, will never be forgotten by persons present at it. It was as nearly as possible a reproduction of what we can conceive to have been the spectacle at a basilica of the old imperial days on a corresponding occasion. There was the episcopal chair, placed for the time being in the midst of the chancel, with its venerable and venerated occupant, the centre of all regards; before him a throng of presbyters, many of them literally as well as officially seniors, scarred and furrowed by toil and time, with a younger brother here and there, and deacons, interspersed, all solemnly habited, and gathered up in a mass to the chancel steps, and all standing, waiting for the words of one felt to be, in no mere formal sense, a father-in-God; of one to whom, it was on all hands believed, there could be no successor like or equal; listening to his grave and well-weighed counsels, on a wide range of subjects, with an unfeigned attention, sheet after sheet of closely written manuscript falling confusedly on the floor beside the chair for long hours together: outside the assembled band of clerical auditors was the *adstans populus*, the general laity, crowded up from the body of the building, or else looking down with interested gaze from the galleries on the right and left.

From his Charges to the clergy could be gathered a code of Anglican divinity, and a manual of canonical life. But while his statements of dogma and rules for clerical practice are definite and precise, he makes them with consideration, as knowing that the persons addressed were accustomed to great liberty of thought and action. So far as related to himself, the theological convictions formed at the student period of his life, having been happily arrived at under a wise direction, received only more and more confirmation as years rolled on. He was in this manner enabled, as he himself testified towards the close of his career, to speak at all times with boldness on the special topics connected with his office, and "with an inward satisfaction and firmness of purpose which, under the Divine blessing, has never changed." "I have always been aware," he tells his clergy in 1860, "that the best endeavour I could make to promote unity in the Church, was to seek after inward unity and peace in my own breast; because it is only

by cherishing such graces that I can give consistency to my religious character, and cause its influence to pervade and penetrate the diocese, and shed abroad in it the power of faith and charity." A profound remark, reminding us of Lord Bacon's words: "No pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage-ground of truth, a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene; and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests in the vale below; so also that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride. Certainly it is heaven upon earth to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in Providence, and turn upon the poles of Truth."

There was a peculiar freshness and naturalness about his published Journals of Visitation. In them, without losing anything of dignity, he enlivens details which might be deemed merely technical and professional, by notices of matters connected with the physical aspect and progress of the country. His Journal of the year 1842 was published in London, by the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and has passed through several editions. The same features characterized his narratives of the acts of the year delivered in Synod. In the account of his voyage to England in 1850, given in a Pastoral, the touching story of "Poor Thomas" will be remembered: a sailor on board the ship, who had been deprived of both his legs by frost-bite. After describing with minuteness the case, "His fine spirit endeared him," the bishop says, "to all the passengers, and, when made acquainted with his simple plans, a subscription of fifty pounds was raised for his benefit; and two gentlemen belonging to Liverpool, with true Christian charity, engaged to see it appropriated in such a manner as to ensure the completion of his wishes, and if necessary to supply what might be wanting. The matter being thus satisfactorily arranged, Thomas was made quite happy." This combination of a genial concern in homely, human matters, and a readiness and aptitude for high and complicated occupations, made him equally at his ease, whether conversing with Chinquaconse in an Indian hut at Garden River, crooning to himself some old Scottish air in the back seat of an uncouth stage-coach on the

Penetanguishine road, or exchanging courtesies with Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, and the gentlemen of his suite, in the salons of Government House at Toronto. And herein he exemplified in himself what his well-known views were, in regard to the kind of men fitted to be "spiritual pastors and masters" among the people of Western Canada. "It should make no difference whether it is a log or a sofa that you sit on," we once heard him say, referring to emergencies that constantly occur where things are in the rough. "I know how to content myself with earthen vessels, as my father did," said an old bishop of Chichester, in 1245, when Henry III. was withholding the revenues of his see: "let everything be sold, even to my horse, if there be need." This was the spirit of the first Bishop of Toronto. It was this singleness of view in regard to duty under all circumstances, that made him intrepid in the midst of peril. The times of contagious sickness, in 1832 and 1847, found him unflinching in his ministrations. In the keeping of appointments, too, the same fearlessness was sure to be seen. We ourselves well remember an instance of this, when, night and rough weather rendering a long pull in an open boat on the river at the Sault Ste. Marie by no means a trifling matter, the stand taken in respect to a distant engagement was in almost the identical terms used by the Roman general of old: "It is not necessary for me to live, but it is necessary for me to go."

In the printed remains to which reference has been made, it is curious to observe, also, with what a well sustained interest the vigour and earnestness of the writer or speaker always enabled him to invest the history of the lands set apart for Public Worship and Public Education in Canada. There is wonderfully little self-repetition in the multiplied statements of his case in speeches, reports, pastorals and petitions. Of a spirit which ever led him to "rank himself with princes," he addressed, besides these, several characteristic letters from time to time to prominent personages at home and on this continent, on public occasions. In 1815, there was one to Jefferson; in 1816, one to the Earl of Selkirk; in 1832, one to Dr. Chalmers; in 1851, to Lord John Russell. In these, as also

in his controversial correspondence with statesmen and others on great questions of the day, he wielded a pen which could prove itself sufficiently trenchant whenever there was a necessity. On the perusal of these productions, the reader familiar with Plutarch will be reminded not unfrequently of the policy of the elder Cato, who, we are told, "in engagements would strike boldly, without flinching; stand firm to his ground; fix a bold countenance upon his enemies, and with a harsh, threatening voice accost them; justly thinking himself, and telling others, that such a rugged kind of behaviour sometimes terrifies the enemy more than the sword itself." Doubtless on other occasions also, the same old Roman character will again and again have been recalled; "for with reason," the world-famous biographer declares, "everybody admired Cato, when they saw others sink under labours, and grow effeminate by pleasures, and yet beheld him unconquered by either; and that not only when he was young and desirous of honor, but also when old and grey-headed, after a consulship and triumph; like some famous victor in the games, persevering in his exercise and maintaining his character to the very last."—*Clough's Plutarch*, vol. ii. pp. 317, 321.

As a specimen in this connexion, we give an extract from a communication to the London *Times*, in 1841, which appended to it an editorial commendatory of its contents. Mr. Hawes and Mr. Joseph Hume had attempted, in their places in the House of Commons, to neutralize his influence by some groundless allegations. "I am not aware," the bishop observes, "what degree of influence may be exercised by Mr. Hawes over public opinion in England; and I cannot, therefore, estimate the force of the blow which he allowed himself to aim at the character of an absent man. This cannot be said of Mr. Hume; for, from my knowledge of his public career, I derive the consolation that no man's good name is likely to suffer much from any attack which he may be pleased to make upon it. They both, however, professed to speak only in reference to a despatch which His Excellency the Governor-General [Poulett Thomson] had written to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the 2nd of May, 1840, which, with the inclosures it

referred to, had been published among the Parliamentary documents. No man on whose good opinion I should be inclined to set much value, would be likely, I think, to have formed his judgment upon the comments of Mr. Hawes and Mr. Hume, without referring to the correspondence itself; and I am content to abide by the judgment which may have been formed upon a deliberate consideration of the correspondence by men of candid minds, having no desire to destroy my reputation for political purposes, and having no other sinister object in view." Upon the reply of the bishop, the *Times* of the day, manifestly at the moment in opposition, was pleased to remark, "We have dwelt on the gross aspersions and bitter malevolence directed against this respectable clergyman, because such injuries are systematic; because they are characteristic of the unprincipled and shameful warfare carried on by the members of the executive government, and by the faction upon whose patronage they hang for support, against the most sacred institution of the monarchy, the whole frame of the Church of England and its most blameless functionaries."

As being among the most remarkable of his public efforts, his extemporaneous Confirmation-addresses ought also to be mentioned. Genuinely paternal in tone, and really valuable as practical guides in the conduct of life, they were vividly remembered by those who heard them. His strong sympathy with the young has already been adverted to: his interest in their fears, their hopes, their trials, their plans, was hearty and never-failing. What we once happened casually to witness, in the case of a young friend about to try his fortunes in a distant part of the globe, we shall not readily forget, namely, a parting benediction, given in the primitive way, and unaffectedly received on bended knee, the suddenness and spontaneity of the act on both sides rendering the scene a memorable and touching one. There were not a few young men who were indebted to him, virtually, for their first introduction in life.

From his remains which may be found in print, from his Charges and Synodal Addresses, his Letters to public Characters, his Speeches and Reports, as also from the records of his acts and works, an exact moral portrait of the first Bishop of

Toronto may, as we can see, be obtained, and will be conveyed to posterity.

As to the literal presentments of his person, of his physique and its expression, that exist on canvas or otherwise, the noblest and the best is that taken in London just after his consecration. In that portrait the artist has, with the tact of a Sir Thomas Lawrence, caught and fixed the image of the bishop at a happy moment, idealizing grandly the whole figure with great skill. The portraits at Trinity College, in the Vestry-room of St. James', and in the Board-room of the Church Society, are all too realistic to be pleasing. A water-colour likeness of him as Archdeacon Strachan, taken many years ago by Hoppner Meyer, was good, the negligent air of the surplice being especially indicative of character. A later engraving by the same artist, from a photograph, was not so successful. An oil-painting by Gush, in the possession of Dr. Fuller, is somewhat like, but is not satisfactory. The bust, which is to be seen in some places, preserves the features, but it is altogether destitute of the nobleness which an artist would have thrown into a production of that kind. As to the numerous photographs, they are generally good; but, as was to be expected, they reflect too much of that side of the outward aspect which gives the impression of one—*Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer*. Beneath them all might be inscribed—

“ In his royalty of nature
Reigns that which would be feared; 'tis much he dared;
And to that dauntless temper of his mind,
He hath a wisdom that doth guide his valour
To act in safety.”

One photograph, full length, of cabinet size, by Carswell, gives very accurately the figure, somewhat short and firmly built, but resting lightly on the ground; the fine countenance, of antique mould, full of serious thought and active intelligence; the well-balanced head, and the hair, which extreme age had only partially blanched. Many years ago, his head and countenance bore a considerable resemblance to those of Milton, as portrayed in Faithorne's well-known picture commonly given

in the old editions. At a later period, the current portrait of Bishop Jewel conveys some idea of his face.

It is interesting to notice how at early formative periods in human societies in all parts of the world, there has been a development of men peculiarly adapted to their day and generation. From some points of view, indeed, it might seem as if the existence of the men created also the occasion of their becoming eminent; but on examining further, it will generally be found that a variety of antecedent circumstances had been, perhaps for a long while, preparing a crisis, when the opportune appearance of a man competent to conceive a happy mode of combining them, and capable of discerning the happy moment for doing so, was the means of bringing the crisis to a head; and thus a particular name became so intimately associated with a particular movement, that after-generations would be inclined to attribute the whole glory of the transaction to the possessor of that name.

Posterity, gratefully and with justice, calls the men thus rendered eminent, heroes and benefactors. At many another period there have lived, it is not improbable, men of equal capacity and force; but the peculiar surroundings that in the one case made greatness of character conspicuous, have been wanting in the other. In addition to clear heads, high aims and strong wills, the fortunate few to whom reference has been made, had spheres of action peculiar to themselves. In the early civil history of the United States, there is Washington. How happily adapted the man to the emergency, and the emergency to the man! And in the ecclesiastical affairs of that country, at least so far as that communion is concerned which would at the outset be the most disorganized by a separation from the mother country, how admirably suited to the occasion was Bishop White! Here in our own Canada, when we turn our regards to its early French day, what figure more appropriate could present itself to the eye, in the group of its first occupants, than that of Champlain? What character could have been better adapted to further and protect the civil interests of the country as it then was? While in regard to Gallicanism, the principal form of religious belief and worship

in the country as it then was, and the education involved therein, who could have been better fitted to mould and guide affairs than a Laval, or, later, a Plessis?

Then, advancing westward, to the regions first settled and organized under British influences, who is there that appears to have been better fitted in mind and spirit to be the founder and legislator of a new State, the originator of its institutions and customs, than John Graves Simcoe, first Governor of Upper Canada? And that the analogy between the two old Canadian provinces might be complete, ecclesiastically as well as civilly, a name presents itself in relation to matters connected with Public Worship and Public Instruction, as contemplated in the theory of government then in vogue, that will be mentioned in future times with great emphasis and respect—the name of the great bishop whose career we have been reviewing.

Brought prominently into view by the times in which he lived, and by the circumstances of the country in which his lot was cast, he was adapted in a particular manner to those times and circumstances. Had he been of an organization less rigid, or had he happened to have taken more of the artificial shape which the conventional culture of old communities is apt to give; or had he chanced to adopt a principle of public action different from that which he did adopt, neither his defeats nor his successes would have been so impressive as they are. Posterity would not have been forced to notice so pointedly as it is now, the lesson taught by both—that portion of posterity, of course we mean, which is immediately concerned with ecclesiastical and educational questions in Canada.

Inasmuch as there really were so many things to be said in favour of the claim of the Anglican Church to “establishment” in Canada (the Educational claim included), according to the theory governing the framers of the Imperial Act of 1791, it is well that there appeared on the scene one who was ready and able to do battle to the death in behalf of that claim. Had the Anglican interests in respect to Public Worship and Public Education been represented by a man of faint heart or weak powers at the critical moments, and those interests gone to the

wall, as under any circumstances they would have done, the visionary of after-times, looking back over the past of Canada, would have maintained a never-ending lament. As matters stand now, posterity (limited as before) accepts the verdict given after a protracted discussion, with all the more composure, because an advocate very able and very much in earnest was heard on that which proved to be the losing side: and the fact is grasped, that the prevalence or non-prevalence of systems of Public Worship and Public Education must henceforward depend, not upon lands, but upon intrinsic desert. In other words, the Anglican communion has been taught that its real strength lies in its own historic character and descent; and that any peculiar method of training which it may adopt for the benefit of its youth, must flourish or not, in proportion solely to the degree of countenance given to it by itself.

The ancient theory was, that the people of a country and the church of a country are identical. It is a theory that simplifies government, when generally acknowledged, and removes all difficulty in regard to endowments for Public Worship and Public Instruction. But, except

"In Utopia, subterranean fields,
Or some secreted island, Heaven knows where,"

we are no longer to expect that such a theory will ever again be realized in fact. The Reformation, the Commonwealth, the Revolution of 1688, were all admonitions that the details of the policy of Great Britain must be more and more modified, if the wants of modern men were to be met and satisfied. The Abolition of Tests, the Roman Catholic Emancipation, the Tithe Commutation, the Reform measure of 1832, the mitigations in Criminal law, the Reform measure of 1867—all point the same way; to be followed, there is reason to believe, from time to time, by many an additional indication to the same effect. All this may seem very undesirable to many persons; all this may serve only as an incentive to zeal for the pre-Reformation condition of things in Great Britain and Ireland; zeal for the restoration of the constitution in its pristine integrity. But is it not worth while to consider whether the history of the human

race justifies a reasonable man in believing that any condition of things, at any given time, is the one which must necessarily be the best adapted to men at all subsequent periods? It may turn out, by-and-bye, that the only principle of government practicable, even in the mother country, in relation to Public Worship and Public Instruction, is that enunciated by Cromwell himself years ago: "Love all, tender all," cried he to his Parliament in 1653; "cherish and countenance all in all things that are good; and if the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian shall desire to live peaceably and quietly under you—if any shall desire but to lead a life of godliness and honesty, let him be protected."—*Wilson's Cromwell and the Protectorate*, p. 204. Statesmen are being compelled, by the stubbornness of events, to allow that "they be two things," as Bacon speaks, "unity and uniformity." They have discovered that the enforcement of the latter does not secure the former; while the former may be presumed to exist when the latter is given up. Some even go so far as to hold that "the sort of variation resulting from independence and freedom, so far from breaking the bond, is the best preservation of it." A number of neighbouring families, to use Archbishop Whately's illustration of this proposition, living in perfect unity, will be thrown into discord as soon as you compel them to form one family, and to observe in things intrinsically indifferent, the same rules. One, for instance, likes early hours, and another late; one likes the windows open, and another shut; and thus, by being brought too close together, they are drawn into ill-will, by one being perpetually forced to give way to another.

From the days of Elizabeth down to the opening of the Royal Commission recently appointed by the present Queen, there have been occasions presented when the theory of the identity of the people of England and of the Anglican Church could have had a wide realization. At the Hampton Court Conference, the hectoring spirit of James "I. and VI.," was of course fatal to any such theory, although in his blind misreading of the British people, he supposed such a spirit not incompatible with it. "Well, doctor, have you anything more to say?" asked James of one of the dissentients on that occasion,

after listening to the objections urged. "No more, if it please your Majesty," was the reply. "Then," said the King, "if this is all your party hath to say, I will make them conform, or harrie them out of the land: or else do worse!"—*Southey's Book of the Church*, p. 429. There have been, all along, too many Jameses. In a recent visit to the mother country, we found men of this type existing still, in the lay ranks as well as in the clerical; persons, we mean, who seemed to us to mis-read the real temper of the bulk of their fellow-countrymen; and we were led by a study of their doings and writings to the conviction that the day is near at hand when the theory of identity between the historic Church and the population in the midst of which it is placed, will, even in law, be relinquished there, as it is already in Canada.

The lesson taught to the Anglican Church in Canada by the local events which we have been reviewing, is not yet learnt in the mother country; but its inculcation is agitating society there at the present moment. The issue will be, there can be little doubt, in harmony with the issue of other movements in the direction of civil and religious liberty in the British Islands, resulting finally in the very condition of things which we see about us here.

Is it not well that it should be seen, at home and here, that endowments, however convenient when possessed, are not of the essence of the Anglican Church? Is it not well that in some manner the fact should be made plain, that in societies, ecclesiastical as well as civil, individuals cannot be absolved from the duties of succour and maintenance which they owe to the body of which they are a part?—duties which become obscure when the work of succour and maintenance is for a series of ages carried on by the inanimate agency of the produce of land. In the history of man, there can be little doubt but that endowments, for one thing, have led successively to indifference to truth, to a consequent corruption of truth, and then to a perpetuation of that corruption.

"Ah! Constantine! to how much ill gave birth,
Not thy conversion, but that plenteous dower
Which the first wealthy Father gained from thee!"

Dante, Inf., xix.

We are not vouching for the dower in question; we merely adopt the poet's words to give a hint of what we mean. Now, may not the stripping away of such adventitious helps in one quarter, and the precariousness which has come over such helps, we may perhaps say, in all quarters, be a premonitory symptom of the coming day which we are hopefully taught to expect, when Truth, pure and simple, will very widely prevail, by virtue of its own divine, intrinsic nature?

The defeats of the great bishop, then, have their moral. At the same time, those defeats in no way detract from his reputation. In considering them, we have again and again been reminded of what Montaigne says in a well-known passage, which we are tempted to give at length, so happily and characteristically does he therein put one or two parallel cases:

"The estimation and value of a man," he says, "consist in the heart and in the will: there his true honour lives. Valour is stability, not of legs and arms, but of the courage and the soul. It does not lie in the goodness of our horse, or of our arms, but in ourselves. He that falls, firm in his courage,—*Si succiderit, de genu pugnat*; "If his legs fail him, fights upon his knees;" he who, despite the danger of death near at hand, abates nothing of his assurance; who, dying, does yet dart at his enemy a fierce and disdainful look, is overcome, not by us, but by fortune; he is killed, not conquered; the most valiant are sometimes the most unfortunate. There are some defeats more triumphant than victories. Those four sister-victories, the fairest the sun ever beheld, of Salamis, Plataea, Mycale and Sicily, never opposed all their united glories to the single glory of the discomfiture of King Leonidas and his heroes at the Pass of Thermopylae. Who ever ran with a more glorious desire and greater ambition to the winning, than the captain Ischolas to the certain loss of a battle? He was ordered to defend a certain pass of Peloponnesus against the Arcadians, which, from the nature of the place and the inequality of forces, finding it utterly impossible for him to do, and seeing clearly that all who presented themselves to the enemy must certainly be left upon the place; and, on the other hand, reputing it unworthy of his own virtue and magnanimity, and of the

Lacedæmonian name, to fail in his duty, he chose a mean betwixt these two extremes, after this manner: the youngest and most active of his men he preserved for the service and defence of their country, and therefore sent them back; and with the rest, whose loss would be of less consideration, he resolved to make good the pass, and, with the death of them, to make the enemy buy their entry as dear as possibly he could. And so it fell out; for, being presently encompassed on all sides by the Arcadians, after having made a great slaughter of the enemy, he and his men were all cut to pieces. Is there any trophy dedicated to conquerors which is not much more due to those who were thus overcome? The part that true conquering has to play lies in the encounter, not in the coming off; the honour of valour consists in fighting, not in subduing."—*Montaigne, ed. Hazlitt, p. 118.*

Equally instructive with the defeats, are the successes of the first Bishop of Toronto. Their moral, especially for the Communion which he ruled, and for individuals composing it, is this: Recognize facts; aim at the practical. We need not describe again the determined way in which he endeavoured to make good the disasters entailed by the irresistible march of events. The time left him was short. He girded himself with desperate energy to his work; and taking an entirely new basis of operations, he realized after all his ideal, on a scale indeed below what his first conception had pictured, but still on a scale of sufficiently good dimensions; actually creating for himself, by this second development of force, a spiritual realm over which, amidst the acclaims of all, he reigned as the visible head, and informing genius, to the moment of his decease; and then, leaving it to his successors, furnished with means and appliances of his own institution, for self-regulation, self-support, and self-perpetuation, in all future time.

Moralists who take a morbid view of human life are ready to exclaim,—What shadows we are and what shadows we pursue! Which may be true of numbers, but need not be true of any, provided only they have been put in possession of sound minds and sound bodies, and have been disciplined in both with the discipline provided for them.

Such a man as the great Bishop whose career we have been studying, is no shadow. Neither are the things which such men pursue, shadows. The results of the life of the first Bishop of Toronto are tangible realities. They may be sensibly participated in by all of the Canadian people that choose, or in the future shall choose, to avail themselves of them. And he himself is a reality. His example, his written and spoken words, his works and deeds, will together constitute a standard and type to which, in the fluctuations of the future, there will be a recurrence. His name will be one of the things which the generations following will not willingly let die. His spirit will be still palpably marching on.

He built the principal church-edifice appertaining to his own communion four times in succession; twice as a cathedral church for his diocese; and on each successive occasion with increased grandeur and costliness. "Twins of Learning" witness for him: he founded two Universities in succession, both invested with the character borne by such institutions as originally instituted, by Royal Charter,—procured in both instances by his own personal travail; the later of the two by an individual and solitary effort, to which it is not easy to find a parallel. He saw them both in operation, investigating, conserving, and propagating truth, on somewhat different lines indeed, but probably with co-ordinate utility, as things are. The very Park, with its widely-renowned Avenue, the Champs Elysées of Toronto, in which the bourgeoisie of the place love to take their pastime, are a provision of his, that property having been specially selected by him as President of King's College, with the same judiciousness and the same careful prescience of the need of amplitude for such purposes which guided him also in choosing the fine site and grounds of Trinity College.

The Anglican residue rescued by his prowess in the final disposition of the endowments for Public Worship, he so wisely husbanded by a scheme of commutation, that funds which in due course were intended to be extinguished were transformed into a permanence, applicable in all time to the aid and maintenance of Anglican interests.

To give unity to the action of the Anglican communion in the furtherance of essential objects, he organized, first, temporarily and tentatively, a working Association among its members, with a complete machinery for effecting its purpose:—and then, secondly, as a more comprehensive measure, as a final and permanent institution, he revived in his own diocese, and through the example of that, in nearly all colonial dioceses, the assembling of synods; and that too, with representatives duly chosen from the laity. He thus inaugurated for the dependencies of Great Britain, what they had not before, a constitutional Episcopacy, preventing for the future a pernicious isolation of the clerical order, securing a community of interest and feeling between congregations and their pastors, introducing in fact the germ of a healthy, vigorous and consistent life for the Anglican communion in Canada.

The chancel-apse that shelters the grave of the first Bishop of Toronto has acquired a double sacredness. St. James's, Toronto, will be enquired for and visited hereafter by one and another from different parts of this continent and the mother country; somewhat as certain venerable piles are inquired for and visited at St. Albans and Winchester, at Rheims and Mayence, for the sake of historic dust therein enshrined.

The originators of sees, the founders of cathedrals and colleges in Europe, when as yet the British Humber and the German Rhine flowed between banks as sparingly cultivated as those of the St. Lawrence were fifty years ago,—the Chads, the Cuthberts, the Aidans, the Winifrieds,—were placed by the gratitude of a later generation, tinctured by its superstition, on the roll of the canonized, whatever that may imply.

It may reasonably be doubted whether as men these personages were exceedingly different from the ever-memorable protobishop whose career we have traced, or whether as ecclesiastics their fixity of idea and persistence of purpose surpassed his.

At a later period, in the days of a Wykeham or a Waynflete, a Chichele or a Wheathampstead, the effigy of such an one would, without question, have been seen lying in perpetual state in some grand structure of his own foundation, extended on altar-tomb, with cope and mitre and pastoral staff; palms

joined as in prayer; eyes open towards heaven, as in sure confidence of the things hoped for; at his head or feet the miniature model of church or college upborne by the hands of angels.

Such a memorial of the great Canadian Bishop in the midst of the people amongst whom he dwelt, is hardly to be expected; although within the cathedral-church of Canterbury, as we ourselves lately beheld, prelates so recently deceased as a Howley and a Sumner, are on this wise commemorated, with becoming modifications.

But even without accessories of any kind, without the mystic prefix with which the ages of credulity would have marked his name; without the symbolism, sensuous and florid as of an unintelligent period, or spiritual and delicate as of an intelligent one, the mortal resting-place of the first Bishop of Toronto will have power to fascinate the imagination. As though there burned within it an undying lamp, a steady beam of light will be seen to issue from that sepulchral vault, streaming down the future of the Anglican Church in Canada, drawing and reclaiming, cheering and directing, many faltering steps.