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WILLIAM VAN MILDERT, BISHOP

THESIS BY RALPH ALLEN COCHRANE

A Candidate for the Degree  
of Master of Letters

*21<sup>st</sup> April, 1950.*

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## P R E F A C E

William Van Mildert lived during a period which, in spite of contrasts, presents parallels with our own. As now, changes, momentous in character, were being demanded by large sections of the British people, and the external pressure of events and the aftermaths of more than one war rendered them, in some form, inevitable. Post-War Reconstruction, under the title of 'Reform', Political, Social and Ecclesiastical, was the absorbing interest of the country during the latter portion of his life, and vested interests had to adjust themselves to conditions which had become fundamentally different from those of the eighteenth century, whose leisured culture was felt by many to be incapable of solving the urgent problems of the day. Already it was becoming increasingly recognized that 'higher education' must be made available for a far larger proportion of the population, and though the criticisms of Gibbon on the exercises for degrees at Oxford could be regarded justly as

exaggerated, there was hardly room for doubt that reform of some kind was needed even in that most famous Seat of Learning.

Yet the traditional respect for those who, trained under the old régime, held office and exercised administrative functions, still lingered, and upon them lay the heavy responsibility of responding adequately to the challenge of their age, if undisciplined zeal for the new ideals were not to sweep away much that was precious in the old order.

Van Mildert was born in 1765, and, as he did not die till 1836, he saw the emergence of these new ideals, and their triumph in some spheres. It would not be reasonable to expect that he should have found it possible, or right to be in sympathy with all the proposals which strove to capture the enthusiasm of a younger generation. Many of them were quite foreign to his training, and to some of them, now largely accepted as beyond controversy, he was definitely opposed; but he was no obscurantist or reactionary, and in some matters, notably in those relating to biblical criticism and to the need of increasing the opportunities of higher education, he was far in advance of many of his contemporaries.

As a Prelate of the Church, first at Llandaff, and, subsequently, at Durham, his wise guidance and counsel were of great value to the Church at a time when she was subjected to violent and hostile criticism. He was always eager to defend her cause in the House of Lords, and the evidence available indicates that even when his views and the policies which he advocated did not meet with approval, he retained the respect and affection of his fellow Peers.

As a Diocesan Bishop he showed himself keenly alive to the urgent problem of making the ministrations of the Church available in districts where the population was rapidly increasing owing to the development in mining and industry, both in Wales and in the North. In this respect he was one of the pioneers of the many movements for 'Church Extension', and the need for providing new Churches and 'Chapels of Ease' would appear to have been constantly in his mind. In his personal relations with the Clergy of his Dioceses it is evident that paternal affection was the motive of his many and generous charitable gifts, and when he had ceased to be Bishop of Llandaff he continued to give unobtrusively financial help to that Diocese.

From all who enjoy the privilege of having the University of Durham for their Alma Mater William Van Mildert can claim not only admiration, but the warmer sentiment of affection. In the founding of the University he played a great, perhaps, indeed, the greatest part, and, at a time when so much that was old was, for that very reason, considered obsolete, he revived the mediaeval conception of a University in filial relation with the Church. Certain changes, possibly inevitable, have been made which have obscured to some extent that conception even at Durham, as well as at Oxford and Cambridge, but the Church may well be proud of the Bishop who made possible the re-birth of that ideal at Durham, when many regarded its continued existence as an unjustifiable anachronism.

No excuse, therefore, can be needed to justify the wish of any son of Durham to honour the memory of Van Mildert. The writer is, however, well aware that some plea is needed to justify his hazarding the attempt to give expression to this laudable wish, and he would urge in extenuation some considerations.

In the first place, no detailed Memoir of the Bishop

has appeared in print (so far as the writer has been able to ascertain), since the publication of that by Cornelius Ives in 1838. That, indeed, was admirably done, and was a loving tribute to a loved and revered Relative. But it omitted a great deal which deserves to be recorded, and which will be found in this thesis. Doubtless more material might have been available if only a much earlier and more competent alumnus of Durham had discharged this debt of honour, before other letters and papers had been lost or destroyed.

In the second place the writer believes that the Bishop's method of approaching the ecclesiastical problems of his time provides an example of loyalty to the Church's Faith and Order needed greatly to-day. Attractive schemes of Reunion are being advocated strenuously, and these should be submitted to the same searching test of loyalty, lest both Faith and Order be sacrificed in so splendid a cause.

The writer is indebted to so many for their kind help and encouragement that he cannot hope to mention all by name. He desires to express his gratitude to Captain and Miss Grant-Ives, of Bradden, Northants, and to Mrs. Grant-Ives, of Wellesbourne, Warwickshire, for the loan of family

manuscripts, and for their great kindness in acceding to his suggestion that Durham University Library should be enriched by possessing them; to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Durham for permission to consult Van Mildert's Acta Book, and to the Dean and Chapter of Durham for a similar permission in regard to the Chapter archives.

In Mr. Edward Hughes, Professor of History in the University, the writer has had a most kind and patient supervisor and his debt to him cannot be adequately expressed. Nor can he fail to record his indebtedness to the Reverend Canon Whiting, D.Litt.; to Miss I. Churchill, Ph.D., Assistant Librarian of Lambeth Palace Library; and to many others, some of whom are referred to in the thesis.

How unworthy of the subject this effort is, even with such generous help, the writer is fully conscious; the life of a parish priest does not, and, perhaps, should not provide opportunities for long and continuous study. Moreover large libraries have seldom been within easy reach, and much of the work has been done during the second World War, and in a parish on the South-East Coast, where nearness to the French Coast had ceased to possess any considerable attraction.



But at least the effort has been a labour of love,  
and, as such, the writer humbly offers it to his benign  
Mother, the University of Durham.

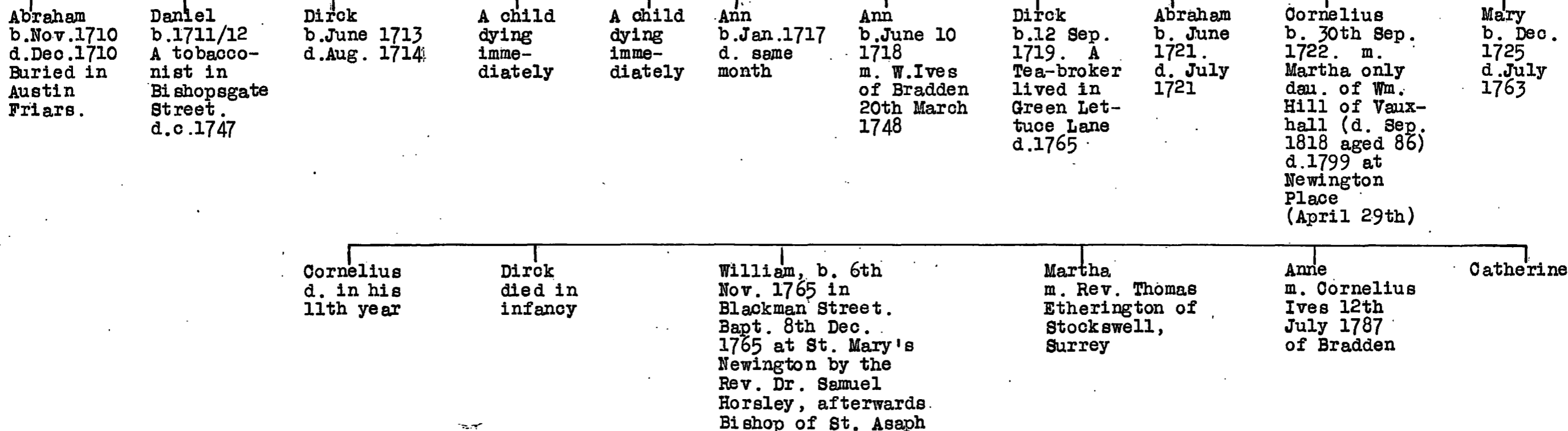
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DAVID VAN MILDERT = Kuffelaer, buried in the Dutch  
of Amsterdam Church at Austin Friars

Daniel  
b. at Amsterdam

Naturalized in England, probably in the reign of William III,  
though the Act bears no date: lived at Homerton, near Hackney;  
had a fine collection of natural curios, which are now in the  
British Museum. D. at Homerton.

Abraham = Anne Wittenoom  
b. Dec. 1680. m. Dec. 1709  
Merchant, living first in Thames Street,  
and later in Great St. Helens, where he died.



CORNELIUS DIRKEN WITTENOOM = Margaret Janosyn b. Oct. 1617 at Schiedam  
 b. Feb. 1619 at Amsterdam m. 23rd Feb. 1632.

Dirck Cornelius b. 6 Jan. 1643 d. 6 Feb. 1643	Dirck Cornelius b. 15 Dec. 1644 d. 3 Feb. 1655	Johannes Cornelius b. 15 Nov. 1646 d. 9 Oct. 1669	Cornelius Cornelius b. 13 Nov. 1647 d. 15 Nov. 1647	Cornelius Cornelius b. 28 June 1649	Elizabeth Cornelius b. 7 Feb. 1651 d. 25 Oc. 1654	Willimoet Cornelius b. 21 Nov. 1652. d. 25 June 1654	Dirck Corne- lius b. 2 Aug. 1655	Elizabeth Cornelius b. 13 Oct. 1657	Dirck Cornelius = b. 4 Feb. 1657 at Rotterdam m. 18 Dec. 1684	Ander van Dorden Henderlest b. 2 Aug. 1655 at Amsterdam
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1st Son	2nd Son	Cornelius Dirken b. 27 Mar. 1686 at Rotterdam d. 29 Oct. 1756 in London	Hendrick Dirken b. 15 Oct. 1687 in London. d. 9 Aug. 1689 at Rotterdam	Maria Dircken b. 2 Oct. 1689 at Rotterdam d. 20 Oct. 1689	Anna Dirken b. 29 Aug. 1690 in London. m. Abraham Van Mildert Dec. 1709 d. 15 Sep. 1769	Gerrit Dirckoz b. 8 Oct. 1692 in London. d. 3 Dec. 1692	Maria Dirckoz b. 15 Nov. 1693 in London m. ? Taylor	Henrick Dirckoz b. 16 Jan. 1695 in London d. 11 May 1698 in London	Gerrit Dirckoz b. 17 June 1696 in London. d. c. 1716 (as it is thought).	Raagel Dirckoz b. 22 June 1698 in London. m. ? Lyde d. 9 July 1782
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FRANCES IVES and SARAH d. of Thomas Pentlow of Wilby,  
(of Wellingborough) d. July 1666.

William, Rector of Green's Norton & Bradden  
Purchased Bradden 1677, d. Jan. 1696  
m. Elizabeth (?)

Frances = Anne (?) buried Sep. 3rd 1689  
of  
Wellingborough  
d. 1687

Frances = Elizabeth Carpenter  
d. 1728

William = Anne, eldest dau. of Abraham Van Mildert  
(of Brad- m. (at Lambeth Suley) 20th March, 1748  
den) d.  
24 Dec.  
1794

Anne, bap. at St. Leonards, Shoreditch  
7th August, 1751; m. Thomas Grant of  
Lichborough, Northants 19th Nov. 1776.  
His great-grandson (by this marriage)  
inherited Bradden under the Will of  
the last Miss Ives and took the name  
of Grant-Ives. Capt. & Miss Grant-Ives  
are his children and are thus great-  
great-grandchildren of Thomas Grant  
of Lichborough.

Cornelius = Anne, 2nd dau. of Cornelius Van Mildert  
(of Brad- m. 12th July 1787.  
den). Bapt.  
at Belchamp  
Otton, Essex  
5th Nov. 1758.

## I

### FAMILY ANTECEDENTS

William Van Mildert was of Dutch and English descent, but the Van Mildert Family had been settled in England so long that it had assimilated English characteristics. Certainly, to judge from his writings, William's English would not lead the ordinary reader to suppose that he was not entirely of English descent, though on his father's side he was entirely of Dutch origin and both his grandfather and great-grandfather had Dutch wives. The first Van Mildert, of whom we have any certain record, is David, who had been born at Amsterdam, but had migrated to England in the seventeenth century. It would, however, seem that this must have been subsequent to 1662, for in a list of members of the Dutch Church of Austin Friars (undated, but found with papers relating to that year), no Van Mildert appears. <sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) Hessel, *Acclaesia Londino-Batavae, Archivum*, Vol. iii, No. 3563.

Ives, in his Memoir, tells us that he married the 'Widow' Kuffelaer, and that she was buried in the Dutch Church of Austin Friars, London, destroyed, alas, by a land-mine in an enemy raid on 16th October, 1940. The Register<sup>(1)</sup> of the Church recorded her burial as follows:-

13 Apl 1687 Juffr. Magdalena Kuffelaer, Weduwe.

David's son Daniel had been born at Amsterdam, and doubtless was brought to England when his father migrated from Holland. He lived at Homerton, near Hackney, 'in rather a splendid style' (according to a tradition mentioned by Ives in his Memoir), and made a collection of natural curios which eventually found a permanent home in the British Museum.

Whether the following entries in the Dutch Church Register<sup>(2)</sup> refer to baptisms of his children is not certain, but it would seem probable that they do -

19 Oct. 1673	Mildert, Van	David	f.	Daniel
26 Dec. 1678	" "	Catarina	f.	"
1 Oct. 1682	" "	Maria	f.	"
2 Sept. 1684	" "	Anna	f.	" and Eleonora

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(1) Moen's Marriage, Baptismal and Burial Registers of the Dutch Reformed Church, Austin Friars, London, p.153.

(2) Moen's Register, p. 51.

Assuming that they do, his son Abraham, born 1680, must have been baptized elsewhere. Nor is it easy to understand the entry "and Eleonora", unless we are to understand that Daniel was twice married, viz. first to one whose name is not recorded, and secondly to Eleonora. There is also an entry<sup>(1)</sup> "25 Dec. 1686 Mildert, Van, Henrietta f. Fr. Daniel and Leonora Christina", but it has not been possible to identify that member of the family, though Leonora may be a variant for Eleonora.

In 1678 Daniel Van Mildert served the Church as one of its Deacons<sup>(2)</sup> and in 1692 he was elected as one of its Elders, appearing as Daniel de Mildert.<sup>(3)</sup> Indeed it is evident from the Records of the Dutch Church at Austin Friars that Daniel was regarded as a very prominent and responsible member of the Dutch Community in London. Hessel's *Acclaesia Londino-Batavae Archivum* contains many references to him, and the following particulars are taken from the second part of Volume 3 (*Epistolae et Tractatus*) with grateful acknowledgments to the compiler of this truly valuable work. The numbers in all cases refer to those in

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- (1) Moen's Register, p. 51.  
 (2) Ib. p. 212.  
 (3) Ib.

(Note in p. 212 Abraham Van Mildert a Deacon under date 1711).

that volume.

3957 London (Wednesday 7) ( = 17<sup>3</sup> N.S.) Dec: 1687.  
Signs as one of the Deacons, a receipt for arrears  
of rent from Sir Harry Cambell.

4028 London, Wed. 1 (= 12 N.S.) April 1702 Agrees  
to join with the other Elders in dining together once  
every three months.

During the years 1702-1703 the Consistory and Deacons  
had to deal with a very difficult and troublesome case in  
connection with their Minister Emilius Van Cuylenborgh.  
Accusations had been brought against him of conversations  
with people of bad character, of slander, of denying this  
latest charge, and of some dishonest conduct. The Consis-  
tory evidently felt that there was substance in the accusa-  
tions, and wished to be rid of him, either, as they hoped,  
by his voluntary resignation, or, if need be, by his dis-  
missal. In all these tiresome negotiations, involving  
eventually an appeal to the Bishop of London as "Superin-  
tendent" of their Church, Daniel Van Mildert was one of the  
trusted representatives of the Consistory.<sup>(1)</sup> A perusal of

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(1) Vide numbers 4036, 4049 London 13 (= 24 N.S.) Feb. 1703  
Order from the Bishop of London (Henry Compton) to  
"M. Daniel Van Milder (sic), and others of the Vestry  
of the Dutch Church in Austin Fryars within the City  
and Diocese of London." 4072 Further notice from the



the documents of the case leaves one with the impression that the Minister received generous and considerate treatment.

It is a relief to turn from this troublesome dispute to the wholesome, if routine, business of the Church, and here again we find that Daniel Van Mildert was one of its trusted officials.

The accession of William III to the English throne must have been heralded by the Dutch Community here as the dawn of prosperity, and even of political influence. The numbers of immigrants from the Netherlands increased considerably, and many of them obtained high rank in the Navy and Army.<sup>(1)</sup> But 'Dutch William' was far from popular

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(Footnote continued from p. 4)

Bishop through the Registrar addressed to "Mr. Daniel Van Mildert one of the Elders of the Dutch Church and Congregation" in Austin "Fryars, London." 4076 Further Order from the Bishop of London addressed "To the Gentlemen of the Dutch Church in London." And in another hand "To Mr. Van Mildred (sic) Merchant in Vine Street, minorities." 4080 Settlement of the case and financial arrangements for pension to Emelius Van Cuylenborgh and his Wife, if she should survive him: Daniel Van Mildert appears amongst the signatories. The ex-minister was to receive for life £55 per annum, and his Wife, if she should survive him, £20 per annum.

(1) Moen's Dutch Church Registers, p. XL.

and the increasing importance of the members of the Dutch Community was viewed with great dislike. In 1689 a Dutch Chapel Royal was established in St. James' Palace, and the salaries of its ministers found a place in the Royal Pension list.<sup>(1)</sup> Even in Charles II's reign an Act had been passed in 1672 to allow the naturalization of foreigners, but there were irksome restrictions. The provisions only applied to those naturalized within five years of 23rd March 1673-4, and proof had to be produced that the applicants had received Holy Communion in the Church of England. William's reign, therefore, seemed to afford an opportunity for securing naturalization for all Protestant aliens, and a Bill was introduced in 1694, but its unpopularity led to its being dropped after the second reading.

Meanwhile the practice of 'occasional Conformity', in order to qualify for office, continued, and conditions for non-conformists and Protestant aliens were only tolerable through the government's connivance at evasion of the Test and Corporation Acts. With the accession of Queen Anne, however, the aspect of the situation changed. The latent

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(1) Moen's Dutch Church Registers, P.XLI.

sympathy for the Stuart dynasty came to the surface, and, with it, a recrudescence of the coercive methods of the Tudors. In 1702 a Bill was introduced into the House of Commons which, while professing lip-service to the principle of toleration of religious differences, aimed at securing that no-one frequenting non-conformist services should hold any official position under the State. Its avowed purpose was 'for preventing the growth of Schism and for the further security of the Church of England.' Heavy penalties were to be enforced upon anyone who, holding office, should attend a Conventicle - a fine of £100, and £5 for every subsequent day during which he should remain in office. No clause had been inserted to safeguard the position of foreign protestants though some of their communities, notably those of Dutch and French origin, had been granted a recognized and privileged status, for about a century and a half. It was natural therefore, that the congregation of Austin Friars should be very much alarmed, and the members of the Consistories both of the Dutch and French Reformed Churches considered (November 1702) what steps should be taken to ensure that adequate representations should be made on their behalf. It was

unanimously agreed 'that if the said Bill becomes an Act of Parliament as now worded, it will greatly lessen the liberties and privileges the members of the said Churches (and persons resorting to them) have enjoyed for more than one hundred and fifty years in this Kingdom.' It was resolved that two Elders of the Dutch Church, Francis Dyssen, Esq., and Daniel van Milderd (sic) should, in conjunction with two Elders of the French Reformed Church, 'wait on Mr. Attorney General and on some Councill learn'd in the law', and acquaint them of their Religious customs and practices. At the next meeting the Deputies had to report that the Attorney General and the Counsel they had engaged both agreed that if the Bill was passed, as drafted, those resorting to the Dutch and French Reformed Churches, would come under the same category as other non-conformists, and that, therefore, they would be liable to the same penalties. It was resolved that a Petition should be presented to the House of Commons, praying that a 'saving clause' should be inserted in the Bill exempting from penalties those resorting to these Reformed Churches. Three Elders of the Dutch Church, (one of them Daniel van Milderd (sic), and three of the French

Church were appointed to draw up this petition. Later, on the advice of John Ward Esq., M.P., it was resolved that the presenting of the petition should be delayed, and that meanwhile the members of the two Churches should endeavour to enlist on their behalf as many members of the House of Commons as possible. Mr. Ward promised that, if need be, he would be prepared, in due course, to move the insertion of a saving clause. This he did eventually, but the Commons refused to alter the Bill. The hopes of the two Consistories thus became centred on the House of Lords. The case of the Churches was circulated amongst the Members of the Upper House, and the Bishop of London agreed to move the insertion of the desired clause. Such a clause (with other amendments), was agreed upon by the Upper House, and the result was a deadlock. The Lords insisted on their amendments, but the Commons refused to agree, and so the Bill was dropped. One can imagine the delight of the members of the Foreign Churches, and the expressions of gratitude which the Consistory of the Dutch Church would convey to Daniel Van Mildert and his co-Elders for the skill and perseverance with which they had conducted the case to such a satisfactory issue!<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) See Hessel, Vol. iii, Pt. 2. Nos. 4039, 4046.

In their preparation for admission to the Lord's Supper members of Presbyterian Churches had to submit to a careful examination which only too easily could be of an inquisitorial character. This method was the custom of the Dutch Church of Austin Friars, and the delicate duty devolved upon the Minister and Elders. The rota of Elders for the task in 1703 is extant, and we find that Daniel van Mildert was on duty in April, June, August, October, December and February. (1)

On Thursday 10th (21 N.S.) Feb. 1703-4 Daniel was one of the signatories of an Indenture demising a certain messuage or tenement in the churchyard of Austin Friars to one Catherine Le Plastrier at a yearly rent of forty-five pounds. (2)

A similar document bears his signature (with those of others) demising apparently the same messuage or tenement at the same rent of forty-five pounds to John Le Plastrier, Jeweller, doubtless a relative of Catherine. The document bears date 5th (16 N.S.) February 1708-9. (3)

Twenty-third June (4th July N.S.) 1706, Daniel signs (with others) an authority providing for the appointment of Deputies to represent the Consistory of the Netherland Community in London at a 'Colloque' of the Anglo-Dutch

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(1) See Hessel, Vol. iii, Pt. 2. No. 4054.  
 (2) Ib. No. 4083.  
 (3) Ib. No. 4118.

Communities. (1)

The Dutch Community in London was sufficiently numerous and prosperous to support two Ministers, and in the early years of the 18th Century the London Consistory more than once sought the aid of Franciscus Fabritius, Professor at Leyden, asking him to use his best endeavours to secure an Assistant for their senior Minister, Willem Biscop. A letter to the Professor was written on 22nd May (2nd June N.S.) 1708, and Daniel Van Mildert signed (with others) as one of the Elders. As Elder he also signs the letter (dated 7th (18 N.S.) November 1710 addressed to Theodorus Bolton informing him that he had been appointed second Minister. (2)

The latest document cited by Hessel which mentions Daniel Van Mildert by name is dated 1722 (day and month not stated). It is a lengthy statement of the Case of the London Dutch Church against Benjamin James and others, alleging damage to the fabric of the Church of Austin Friars, and sundry encroachments. It asserts that in regard to some of the pleadings, Daniel Van Mildert can be called as a witness on behalf of the Church. (3)

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- (1) Hessel, Vol. iii. Pt. 2. No. 4091.  
 (2) Ib. Nos 4114, 4123.  
 (3) Ib. No. 4154.

We do not know the date of Daniel's death, but from the preceding extract it is obvious that it cannot have been earlier than 1722. His passing must have been felt as a real loss to the Dutch Community in London and to the Consistory and Congregation of the Church of Austin Friars. With such a father it is not surprising that his son Abraham was also identified with that Church, and we find that he served it as one of its Deacons in 1711.<sup>(1)</sup> Apparently he was never elected as one of its Elders and Hessel's extracts contain no reference to him. This is the more remarkable as his wife, Anna Wittenoom, was also Dutch. From the genealogical chart p. ix) it will be seen that her father, Dirck Cornelius Wittenoom was born at Rotterdam on 4th February, 1657, and on 18th December, 1684 had married Ander Hinderlost who had been born at Amsterdam on 2nd August, 1655. Thus Anna was of Dutch descent on both sides. Eventually Cornelius and his wife made their home in London, where Anna was born on 29th August 1690. Her marriage with Abraham Van Mildert took place in December 1709. As she did not die till 1769 it is reasonable to suppose that she must have seen her

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(1) Moen's Registers, p. 212.



grandson William, the future Bishop of Durham.

Doubtless Anna accompanied her husband to the Church of Austin Friars, and she certainly did her best to ensure that the Van Mildert family should not die out, as there were eleven children of the marriage. Many of these, however, died in infancy, and the only son who had issue was Cornelius. The fact that of these eleven children there is only record of the burial at Austin Friars of one of them (Abraham, born in November 1710 and buried 28th December of the same year), suggests that Abraham's connection with the Dutch Church and Community was not so close as that of his father, Daniel. No baptism of any of his children is recorded in the Registers of Austin Friars Church, and, as mentioned before, Abraham never became an Elder. The marriage of his daughter Anne (born 10th June 1718)<sup>(1)</sup> with William Ives of Bradden House, Towcester, on 20th March, 1748, introduced a link with an English County family, and would tend to lessen the ties binding Abraham and the rest of his family to the Dutch Church and community. The Ives family was one of the 'landed' families of Northamptonshire, and had held

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(1) Grant Ives, MSS. (vide Genealogical Chart, p. viii.)

Bradden since the last quarter of the seventeenth century, when William Ives, Rector of Green's Norton and of Bradden purchased the Bradden estate in 1677. Anna's marriage, therefore, must have introduced an entirely new element into the Van Mildert circle and many fresh English ways and customs must have been gradually assimilated by its members. As we shall see later the connection proved to be very acceptable to both families, and the experiment was repeated.

With the passing of Abraham the link with the Dutch Church of Austin Friars, and perhaps with the Dutch Community in London, appears to have been severed. Perhaps Anglicanism was tacitly accepted as the price or reward, according to the particular point of view, of the marriage alliance. Henceforth religious notices are of an Anglican character, and the English parish church has supplanted that of the Dutch "refugee".

Abraham had only three sons who reached man's estate, viz. Daniel, Dirck and Cornelius, and only the last left any issue. Daniel, born in 1712, was a tobaccoist with a business in Bishopsgate Street and died about 1747.

Dirck, born 12th September, 1719, was a tea broker who lived in Green Lettuce Lane and died in 1765. Cornelius was born 30th September, 1722, and will claim our attention as the Father of the subject of this thesis.

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## II

### EARLY LIFE - SCHOOLS - UNIVERSITY

Not far from the old Priory Church of St. Mary Overies, re-named St. Saviour's, and, since 1905, raised to the dignity of a Cathedral, there used to be a street bearing the name Blackman Street. It appears to have been a continuation of the street 'Long Southwark' which extended from the bridge southwards to St. George's Church on the way to 'New Towne' or Newington.<sup>(1)</sup> Here, in Blackman Street, about the middle of the eighteenth century, Cornelius Van Mildert carried on his business as a distiller, beginning with the modest capital of three hundred pounds, and only acquiring a sufficient competence to enable him to retire in decent comfort. His was a placid, unambitious nature, and when he felt some conscientious scruples about complying with some new Excise regulations he retired from business.<sup>(2)</sup> Martha, his wife, was the only daughter

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(1) Brayley's Survey of London and Middlesex, Vol. 2, p.60.

(2) Memoir of William Van Mildert by Cornelius Ives, p.5.

of William Hill of Vauxhall. The Hills would seem to have been of some consequence in the City, and, as will be seen later, this was to prove of considerable advantage to our future Bishop. Cornelius had also a house at Newington, and it was probably there <sup>(1)</sup> that William was born on 6th November, 1765. Two other sons had preceded, but they both died young. Three other children - girls - were born afterwards, and, of these, Ann - through her marriage with her cousin Cornelius Ives Esq. of Bradden - no doubt had a great deal to do with the first offer of a benefice (Bradden) which her brother, William, received.

The 6th of November in 1765 was a Wednesday, and certainly the baby born on that day was to fulfil the old saying, "Wednesday's child is loving and giving". The Van Milderts' house was, apparently, in the parish of St. Mary Newington, and on the second Sunday in Advent, 8th December <sup>(2)</sup> the Rector found his day's labour increased by having to baptize the new baby. The good man, Dr. Samuel Horsley (afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph), could have little thought that he was that day baptizing one who, like himself, was destined to be such an ornament to the Episcopal Bench.

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(1) Churton's Memoir of Joshua Watson, Vol. 1, pp. 62-63.  
 (2) Baptism Register of St. Mary's Newington.

'Pre-prep' schools had yet to come, and it is reasonable therefore to surmise that William learnt his first lessons from his mother. Fortunately there was a good school within easy reach, one of those ancient Grammar Schools which have provided our country with so many of her most famous sons. This was St. Saviour's School, Southwark, and to this school William was sent at about the age of eight, and in that same year, 1773, the Reverend John Jennings had been appointed Headmaster. The school building was on the south side of St. Saviour's Churchyard, and its Charter had been granted by Queen Elizabeth in 1562. Statutes for the school were made in that year and in 1614, in both cases being approved by the Bishop of Winchester for the time being.

Wilkinson describes the building as 'a spacious schoolroom in which thirty boys receive their education in grammatical learning. The exterior is a plain brick fabric, consisting of three casement windows on each side of a large doorway, before which is an iron railing. This storey is surmounted by another, consisting of seven lofty casement windows, furnishing in the whole a neat appearance.' The

school owed its foundation to 'Thomas Cure, the Queen's Saddler, and several other benevolent persons', and was for the benefit of 'male children and youth as well of the poor as of the rich, inhabiting within the said parish', not exceeding one hundred in number.<sup>(1)</sup> One wonders whether Cornelius, when he took young William to school on his first day there, had to listen to the Charge which the Statutes required to be given to the parent: "You shall, upon writing given by the Master or Usher to the child, furnish him with all things fit for his learning, as a little Bible and Psalm Book, and other books, paper, pens, ink, satchel, candles in winter, wholesome and handsome clothing becoming your estate." The theory of an education apart from religion had then few, if any, upholders, and the Statutes of 1562 make it clear that the object of the School was 'the good education and bringing up of youth in the love, fear, and knowledge of God, and his most holy Word, in good nourture towards the world and their parents .... in letters and understandinge of the tongues in which is hidden and layde up the treasure of all divine and human knowledge.'<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) Wilkinson's Londina Illustrata.

(2) Ib.

We are told<sup>(1)</sup> that William's habit was to do his homework as soon as he returned from school, so that the rest of the evening might be free for recreation. Perhaps Cornelius had been duly impressed by the terms of the Charge: "You shall not cease to call upon him to use the time of his absence from the school in repetition and further confirming that which he hath learned, as also of preparing himself against his next coming to school. This great discretion and severity at home, will make him love the school, desire to give his parents satisfaction of his proficiency, and perfect that good learning and manners which his Master at school shall teach him; for the Master may do much, but good and discreet government at home makes all sure and does the greatest good; for the master, in his absence, cannot follow them; so that ill government at home may do more hurt than the Master can do good at school."<sup>(2)</sup>

Evidently he was a bright intelligent boy, for, three years after his admission, he gained the school silver medal. This medal was awarded to the most deserving boy, and bore on one side the head of Queen Elizabeth surrounded

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(1) Memoir by Cornelius Ives.

(2) Wilkinson's Londina Illustrata.



by the inscription, "Elizabetha regnante condita fuit  
A.D., MDLXII." The other side had an elevation of the  
 School building with the title "Schola Sancti Salvatoris"  
 surrounded by the inscription "Sigillum hoc puero optime  
merenti detur." Unfortunately the actual medal won by  
 William seems to be lost, but we know<sup>(1)</sup> that it had the  
 following additional inscription, "Gul. Van Mildert,  
aetat XI, MDCCLXXVI."

It was, perhaps, natural that Cornelius, with his  
 unambitious temperament, should have had no lofty schemes  
 for his son's future. He himself was a distiller, his  
 father had been a merchant, and a trade of some sort seemed  
 indicated for his son. William's idea was to be a chemist<sup>(2)</sup>  
 and it was accordingly decided that he should be apprenticed  
 to a Mr. Calverley. It is interesting to note that this  
 Mr. Calverley was the intimate friend of William Stevens,  
 the founder of "Nobody's Club". Both were engaged in trade,  
 and William Stevens was accustomed to spend every week-end  
 at his friend's house at Ewell in Surrey.<sup>(3)</sup> Thus, even in  
 these early years, Van Mildert may have met William Stevens,

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(1) Memoir by Cornelius Ives, p. 5.

(2) Ibid, p. 6.

(3) Park's Memoirs of William Stevens Esq., pp. 20-21.

and, in later life, he was to have the honour of being elected a member of "Nobody's Club" on the nomination of the founder himself. <sup>(1)</sup>

The plan of being apprenticed to Mr. Calverley, fortunately for the Church, came to nothing, as that gentleman had decided that he would shortly retire from business. Probably William was not disappointed, for at his own wish no similar opportunities were sought, and he expressed the wish to continue his studies with the object of taking Holy Orders. The Van Milderts were known to Dr. Samuel Horsley, who, as we have seen, had baptized William, and who was still Rector of Newington. The good doctor, however, did not approve of this plan; thinking it a mistake that the boy should have his mind turned from a trade. William's wish, nevertheless, prevailed and it became essential therefore, that Cornelius should look about to find a school which might reasonably be expected to give the boy a more advanced education than St. Saviour's would be likely to provide. William was now thirteen years old, and both Westminster and St. Paul's were considered. The difficulty in both cases was that regular attendance

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(1) Churton's Memoir of Joshua Watson, Vol. I, p. 65.

was demanded, irrespective of weather conditions. The distance between Southwark and St. Paul's or Westminster would present no difficulty, even to a delicate boy, in these days of quick and comfortable transport.

It was, of course, quite otherwise in 1778, and William's eyes always gave him trouble, and became inflamed if he were out in cold or wet weather. So Merchant Taylors' School was chosen and from 1780 to 1784 he had his schooling there, the Headmaster being the Reverend Thomas Green, and the Under Master the Reverend Samuel Bishop (subsequently in 1783, Headmaster<sup>(1)</sup>). Boys from Merchant Taylors' frequently proceeded to St. John's <sup>College</sup> Oxford, for the link between that College and the School was a very close one. The founder of the College, Sir Thomas White, was a past Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company, and to him the School owed much at its foundation. He subscribed five hundred pounds of the five hundred and sixty-six pounds required for the purchase of the site, and he appropriated thirty-seven fellowships of the College to members of the School. <sup>(2)</sup> The link was thus comparable to that between

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(1) Merchant Taylors' School, by Basil Blackwell, p. 87.

(2) Ibid, pp. 35-38.

Eton and King's, and gave the School a very great advantage. From its earliest years Hebrew formed part of the ordinary curriculum of the School. When Van Mildert joined the school it was still in Suffolk Lane off Cannon Street, and as most of the scholars were day boys, they doubtless knew their London well, and did not miss many of its 'sights' whether ephemeral or more enduring. This is, perhaps, reflected in William's Poem Janus Clusus.<sup>(1)</sup> Had William been entered younger he might have gained a Fellowship in that College, yet, in spite of his late arrival at the School, we are told that the Under Master formed a high opinion of his capabilities. William shone especially in English, prose and verse, and the gift of versification he retained throughout his life, so that, as we shall see, it provided a welcome relaxation in the midst of episcopal cares. He had the good fortune to have as one of his School contemporaries Thomas Percy, nephew of the more famous Bishop of Dromore. Percy was about three years younger than Van Mildert, having been born in 1768, and was the acknowledged head of these youthful poets, proceeding from Merchant Taylors' to St. John's Oxford with a

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(1) For this and other poems see App. 1 to this chapter.

Fellowship. Nichol refers to "Poems by a Literary Society: comprehending Original Pieces in the several Walks of Poetry," under date 1784. <sup>(1)</sup> In a subsequent note he gives the following description: "The Society styled themselves 'The Council of Parnassus'; and their plan was to recite and criticise, in public, the verses of the members - I regret that I am not able to recollect the names of this pleasing Society of very young men (for such they were), who assembled, for so praiseworthy an occupation." He mentions that Percy was their leader, and refers to Van Mildert's collaboration. He also quotes a comment from the Reverend John Duncombe, (Gent. Mag. Vol.LIV, p.43). "These blossoms of Parnassus are the produce, we understand, of several young plants, which, we doubt not, will in time bring much fruit to perfection. To drop the metaphor these juvenile Bards meet frequently to select and criticize each other's performances; and thus -

..... finding like a friend  
 Something to blame, and something to commend,  
 bid fair for that correctness which is indispensable in  
 modern poetry."

During Van Mildert's last year at Merchant Taylors'

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(1.) See App. 2 at end of this chapter.

Samuel Bishop succeeded as Headmaster, but there is nothing to indicate that he found the discipline of that strict master too harsh.<sup>(1)</sup>

In his nineteenth year School had to give place to University and on Saturday, 21st February 1784, William matriculated at Oxford as a commoner from Queen's College. The reason for the choice of Queen's is not at all clear; the College had many links with the two North-western counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and also with Yorkshire, and many of its scholarships and exhibitions were confined to candidates from schools in these counties. No evidence, however, has been found to indicate that either the Ives or Van Mildert families had any links with Queen's, so possibly one of the Masters at Merchant Taylors' School may have been responsible for the choice. The Provost then was Dr. Fothergill, but doubtless William would be in much closer contact with his tutor, Dr. Septimus Collinson, who subsequently became Provost. It is most unfortunate that letters to and from his home are not available to enable us to obtain details of his undergraduate life. Ives in his Memoir<sup>(2)</sup> tells us that, in later life, he always used to speak affectionately of Dr. Collinson, and a letter from

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(1) Cf. Merchant Taylors' School, Basil Blackwell, p.59

(2) Ives, Memoir, p.17.

the Doctor, when Van Mildert took his name off the books of the College some time after taking his degree, shows that the regard was mutual: "...the candid and liberal manner in which you formerly accepted my endeavours to do my duty towards you, then deserved my best acknowledgments, and the kindness with which you now speak of me, affords me the truest satisfaction...." A postscript is added indicating that recollections of him in the Common-room were pleasant: "The Provost and the members of the Common-room desire me to present their best respects."<sup>(1)</sup>

Fortunately some information about his undergraduate days is available. We know,<sup>(2)</sup> for example, that he was studious, and that theology was the main subject which interested him; also that his recreations were drawing, and poetry. The last of these would, no doubt, be fostered by his friendship with his former school-fellow Thomas Percy, who had gone to St. John's with a Fellowship (cf. p.24). We are told that he was of a sociable disposition and, at the same time 'of regular and studious habits.'<sup>(3)</sup> On the other hand the Memoir quotes the recollection of an unnamed contemporary, 'that he was fond of music, and not very studious.'<sup>(4)</sup> The seeming inconsistency may simply mean that Van Mildert

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(1) Ives, Memoir, pp.9-10

(2) ib. p.7

(3) ib. p.8

(4) ib. p.8

was no bookworm, 'sporting his oak' against all would-be interrupters, but that he had realised that not the least valuable part of a University education was the opportunity of the social intercourse which life in College can give, and is meant to give.

Only two poetical compositions remain which can be definitely assigned to these undergraduate days. The first is dated June 9th, 1785, entitled: "On Reading Churchill's Poems."

"Go, restless Spirit of unceasing Rage,  
To Envy and to Discord ever true,  
With fancied Grievance swell thy spleenful Page,  
And paint fair Nature in each odious Hue.

Whilst other Bards to Vice and Folly's View  
Bid Satire shine in Humour's mild attire,  
Do thou the task exulting still pursue,  
To kindle Vice and smother Virtue's Fire.

Yet know, tho' Wit thy ready Pen inspire,  
Tho' Satire's brightest Tints thy Verse Illume,  
No hallow'd Muse shall light thy funeral Pyre,  
No Wreaths unfading grace thy mould'ring tomb -  
Soon, soon, alas! the Muse's Trophies fade  
Wither'd and shrunk in Slander's baleful Shade.

- W.V.M. 9th June 1785." (1)

The other piece has the superscription, "Oxford, Feby.16th, 1786". The rhyming couplets run smoothly, and the action is sustained throughout, but it is perhaps a little difficult

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS.  
(2) Ives' Memoir, p.154



for one writing under the discipline of war-time rationing to refrain from indignation, (or, can it be envy?) at the fare provided by mine host at Maidenhead, and by "good Uncle Hill." Ives in his memoir tells us that Van Mildert was 'temperate or rather abstemious,'<sup>(1)</sup> but in younger days he was evidently no ascetic, and he would be quite capable of enjoying any fare provided later at the Mansion House, or by the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn. Oysters may always have been a temptation, for it is interesting to note that in a report of a Council Meeting of the Benchers of the Inn dated 10th December 1819, there is a reference to a sum of £1. 2. 4. for a gift of oysters to the Reverend Dr. Van Mildert.<sup>(2)</sup> Obviously the weakness survived the elevation to the Episcopate which had come to him on 31st May of that year.<sup>(3)</sup>

One would like to know something more about Calverley and Hemming. In regard to Calverley it is tempting to surmise a possible link with Mr. Calverley the chemist, with whom he had, as a boy, so nearly escaped apprenticeship. Alas! we cannot identify the 'Dame' for the name has been too successfully 'blacked out' and therefore the identity of 'Miss M' remains safely concealed. 'Miss Eliza' however

(1) Ives' Memoir, p.154

(2) Records of the Council of Lincoln's Inn, kindly consulted by the Reverend Canon J. K. Mozley, Preacher of Lincoln's Inn.

(3) Stubbs' Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum, p.149

is an old friend, and perhaps the evidences of 'scraps of French reading' may have been specially introduced for one who had spent at least one birthday 'residing at Paris.' (1) Nancy and Kitty are, of course, his sisters Anne and Catherine.

"Oxford, 16th February, 1786"

Safe and sound, without loss of an arm or a leg,  
 Here am I, my dear sister, arrived at Coll: Reg:  
 Where for want of ought else to exhibit before ye,  
 In rhyme so enchanting I'll tell you my story.  
 'Well, what sort of journey?' you ask - 'And what cheer?' -  
 'What adventures? what company too?' - you shall hear -  
 The weather was good - the roads too were decent -  
 But the company! - nothing sure ever so pleasant!  
 So obliging, so civil! - believe me, 'tis true -  
 For my worshipful self made the whole of the crew -  
 A solo most charming! tho' scarce could it hinder  
 The God of soft sleep from approaching the window.  
 Well, onward we travell'd - with wonderful haste  
 Through Brentford and Hounslow and Salt Hill we pass'd  
 Till the fair town of Maidenhead welcom'd our sight,  
 Where a minute or two, if you please, we'll alight -  
 For a sumptuous repast here our host has prepar'd  
 Which a good social party with glee might have shar'd;  
 And lo! comes a party! - with wondrous good will,  
 Politely requesting my table to fill;  
 To which, as politely, I quickly agreed -  
 But now to the dinner 'tis time to proceed.  
 First, of fine soup and bully a smoking hot dish,  
 Next, attended with oysters, a charming cod fish;  
 And what better appear in a dish than a ballad,  
 A fine leg of mutton, potatoes and sallad;  
 Which with little et ceteras, a tartling or so,  
 Were dispatch'd in a trice by Van Mildert and Co.  
 Well, suppose dinner over, the reckoning compleated,  
 And me once again in my vehicle seated,  
 Through three tedious stages so sweetly composing,

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(1) Cf. p.i App.

After reading, and musing, and gaping and dozing,  
 Oxonia's fam'd turrets at length I percieve (sic)  
 And with glee not a little my vehicle leave -  
 So ended my journey insipid and flat -  
 Now about other matters let's sit down and chat.

Imprimis, a couplet at least let me fill,  
 With a budget of thanks to my good Uncle Hill,  
 For a basket replete with most excellent fare,  
 Anchovies and capers and fine tender hare,  
 Which afforded next day of provision good store,  
 To self, Calverley, Hemming, and one or two more.  
 Apropos! - now of Calverley mention I've made,  
 Of that spruce little gent. let a few words be said,  
 He smirks, and looks happy at all that is done,  
 Laughs at ev'ry good joke, and in soft dulcet tone,  
 Squeaks forth, now and then, a good thing of his own. )  
 In short, there is reason, as some apprehend,  
 To hope that in time little Master may mend.

- My respects to Dame I paid t'other day,  
 Who as usual is blooming, facetious and gay,  
 Talks much of Miss M's matrimonial views,  
 But grieves a companion so pleasant to lose -  
 Now fain would I tell you some news of great moment,  
 Or on some grand affair make a long and sage comment!  
 But such big events rarely claim our attention,  
 And you know I'm too grave any trifles to mention.  
 So on such precious moments no more to intrude,  
 Paper, Patience and Pen bid me haste to conclude.

The Muse very kindly salutes all her friends,  
 And to one Miss Eliza her compliments sends.  
 Her compliments! Bless me, cries Nancy, how stupid!  
 Not a word about hearts, darts, flames, arrows and Cupid? -  
 Nay, hold, hold, good sister - for comps. when in metre  
 Sure than love in plain prose must be softer and sweeter -  
 J'ai fait mon possible! (to show her good breeding,  
 The Muse loves to sport a few scraps of French reading,  
 And should you be puzzled for clear explanation,  
 You must seek, you know where, for an able translation)  
 J'ai fait mon possible - sans doute, à merveilles -  
 A most learned, poetic and elegant tale!  
 And now what return will you make for my pains,  
 For ransacking thus my unfortunate brains? -  
 Sure the Muse will assist you to trim up a Stanza,  
 And send me in turn a poetical answer;



statements of Gibbon can be regarded as the utterances of a disgruntled person who had no wish to acknowledge any obligations to the University for that eminence to which he had attained. Yet all was not well either with the University or its Colleges. The Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford men edited by Lilian M. Quiller Couch, and published by the Oxford Historical Society, contains many criticisms by loyal and devoted alumni, covering a period both before and after Van Mildert's undergraduate days. Certainly Vicesimus Knox could claim to be amongst these, and his strictures cannot be dismissed lightly. He had matriculated from St. John's only some thirteen years before Van Mildert entered Queen's, and his Essay (LXXVII) was published in 1782. He ridicules the inadequacy of the exercises required for the Bachelor's degree, then commonly known as 'doing generals' and 'answering under bachelor', and he finds 'determining in Lent', 'doing quodlibets' and 'doing austins', equally futile as tests for the Master's degree.<sup>(1)</sup> Even after the passing of the New Examination Statute in 1800 weighty criticisms can still be made. John Taylor Coleridge (Corpus, 1809-1813), writes, 'the routine

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(1) Reminiscences of Oxford, pp. 160-167.

theological studies of the University were, I admit, deplorably low, but the earnest ones amongst us were diligent readers of Barrow, Hooker and Taylor;'<sup>(1)</sup> and J. T. Hogg (Univ. c. 1810), gives a still less satisfactory picture: "The ordinary lectures in our college were of much shorter duration, and decidedly less difficult and less instructive than the lessons we had received in the higher classes of a public school; nor were our written exercises more stimulating than the oral" ..... "the University at large was not less remiss than each college in particular: the only incitement proposed was an examination at the end of four years" .... "It was notorious, moreover, that, merely to obtain the academical degrees, every new-comer, who had passed through a tolerable grammar-school, brought with him a stock of learning, of which the residuum that had not evaporated during four years of dissipation and idleness, would be more than sufficient."<sup>(2)</sup>

Two modern historians of Oxford, A. D. Godley in Oxford in the Eighteenth Century and C. E. Mallet in his History of the University of Oxford, refer to the unsatisfactory nature

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(1) Reminiscences of Oxford, p. 253.

(2) Ib. cf. p. 280.

of the exercises for degrees. The former, whilst recognizing the truly liberal education contemplated by these exercises, admits that they had become mere formalities;<sup>(1)</sup> and the latter is not lacking in adverse criticisms.<sup>(2)</sup>

But no great institution can be judged fairly by the minimum standard, which, at any period, it requires from its members; it can claim rightly that its best products, and not its worst, must be the criteria upon which judgment is based. Even in the eighteenth century Oxford did not lack those who did justice to her ideals, and Godley gives this needful reminder: "Yet it is fair to point out that a period of incapable teaching and ridiculous examinations may produce Butlers or Wesleys, a Horne, a Routh - both Magdalen men - or a Blackstone; and the Oxford of his day can be described by Berkeley as an ideal retreat for learning and piety."<sup>(3)</sup> The same writer emphasizes the value which Oxford placed upon residence. "The eighteenth century had but little adventitious stimulus to learning. It was a period of conventions: Oxford gave her degrees really for residence, on the basis of the pleasing convention that

(1) A. D. Godley, Oxford in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 175-179.

(2) C. E. Mallet, History of the University of Oxford, Vol. III, pp.162-163.

(3) A. D. Godley, Oxford in the Eighteenth Century, p.19.

Universities being places of study are inhabited by students, and that residence implied the habits of serious study..... In the absence of honour examinations and later of pass examinations other than merely farcical, they did nevertheless teach and learn."<sup>(1)</sup>

Queen's in Van Mildert's undergraduate days probably reflected the general tone of the other Colleges, and, fortunately, we have in the correspondence of John James<sup>(2)</sup> references to the conditions of the College only a few years previous to Van Mildert's matriculation. James was at Queen's from 1778 to 1781, and as Van Mildert entered the College in 1784 conditions can hardly have altered to any great extent. Godley, commenting upon this correspondence, observes: "Certainly it appears that the Queen's of that day was hardly animated by a progressive spirit of enlightenment." Nevertheless, it had its uses (in James' eyes) as a place of "good and wholesome probation"; and at least - except that the mid-day hours from eleven to one must be given to the study of logic - there was no actual obstacle to reading. A studious man of those days would begin to read at nine, and after logic and a one o'clock dinner could give the afternoon to the classics and a constitutional

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(1) A. D. Godley, *Oxford in the Eighteenth Century*, pp.39,40.

(2) *Letters of Radcliffe and James*, edited by M. Evans, Oxford Historical Society.



walk; "Now and then," says the exemplary James, "after supper, I sit with my friends, and seldom walk without company" (μετὰ σώφρονος ἡλικιάτου), "and, as our conversation is either literary or, at least, innocent and entertaining, I hope to receive benefit from it." Altogether a quiet and industrious foundationer could find congenial society, and even a considerable stimulus to exertion in the Oxford of 1780: <sup>(1)</sup> "College," says one of James' friends, "is a happy place for reading."

Gibbon's unfilial attack did not stand alone, for Adam Smith asserted that the greater part of the public Professors at Oxford had abandoned the practice of teaching. It was natural that a Magdalen man should challenge Gibbon's statements, and the Reverend J. Hurdis endeavoured to deal faithfully with that gentleman in his Vindication of Magdalen College. He has not much difficulty in showing the absurdity of attaching much importance to criticisms based on a very short residence at Oxford by one who was at the time a very immature youth. He is not so successful, however, in vindicating the Professors! Mr. Godley's comment on this point is both amusing and conclusive. <sup>(2)</sup> "The Vindicator does not

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(1) A. D. Godley, Oxford in the Eighteenth Century, pp.138-140.

(2) Ib. pp.48, 49.

make out a very brilliant case for the Professors. He enumerates fifteen of the existing twenty, and shows that the Regius Professor of Hebrew, the Praelector in Anatomy, the Vinerian Professor, and the Praelector in Chemistry do actually read on certain days of every week. The remaining eleven either lecture (but with an economy of erudition, only once a term) or perform their functions vicariously - or intend to lecture - or have read lectures, but desisted for want of an audience. Thus are fifteen out of twenty 'clearly exculpated from Mr. Gibbon's charges.' 'The remaining five,' says Mr. Hurdis, with apparently unconscious humour, 'may possibly read their lectures as punctually.' It is not a very convincing record of industry. The Vindication was published about 1800, a very dark period in the history of University, as distinct from College, instruction: a few years before this - about 1790 - professorial teaching would seem to have touched its nadir."<sup>(1)</sup>

At least Van Mildert escaped one calamity - the tragedy of regarding 'set' books as the limit of the mind's horizon, and the passing of examinations as the test of education!

It was during his undergraduate days that a memorable and significant event occurred in Oxford - the visit of the

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(1) A. D. Godley, Oxford in the Eighteenth Century, pp.48,49.

King, (George III) and his Queen (Charlotte). It was memorable because no ruling Sovereign had - at least, officially - visited Oxford since Queen Anne paid her visit in 1702. It was significant because Oxford had been Jacobite in its sympathies, and the visit marked the growing acceptance of the Hanoverian succession. It took place in 1785, but as it was in September Van Mildert may not have witnessed it.

In 1787 Van Mildert's sojourn as an undergraduate came to an end, and he took his Bachelor's degree. No Theological College was then in existence, and doubtless the intervening time, till his Ordination the following year, would be spent at his father's home.

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### III

#### ORDINATION - MARRIAGE - EARLY PREFERMENTS

Van Mildert had now completed the usual academic course by taking his Bachelor's degree in November 1787, and the way was now clear for him to fulfil his boyhood's wish, and to seek Holy Orders. At that time, and indeed until more than a half a century later, the strictly theological training provided for ordination candidates was extremely meagre. It is true that undergraduates were able to attend the infrequent lectures of the Regius Professor of Divinity, and, as yet, both Oxford and Cambridge regarded themselves, at least in theory, as nursing-mothers for the Church. The only recognized religious teaching at both Universities was that of the Church as set forth in her authorized formularies, i.e. the Prayer Book and XXXIX Articles, nor could anyone who avowedly dissented from that teaching be admitted to any

degree. Yet it can hardly be denied that, while it was possible for some so to use their opportunities as to make themselves tolerably equipped for their life's work, many must have received ordination ill-prepared, and with only vague ideas of the obligations and duties of the priesthood. Perhaps in this respect, the Universities did but reflect outside opinion, a sound general education being regarded as the only essential requisite, apart, of course, from a good moral character. However, as we have seen in the previous chapter, Van Mildert, during his undergraduate days, had given much time to theology, thus laying that foundation upon which he built his store of theological learning. It is recorded that, at a later date, his friend Charles Lloyd, who succeeded him as Regius Professor of Divinity, said jokingly to him, "Van Mildert, I believe if I were to talk to you in your sleep, you would mutter divinity in your dreams."<sup>(1)</sup>

Presumably Van Mildert spent the six months between taking his degree and his ordination, at home, and on Trinity Sunday, 18th May, 1788, he was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Edward Smallwell, on nomination to the curacy

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(1) Churton, Memoir of Joshua Watson, vol. 1. pp.72-73.

of Sherborne (now spelt Shirburn) near Watlington. Evidence of his having lived in the parish has not been forthcoming; perhaps he served it from Oxford and, in any case, his tenure of the curacy lasted only a year.

Nor is there evidence to indicate why he decided to leave the Oxford Diocese, but we next find him serving the curacies of Newchurch and Bonnington, near Ashford. It was an age when it was not considered necessary that a priest should live in the parish he served, provided he took the necessary services and visited as occasion required, and we find him living in Ashford, where, we are told, he found himself amongst others of the clergy serving curacies in the neighbourhood.<sup>(1)</sup> He was ordained Priest by the Bishop of London (Beilby Porteus) 20th December, 1789, on Letters Dimissory from the Archbishop of Canterbury (Lambeth Archives). Such a method of discharging the obligations of his office did not, however, satisfy his sense of duty, and made him anxious to find some other sphere.<sup>(2)</sup> The Registers at Bonnington only record that he officiated at two marriages there (in 1789) and in both cases he signed himself as 'Minister'. The Newchurch Registers also record only

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(1) Ives' Memoir, p. 11.

(2) Ib.

two marriages taken by him (in 1789 and 1790), and in both instances he signs as 'Curate'. The Baptism Registers do not record the Minister's name, but the Rector of Newchurch informs me that the following entry appears to be in Van Mildert's writing: "William, son of Wm. and Anna Maria, baptized July 4th. Received into the Church July 11th 1790." The abbreviation for William, in Van Mildert's signatures to the two marriages is, the Rector tells me, 'almost exactly identical' with the abbreviation of the name of the infant's father.(1)

We have noted in the previous chapter some indications that the Van Mildert family was probably known to some prominent Church people, and when Van Mildert wished to change his curacy he was recommended to the Reverend Andrew Downes, Rector of Witham, Essex, by Dr. Finch (Prebendary of Westminster and a friend of his father),(2) and by Archdeacon Houstone Radcliffe, who, as Chaplain to the Bishop of Oxford, had examined him for Ordination. Accordingly in 1790 he became Assistant Curate of Witham, remaining there till 1795. The Rector was the son of Robert Downes, Bishop of Raphoe, and

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(1) From information kindly supplied by the Rector of Bonnington (the Reverend K. J. Collins), and the Rector of Newchurch, (the Reverend A. Hawkins Jones).

(2) Memoir by Cornelius Ives, p.11.

grandson of Henry Downes, Bishop of Derry. We are told that Van Mildert always regarded the years spent at Witham under the supervision of Mr. Downes as most helpful, and certainly, if the inscription on his Memorial at Witham is an 'unadorned tale' the good Rector can have lacked no virtue of any consequence! (1)

Unfortunately Mr. Downes was not of robust health even in 1790, though he managed to survive for thirty more years - with care, no doubt. The result was that he was hardly able to undertake the arduous duty of preaching frequently, and the general work of the parish had to be done by Van Mildert. Of the seventy-five weddings, the Curate took sixty-two, and probably a similar proportion of the two hundred and fifteen Baptisms, and of the two hundred and four burials; it is not, however, possible to determine this, as these latter two items are unsigned. Van Mildert thus had abundant opportunities for sermon construction, as he frequently had to preach twice on Sundays. In justice to the Rector it should be added that he urged Van Mildert not to allow the preaching to become so exacting that it interfered with theological study,

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(1) For this and for particulars relating to entries in the Registers, I am indebted to the Vicar of Witham, the Reverend B. E. Payne.



and from the advice given subsequently to a young cleric it would seem that Van Mildert did not altogether despise the method of 'abridgements' of sermons by well-known authors. He did, however, add that original compositions had a value all their own.<sup>(1)</sup> Sunday Schools were then rather novel organisations, and it is interesting to note that Van Mildert interested himself in one in the parish kept by a Mr. Kynaston.<sup>(2)</sup>

Doubtless Van Mildert had heard from childhood a great deal of the Netherlands, the original home of his family, and often he must have wished to visit those places which were the setting of the traditions and stories enshrined in the family history. It must therefore have been a real joy to him to realize this wish when, in 1792, the opportunity came, and, in company with five others, he was able to visit Holland and Belgium. Ives, in his Memoir, tells us that a short (unfinished) journal was found amongst the papers left by Van Mildert.<sup>(3)</sup> Alas! enquiries have failed to trace this journal which would probably have been most entertaining and illuminating. Van Mildert was a careful observer when travelling, and we shall have opportunity of

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(1) Ives' Memoir, pp. 12, 13.

(2) Ib.

(3) Ib. p. 12.

seeing evidences of this, even when he was burdened with episcopal cares and distressed by increasing physical weakness and advancing years.

The five years spent at Witham, from 1790 to 1795, must have been happy years for Van Mildert, for it was then he met Jane Douglas in whose loving companionship he was to share over forty years of happy married life. Jane was the third daughter of General Archibald Douglas, eldest son of William Douglas, Laird of Fingland, and of Elizabeth, his wife, daughter of Alexander Clerk, Merchant Burgess of Glendoth, Lanark. For details about the Douglas family the writer is indebted to the exhaustive History of the Douglas Family of Morton (Dumfriesshire) and their Descendants<sup>(1)</sup> beautifully illustrated and well documented, by Mr. Percy W. L. Adams. His indebtedness to this work for the family records is so extensive that a general reference to it can best express his obligation.

William Douglas of Fingland was descended from the first Earl of Angus and was thus a kinsman of the Duke of Douglas. Archibald Douglas, his eldest son, was born in 1707, and

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(1) History of the Douglas Family of Morton (Dumfriesshire) and their Descendants, by Percy Adams.

his first Commission (from George II) as Lieutenant in the 4th Dragoons, is dated 10th May, 1742. His next Commission, as Captain, is dated 26th May, 1745 and is signed on behalf of George II by the Duke of Cumberland. It is safe, therefore, to assume that he had no Jacobite leanings! On 27th May, 1756, he was made Lieutenant Colonel of Foot, and Aide-de-Camp to George II, and on 19th January, 1761 he became Lieutenant General. From 1754 to 1761 he was Member for Dumfries, and for Dumfriesshire from 1761 to 1768, and again from 1768 to 1774. In 1763 he purchased a house at Witham, Essex, known as White Hall. He had already married (previous to 1747), Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Burchard of Witham, and there were six sons and five daughters of this marriage:

1. Captain Archibald Martin John Douglas,  
born 24th April, 1747.
2. Judge William Douglas, born 22nd September, 1755.
3. Captain Alexander Douglas, R.N., born 17th  
November, 1756.
4. The Reverend Philip Douglas, D.D., Master of  
Corpus Christi, Cambridge, born 27th Sep-  
tember, 1758.
5. Charles James Douglas, born 5th January, 1762.
6. The Reverend Robert Douglas, born 25th December,  
1765, of Salwarpe, and Rector of Salwarpe  
and Hampton Lovett, Worcs.

- 7 and 8. Katherine and Elizabeth (twins), born 11th January, 1754.
9. Jane, born 9th January, 1760, and baptized at Witham 8th February of the same year, Wife of William Van Mildert (whom she married on 22nd December, 1795).
10. Charlotte Sara, born 3rd October, 1763, died 18th March, 1773.
11. Hyde Elizabeth Rich, born 29th November, 1764, died 10th February, 1773.

Lieutenant General Archibald Douglas died in Dublin, 8th November, 1778, aged seventy-one, and was buried at Witham on the 16th of the same month. By his Will he left his property at Witham to his youngest son, Robert, with the proviso that his children, Elizabeth, Catherine, Alexander, Philip and Jane should have the right to live in the house for eight years, if unmarried so long. Except for two small bequests (to relatives of his wife), all the remainder of his estate was divided amongst his children, and his daughter Jane was to receive £2,000 on attaining the age of twenty-one. His wife, Elizabeth, had predeceased him in 1770 at the age of forty-three, and had been buried at Witham.

It will thus be seen that when Van Mildert became Assistant Curate at Witham at the age of twenty-five, Jane

was thirty. They had therefore both reached an age when they would be able to know their own minds and not be swayed by mere sentiment, and within about a year they had declared their affection for each other, and Van Mildert had written to Jane's brother Philip, of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, one of its tutors. This letter is not available but Philip's reply is reproduced in the history of the Douglas family. From that it is evident that William had informed Philip of his and Jane's mutual affection, and that he had hoped to obtain his approval of their engagement. Philip's letter is most kind, and makes it clear that his personal regard for William was high, and that he had rejoiced to have his friendship during his visits to Witham. At the same time he, not unnaturally, regarded any definite engagement between the two with misgiving. He pointed out that Jane's fortune was only £2,000 and that she had no prospect of any addition to it. He could not consider such an engagement justifiable if William's income was less than £400 per annum, and he suggested that William should approach his father Cornelius to ascertain what settlement could be made. The entire letter is admirable and most sympathetic

in tone, and when one considers the legitimate pride of family which a Douglas might have, and the comparatively obscure background of the Van Milderts, at any rate subsequent to their migration to this country, one feels that Philip had been distinctly generous, for he went so far as to say that even if William should not take his advice in the matter his regard and affection for him would remain unaltered.

It is not clear whether the young people postponed their formal engagement, but if so it was not for long. We have seen that Anne, sister of William's father, Cornelius, had married William Ives of Bradden in 1748. Their son Cornelius (born 1758) had married his cousin Anne, William's sister, on 12th July 1787.<sup>(1)</sup> William was thus very closely related to Cornelius Ives, who was both cousin and brother-in-law. The patronage of the living of Bradden was in the hands of the Ives family, and it was natural that Cornelius should wish to present William to the Rectory of Bradden at the first opportunity. This occurred in 1795, and on the 24th April of that year William was instituted to the first of the many benefices which he was, subsequently, to

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(1) Genealogical Chart, p.viii.

hold. Yet, though the security of tenure afforded by a benefice probably made easier the consent of the other members of the Douglas family, William must have found the financial position difficult. He had to undertake an extensive rebuilding of the Parsonage house involving an expenditure of about one thousand pounds, a sum altogether out of proportion to a 'living', the value of which was under two hundred pounds per annum. In a letter to Thomas Grant of Towcester, dated 21st April 1795, three days before his institution, Van Mildert deals with the rebuilding. He hopes that Mr. Grant may be able to recommend a good reliable surveyor; he would like the roof to be slated, not tiled, and the height of the rooms on the ground floor to be ten and a half feet, and nine and a half or ten feet above stairs. He assumes that the surveyor's fees would be five per cent on the builder's contract, and is anxious that the cost should not exceed four hundred pounds, lest he should make the benefice an incumbrance to himself rather than an advantage. Urgent matters require that he should make 'another journey to Scotland' where he may be delayed two or three months. (1)

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS.

We are not told what were the circumstances which made necessary 'another journey to Scotland', but one might hazard the guess that Jane may have been connected with it. Perhaps she was staying with her Scottish relatives or friends, and it was deemed advisable that William should meet them. Jane had continued to live at Witham long after the eight years (provided for by her father's Will), had expired; they had been engaged for some three years, and there now seemed no adequate reason for postponing the marriage. The marriage settlement is dated 21st December, 1795, and the marriage took place the next day.<sup>(1)</sup> The trustees of the settlement were her brother Philip, now Master of Corpus Christi, Cornelius Ives of Bradden, William Bullock of Lincoln's Inn, and William Hill of Christchurch. Jane's share of the settlement included half of the four thousand pounds which she and her sister Katherine had lent to Archibald Douglas of Douglas Castle, son of Lady Jean Douglas, wife of Colonel Sir John Stewart of Grandtully, Bt., and the loan was probably made in connection with Archibald's claim to the Douglas estates and Lady Jean's brother, the last Duke of Douglas. In the Scots Courts the case was

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(1) Gent. Mag. 1795, Pt. 2, p. 1054.



decided against him in favour of James George, seventh Duke of Hamilton, who disputed Archibald's claim to be Lady Jean's son. The House of Lords, however, reversed the decision with the result that Archibald inherited the estates and assumed the name of Douglas. In 1790 he was granted the patent of Baron Douglas of Douglas Castle. Actually the four thousand pounds referred to was only paid off by Lord Douglas on 15th May, 1822.

With a benefice so small in value things may well have been difficult for the newly-wedded couple, though no doubt the cordial relations which must have existed between 'the big house' and the Rectory would provide compensations for an outlook which otherwise could have been extremely bleak. They were there so short a time that no very close ties could have been formed with the parishioners, but Van Mildert did not forget his sojourn amongst them, and in later life remembered to send gifts for distribution in the parish. A portrait of him still hangs in the Rectory, and a chair in the Church bears the following inscription: "To the Glory of God, and in memory of the Right Reverend William Van Mildert, D.D., Bishop of Durham, and formerly

Rector of this Parish. This chair is given for the use  
of the Church in Bradden by his relatives. St. Michael's  
Day, 1887."

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Nomination to the Combined Rectories of St. Mary-  
le-Bow, St. Pancras and All Hallows, London -  
Difficulties of Residence and Consequent Litigation -  
Growing Reputation as a Preacher

Hitherto Van Mildert's life had followed the normal course of the ordinary clergyman, and there was little, if anything, to distinguish it from that of thousands of his fellow Clerks in Holy Orders. He had had no opportunities of displaying any qualities which might be said to mark him out from others; his curacies had been served in insignificant parishes, and doubtless there were others of the clergy, in parishes equally insignificant, who may have possessed outstanding gifts of leadership or learning, but for whom no similar opportunities were to come whereby that value could be assessed. The country benefice, to which he had been presented in 1795, might reasonably have been regarded as the sphere of his labours for the rest of his life. Van Mildert had, apparently, contemplated this as probable, and certainly he retained his affection for the parish throughout the rest of his life. His stay at Bradden

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(1) Ives' Memoir, p.14.

was so short that he could have gained only a very slight acquaintance with most of his parishioners, and we may reasonably assume that part, if not the greater part, of his continued interests in its people must have been due to the affection which bound him to his sister Ann and to the Ives family.

But for Van Mildert 'the day of small things' had reached its end in 1796, and it is hardly too much to say that from now onwards we can see his slow but steady advance in reputation, until he reached the exalted rank of Bishop and Count Palatine of Durham. His circle of friends and acquaintances became ever wider, and many of these were of great influence, not only in the ecclesiastical world, but also in the political.

We have had occasion to note that Van Mildert's mother was Martha, only daughter of William Hill Esq. of Vauxhall. Mr. Hill had influence with the Grocers' Company, whose turn it was in 1796, to present to the vacant Rectory of St. Mary-le-Bow, with the combined Rectories of St. Pancras, Soper Lane, and All Hallows, Honey Lane. These benefices were, as now, 'the peculiar and immediate jurisdiction',<sup>(1)</sup> of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Clerks presented

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(1) Letters Testimonial dated 12th October, 1796.

had to obtain the consent of His Grace. Accordingly on the twelfth day of October 1796 Van Mildert appeared with his Presentation before the Archbishop's Vicar General, subscribed to the Articles of Religion and to the three Articles of the thirty-sixth Canon of 1603, and, having made the necessary declaration, received the Letters Testimonial. (1)

Unfortunately none of the three parishes had any suitable house of residence, and Van Mildert had to rent a house. At first he lived in Charles Street, Manchester Square, but he found the distance from his parish so inconvenient, that in 1797 he removed to Ely Place, Holborn, remaining there till 1812. In acting in this way he was only doing what many other City Incumbents did, and he, no doubt, satisfied himself that he was justified. Ely Place was within easy reach of St. Mary-le-Bow, and therefore objection on the ground of distance might have been regarded justly as frivolous. Yet actually he was transgressing the law; he was technically 'non-resident' and as such he required a licence from the <sup>Arch</sup>Bishop. No doubt this would have been granted without hesitation, but the application was not made, and until that was granted he was open to prosecution.

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(1) Letters Testimonial dated 12th October, 1796.

The blow fell in 1800<sup>(1)</sup> when, along with six other City Incumbents, he was prosecuted by a common informer, and judgment was given against him, involving penalties amounting to one hundred and ten pounds, in addition to the costs of the trial. It is satisfactory to record that the Archbishop himself attended the trial, and that parishioners appeared on the Rector's behalf. An objection was lodged by his solicitor on the ground that he was incorrectly described as beneficed with the parsonage of the Rectory and parish church of the united parishes of St. Mary-le-Bow, St. Pancras and All Hallows, whereas he should have been described as beneficed with the Rectories of all three parishes. On appeal, however, the judgment was sustained, and Van Mildert was required to pay the fine. Yet, in reality, it may well be that this trial was an advantage to him. The Archbishop (Dr. Moore) had given testimony on his behalf, and had proved the sincerity of his high regard for him by most generously paying half his fine. Van Mildert's parishes were, as we have seen, Peculiars of the Archbishop, and before the trial Van Mildert had become well-known to the Archbishop 'and dined on public days at his table.'<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) Cf. The Black Book, p.24 (New Ed. pub. 1835)

(2) Ives' Memoir, pp.15-19.

Moreover when, in the next session, a Bill was brought in to prevent similar proceedings, the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords bore testimony to him, and in the House of Commons too he was referred to favourably. (1)

Churton, (2) in his Memoir of Joshua Watson, is of opinion that Van Mildert and Watson became known to each other shortly after the former became Rector of St. Mary-le-Bow. It seems, however, at least probable that they had met long before. We have seen that Cornelius, his father, had intended to apprentice him to Mr. Calverley, and that Mr. Calverley and William Stevens were friends. Joshua Watson was in the same ecclesiastical 'set' as William Stevens, and one might surmise that, perhaps through Mr. Calverley, Van Mildert would become known to William Stevens, and to Joshua Watson. In this connection it is worthy of note that on the 29th November, 1802, Van Mildert was elected a member of "Nobody's" on the nomination of Stevens himself. (3) This Club consisted of friends of Stevens, and had its title because Stevens was accustomed to sign his writings with the pseudonym *οὐδένος ἔργα* (4)

(1) Ives' Memoir, p. 19.

(2) Churton Memoir of Joshua Watson, Vol. 1. p.62.

(3) Ibid, Vol. 1. p.65.

(4) Memoirs of William Stevens Esq., by Sir James Allen Park.

Certainly Van Mildert's membership of this Club, and the associations thus formed, would help towards his advancement.<sup>(1)</sup> At this period also began his long and close association with the S.P.C.K. He appears in its list of members under date 1797, and was destined later to be honoured by being elected as its treasurer.<sup>(2)</sup>

Life had, indeed, taken on a very different aspect for Van Mildert, since he had left the quiet country parish of Bradden. Apart, however, from the sense of gratification which his growing reputation must have given him, he was, in spite of the poetic strain in his nature, essentially a man of the town rather than of the country. He had been born and bred in London, and his return to the life of the City must have seemed like a return home. From boyhood its streets, its scenes, its pageantry, had been familiar to him; now Suffolk Lane and Merchant Taylors' School; where he had "conn'd o'er many a Syntax Rule" was quite close to his Church of St. Mary-le-Bow.

We would probably be right in thinking it was due to his maternal Uncle, William Hill, that, on his appointment to the benefice of St. Mary-le-Bow, he was also appointed

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(1) Ives' Memoir, pp. 19-20.

(2) S.P.C.K. Archives, information kindly supplied by the General Secretary, the Reverend Canon Gosling.



Chaplain to the Grocers' Company. This linked him still more closely to the life of the City, and the experiences thus gained would enable him to play his part with ease in civic functions. It was followed in 1797 by one of still greater importance for in that year he was appointed Lady Moyer's Lecturer at St. Paul's. The population of the three parishes of which he was Rector could not have involved much 'visiting', and the pastoral work would be chiefly the taking of the services and preaching. Until his return to London his frequent changes of spheres of work must have made continuous study very difficult, though, doubtless, he did not neglect to use whatever opportunities there may have been. Now, however, it was otherwise, and probably we should assign to this period that acquisition of theological learning which, at a later date, earned him so well-deserved a reputation as one of the Church's ablest divines. In 1797 on 25th April (Tuesday after Low Sunday), we find him preaching the Hutchins Sermon at St. Mary-le-Bow. The sermon is entitled "The Excellency of the Liturgy, and the Advantages of being Educated in the Doctrine and Principles of the Church of England." The trustees, who included in their number the Lord Mayor, the Right Honourable Brook Watson,

evidently valued the sermon, for it was published at their request the same year. Its prevailing tone is one of complete satisfaction with the authorized formularies of faith and worship of the Church of England. Anglicanism - to use the term now current - was to Van Mildert no makeshift compromise of balanced statements veiled in language designedly ambiguous. Rather it was for him the expression of Christianity in its primitive form, and the statements in this sermon could be matched by many others elsewhere in his writings. The sermon deserves careful study to-day when so many are advocating alterations in the public services of the church.

Three years after his return to London he had to sustain a sad bereavement, for in the April of 1799 his father died. The worthy merchant was in his seventy-seventh year, and had lived to see William's feet set securely on the ladder of ecclesiastical preferment. He had made his Will two years earlier on the 27th September, 1797. Perhaps his seventy-fifth birthday (he was born on 20th September 1722) was fresh in his mind, and had warned him of the rapidly increasing speed of the passing years. The Will breathes the spirit of a God-fearing, pious Christian, and

we may, surely, assume that the opening phrase meant far more than the use of a conventional form. The Charity School of St. Mary Newington, is the first named beneficiary, receiving a legacy of twenty pounds. The Executors were to be his 'dear and loving wife Martha', his 'Brother-in-law William Hill Esq.' and his 'Son, the Reverend William Van Mildert'. His two 'female' servants were not forgotten and the 'constant carefull attendance' bestowed by one of them on his daughter Rachel who had died, was not overlooked. It is evident that the good old man was anxious that as many as possible of his relatives or connections should have some token of his affection, though, naturally, the bulk of his estate went to his widow and children.<sup>(1)</sup>

Ives<sup>(2)</sup> in his Memoir records how deeply Van Mildert felt this bereavement, and dates from this period an illness which, for many months, made it impossible for him to continue fulfilling his duties. It was of the nature of an 'eruptive fever' and its effects became, to some extent, chronic, so that he frequently had to seek treatment at Harrogate. In times of great grief the general health often suffers, and one can easily understand that in endeavouring to 'carry on' Van Mildert overtaxed his strength, and so

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(1) For contents of Will see Appendix to this Chapter.

(2) Ives' Memoir, p. 15.

rendered himself exposed to such an attack. Evidence that his ministrations were valued by his parishioners is afforded by his having been elected on 8th July, 1800, at a Vestry to be Afternoon Lecturer at St. Mary-le-Bow. The 'Licence' or 'Faculty' was of course issued by the Archbishop, for the reason already mentioned, and bears date 17th April, 1801.<sup>(1)</sup>

It is unfortunate that there is not now available more material wherewith to fill in the details of Van Mildert's private and domestic life at this period. That his married life with Jane was most happy is abundantly evident from letters reproduced in the Douglas History, and it is also clear that he lived in most cordial relations with his Douglas connections. Jane's brother William, a Judge in the East India Company's service whose wife had predeceased him in 1795, died in 1802, and from that date the Van Milderts took his youngest surviving daughter, Mary, (born in India in 1794) to live with them. In 1806 Jane suffered another bereavement in the death of her youngest brother, the Reverend Robert Douglas, Rector of Salwarpe and Hampton Lovett, whose wife also had predeceased him in 1796, and the Van Mildert household received another addition in Helen Margaret, Robert's second daughter, born in

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(1) Licence or Faculty dated 17th April, 1801.

1791. Thus by 1806 William and Jane Van Mildert's home was brightened by the presence of these two young girls, Mary Douglas now aged twelve, and Helen Margaret Douglas aged fifteen. It was a happy arrangement, for the Van Milderts had now been married nearly eleven years, and the hope of having children of their own must have almost faded. No children were to come, and the young life around them must have provided many a solace, and shed many a ray of brightness for William and Jane.

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From 1787 to 1808 the diocese of London had, as its Bishop, Dr. Beilby Porteus whose wide sympathies and pastoral devotion provide a pleasing contrast to the type of Bishop only too common in the eighteenth century. His Primary Visitation Charge, delivered in 1790, serves to bridge the gulf between the leisured ease which had marked many an Episcopate, and the ceaseless activity of the modern Bishop.<sup>(1)</sup> In his Charge the Bishop shows that he is alive to the evils of non-residence, and to the need of an increase in the number of Sunday services. When, therefore,

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(1) G. Lacey May, Some Eighteenth Century Churchmen, S.P.C.K. 1820, p.133 et passim.

Van Mildert, in 1796, became a City Incumbent, he found himself in a diocese quickened with new life, and having as its Chief Shepherd a bishop ready to encourage every good work. It has already been noted<sup>(1)</sup> that, in his assistant curacy at Witham, Van Mildert had interested himself in Sunday School work, a movement then in its infancy. Bishop Porteus was a great friend of Hannah More, and Sunday Schools were actively encouraged by him. As Rector of the important parish of St. Mary-le-Bow, Van Mildert had an assured and recognised place in the Church life of the City, and it was during these early years that he became closely associated with some prominent clergymen who formed what was called 'The Hackney Phalanx'. Their leader was Henry Handley Norris, Rector of South Hackney, and John James Watson, Rector of Hackney and Archdeacon of St. Alban's was another very influential member. John Watson was a brother of Joshua Watson, a layman whose influence, from the close of the eighteenth century until the middle of the nineteenth, counted for so much in official circles of the Church. Between Van Mildert and Joshua Watson there sprang up a close and life-long friendship,<sup>(2)</sup> and it

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(1) Page 45.

(2) Churton's Memoir of Joshua Watson, p.62, and passim.

is evident that Van Mildert relied upon his friend's criticisms very considerably. The 'Hackney Phalanx' was indeed almost a 'family party', for another prominent member was Thomas Sikes, Rector of Gillsborough, who had married the Watsons' sister.

It is, therefore, not surprising if Van Mildert had begun to realise that he had 'arrived', and that he had a contribution to make to the intellectual life of the Church. About the year 1799 he felt justified in applying to the Archbishop (Dr. Moore), to be appointed to deliver the Boyle Lecture for the next turn. The request was not unreasonable for the Lectureship then usually went with the Rectory of St. Mary-le-Bow, but Lord Frederick Cavendish, a most influential Trustee, had already promised the next turn. He undertook, however, to see that the subsequent appointment should be offered to Van Mildert, and the delay of some three years afforded Van Mildert the opportunity of an exhaustive study of his subject. In the course of the preparation of the sermons, manuscript followed manuscript to Joshua Watson's house for criticisms and suggestions, and one can imagine that Watson himself must

have been almost as glad as Van Mildert when the final revision had been made.<sup>(1)</sup>

The Lecture had for its title, "An Historical View of the Rise and Progress of Infidelity, with a Refutation of its Principles and Reasonings", and was dedicated (by permission) to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Sutton). In the dedicatory epistle Van Mildert refers to his appointment to the Lectureship by Dr. Sutton's predecessor, Dr. Moore. The sermons were delivered at various times between the years 1802 and 1805, but the references in this thesis are from the edition published in 1806 by F. C. and J. Rivington of London.

Both the Bishop of London (Dr. Porteus) and the Bishop of Rochester (Dr. Dampier) wrote to Van Mildert in appreciation,<sup>(2)</sup> and the proof that the sermons met a need is seen from the fact that between 1806 and 1838 five editions were published.

The sermons or lectures are twenty-four in number, and the whole series is divided into two parts, the first twelve dealing with an historical survey of the origin and growth of Infidelity, and the remaining twelve with a consideration

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(1) Churton's Memoir of Joshua Watson, Vol. I, pp.66-72.

(2) Ives' Memoir, pp. 23-24.



of the a priori and a posteriori arguments. Some reference to them will be found in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

The Boyle lectures, though they were the opus magnum of these years, were not his sole literary activity. The "Hackney Phalanx" evidently had its eye upon him and was determined to make him pull his weight. Norris and Watson had a large share in launching the Churchman's Remembrancer a publication for reproducing tracts of 'orthodox' divines of the Church of England. The first volume, published in 1802 and 1803, contained two tracts of Waterland, and had short editorial notes; these notes bear no signature, but Churton thought that they were probably from the pen of the future Editor of Waterland's Works. <sup>(1)</sup> Another tract was by Plaifere - "Appello Evangelicum" - the preface to which was written by Van Mildert. Churton also thought that the preface of another of the tracts - Bishop Barlow's account of the Hampton Court Conference - was written by him.

Between 1807 and 1810 the Churchman's Remembrancer reproduced a second series of tracts one of which was a reprint of A Discourse Concerning Conventicles, the biographical note being by Van Mildert. <sup>(2)</sup> He appears also

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(1) Churton's Memoir of Joshua Watson, Vol. I, p.65.  
 (2) Ib. Vol. I, p.73.

to have given some literary assistance to the Editor of the Anti-Jacobin. (1)

One of the undoubted evils of the Church in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was 'Pluralism'. That in many cases it amounted to a scandal can hardly be denied, though a case could be made out in some instances, which, if not entirely satisfactory, was at least plausible. The most serious objection rests not so much upon the increased addition to the frequently inadequate income of the 'single-beneficed' clerk, as upon the inevitable non-residence of the incumbent in one or both (or more!) of the parishes, for at any rate a considerable portion of the year. The employment by the incumbent of a resident Curate, often at a disgracefully small salary, could not really meet the just requirements of the parishioners, and still less ought it to leave satisfied the conscience of the incumbent. Many of the clergy to-day must be amazed to find that the official authorities of the Church, by trying to solve the financial difficulties of the clergy, have shown an increasing readiness to adopt the line of least resistance by re-introducing, in principle, an evil which some had thought had passed away a century ago.

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(1) Churton's Memoir of Joshua Watson, Vol. I, p.65.

The facility with which parishes are 'united' means but a recurrence of the old evil, and overlooks the awkward, and apparently unwelcome fact that the incomes of benefices in the Church of England do not belong to some 'central authority' of the Church, but constitute a trust bequeathed to the parishes to provide resident priests for all.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that many devout and earnest priests, in the period we are considering, accepted the complacent attitude of the Episcopate, and assumed that they could safely, and with a good conscience, hold more than one benefice. Van Mildert was not an exception, and when the benefice of Farningham, near Sevenoaks, fell vacant in 1806 he had no hesitation in asking the Archbishop to consider his claims. The reply of His Grace (Dr. Sutton), while it certainly affords evidence of his high regard for Van Mildert, indicates no hesitation in sanctioning that this benefice should be held in plurality with the united benefices of such important cures as St. Mary-le-Bow, St. Pancras and All Hallows! The Archbishop wrote, "I have great pleasure in complying with your request: your claims upon me, public and private, are better founded than your modesty will suffer you to state."<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) Ives' Memoir, p.31.

Accordingly on the 14th April, 1807, Van Mildert was collated by the Archbishop to 'the vicarage of the parish Church of Farningham in the County of Kent and Deanery of Shoreham.'<sup>(1)</sup>

As a contrast to his London benefice Farningham was doubtless attractive. Ives<sup>(2)</sup> tells us that its 'pleasing situation' had appealed to him some time before, and this, coupled with its nearness to London, had no doubt induced him to seek it. Circumstances, however, may well have caused him to regret that the Archbishop found his 'public and private' claims for recognition so strong! Certainly it was not very long before he found himself in troubled waters. One is inclined to think that 'business aptitude', in the general acceptance of that phrase, was not Van Mildert's strong suit. He had had one experience of how costly a 'living' can be, when he was Rector of Bradden. There he had had to build a new parsonage at a cost of nearly one thousand pounds, and, as the 'living' was under two hundred pounds per annum in value, the casting up of accounts at the end of his year's tenure cannot have been encouraging.<sup>(3)</sup> In his case, however, the adage 'once bitten, twice shy', was either forgotten, or was not

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(1) Letters Testimonial dated 14th April, 1807.  
(2) Ives' Memoir, p. 31.  
(3) Ibid.

allowed to check his enthusiasm; he once more launched out on an extensive scheme of improvements to the Parsonage, and, whether by his own miscalculation or abuse of trust on the part of the contractors,<sup>(1)</sup> he found himself in grave financial difficulties. Joshua Watson proved to be a friend indeed, and enlisting the co-operation of his wife's father, Thomas Sikes (a banker in Mansion House Street), and others, he was enabled to relieve him of his financial anxieties. It is clear, from the correspondence reproduced in Churton's Memoirs of Joshua Watson, that Van Mildert was most grateful. Moreover, an incident, late in his life, and to which we shall have occasion to refer, proved that his sense of gratitude was life-long, though he had, before this, repaid the amount by which he had been helped. The following extract from letters by Van Mildert, contained in Churton's Memoir, show how greatly distressed he was by his adverse circumstances and how deep was his feeling of gratitude. In a letter dated 7th March, 1811, he writes, "Yet - shall I confess to you? this feeling is in some respects a very painful one, and occasions a frequent depression of spirits, which I am unable to overcome. There

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(1) Churton's Memoirs of Joshua Watson, Vol. I, pp.74-76.

is a pleasure, an exquisite one, in having such friends; but the wound given to the spirit of independence, by being obliged to make use of them, is not easily healed. It has been my misfortune to be more or less embarrassed ever since I have been a beneficed man; and every additional benefice has brought its additional burdens, and made me poorer than before. So that, in spite of all the friendly helps I have met with, I still am, and to all human appearance ever shall be, a necessitous man."<sup>(1)</sup>

The reply which he received from Joshua Watson evidently soothed his feelings, for a week later we find him writing - "I am determined henceforth to think of the matter in no other way than you and they wish me to do."

The other trouble was of an entirely different character, and should provide consolation to not a few priests when they reflect that in these enlightened days of Church Assembly measures, even a future Regius Professor of Divinity, and ornament of the Episcopate, might incur the censure of a Diocesan Committee as being 'unsuitable' for the parish! Van Mildert had evidently committed the grave indiscretion of condemning what the Church calls

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(1) Churton's Memoir of Joshua Watson, Vol. 1, pp.74-76.

'schism' and had even dared to use the word 'schism' itself! Such a crime could not be allowed to pass unnoticed; at least one dissenter took him to task. Accordingly there was circulated in the parish a pamphlet with the intriguing title, "Who is the Dissenter"? Van Mildert felt that it required an answer, and, as Parish Magazines had yet to be born, he wrote a letter<sup>(1)</sup> to his parishioners, and had it printed and circulated in the parish. It is dated 5th March, 1810 and is as follows:-

"To  
THE INHABITANTS  
 - Of -  
THE PARISH OF FARNINGHAM  
 in the County of Kent

"Having lately received a Pamphlet, entitled 'Who is the Dissenter?' addressed to me in consequence of my Sermon preached to you at Farningham Church in October last; and being informed that this publication has been industriously circulated throughout the Parish: I think it probable that you may expect me to answer it in a public manner. This, for the reasons I am about to state to you, I must decline

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS and Papers.

doing; but, lest any misconstruction should be put upon my total silence, I wish to let you know what impression it has made upon my mind.

"When I consented, at the request of some among you for whom I entertain great regard, to print, for private distribution only, some copies of that very plain, and (as I thought) very inoffensive Sermon, intended for no other purpose than to recommend attention to the duty of Parochial Worship; I did not imagine that I could be drawn into controversy on the subject of it; much less that it could be made the occasion of a vehement attack upon my whole personal conduct. Neither could I possibly expect that it should give rise to a variety of invectives against the Clergy in general; and against some of the declared tenets of the Church of England, which myself and my reverend brethren are here reviled for holding and maintaining.

Such, however, is the evident purport of the above-mentioned pamphlet; to which I cannot think it necessary that I should occupy either my time or yours with a detailed reply. As a Minister of the Church of England, I acknowledge it to be my duty to stand forth in defence of her doctrine and discipline, whenever a necessity for so doing is laid



upon me, or when any good seems likely to result from my labours. But it would be almost an endless and (I am persuaded) a fruitless task, to take in hand an adversary of this kind; who seems to suppose that bringing together various texts of Scripture, and various passages from the Articles, Homilies and Liturgy of our Church, whether connected with each other or not, and putting his own arbitrary construction upon them, is the surest way to overpower his opponent, and to establish his own opinions. To examine every text and every passage that he thus brings forward, and to point out all his fallacies in the interpretation, the application, and (I might add) the quotation of them, would require a much longer discussion than, I think, you would be disposed to attend to, even if I had leisure to undertake it. And, after all, what arguments would silence such a writer as this? More effusions of the same kind would probably issue from his pen: and he would always imagine that he had gained the victory, so long as he was suffered to have the last word.

"I think, therefore, that I may stand excused from entering into any theological controversy on the present

occasion. Opportunities (God willing) may often arise of explaining to you from the Pulpit what are the real doctrines of our church, on the points which its adversaries call in question, and to show how entirely those doctrines accord with the Holy Scriptures. This mode of "contending for the Faith" I much prefer to that of pamphlet controversy. And though I cannot hope to have them for my hearers, who avowedly despise my ministry; yet I trust that by God's blessing on my endeavours, I may be instrumental in retaining those in the bosom of the Church, who have not yet deserted her Communion; and in convincing them that they may continue to be Churchmen, without ceasing to be Christians.

"For the present, I have only a few remarks to add, on the spirit and temper of this publication, so far as it personally concerns me.

"The author accuses me, in direct terms, of uncharitableness; and insinuates that I use the foolish arts of sophistry, buffoonery and scurrility; that I am a deceiver, a blind leader of the blind, greedy of filthy lucre, addicted to pleasure, and negligent of pious duties: in short, almost as worthless a character as he can delineate.

"I am really at a loss to discover what there is in the

sermon alluded to, which could provoke this bitter invective. It is a discourse altogether on a general subject treated of in general terms. Personalities in the Pulpit I always avoid. But prevailing errors and faults, of whatever kind, it is surely the duty of a Christian Preacher to notice; leaving it to his hearers to judge how far any thing that is said may be applicable to their particular cases. In enumerating the causes of forsaking our Church-assemblies, I adverted to the unhappy prevalence of Schism and Fanaticism among us, as one of the most frequent. I spoke also in terms full as strong, if not stronger, of those who forsake them from other motives, altogether of an irreligious kind. In all this, I described the general state of religion in the community, not referring to my own flock or my own neighbourhood in particular: and speaking thus generally, I believe I was fully warranted in what I advanced. But if offence is to be taken by one class of persons, because some of these animadversions seem applicable to themselves, why may not those who feel touched by other parts take offence likewise? And then, how is the Preacher to use any admonition, or notice any prevailing faults and errors, without

hazard of drawing upon himself ill-will and reproach?

"With respect to the acrimony with which this author has assailed my private character, I do not feel it necessary to enter upon a formal vindication of myself. The very few meetings of public amusement, in which I have appeared among you, were harmless festivities, on certain loyal occasions, and in which I was not witness to any thing that could give reasonable cause of offence. Nor have I knowingly been present at any other meetings of the same description, where irregularities of any kind have been permitted. As to my usual habits of life, whether in town or country, this author is welcome to investigate them as much as he pleases: and though we may not perhaps entirely agree as to every species of occupation or amusement which may be deemed allowable; yet I can hardly think that he himself, did he know me better, would not feel some compunction at the sneers and sarcasms which he has cast upon me. But alas! what will not a spirit of party lead to? Possibly had I been more addicted to worldly pursuits and pleasures, or less devoted to my professional studies and occupations, and less solicitous to keep my flock in the way wherein they should go, this author would have found

fewer obstacles to his own views, and would have let me rest in quiet.

As to my future line of conduct, should any similar attempts be made to molest me in my pastoral duties, my resolution is decidedly taken. I shall hold no controversy with such disputants as these: I shall make no answer to 'railing accusations'. It is my purpose, by God's help, to go on steadily in the way which the Church hath pointed out to me, for ministering to the edification of those who are committed to my charge. In doing this, I know that through 'evil report', as well as 'good report', I must expect to make my way. But to those who would thwart my earnest endeavours to do my duty, I trust I may say, 'With me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you, of or man's judgement: yea, I judge not mine ownself: but He that judgeth me is the Lord.' Commending, therefore, both myself and you to His guidance, for whose sake alone we can hope to be accepted, and beseeching Him to help us all forward in the way that leadeth to Eternal Life, I bid you heartily farewell, and am

Your truly affectionate  
Friend and Pastor,

WILLIAM VAN MILDERT

London,  
March 5, 1810."

In the absence of any evidence of a reply to the letter one may hope that the incident was regarded as closed.

Farningham Vicarage was within easy reach of London, but it possessed another attraction - the presence of two young and attractive girls. The following letter from Van Mildert dated "Lincoln's Inn, 21st December, 1812" and addressed to "Chas. Crawley, Esq., 27 Everett Street, Brunswick Square", indicates that he was not unaware of this additional recommendation.

"Dear Sir,

"I have been very desirous of calling on you during the last week that I have been in Town, but have been prevented by many untoward circumstances. To-day I am setting off for Farningham, and shall be very glad if I may carry with me any hopes of your favouring us with your company there during the Xmas recess. Can you contrive to give us that pleasure next week, so as to be with us on New Year's Day, when the Ladies will probably challenge you to accompany them to an annual Ball at Sevenoaks; which is, in general, a pleasurable meeting? If you are disposed to agree to this proposal, I will give you further information

as to the time and mode of conveyance etc. etc.

We are only 18 miles from London. In case you sh<sup>d</sup> not be at home when the bearer calls with this, I will thank you to direct a line to me at Farningham near Dartford, Kent.

"Believe me, my dear sir,

Very truly yours,

(1)  
WM. VAN MILDERT"

One wonders whether Mr. Crawley was able to spend New Year's Day at Farningham. In any case, he did not secure the hand either of Mary or of the 'fair Helen'. (2)

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- (1) Kindly supplied to me by the Rev. F. Wiltshire, Vicar of Farningham (1944).  
 (2) Reminiscences of Oxford, by the Rev. W. Tuckwell, p.133.

#### IV

PREACHER AT LINCOLN'S INN -

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY AT OXFORD

AND BAMPTON LECTURER

During the eighteenth century and the earlier half of the nineteenth, the ministry of the Word was esteemed of very high importance in the Church of England, and Sermons occupied a place in the life and thought of the people which it is perhaps difficult for us either to realise or appreciate.<sup>(1)</sup> It may be true that the place assigned to this ministry tended to obscure the value of the ministry of the Sacraments, and that the pulpit, both figuratively and actually, often dwarfed into insignificance the altar. It would hardly seem that this danger exists in the Church of England to-day! The pendulum has swung so far in the other direction that the congregation has come to regard a sermon, not always without cause, as a cross which must be borne with Christian fortitude. Van Mildert lived at a time when there was certainly little risk of his under-

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(1) Cf. Overton, The English Church in the Nineteenth Century, (1800-1833) p.141.



estimating the value of good preaching, and on the occasion of a vacancy in the office of Preacher at Lincoln's Inn in 1812 he was very, almost desperately, anxious to secure the appointment. A short time before he had, unsuccessfully, applied for the vacant Preachership at Gray's Inn, and no doubt the failure would tend to increase his anxiety in applying for the similar, but more important office at Lincoln's Inn. His apprehensions were, indeed, well founded, for there were at first seven candidates, and amongst them Dr. Middleton, whose claims for recognition were, at that time, as great as, if not greater than his own. Dr. Middleton had been educated at Christ's Hospital (on which 'religious, royal and ancient' foundation one of the School Houses at Horsham still perpetuates his memory), and at Pembroke College, Cambridge. He was Van Mildert's junior by some four years, having been born in 1769. At Cambridge he was known as a mathematician rather than as a classical scholar. He took Orders in 1792, and in 1808 proceeded D.D., publishing in the same year his famous work The Doctrine of the Greek Article, applied to the Criticism and Illustration of the New Testament. The following year he became Vicar of St. Pancras, Canon of Lincoln and Rector

of Puttenham. Had he continued to stand as a candidate Van Mildert might well have felt that his chances of success were slender indeed. Dr. Middleton, however, withdrew from the contest; he was destined to have the honour of being the first Bishop of Calcutta. Between him and Van Mildert there was a close friendship, and there will be occasion to refer to this later.

When the actual election took place the number of candidates had been reduced to three (including Van Mildert), and a letter<sup>(1)</sup> dated 17th April, 1812, from London, to Jane at Farningham gives quite a vivid description of the 'wire-pulling' behind the scenes, and of Van Mildert's state of tense anxiety! It would appear that both the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, at least privately, supported his candidature. Van Mildert thought he could hope for nine votes, including those of the Attorney-General and Mr. Parks, but the Solicitor General was in favour of Archdeacon Nares. Van Mildert had however the very powerful support of the Prime Minister, Mr. Spencer Perceval. The letter ends: "But still I am in almost feverish solicitude as to the event, and withal these cold Easterly winds cut me to pieces, and have brought on such a return of cold and

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(1) Douglas Family History, pp. 453-455.

defluxion, that I have to-day steadily resisted all invitations, and am now sitting upstairs in my little Parlour by myself, after dining on lamb broth and weak wine and water and raisins, intending to finish with tea and water gruel. For truth, I have worked hard and want some respite. As to writing to you by to-morrow's post, you must not depend upon it. The Ballot is to be kept open an hour, if necessary. I am to be at Park's to wait the result. To convey to you the tidings, so as to be at Lombard Street in good time, may be impossible. Therefore be as easy as you can. To go down to you to-morrow night is quite out of the question. The Strongs are, I think, as much in a fever about this matter as we can be. Parks was most kind about it to-day and, though very sanguine, thinks it right to be prepared for we know not what contingencies, but is persuaded that should I fail, Perceval would certainly show himself my friend in some other way. Nous verrons.  
God bless you, Love to Helen,

Yours ever,

W.V.M."

Fortunately all went well and the next day saw him duly elected Preacher of Lincoln's Inn. The following

extract from the Inn's Records (kindly supplied to me by the Reverend Canon J. K. Mozley, D.D. the present Preacher), gives the particulars of his formal election.

At a Special COUNCIL held 18th April 1812

PRESENT

Sir John Pollen, Bart. Treasurer, and  
21 other Benchers.

The Revd. William Van Mildert, M.A., late of Queen's College, Oxford, Rector of the Parish of Saint Mary-le-Bow in the City of London and Vicar of Farningham in the County of Kent - being this day duly elected Preacher of this Society in the place of the Revd. Dr. William Jackson now Lord Bishop of Oxford, who resigned his Preachership to this Society the last day of last Hilary Term - It is Ordered thereupon that the said Revd. William Van Mildert be Preacher to this Society and that he shall have the same Exhibition Allowance and Chambers from the first day of this Term as the said Dr. William Jackson had at the time of his Resignation of the said Preachership and the same duty and attendance is expected from the said Revd. William Van Mildert as hath been usually rendered, and the Treasurer of this Society is hereby desired to acquaint him herewith.<sup>(1)</sup>

A further letter<sup>(2)</sup> addressed to Jane at Farningham, is in a lighter strain: the 'Preacher' is evidently enjoying the social amenities following his election. It is headed London Coffee House, Saturday 11 at night (otherwise undated, but obviously shortly after his election). In it he describes a dinner party at the Prime Minister's house. After mentioning the names of the

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(1) Lincoln's Inn Records.

(2) Douglas Family History, p.455.

guests he adds: "The Preacher sat at the bottom of the table, next to Mr. Perceval - a seat which he naturally preferred to any other, for the benefit of so choice a companion, whom he found exceedingly pleasant and easy, though quite dignified, and with great vigour and energy of mind, tempered with the most perfect suavity and good breeding....."

"Whether I shall go down to you on Tuesday, I am not yet quite determined. If I should, I shall be half inclined to stay the whole week, and leave the Sons of the Clergy in the lurch. Yet that will be hardly comme il faut....."

"God bless you,

Yours ever,

W.V.M."

For seven years (1812-1819) Van Mildert held this important appointment, and fifty of the sermons preached then are extant in published form, in two volumes, containing twenty-five sermons in each volume.<sup>(1)</sup> They amply repay close study, not only because of their teaching, combined with scholarship and depth of thought, but also as examples of sermons written in good English. It is

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(1) The references throughout are taken from the edition printed by S. Collingwood at Oxford, 1831.

evident that slipshod writing in Sermons would have seemed to him at once a blunder and a sin, and 'Basic English' would certainly have cramped his style! He was, obviously, a lover of phrases, and of sonorous periods, but prolixity he avoided. Nor is there any parade of learning: he was so completely master of his subject, that he never seems to be anxious to convince others of his competence.

There will be occasion, later, to refer to some of them, when attempting to relate Van Mildert's teaching to the Oxford Movement, and to the problems, and even controversies, which the Church faces to-day. Whatever opinions may be formed on these matters it would be difficult, if not impossible, for any impartial reader to doubt the earnestness of the preacher, or to fail to realize the spirituality of their message. To Van Mildert preaching was an opus, indeed an opus magnum, and one suspects that the time spent in preparing each sermon must be reckoned in hours, on more than one day. In regard to their spiritual message, reverence and humility are always evident; reverence in recognition of the Majesty and Holiness of God; humility as the indispensable requisite to enable the mind of Man to think thoughts of God.

One of the earliest of this series of sermons was preached on the occasion of the lamentable assassination of the Right Honourable Spencer Perceval,<sup>(1)</sup> the Prime Minister.

We have had occasion to note that Mr. Perceval had been a warm supporter of Van Mildert in his candidature for the Preachership, and we can easily understand the sense of personal loss which Van Mildert must have felt. The sermon<sup>(2)</sup> was preached on Sunday, 31st May, and the text chosen was Isaiah 57<sup>1</sup>, "The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart." Van Mildert shows that whenever this is true of a nation the sense of religion has

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(1) Mr. Perceval, the second son of the second Earl of Egmont, was born in 1762, and educated at Harrow, and Trinity College, Cambridge. On leaving Cambridge he read Law at Lincoln's Inn, and acquired considerable reputation as a lawyer. In 1796 he entered Parliament as representative for Northampton, and subsequently filled the offices of Solicitor-General, and Attorney General. On the death of the Duke of Portland, in 1809, he became Prime Minister, but his promising career was brought to an end on the 11th May, 1812. His assassinator, Bellingham, had laboured under a sense of some alleged ill-treatment in Russia, and, at the trial, he asserted that his intended victim was Lord Leveson Gower, formerly Ambassador at St. Petersburg. He was found guilty and executed on 18th May.

(2) Lincoln's Inn Sermons, Vol. II, Sermon XXV.

become deadened by long continued neglect of its duties, and, in an eulogy of the unfortunate Statesman, he expresses the loss felt by all Members of Lincoln's Inn in the death of one who was not only a distinguished member of that Society, but had gained their affection and esteem. He concludes with the hope that this calamity may have aroused in many a desire to return to the political and religious principles which had made the nation great.

The sermon was much appreciated by the Benchers, for a footnote records that it was printed 'at the request of the Treasurer and Masters of the Bench, June 1812', and amongst those who thought highly of the sermon was Lord Shaftesbury.<sup>(1)</sup>

Lord Liverpool<sup>(2)</sup> immediately succeeded Mr. Perceval as Prime Minister and proved himself a good friend to Van Mildert.

Of the sermons preached at Lincoln's Inn it is not easy to assign many of them to any particular Festival or

(1) Douglas Family History, p.456.

(2) Robert Jenkinson, son of the first Earl of Liverpool, was born 7th January 1770 and entered Parliament under Mr. Pitt. In 1792 he opposed the abolition of the Slave Trade, and in Mr. Addington's Ministry (1801-1804) he filled the office of Foreign Secretary, becoming Lord Hawkesbury in 1803. In 1808 he succeeded his father as Earl of Liverpool, and from 1812 was Prime Minister till his attack of apoplexy on 17th February, 1827. He died 4th December, 1827, and his death meant to Van Mildert the loss of one to whose friendship and esteem he was greatly indebted.



Sunday, and very few of them bear any specific date. The following, however, can be assigned to particular seasons though the years are not indicated: (Vol. i, Sermons xvii Christmas Day); xxi (Whit-Sunday); xxiii (Trinity Sunday): one is tempted also to hazard the guess that Sermon xx, vol. i. was preached at Ascensiontide (cf. pp. 426, 427 ), and, with more hesitation, Sermon xix, vol. I on some Sunday in Eastertide (cf. pp. 396, 398, 405 ). Fortunately the published Sermons do not exhaust his extant Sermons. Among the papers kindly placed in my hands by Mrs. Grant-Ives of Wellesbourne, for the purpose of this thesis, are certain Sermons in Van Mildert's handwriting, with notes, also in his handwriting, giving particulars of places and dates of their delivery. Of these, four were preached at Lincoln's Inn. Their titles and particulars are as follows:

Cautions against Credulity, I John 4<sup>1</sup>, June 20, 1813.  
 Cautions against Incredulity, I John 4<sup>1</sup>, June 27, 1813.  
 The Necessity and the Effects of Our Lord's Ascension,  
 John 16,<sup>28</sup> May 7, 1815.  
 The Centurion's Faith, Matthew 8<sup>13</sup>, January 26, 1817.

The MSS. themselves evince the care with which Van Mildert endeavoured in his sermons to secure accuracy of statement, and 'correct' English. Many sentences have been crossed through for omission, and in some cases others have

been substituted. Many of the other Sermons in manuscript bear notes indicating that they were preached more than once, either in the same church, or elsewhere, but only in the case of the last of the four referred to above is there anything to indicate that any of these were preached elsewhere than at Lincoln's Inn. Negative evidence is admittedly inconclusive, but it is probable that Van Mildert regarded his sphere of work at the Inn as sui generis, and requiring special care in the treatment of each subject. The note referred to in the last of the series is as follows: "Original November 1816" but there is nothing further to explain its meaning. Certainly, however, this particular sermon was preached at least twice, and a pathetic interest is attached to it. The pencilled note at the end runs as follows: "This was the last Sermon the Bishop of Durham ever preached. It was in Auckland Castle Chapel on Sunday the 24th January, 1836." The note bears the initials "R.A.D.G." The initials are doubtless those of Robert Archibald Douglas-Gresley of High Park, Worcs., J.P., D.L. (nephew of Jane Douglas, the wife of the Bishop), who assumed the additional surname of Gresley on inheriting the Gresley property of High Park. He was a Solicitor, and Van Mildert, when Bishop of Durham, had appointed him as his Secretary.

In preparing for the press his Lincoln's Inn Sermons Van Mildert had evidently contemplated the inclusion of at least three of the above. The first two are marked "Doubtful", and the third "Imprimatur". Apparently he decided against their inclusion in the series and "Imprimatur" is crossed through.

Eleven other sermons are also extant in manuscript, and some particulars of these are subjoined. Some of these obviously form a series, and it is interesting to note that Van Mildert did not hesitate to preach them more than once. It is probably safe to assume that he 'read' his Sermons, as was the custom at the time; and indeed for many years later. Newman, at least, in his Anglican days, did the same, as did also Liddon. It may well be that our generation requires a different method, but even to-day mere facility of utterance can have a devastating effect upon a reflective congregation, and a facial expression of attention may be grim as well as appreciative!

#### MS. SERMONS

On the importance of Our Lord's Ascension. Acts I<sup>9</sup>, No. 119.  
 Witham. May 20, 1792. Morn: Sunday after Ascension.  
 Benet. May 12, 1793.  
 St. Mary-le-Bow, May 20, 1798.  
 Whitfield and Waldersham. May 17, 1801.  
 St. Mary-le-Bow. May 29, 1808. Morn: Sunday after Ascension (original May 1792).

A Confirmation Sermon, Col. 2, 6 & 7 No. 200.  
 Witham. 18th May, 1794. Morning.  
 St. Mary-le-Bow. 9th April, 1797.  
 St. Martin's, Ludgate, February 1799 by Mr. Fraser.  
 St. Mary-le-Bow. 20th March, 1803. Morning.  
 - Ditto - 15th March, 1807. Morning.

(Original May 1794)

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The nature and obligation of the Baptismal Vow.  
 Gal. 3<sup>27</sup>. No. 253. A Confirmation Sermon.

St. Mary-le-Bow. 3rd March, 1799.  
 - Ditto - 31st March, 1805. Morning.  
 - Ditto - 3rd April, 1808. Morning.  
 Farningham 13th June, 1813. Afternoon.

(Original 17th March (?).

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Man in a State of Nature. Rom. 3, <sup>23</sup>, 24.

St. Mary-le-Bow 15th February, 1807. Morning.  
 Farningham 14th October, 1810.  
 St. Mary-le-Bow 16th February, 1812. Morning.  
 Hackney 4th April, 1813.  
 St. Mary-le-Bow 23rd April, 1815. Afternoon.  
 St. Paul's  
 Cathedral 12th December, 1824.

(Original February 1807)

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Man in a State of Grace. Rom. 3<sup>23, 24.</sup>

St. Mary-le-Bow	22nd February, 1807.	Morning
Farningham	21st October, 1810.	
St. Mary-le-Bow	1st March, 1812.	Morning.
Hackney	11th April, 1813.	
St. Mary-le-Bow	30th April, 1815.	Afternoon.

(Original February 1807)

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Good Friday - John 19,<sup>5</sup>.

St. Mary-le-Bow Good Friday, 1810.

(Original Ap. 1810 and 1816)

(It is not easy to understand the  
two dates!)

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The Danger of Associating with Wicked Companions -  
Proverbs 13,<sup>20</sup>.

Farningham	15th July, 1810.	
St. Mary-le-Bow	26th August, 1810.	Morning.
G.O.*	October, 1812.	
St. Mary-le-Bow	30th January, 1814.	Afternoon.
Farningham	24th September, 1815.	
Ewelme	18th August, 1816.	

(Original July 1810)

\* (N.B. G.O. remains inexplicable)

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The Christian Warfare. I Tim. 6,<sup>12</sup>.

Ewelme 11th October, 1815.  
St. Mary-le-Bow 1st August, 1819.

(Original October 1815)

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"The Rich and the Poor meet together: the Lord is the Maker of them all." Proverbs 22,<sup>2</sup>.

Ewelme 8th November, 1818.  
National Society's  
Chapel, Ely  
Place 23rd July, 1810.  
Abergavenny 9th September, 1821.  
St. Paul's  
Cathedral 7th July, 1822.  
Auckland Chapel 30th October, 1831.

(Original November 1818)

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"How shall we Escape, if we Neglect so great Salvation?" Hebrews 2,<sup>3</sup>.

St. Paul's  
Cathedral 28th December, 1823.  
Bradden 20th June, 1824.  
Harrogate 18th July, 1824.  
Margam 10th July, 1825.  
Auckland Chapel 26th November, 1826.

(Original December 1823)

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For Easter Day, I Cor. 5,<sup>7, 8</sup>.

St. Paul's  
Cathedral Easter Day, 1826.

(Original 1826)

Van Mildert, at some period (undated) had intended to publish a series of Sermons on the general and special purposes of each book in the New Testament, and the plan is extant in manuscript.<sup>(1)</sup> The whole series is divided into four Parts, as under:

- Part 1: Gospels and Acts.
- Part 2: St. Paul's Epistles.
- Part 3: The General Epistles.
- Part 4: The Apocalypse, comprising three sermons on (1) its Authenticity, (2) its Design and (3) its termination of the Canon.

The following 'Preface' explains the purpose of the whole series.

"The design of the following Discourses is neither critical nor controversial, but simply didactic. It is intended to give to the plain and modest reader of Scripture, whether more or less previously conversant with its contents, a greater degree of interest in its several portions, and a clearer apprehension both of the general and the special purposes for which they were respectively written and preserved. Were there no further objects in view, the design may be regarded as not altogether unworthy of consideration.

"It is presumed, however, that the reader is neither too little nor too much instructed in these matters, to turn even such an unpretending work to his improvement in other respects."

Van Mildert's close association with the 'Hackney Phalanx', and his membership of 'Nobody's Club', marked him as belonging to those of the Clergy who were in those days commonly described as 'Orthodox'. Very many of his friends

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(1) Grant Ives' MSS.

were strong supporters of the 'Venerable' Society, the S.P.C.K. Mr. Stevens himself had been a member, as was, also, Joshua Watson, and it is, therefore, not surprising to find that Van Mildert soon became prominent in the Society of which he had been a member since 1797. The Society's trust and esteem were shown by his appointment as its Treasurer on 2nd June, 1812, and in the Society's Report for 1814 he appears amongst those who had increased their subscriptions. His house in Ely Place must have been a rendezvous for many of the prominent Clergy, and it was here<sup>(1)</sup> that Joshua Watson was first introduced to Christopher Wordsworth (the Poet's brother), then Chaplain to Archbishop Manners-Sutton, and subsequently Dean of Bocking, Rector of Lambeth, and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

About 1811 an effort was made to induce the S.P.C.K. to produce a 'Family' Bible.<sup>(2)</sup> This was to have been in two forms, one for students, and the other for less educated folk. At least this, according to Churton, was Joshua Watson's plan. The former was to be entrusted to Van Mildert, and to Thomas Fanshawe Middleton, (Archdeacon of

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(1) Churton, Memoir of Joshua Watson, Vol. i, p.77.

(2) Overton, The English Church in the Nineteenth Century 1800-1833), p.178.



Huntingdon, and afterwards first Bishop of Calcutta); the latter to Richard Mant, one of the Chaplains of Archbishop Manners-Sutton, and Vicar of Coggeshall (afterwards, successively, Bishop of Killaloe and of Down). This scheme was eventually abandoned, as the idea of a 'Cottage Bible' was given up. The Archbishop entrusted the entire work to Richard Mant, and the Reverend G. D'Oyley (another of his Chaplains)<sup>(1)</sup> and 'The Family Bible' (S.P.C.K.) appeared in 1817.

In reference to the original scheme Van Mildert had hoped that there might be a cheap edition, and had suggested the employment of licensed hawkers.<sup>(2)</sup>

But Van Mildert's literary activities were not confined to the S.P.C.K. We have had occasion already to note his contributions to the Churchman's Remembrancer in its very early days, and the British Critic after its purchase by Joshua Watson and H. H. Norris, had Van Mildert as its Editor for a time.<sup>(3)</sup>

The year 1813, following his appointment as Preacher of Lincoln's Inn, must always have been remembered by Van

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(1) Churton, Memoir of Joshua Watson, Vol. i, p.126.

(2) Ib. p.137.

(3) Ib. p.96.

Mildert as a memorable one, for he, as well as others, must have seen the shadow of coming events.

In Easter Term of that year he was chosen by the Heads of Houses at Oxford to deliver the Bampton Lecture in the following year, an honour which could hardly fail to encourage expectations. These were very soon to be realized. Churton<sup>(1)</sup> has told us that it was Sir Vicary Gibbs who brought his name before Lord Liverpool, then Prime Minister, and recommended him for appointment to the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Oxford as successor to Dr. Howley, who had been nominated to the Bishopric of London. It was on 2nd September when the Prime Minister's messenger set forth for Farningham with a letter expressed in these cryptic words: "Lord Liverpool presents his Compliments to Mr. Van Mildert and would be much obliged to him if he could make it convenient to call at Fife House to-morrow about 12 o'clock."<sup>(2)</sup> It was about seven in the evening when the messenger reached Farningham Vicarage, and Churton has given us an entertaining account of this momentous evening in Van Mildert's life.

"He was then at his country living at Farningham, and his domestic economy, under the pressure already related, was

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(1) Churton's Memoir of Joshua Watson, Vol. i, pp.137-138.

(2) Douglas Family History, p.456.

so strictly maintained that the Premier's private messenger could find only one servant - a female presiding at the churn. She was willing to seek her master, who had walked out into the garden, if the messenger would take her place, and keep the churn in motion." Whether the butter was satisfactory that day or not, we are not told; probably Van Mildert would not have noticed it. The Douglas Family History reproduces a very human and interesting letter from Van Mildert to his wife, written from London the next day. Mrs. Van Mildert was away from home when the messenger had arrived, and was staying at Rusina Cottage, Cheltenham. One can surmise her surprise and delight as she read her husband's letter. It is headed "Lincoln's Inn, September 3rd, 1813", and begins:

"My dearest Love,

"You will be astonished (as indeed I am above measure) at the occasion of my coming to Town to-day instead of to-morrow. Therefore, be so good as to prepare your nerves for a very great, but, I apprehend, not very disagreeable surprise."

The letter then proceeds to inform her that on presenting himself at Fife House, as requested, Lord Liverpool had offered

him a Canonry of Christ Church with the Regius Professorship of Divinity annexed, both being vacant by Dr. Howley's nomination to the See of London. Van Mildert continues:

"I told him instantly that the matter came upon me so entirely by surprise, that I scarcely knew what to say or think, that I felt most deeply the weight of obligation to him for deeming me competent to fill so arduous and important a station, but that, for the moment, I felt quite overwhelmed with my fears that I might not be able to acquit myself in it, so as to do credit to such patronage and to the University."

Lord Liverpool assured him that from enquiries he had made he did not doubt his competency, but Van Mildert asked for time to consider the offer, and it was agreed that he should, if possible, see Dr. Howley, and give his decision within the ensuing week.

"His Lordship very explicitly stated the value of the thing. The Canonry itself is £1,400 per annum, and the extra value of the Professorship about £1,000 more - in all £2,400 per annum. But from this certain deductions are to be made which will leave it, at least, a clear £2,000 per annum. This is a temptation, indeed,

to poor Van<sup>(1)</sup> and so it will be to his Wife. But, remember that Lincoln's Inn, Farningham and Bow must all instantly vanish away.... Now then, my dearest Jane, what is to be done. I am alarmed, positively frightened at the undertaking. I have Bampton Lectures in hand, not half finished. The duties of the Professorship must, I suppose, be entered upon in about six weeks from the present time. I am in no state of preparation for them whatever. I fear, too, there are other duties, besides the Lectures, for which I am quite unfit; and I would sooner go on all my life as I am than risk any degradation of myself, of the University, and of such distinguished Patronage, by a failure in any little of what would be expected of me..... But the temptations on the other side are strong, almost irresistible. It is a dignity of the very first description, in point of reputation and importance..... But I am going instantly to Joshua Watson, and I think of writing to the Warden of Wadham. At present, not one creature knows it from me. I am just coming from Fife House, determined that you should be the first person to whom I would announce it.....

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(1) This abbreviated form of his name seems to have been customary, at least amongst his friends, vide Churton's Memoir of Joshua Watson, pp.279-282.

I suspect the Archbishop is at the bottom of this business....."

The reference to Joshua Watson provides another indication of the great reliance Van Mildert always had in his judgment, and perhaps his advice may have helped Van Mildert in his decision to accept the appointment. In addition to a Canonry at Christ Church, the Rectory of Ewelme was also attached to the Professorship.

It was fitting that the Regius Professor of Divinity (whose proper Academical title is Sacrae Theologiae Professor), should hold a Doctor's degree, and so, in 1813, Van Mildert proceeded B.D. and D.D.

The appointment was certainly 'a dignity of the first description in point of reputation and importance', and it would be almost impossible to exaggerate either at that date; nor was there any other office quite comparable to it. The opportunity it afforded of influencing the future priests of the Church, and, so, of setting the 'tone' for the Church of England in many of its parishes was unique. Oxford, far more than the 'other place', was then the nursery of ordinands, for Theological Colleges had yet to come, and the normal course was for the young graduate

to proceed at once to Ordination, after an examination which might be amazingly perfunctory in character, and limited in scope.

But he had to face the problem whether he ought to resign his Preachership at Lincoln's Inn. Ives<sup>(1)</sup> reproduces extracts from two letters, as follows:- "But I write in a great hurry to entreat that you will not resign Lincoln's Inn. You have done, and are doing, so much good in that place, that I beg you will not take such a step without the fullest consideration." His other correspondent writes, "Do not abandon Lincoln's Inn, where you may be assured you are doing incalculable good, without full consideration." With such testimony Van Mildert felt justified in retaining his Preachership, but he resigned the benefice of Farningham the same year. The City Benefice of St. Mary-le-Bow he continued to hold till August 1820. To-day such an accumulation of offices would hardly be possible, and, even if secured, would rightly be regarded as a scandal, but pluralism then caused few qualms of conscience, either for the holders or for the public generally. Moreover Professors then fulfilled all that was demanded of them if they delivered

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(1) Ives' Memoir pp.38-39. The writers are not mentioned by name.

only very few lectures in the academical year.

Thus Van Mildert continued the custom of delivering the usual course of Divinity lectures which ordination candidates at the University were required to attend, and it remained for his successor Dr. Lloyd to begin the innovation of frequent lectures of a far more informal character.<sup>(1)</sup> It is, therefore, not possible to assess the influence Van Mildert may have had on the Undergraduates and future Clergy of the Church by his teaching,<sup>(2)</sup> for the kind of evidence for making such an assessment (available, fortunately, for later periods) has not emerged. Yet no-one could hold this high office for six years even if his public lectures were infrequent, without making his influence felt, and there were then at the University men who were destined to set in motion a Movement which would take its name from Oxford, and which would have an effect upon clergy and laity alike throughout the whole Anglican Church.

Keble had just become Fellow of Oriel (1811) and Newman was entered at Trinity on 14th December, 1816, and elected a Scholar of that College in 1818. Pusey only entered Christ Church in January, 1819, and it is, therefore, all the more

(1) Cf. Letters & Correspondence of John Henry Newman Vol.i.p.97.

(2) See, however, a significant remark by Dean Church in "The Oxford Movement" 3rd Ed. p.11. "At Oxford Dr. Routh was still living and at work, and Van Mildert was not forgotten!"



significant that, in defending his 'Theology of Germany' he claimed that his criticism of the exaggerated theory of the Inspiration of the Bible, then prevalent in Germany, was in accordance with the principles of the Fathers and of living Divines such as Van Mildert.<sup>(1)</sup> Perhaps he had in mind Van Mildert's Bampton Lecture, in which the author showed a breadth of view beyond what might have been expected at that date.

Van Mildert delivered this lecture in 1814 and chose as its title, "An Enquiry into the General Principles of Scripture - Interpretation". The lecture consisted (as always) of 'eight Divinity Lecture Sermons', to use the terms adopted by the Founder in his Will, and once more he sought the criticism of Joshua Watson; "I often think what a castigation I could give them if I were a reviewer; therefore be you my reviewer beforehand, and let me see the worse of it."<sup>(2)</sup>

A very considerable portion of these Sermons would, to-day, be considered either as the accepted and, comparatively, elementary principia of the average theological student, or as obsolete because of the advance made in Biblical criticism, both of the text, and of the subject matter.

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(1) Liddon's Life of Pusey, Vol.i, p.172.

(2) Churton's Memoir of Joshua Watson, Vol. I, p.138.

In the course, however, of these Sermons - often by way of illustration - Van Mildert deals with other doctrines in such a way as to make clear what he believed was the teaching of the Church of England, and therefore his own belief. The 'therefore' is emphasized because in all his writings and sermons there can be seen an unswerving loyalty to the Church whose teaching (as he conceived it) he was able to accept without reserve or hesitation. Some references to these Lectures will be found in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

Van Mildert must have led a very busy life in his endeavour to fulfil the duties of his many offices, and we can hardly be surprised to find that in 1815 he felt that he ought to ask the S.P.C.K. to relieve him of the office of Treasurer. At one time he used frequently to preside at the Society's weekly meetings, and could give the necessary time to the work. Now that he was, for long periods, at Oxford, this was no longer possible, and accordingly he tendered his resignation. The following extract <sup>(1)</sup> from the Minutes of the Society's Meeting under date 6th June, 1815 (twelve days

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(1) From the archives of the S.P.C.K., kindly supplied by the Secretary, the Reverend Canon G. L. Gosling.

before the Battle of Waterloo!) refers to this:

"Recd. a letter from Dr. Van Mildert, dated at Ch. Ch. Oxon, dated the 1 inst., in which he notifies to the board his resignation of the office of Treasurer to the Society, the duties attached to his present situation in the University (Regius Professor of Divinity) rendering it impracticable (sic) for him to bestow that attention to the Society's concerns which such an office requires. He assures the Society nevertheless that though retiring from that station he shall always gladly avail himself of any opportunity yt may offer of rendering his best services to the Society which he considers as one of the main bulwarks of our Church in the present day, and testifying his unabated zeal for its interests as well as his personal regard for the many excellent members of it, with whom he had hitherto been happy in co-operating for the promotion of its designs.

"Agreed that the receipt of this letter, from Dr. Van Mildert, be respectfully acknowledged, and that the best thanks of the Society be returned to him, for his

valuable services to the Society, during the time  
he had fulfilled the office of Treasurer."

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BISHOP OF LLANDAFF AND DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S

If freedom from anxiety is essential to happiness, then the period covered by his Professorship at Oxford was probably the happiest time in Van Mildert's life. He was essentially a student, rather than a man of action, and his constitution, never robust, precluded sustained physical exertion. At Oxford he was able to enjoy congenial society, and his duties at Lincoln's Inn provided a pleasant contrast, while, at the same time, they afforded scope for preaching. His visits to London must have been very acceptable to him for another reason. His mother was getting old and had been a widow since 1799, and of her surviving daughters only Catherine remained unmarried, and lived with her. Mrs. Van Mildert must have relied increasingly upon the advice of her son, whose anxiety was that she should be as free from financial worries as possible. This is illustrated by a letter<sup>(1)</sup> which he wrote to his brother-in-law, Cornelius Ives, as

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(1) Grant-Ives, MSS.

early as 1807. In it we can see that same spirit of generosity which made him the munificent benefactor of so many persons and causes when the income of the rich see of Durham was at his disposal. It is dated 27th July, 1807, from Ely Place.

"Ely Place,

27th July, 1807.

"My dear Sir,

"I presume that before this time you have heard of the release of poor Mrs. Bagshaw from the melancholy state in which she had been for some time preceding her Dissolution. Her sufferings (I understand) were of such a kind as not to admit of any alleviation or comfort from the attention of her friends. Her continuance here could hardly, therefore, be wished for; and we have only to hope that the release has been a happy one for herself.

"I should not perhaps have troubled you with a line on this occasion, but that I am desirous of making a proposal, in consequence of it, to which I am persuaded you will not be inclined to make any objection. You are aware that my Father in his Will bequeathed the sum of £250 in the 4 pr. cents to my Mother, in Trust for the

use of Mrs. Bagshaw, and, after Mrs. Bagshaw's death, to be divided equally among us as part of the Residue of his property. Such, I think, was the nature of the Bequest, tho' I write at present from recollection, not having the Will before me. Now, as I believe you well know, that my Mother is really much straitened in her circumstances, and can with difficulty make her present Income suffice, without sacrificing many little comforts, which, at her advanced time of life, it must be the earnest wish of all her children that so good a Parent shd. enjoy, I anticipate, with much satisfaction, your acquiescence in the proposal I wish to make that this little Sum hitherto appropriated to Mrs. Bagshaw's use, shd. be made over to my Mother for her use and benefit during the remainder of her life. Small as it is in itself, it will, I doubt not, be a very acceptable addition to her slender means; whilst the division of it among ourselves into four portions, wd. be but inconsiderable, and, indeed, were it much greater, I trust we shd. all have pleasure in making such a sacrifice. I make this proposal to you, my dear Sir, in the first instance, because I wd. not suggest it to my sister without

your previous approbation. I have said nothing of it yet to my Mother, nor to Mrs. Etherington.<sup>(1)</sup> My sister Catherine and I have indeed talked over the matter together, sometime ago; and it is possible she may have already mentioned it to you. I shall be glad to hear from you as soon as may be, that I may be able to communicate the agreeable intelligence to my Mother, if you approve of the plan. I am now in Town on business of a different kind; but am setting off again for Farningham almost immediately. If you direct a letter for me here at the latter end of the week, it will probably find me in Town, where I expect to be on Friday, or at farthest, on Monday next.

"Pray accept my hearty congratulations on the late addition to yr. family, and believe me, with love and best wishes to all, my dear Sir,

"Yours very affectionately,

Wm. Van Mildert.

"I hope you have recd. a small salmon and a couple of lobsters which I ordered to be sent to you on Friday last. I shall be glad to know that they arrived sweet and good.

"Cornelius Ives Esqr.,  
at Mrs. Grant's,  
Towcester, Northamptonshire."

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(1) His sister, Martha: see Genealogical Chart, p.viii.



As the years passed, and she noted the growing reputation of her son, Mrs. Van Mildert could hardly have failed to see the possibility, indeed the probability, that he would be offered a Bishopric. But, alas! she was not to see its actual fulfilment. In September 1818, only six months before her son's nomination to Llandaff, she passed to her rest after a long illness. She had made her Will on the 18th November, 1803, and the summary<sup>(1)</sup> of its provisions is still extant among the Grant Ives MSS. together with an abstract of an unsigned memorandum made by her on 1st September, 1818.

There exists also in Van Mildert's handwriting the statement<sup>(2)</sup> of the accounts relating to the personal estate, of which he had been appointed sole executor. After the payment of the smaller legacies, funeral expenses, taxes, etc., the residuary personal estate amounted to £4,011 12s 7d. to be divided between Van Mildert and his three sisters in accordance with the terms of the Will. In addition there was the value of the Peckham property to be divided between his sisters.

It will thus be evident that during her declining years Mrs. Van Mildert must have had sufficient means to live in

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(1) See Appendix to this chapter.

(2) Grant Ives' MSS.

comparative comfort, especially when the low cost of labour and the small wages of servants are borne in mind.

Documents among the Grant-Ives MSS. prove abundantly that Van Mildert was scrupulously conscientious in the discharge of his duties as an executor. An illustration may be found in an item in the accounts relating to payments from his mother's estate. The expenses included the sum of £36 15s 7d entered as Catherine Van Mildert's House-keeping Accounts from 29th September, 1818, to 29th January, 1819, but a note at the foot of the page deducts this amount as an item to be paid by Van Mildert himself. This is explained elsewhere in a letter<sup>(1)</sup> from Van Mildert to his brother-in-law, Cornelius Ives and dated 29th January, 1819: "To remove all doubts respecting the propriety of charging the sum of £36 15s 7d for my sister Catherine's House-keeping (though I believe the charge is as moderate as it could well be), I have determined, as you will see, to take that matter upon myself, and to defray it at my own cost: and this I am chiefly led to do from considering Mrs. Etherington's slender circumstances, which make me unwilling to deduct anything from her share in the Residue."

He had been seriously ill after his father's death

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(1) Grant-Ives MSS.

(p. 63 ), and now his mother's death, and, perhaps, the worry connected with his executorship, may well have been the direct cause of the illness which he had in that year, and which must have clouded the bright prospects which were then to be offered to him.

In 1819, on the nomination of Lord Liverpool (Prime Minister) Herbert Marsh was translated from the See of Llandaff to that of Peterborough. Marsh had only been Bishop of Llandaff three years, too short a time to be able to do much to remedy the evils caused by the years of neglect during the long episcopate of his predecessor, Richard Watson. Watson had held the See for thirty-four years, and the record of his utter indifference to the obligations and responsibilities of his office is appalling. His intellectual abilities were very considerable, and neither mental nor physical sloth can be imputed to him; but as a Bishop he was a disgrace to the Church. Mr. Lacey May in his book Some Eighteenth Century Churchmen, devotes a chapter to him, and leaves no room for doubt on the point. Watson 'never lived in his diocese at all, and visited it only upon rare occasions.'<sup>(1)</sup> The amazing thing is that such entire neglect of duty should not have been felt to be

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(1) Some Eighteenth Century Churchmen, by G. Lacey May, p.145 (S.P.C.K.)

a scandal, and that public opinion generally should not have condemned it. "The sad part of all this was, that upon the whole, the lay mind acquiesced in this episcopal standard, and looked upon the bishops not as rulers of the Church or shepherds of God's sheep, but as dignified writers or gentlemen of ease"..... "The truth is that under the shameful patronage of the Hanoverian Kings it had become acknowledged that a see, or a living, was the reward of some meritorious piece of work as politician or professor, or writer."<sup>(1)</sup> Marsh was no Latitudinarian, and, according to the author of The Georgian Era, his opposition to Calvinism was commented upon in the House of Lords.<sup>(2)</sup> However this may be, it did not deter Lord Liverpool from translating him to the more important see of Peterborough, nor from nominating Van Mildert to Llandaff.

Churton in his memoir of Joshua Watson, reproduces a letter from Van Mildert to Watson which gives us an insight into Van Mildert's feelings as the date of his Consecration drew nearer. Oxford had decided to confer the Honorary Degree of D.C.L. upon Watson for the great services he had rendered to the Church as Treasurer of S.P.C.K., and of the

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(1) Ib. pp.155-156.

(2) The Georgian Era, p. 521.

newly-formed National Society. Watson was reluctant to accept this mark of esteem, and Van Mildert, in a successful effort to overcome his scruples, wrote, "If you shrink from an L.L.D., how ought I to shrink from the elevation that awaits me? In truth it more depresses than elates me; and many a time during the last fortnight has the nolo episcopari been deeply felt."<sup>(1)</sup>

His preferment necessitated eventually a reduction in the number of his 'pluralities', though in the case of some of them this painful process was delayed for about a year. The Preachership at Lincoln's Inn he resigned after his formal Election to Llandaff, and before his Consecration. Reading between the lines of the Minutes of the Honourable Society it is not difficult to realize that this severance was a grief to Benchers and Preacher alike:-

"Lincoln's Inn

"At a Council held 24th day of May 1819.

"PRESENT

"11 Benchers

"The Revd. Dr. Van Mildert now Lord Bishop of Landaff elect having this day sent in his resignation of the office of Preacher (as follows):

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(1) Churton, Memoir of Joshua Watson, Vol I, p.213.

"The Bishop of Landaff (elect) respectfully acquaints the Treasurer and Masters of the Bench of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, that, in consequence of his recent election to the See of Landaff, it is become necessary that he should resign the Office of Preacher which he has the honour to hold under their appointment.

"Whatever gratification he might otherwise derive from the circumstance which occasions his resignation, it is with unfeigned regret that he quits a situation which has given him such entire satisfaction, the personal kindness and attention he had invariably experienced from his highly valued friends the Masters of the Bench, and their favourable acceptance of his humble but earnest endeavours to discharge the duties of so responsible a situation, will ever be recollected by him with sentiment of sincere respect and gratitude.

"The Bishop will be happy, if the Masters of the Bench approve of the arrangement, to continue the duty of the pulpit, either by himself or his assistant, until his successor be appointed."

"Lincoln's Inn

18th May, 1819.

"Ordered that the Treasurer or in his absence the Keeper of the Black Book be desired to write a letter to his Lordship to notify that the Bench accept his resignation and to return the thanks of the Society to him for his services and inform him that the Masters of the Bench thankfully accept his offer to perform the duty until another Preacher shall be appointed.

"Ordered that the office of Preacher to this Society be and is hereby declared to be vacant from this day.

"Ordered that the election of a Preacher to this Society in the room of the Lord Bishop of Landaff Elect do take place at a special Council to be holden on Monday the 14th day of June next at six o'clock p.m. precisely, and that immediate notice be sent to all the Masters of the Bench. (1)

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(1) From the Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, kindly supplied to me by the present Preacher, the Revd. Canon J. K. Mozley.

But for a time he still held his Regius Professorship and Canonry at Christ Church, with the Rectory of Ewelme annexed. It appears that previous to his nomination to Llandaff he had hoped to have his nephew, the Reverend Henry Douglas, as his curate at Ewelme. Henry Douglas was the eldest son of the Reverend Robert Douglas of Salwarpe, Mrs. Van Mildert's brother. He had not long left Cambridge, and was in Ireland acting as tutor to the sons of the Earl of Enniskillen. Van Mildert's nomination to Llandaff must have been early in March, as is indicated by a letter reproduced by Mr. Percy Adams in his history of the Douglas Family. In this letter, dated from Christ Church, 20th March, 1819, Van Mildert mentions that immediately on the death of the Bishop of Peterborough (John Parsons), Lord Liverpool had written to him intimating his intention of translating the Bishop of Llandaff, (Herbert Marsh) to the vacant See, and proposing to nominate him to Llandaff, and that he had decided to accept the office: "the See being a small one I am to hold my present preferments with it, and there being no Episcopal residence on the See no material

*all was  
3rd May  
1819.*

alteration in my customary mode of life will take place. Oxford and Ewelme will still be my usual places of abode, except when an attendance in Parliament will require me to be in London." He will have to relinquish his office as Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and as his ecclesiastical patronage is likely to be of little use except to those who are 'skilled in the Cambrian tongue' perhaps his nephew will take this as a hint to begin studying 'that harmonious language': he hopes that his nephew will come to Ewelme and act as his domestic chaplain, and he would have written sooner had not his time been fully occupied with his Divinity lectures which he has only this day finished. (1)

Van Mildert then refers to a newspaper which Henry had sent him giving an account of a meeting presided over by Lord Enniskillen at which resolutions were passed against "Catholic Emancipation" and he proceeds: "I trust, however, that the strength of those, in both Houses of Parliament, who are determined to secure our Protestant Establishment against the shock which would be given to it by so hazardous a measure, will continue to prevail over the repeated efforts both of its secret

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(1) Douglas Family History, by Percy Adams, pp.460-461.



and its open foes."

A note is added at the end. "N.B. I have no Title as yet, nor do I expect to be even Bishop Elect for some weeks to come."<sup>(1)</sup> His nomination to a Bishopric could hardly have come as a surprise. Indeed some six years before a contributor to The Pulpit had assumed it to be certain. The writer had concealed his identity by the useful pseudonym of "Onesimus", and his comments upon Van Mildert were reproduced by Ives in his Memoir. They seem worthy of inclusion in this thesis as they give some idea of Van Mildert's manner in preaching.

"Dr. Van Mildert, it must be owned, has nothing of action; but his deportment exemplifies all that solemnity of character which can alone be said to dignify the preacher..... His expositions are profound, yet not abstruse; elaborate, yet not unintelligible; his arrangement is natural and perspicuous; and his arguments are solid and convincing..... His voice consorts with the nature of his preaching, being deep, sonorous and grave.... He will doubtless fill the high office of Regius Professor of Divinity with credit to himself, and

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(1) Douglas Family History, by Percy Adams, pp.460-461.

advantage to the students of Oxford; and may not unreasonably look to adorn that mitre, with which his professional exertions must eventually be recompensed."<sup>(1)</sup>

Six years had to elapse before the prophecy of recompense was fulfilled, and even then the See to which he was nominated might have been considered hardly adequate. His consecration took place at Lambeth on 31st May, 1819, by Archbishop Sutton, William (Howley) of London, John (Luxmoore) of St. Asaph, and Herbert (Marsh) of Peterborough.<sup>(2)</sup>

The illness following upon his mother's death had, however, told heavily upon a weak constitution. Writing on 5th August to her cousin Mrs. Grant, his sister Catherine mentioned his altered appearance: "I ventured to Lincoln's Inn, as I understood my brother was likely to go to Oxford this week, and as I was come to town I was extremely anxious to see him as soon as possible, and I was particularly fortunate in seeing him before he went out, as his carriage was at the door waiting for him, and he said he intended calling on me, as he was fearfull (sic) I should not be able to get so far so soon after my journey; Mrs. Van too was quite well, and I stayed with her till two o'clock. I was sorry to

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(1) Ives, Memoir, pp.37-38.

(2) Stubbs, Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum, p.149, Reg: Sutton, 302.

observe my poor Brother is sadly altered with his severe illness, and does not recover himself, he says he is not so well as he was two or three weeks ago, and in his Wig he resembles my dear Father so exactly that I could almost fancy I was again talking to him, as he looks so much older since I saw him last....."(1)

Llandaff could not be said to rank as one of the coveted Sees but it was growing in importance by reason of its rapidly increasing population, and a diocese with a seaport like Cardiff and a mining town like Merthyr Tydfil would have presented any Bishop with vast problems in attempting to adjust the Church's traditional methods to meet the needs of a new age. In these days such a nomination would rightly be regarded with apprehension. Van Mildert's academic experience as a University Professor, and his studious habits might have suggested the suitability of a very different kind of diocese. Moreover there is no reason to suppose that he could speak a word of Welsh, or that he ever learnt to do so. In regard to the latter point, the Crown, when nominating, seemed to regard this disability as of no consequence and both Welsh and Irish Sees were bestowed upon English clerics without reference to

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(1) Grant Ives, MSS.

nationality or language. It is not reasonable to suppose that Van Mildert was able to overcome entirely the serious drawbacks to which reference has been made. What is evident is that as Bishop he did make a real effort to cope with some of the problems, and that at least he paved the way for his successor, Dr. Copleston.

Fortunately he succeeded one for whom he had, years before, a high regard,<sup>(1)</sup> and this doubtless encouraged him to retain as his own Chaplain the Reverend W. Bruce Knight who had been Dr. Marsh's Chaplain. A close and intimate friendship between the Bishop and his Chaplain developed, and continued after the Bishop's translation to Durham, and indeed right up to his death. Van Mildert's appreciation of Mr. Bruce Knight is shown by his having made him Chancellor of the diocese of Llandaff, and in many extracts from the Bishop's letters to him reproduced by Ives in his Memoir.<sup>(2)</sup> This link doubtless helped to establish continuity with his predecessor's policy of diocesan administration, and an illustration of this may be seen in the value he attached to the office of Rural Dean, which had been revived in the diocese by Dr. Marsh.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) See p.281 in the Appendix to his Bampton Lectures.

(2) Ives' Memoir, p.51.

(3) Ib. pp.51, 52; also pp.491, 492, (Van Mildert's Charge to the Llandaff Diocese at his Primary Visitation).

One problem seems never to have been far from the Bishop's thoughts, both at Llandaff and at Durham - how to provide sufficient Church accommodation for the increasing population of his dioceses. There had been an improvement in this respect at Pontypool, Caerphilly, and Merthyr Tydfil, but in the last of these, even with the addition of galleries, there was only accommodation for about one twentieth of the population (eighteen thousand).<sup>(1)</sup>

Perhaps the most significant innovation during his occupancy of the See was his residence within its borders. Non-residence was by no means confined to the parochial clergy, and, as has been noted, Llandaff had been peculiarly unfortunate during the long episcopate of Richard Watson. There was indeed some pretext of an excuse, because the only episcopal residence had been in ruins for over a century, but Van Mildert overcame this difficulty by renting Coldbrook House, near Abergavenny. It is true that the Bishop did not begin this needed reform till some two years after his Consecration, and that even then he only resided within the diocese for 'some considerable portion of the year'.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) Primary Visitation Charge (Ives' Memoir, pp.492-494).

(2) Ib. p.511.

The See of Llandaff had the smallest income of any of the Sees in England or Wales, and in an age when the success and reputation of a clerk in Holy Orders had to be judged by the sordid, if simple, test of income, pluralism was the recognized remedy for the deplorable affliction of poverty. In 1820 there was published at London by John Fairburn of 2 Broadway, Ludgate Hill, the infamous "Black Book - or Corruption Unmasked" which pretended to give an accurate account of the Revenues of the Clergy, the Landed Aristocracy, and most of the important Officials in the country. It is significant that the author did not find Llandaff an encouraging subject. His comment is as follows:

"Llandaff, William Van Mildert, value of see £1,540. This is the poorest See in the hierarchy. The value of first fruits in the King's Books, the different prebends, precentorships, &c. is not more than £40. The bishop has the patronage of 16 livings."<sup>(1)</sup>

But though Van Mildert had successfully passed this test the writer evidently had his watchful eyes upon him! There had been a dispute about the payment of 2/9d. in the pound on

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(1) The Black Book; or Corruption Unmasked, 1820, pp.301, 302.

rents, claimed by certain London incumbents as 'ancient rights' in lieu of tithe. In 1818 a petition was presented to Parliament signed by thirty-five City Incumbents, but the Committee appointed by Parliament decided against their claim. Van Mildert had been one of the signatories and this gave the author his opportunity! Hence the following:

"Van Mildert, Dr., rector of St. Mary-le-Bow cum St. Pancras, ditto All Hallows, Honey-lane; holds a valuable professorship at Oxford; and, is a preacher at Lincoln's Inn."(1)

Van Mildert had been Bishop of Llandaff less than a year when a vacancy occurred which gave Lord Liverpool the opportunity of offering him a See which few Bishops might have declined. The Archbishop of Dublin (Lord John George Beresford) was offered and accepted translation to the Archbishopric of Armagh, and Lord Liverpool offered Van Mildert the Dublin Archbishopric. According to Ives this offer was declined by return of post! In any case the reasons given in the letter are decidedly creditable to Van Mildert. "My attachment to England and to the many ties and connexions which must in a great degree be sacrificed by a residence in

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(1) The Black Boom, p.324.

the sister country, is alone sufficient to incline me to continue here, in preference to any situation abroad, however superior in rank or emolument. Being absolutely a stranger to the country, the habits and the society of Ireland, I should feel myself under peculiarly disadvantageous circumstances, arising from the want of such local knowledge and experience as would be requisite to the effective discharge of the duties devolving on me."<sup>(1)</sup>

Perhaps the Bishop, labouring under the disadvantage of not being 'skilled in the Cambrian tongue' and of being unable to converse in 'that harmonious language'<sup>(2)</sup> may have felt a reluctance to grapple with the difficulties of Erse!

But in spite of this setback Lord Liverpool had by no means finished with the Bishop, and towards the end of the same year (1820) he was able to make an offer which Van Mildert accepted. Bishop Tomline, who was Bishop of Lincoln and Dean of St. Paul's, resigned both his See and Deanery on his appointment to the Deanery of Westminster, and Lord Liverpool offered Van Mildert the Deanery of St. Paul's to be held with the See of Llandaff. It was, however, stipulated

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(1) Ives' Memoir, p.58.

(2) See p.124.



that the Bishop should be in residence at the Deanery for six months in each year, and that he should give an increased attention to the fabric and services at St. Paul's.<sup>(1)</sup> The appointment dated from 20th August, 1820, and on the 4th September the King (George IV) appointed him also to the Prebend of Portpool in St. Paul's.<sup>(2)</sup> The stigma attached to a poor See had now been effectually obliterated, and Van Mildert soon resigned all other preferments except his Bishopric.

He had, however, only been Dean three months when he was faced with a most difficult situation. The unhappy Queen Caroline, encouraged by the dropping of the Bill of Pains and Penalties, decided to attend St. Paul's in state as an act of Thanksgiving, and the Honourable Keppel Craven wrote to the Dean on Her Majesty's behalf to inform him of this intention. Van Mildert had not taken any prominent part in the debates on the Bill during its passage through the House of Lords, but he had given it his support. It can hardly be maintained that the Church, as represented by the Episcopal Bench, played a worthy part in this unfortunate

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(1) Ives' Memoir, p.59.

(2) I am indebted to Mr. H. T. A. Dashwood (Secretary to the Bishop of London), for kindly giving me these - and other - particulars.

episode. Indeed many may go further in their criticisms, and urge that the attitude of the Bishops was contemptible, and displayed a servile Erastian spirit. The Times of Tuesday, 7th November, 1820, gives the following list of Bishops who voted for the Bill: The Archbishops of Canterbury and Tuam; the Bishops of London, St. Asaph, Worcester, St. David's, Ely, Chester, Peterborough, Llandaff, Cork and Ross, Gloucester. Only the Archbishop of York voted against the Bill. For the amendment to expunge the Divorce clause from the Bill the Bench showed more courage and The Times of Thursday, 9th November records the following in favour of the amendment: The Archbishops of York and Tuam; the Bishops of Chester, Cork, Peterborough, Gloucester, St. Asaph, St. David's, Ely, Worcester. However, when it came to the third reading only the Archbishops of York and Tuam were courageous enough to record an adverse vote, and the Church ignobly supported it in the persons of the Bishops of Cork and Ross, Llandaff, Peterborough, Ely, St. David's, Worcester, St. Asaph, London. <sup>(1)</sup> The abortive attempt to deprive the Queen of her rank was thoroughly unpopular throughout the country, and the abandonment of the Bill was the occasion of public rejoicings in town and countryside, of which there are many

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(1) The Times, 11th November, 1820.

records in the columns of The Times of the period. Van Mildert had convincing evidence of this in his own parish of Ewelme, where an angry crowd attacked the Rectory and threw stones at its windows. A letter<sup>(1)</sup> (dated 23rd November, 1820), from the Bishop to his nephew, who had now taken up his duties as Assistant Curate there, refers to this 'outrage' and expresses the hope that the perpetrators will be brought to justice. A handbill had evidently been issued by Van Mildert, and an 'abusive paper' had been posted up in reply. Van Mildert asks whether his nephew can send him a copy of this. The vexatious business connected with the Queen's proposal to visit St. Paul's is taking up a great deal of his time, but he is in close correspondence with the 'higher powers'.

Admiration does not necessitate an attitude of complete agreement, and it may be permitted to regret Van Mildert's action in this difficult and admittedly confused issue; but fear of unpopularity was not one of Van Mildert's faults, and he did not swerve from the course of action which he deemed advisable. He sought advice from Ministers of State, the Archbishop, and the Bishop of London, but apparently

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(1) Douglas Family History, pp. 262-263.

received most help from his old friend Joshua Watson. Watson's advice was that the Queen, in as much as her title had not been denied officially, should be received at the Cathedral with all the respect due to her rank. It would seem, however, that Her Majesty had asked that in the Service certain alterations should be made, which could not be legally done, though Churton does not specify what these were to have been.

It is unfortunate that Van Mildert's reply to the Honourable Keppel Craven's communication is not available, and therefore strictures passed upon it cannot be put to the test. In a leading article The Times did not spare the Bishop.

"We have been informed, from a quarter which leaves no room to doubt the authenticity of a statement otherwise hardly credible, that the answer which the Bishop of Llandaff returned to the Queen's communication, made by the Hon. K. Craven, was carefully worded so as to exclude all those expressions of courtesy which the ordinary forms of civilized life prescribe in the correspondence between gentlemen. Who and what Bishop

Van Mildert may have originally been, it is unnecessary to conjecture, and might possibly be fruitless at this late period to inquire. But rudeness of the nature described to us it is difficult to suppose could be the effect of habit merely, since men who are raised to high station in the Church, without any claims either from birth or merit, transgress, for the most part, on the side of indiscriminate servility, instead of failing in the observance of decent respect to their superiors, especially such as are superior to them in the former of those two qualifications."<sup>(1)</sup>

This was followed on the next day by another leading article, in which the writer refers to a rumour that the King himself had been indignant that the Queen's application for a Residence had remained so long without answer. The writer then alludes to Van Mildert in the following passage:

"If Lord Liverpool's delay, perhaps unintentional or unavoidable, has offended the King, what will His Majesty think of Bishop Van Mildert's letter?"<sup>(2)</sup>

The next day's issue, contained a letter in reply to the somewhat disingenuous query about the Bishop's origin. The

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(1) The Times, 21st November 1820, p.2. column 2.

(2) Ib. 22nd November, p.2. column 4.

signature "C.D." was sufficiently vague to safeguard anonymity, and the use of the term 'eminent' may be sarcasm!

"Sir, I am shocked to observe, by your leading article of this day, that Bishop Van Mildert could have been guilty of anything, in addition to his conduct in the House of Lords, derogatory to the ecclesiastical character, by offering studied insult to our truly illustrious and grievously persecuted Queen. If you are not acquainted with his origin, I beg to inform you that his father was formerly an eminent distiller in Blackman-street, Southwark, a man eminent likewise for piety and charity. I would that the son were as much distinguished for the latter virtue.

"I am, Sir, your humble servant,

C.D."(1)

Nov. 21.

The day (Wednesday , 29th November) of the visit to St. Paul's provided The Times with further 'copy'.

"On a certain Prelate's Letter to the Hon. Keppel Craven -

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(1) The Times, 23rd November, p.2. column 4.

"The religion of Jesus is meekness and love;

The politeness of Oxford proverbially known:

Yet a Bishop from Oxford has labour'd to prove

His great hate to his Queen with a coarseness his own.

And 'this woman', to ev'ry true Briton's heart dear,

(While thousands with joy will range under her banners)

Not unaptly proposes this paradox queer -

Does your Lordship thus shew your acquaintance with  
Manners."(1)

There is an asterisk affixed to the expression "this woman", with the note "See Lord Manners' famous speech in the House of Lords."

The same issue also contained a long account of consultations between Dr. Hughes, the Canon in Residence and the Committee of the City Corporation; which had been formed to arrange for the reception of the Queen at St. Paul's. Apparently several ladies, to the number of one hundred, wished to receive Her Majesty when she entered the Cathedral, but the Committee was informed that the Dean could not permit this. As Van Mildert was not 'in residence' the onus of making the necessary arrangements fell upon the unfortunate Sub-Dean, Dr. Hughes, who must have had a very trying day!

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(1) Ib. 29th November, p.2. column 5.

Fortunately the visit took place without any serious incident and the next day The Times gave a very full account.

"The Bishop's throne and the Dean's seat were not occupied at all, both these reverend dignatories having written to the Lord Mayor, prohibiting them from being used."

Dr. Hughes was, apparently, angry because the gates had not been opened at a quarter to twelve, to admit the public, as arranged. It was explained to him that the Committee appointed by the City Corporation had not done so until the Queen had arrived, as a precaution to ensure order at Her entry, but Dr. Hughes continued to be very ruffled, 'striking his trencher-cap with violence on the front part of the desk'; nor did the presence of some sixty ladies, ready to greet Her Majesty, help to restore his equanimity. The Queen arrived at half-past twelve and Mattins of the day began. The sors liturgica of two of the Psalms (140 and 141) did not escape the notice of The Times. The Queen was not mentioned by name in any of the Prayers, nor in the General Thanksgiving. Service ended at a quarter to two. (1)

But this disquieting experience came to him as a Dean; as a Bishop there were happier experiences during 1820. On 30th July, John Kaye was consecrated Bishop of Bristol at

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(1) The Times of 30th November 1820, p.2, column 5.



Lambeth by Archbishop Sutton, William of London, George of Exeter and William of Llandaff.<sup>(1)</sup>

Again, on 12th November, William Carey was consecrated Bishop of Exeter at Lambeth by Archbishop Sutton, William of London, George Henry of Chester and William of Llandaff.<sup>(2)</sup>

The same year, and some months before he became Dean he was asked to preach at St. Paul's at the yearly meeting of the children educated 'in the Charity Schools in and about the Cities of London and Westminster'. As an enthusiastic supporter of the S.P.C.K., he must have welcomed this opportunity of enlisting support for the Society to which these Schools owed their origin. The Sermon was preached at a service held on the 8th of June, 1820, and his text was Proverbs 19<sup>2</sup>, "That the soul be without knowledge, it is not good."<sup>(3)</sup> The Bishop stressed the importance of definite religious instruction in accordance with the teaching of the Church of England.

Van Mildert delayed holding the Primary Visitation of his diocese till August 1821, when he had been Bishop two years. At this Visitation he delivered a Charge which must

(1) Stubbs' Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum, p.150, Reg: Sutton, 310.

(2) *Ib*, p. 150. Reg: Sutton, 335.

(3) Ives' Memoir, pp.201-219.

have made his clergy realize that in him they had a Bishop who was determined to try and fulfil his responsibilities as Shepherd of the Flock. The Charge is reproduced in full by Ives in his Memoir<sup>(1)</sup> and the following is an attempt to summarize its contents:

The Bishop begins with an expression of satisfaction that, at last, he is able to hold his Visitation, prevented as he has been, hitherto, 'by the course of public events'.

The delay has not been however altogether a disadvantage as he is now able to address them with a better knowledge of the Diocese, and does not come before them as an entire stranger.

He is happy to be able to bear testimony to the zeal and diligence of the clergy generally of the Diocese, and of their observance of ecclesiastical discipline. Exceptions have been very few, and these have yielded to amicable methods, rather than by the exercise of authority. 'Such, I trust, will continue to be the course among those whom I shall ever be anxious to attach to me by ties of affection and good-will.'

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(1) Ives' Memoir, pp.489-511.

The Bishop testifies to the wise administration of his predecessor<sup>(1)</sup> to whom much of the improvements in the Diocese is due, and like his predecessor he has been greatly indebted to the work of the Rural Deans, and to the information they have been able to give him.

A comparison of the Returns made by these officers to his predecessor in 1817, with those made to himself in 1819 and 1820 indicates considerable improvements. The following points are noted -

Churches: These, including (with some few exceptions) the Chancels, have been considerably repaired; the proportion of those in good condition is now nearly five to one. Additional accommodation for Public Worship in populous districts is greatly needed. 'Meeting-houses for Dissenters' are increasing everywhere, and the deficiency in the number of Churches almost drives some from Communion with the Church. Praise is due to the munificence of the Government, and to the indefatigable exertions of the Society for promoting the enlargement and rebuilding of Churches and Chapels. The Clergy should, therefore, endeavour to obtain both private and public contributions for their work. In two

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(1) Dr. Marsh, translated to Peterborough 1819.

recent cases, (footnote mentions these as Pontypool and Caerphilly), these efforts have been successful, and he hopes that a similar success will result in another case. (Footnote refers this to Merthyr Tydvil; till recently there had only been accommodation for about one fortieth of the inhabitants. Galleries had, however, been introduced, with the result that the seating accommodation had been nearly doubled; yet, even so, out of a population of over 18,000 there is only accommodation for about 900).

Glebe-Houses: Here the situation is not so satisfactory; more than two thirds of the benefices in the Diocese have no Glebe-Houses, and of the rest a large proportion provide a good plea for non-residence by reason of their smallness and incapability of improvement. The poverty of the Livings precludes, in most cases, resort to the remedies provided by the Law, because mortgages on their annual value would be impracticable, and the private resources of the incumbents inadequate. The Bishop expresses the hope that, before long, Parliament will pass some measure which will ease the situation.

Parochial Schools: Satisfaction is expressed at the increased adoption in the Diocese of the principles and plan of the National Society, which may do much to strengthen the affection of the people for the Church, and in furthering this instances have not been lacking of great generosity on the part of the Laity. Where the whole scheme cannot be introduced, much can be done by means of village schools, thus making possible at least some instruction. 'These it will be in your power to take under your own immediate direction; and by so doing you will contribute more, perhaps, to the general diffusion of pure and sound Religion, than by any other exercise of your pastoral functions! The need for emphasizing this is evident since Schools of any kind exist in only about one third of the parishes of the Diocese.

Dissenting Places of Worship: In the aggregate these will probably soon equal, if not exceed, the number of Churches, and, though divided amongst themselves, they cannot be regarded as well disposed to the Church. It is the duty of the clergy in accordance with their Ordination vows, to "banish all erroneous and strange doctrines", and to do all they can to "counteract this growing evil". They must inculcate those

Scriptural Truths set forth by the Church in "her Creeds, her Articles, her Catechism and her Rituals".

The Bishop then passes on to matters of general rather than only local importance. He refers to the 'conflicting passions and interests' which have been lately in evidence. "With events merely political, the ordinary struggles of men coveting wealth, power or distinction, and looking not beyond their own personal aggrandizement, we have, indeed, little concern; nor does it become us officiously to intermeddle with matters of State Policy, whether external or internal, where no great moral or religious principles are at stake. But when the very foundations of Piety and Virtue are shaken, then it surely behoves us, as the conservators of Religion, and the constituted guardians of public morals, to put forth our best energies in their defence, and to watch with tenfold zeal and assiduity over those who are entrusted to our care."

Since the 'revolution in a neighbouring country' a formidable party in our own country has been endeavouring to bring about a similar disaster here. With the cessation

of war on the Continent their efforts have increased. By these agitators Religion has been recognized as the main obstacle to the accomplishment of their designs, and their allied forces have been 'Infidelity and Disloyalty, Scepticism and Sedition, Blasphemy and Treason'. Their efforts are directed to lead men 'to mock at religious scruples and to cast off moral restraints'. "It is this prominent feature of the present times, which is more immediately the object of our concern."

The Bishop adds that he purposely avoids particularising, lest he should arouse any party spirit. Moreover he hopes that in this Diocese its remoteness renders the warnings less necessary. "Happy, indeed, is it for the lowly and sequestered peasant, in such times as these, if he hears little of what is stirring in the busier world. Envidable is his lot, if, secluded in his native mountains, and unacquainted with any but his own aboriginal language, the wretched effusions of impiety and sedition daily issuing from the presses of the Metropolis are to him almost, if not altogether, inaccessible. In this respect many parts of the Principality may have had reason to rejoice in retaining their vernacular tongue, inasmuch as it has afforded them some security, at least,

against one of the most pestilent of evils."

The Bishop congratulates the Diocese on having a body of Clergy who, he trusts, will not fail to give good instruction. Evidence of this was shown in their readiness to join with him in their loyal Address to the Throne in which they had expressed their respect for the late King, and their attachment to his successor, 'a Sovereign, evidently solicitous to uphold both the stability of government and the welfare of his people by the same spirit of Justice, of Moderation, and of regard to the Public Good, which distinguished his venerable Sire.'

'Fanaticism', perhaps, presents a greater danger than Infidelity and Irreligion. 'The itinerant Schismatic goes forth armed with the persuasives and the terrors which most powerfully affect the human mind.' He works upon the credulity and fears of the ignorant, and instils in them 'a bold and presumptuous confidence, by holding out an assurance of Salvation to all who can boast of an experimental conviction of it', and feelings are raised above duties and obligations.

He observes that, besides numerous congregations of



Calvinists, Wesleyans, Independants and other sects of frequent occurrence, there are found, in the remoter parts of the Diocese, some few Socinian or Unitarian places of worship. Socinianism 'unduly magnifies the intellectual powers' and with the illiterate might well lead to a disbelief in Revealed Religion.

All these various sects tend to lessen the ties of affection which bind our people to the Church.

"There prevails also among us a false candour, a spurious liberality of sentiment, which inclines many who are not actually hostile to our establishment, to regard Religionists of every persuasion as entitled to an almost equal share of our complacency and regard. Hence popular and captivating associations have been formed, on the acknowledged principle of obliterating every mark of religious distinction; and a bond of union has been proposed, not founded upon harmony of opinions, but on a seeming indifference to tenets in their nature the most discordant and irreconcilable with each other."

The Bishop urges his brethren to ally themselves with the National Society and the S.P.C.K., and refers to the

establishing of Diocesan and District Committees in union with these Societies. The contributions from the Diocese to the S.P.G. are proof also of their liberal spirit, and those three Societies, together with the Society for the enlargement and rebuilding of Churches and Chapels 'may be regarded as main bulwarks of our Ecclesiastical Establishment'.

"There is reason to hope that soon no-one can plead that Evangelical light and truth must be sought elsewhere than in the pale of the Church of England.

"Not that we would depreciate the good that is done by others, nor regard them with an invidious eye. Towards our Dissenting brethren, intent as many of them undoubtedly are upon promoting in common with ourselves the great purpose for which the Gospel was imparted to mankind, it behoves us to demean ourselves with charity, with good-will, with respect. But while they pursue their course unmolested and unproved, let it be allowed to us to do the same. We concede toleration freely and fully: we claim only to be equally unmolested in our own privileges, and thus to preserve the relations of peace and amity. What more does Christian charity require? Or what further advances can be made towards an interchange

of good offices, without a compromise on one side or the other, or perhaps on both, of sincerity and truth?"

In concluding the Bishop expresses his satisfaction at having been able to obtain a house within the Diocese where he hopes to spend 'some considerable portion of the year', for this will provide opportunities of intercourse with the Clergy, and of acquiring a knowledge of local and personal needs to which he should give his attention.

In accepting candidates for Holy Orders who were not graduates, the Bishop continued the policy of his predecessor by requiring that these should have been educated at one of the divinity-schools which had been established at Cowbridge and Usk; and in regard to all candidates, whether graduates or literates, Ives has recorded that Van Mildert was most careful in his examination to assure himself of their fitness. He did not stipulate that all candidates should be able to speak Welsh, but he made it clear that those who were unable to do so must regard themselves as thereby limited in the possibility of spheres of work in the Diocese. Moreover he intimated that no-one who could not speak Welsh

would be licensed to a Curacy or instituted to a benefice where this knowledge was necessary for the discharge of pastoral duties.<sup>(1)</sup> These latter regulations must have been cordially welcomed by the Welsh, some of whom may have been tempted to suggest that their Bishop should have applied a 'tu quoque' test to himself before accepting a Welsh see. We have, however, already noted<sup>(2)</sup> that a realization of this may have been a determining factor in his declining the Dublin Archbishopric.

It is unfortunate that the Acta Book for Van Mildert's Llandaff Episcopate does not cover the whole of the period. All the Llandaff Act Books have been removed to the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth for repair as they had suffered in an air raid. The Librarian (Sir William Ll. Davies), in a letter, has kindly given the writer the following information:

"For considerable periods in its history the Diocese of Llandaff had no specific Episcopal Act Books surviving, the extant records being more in the nature of Subscription Books. The Episcopate of Van Mildert falls into such a period. Subscription Books Nos. 11 and 12 cover the period....." And in a subsequent letter Sir William added, "The Subscription

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(1) Ives' Memoir, pp. 53, 54.

(2) P. 132.

Books contain only the declarations of persons ordained, licensed, or admitted to livings, with their signatures. They would provide data for lists of institutions, ordinations, etc., but nothing on the general administration of the diocese." Since hearing from Sir William the writer has been able to visit the Library and to see the Subscription Books referred to in Sir William's letter and also the Acta Books covering the period 13th May 1821 to 31st May 1826. From these combined sources it is at least possible to ascertain the following particulars of ordinations held by Van Mildert and of Letters Dimissory issued by him for ordination by other Bishops.

1820

8 Deacons and 3 Priests.

1821

10 Deacons and 6 Priests.  
Letters Dimissory for one to be ordained  
Priest by the Bishop of Bristol.

1822

8 Deacons and 10 Priests.  
Also 1 Deacon with Letters Dimissory  
from the Archbishop of  
Canterbury.  
Letters Dimissory issued for 4 to be  
ordained Deacons by the  
Bishop of Salisbury.

1823

1 Deacon (at St. Mary-le-Bow, London) with Letters Dimissory from the Archbishop of Canterbury.

2 Deacons and 12 Priests.

Letters Dimissory issued as under:-

2 to be ordained Priests by the Bishop of Chester;

2 to be ordained Deacons and 1 to be ordained Priest by the Bishop of Salisbury.

1824

Van Mildert held no ordination but issued several Letters Dimissory involving in one case, as will be observed, a considerable number.

1 to be ordained Deacon by the Bishop of Chester.

1 to be ordained Deacon 'by the Lord Bishop of' (N.B. Name omitted).

11 to be ordained Deacons and 3 to be ordained Priests by the Bishop of Bristol.

1 to be ordained (Order not specified) by the Bishop of Bristol.

1 to be ordained Deacon and 1 to be ordained Priest by the Bishop of Salisbury.

1825

"Private Ordination. At a Private Ordination held in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, on Sunday, 24th April 1825, the Lord Bishop of Llandaff admitted the two following persons to Priests' Orders -

William Ives, B.A. of Balliol College, Oxford  
W... John Peel, B.A., Christ Church, Oxford."

N.B. William Ives was Van Mildert's nephew, being the son of his sister Anne, wife of Cornelius Ives. In 1829 when Bishop of Durham, Van Mildert collated him to the Vicarage of Haltwhistle, Northumberland: vide Durham Acta Book under that date).

8 Deacons and 11 Priests.

Letters Dimissory for 1 to be ordained Deacon by the Bishop of Bristol.

In 1826 Van Mildert held no ordination previous to his translation in that year to Durham. Ordinations as Bishop of Llandaff would appear to have been in Llandaff Cathedral. The ordination at St. Mary-le-Bow, London, would present no great difficulty as Van Mildert had been Rector there and the Church was a peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Similarly the 'private' ordination at St. Paul's, London, could have been easily arranged as Van Mildert was then Dean. The writer is a little doubtful about his accuracy in recording the entries under dates 1820 and 1821. As mentioned above, the extant Acta Book does not begin till 1821 and the ordination recorded in that book records the ordination of ten Deacons and six Priests on 12th August. The Subscription Book has the signatures of eight Deacons and three Priests on 12th August and it seems probable that both entries refer to the year 1821. The discrepancy in the numbers may be due to the fact that only eleven of the sixteen signed on the day of their ordination. It is extremely unlikely that two ordinations in successive years would take place on the same day of the same month, viz. 12th August.

The lists contain very few graduates, but it is

satisfactory to note that the surnames indicate that nearly all the candidates were of Welsh origin. Thus the ideal of a native ministry was being maintained in spite of the frequent appointment of Englishmen to Welsh Sees.

Two entries record matters of interest in connection with this thesis. Under date 1822 we find recorded the presentation of Henry Douglas to the Vicarage of Newland. This living, though situate in the County and Diocese of Gloucester, was in the gift of the Bishop of Llandaff in right of his See. Van Mildert had in the previous year offered Douglas the living of Llanarth, but the offer had been declined. In the case of Newland, however, Van Mildert was able to enumerate certain attractions. A comfortable Vicarage-house, and 'tempting' localities no doubt helped Douglas to accept the offer.

The other entry bearing date 5th February 1823, refers to a Commission to Samuel Smith, Clerk, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, to collate Thomas Gaisford, Clerk, M.A., to the Prebend of Fairwater in Llandaff Cathedral in the gift of the Bishop. Douglas and Gaisford were both connected with Van Mildert, the former being Mrs. Van Mildert's nephew and the latter being the husband of



Mrs. Van Mildert's niece, Helen Margaret Douglas. One is left with the uncomfortable impression that Van Mildert often bestowed his official patronage as though he were a private patron.

Reference has already been made in the thesis to the Reverend Philip Douglas, and to his kind and sympathetic reply to Van Mildert's letter telling him of his affection for Jane. Whatever scruples Philip may have had regarding the wisdom of the marriage must have soon vanished, and indeed the subsequent career of Van Mildert could not have failed to make the marriage appear entirely satisfactory. As for Philip, honours had come to him also: he had proceeded Doctor of Divinity and had become Master of his College at Cambridge, (Corpus Christi). His death took place on 2nd January, 1822, at the age of sixty-three and he was buried in the College Chapel - destroyed in 1825. His high regard for Van Mildert is indicated in a letter written by Henry from Cambridge on the 8th of that month:

"My dear Cousin - I am sorry to be obliged to communicate to you the melancholy intelligence of the death of our good Uncle Dr. Douglas..... the Bishop of Llandaff was

immediately written to, and with all that kind-heartedness for which he is so conspicuous, went down to Cambridge for the purpose of comforting his afflicted Nephew and Niece, and of affording them the assistance of his advice and superintendence.....

Your most affectionate Cousin - H. DOUGLAS.

".....I believe I forgot to mention that the Bishop of Llandaff and Dr. D'Oyley are Executors."(1)

Even in these strenuous days when Bishops are expected to serve on so many Committees, and can without difficulty find unlimited scope for pastoral activity within their dioceses, they still sometimes find time to write books. Van Mildert, though Dean of St. Paul's as well as Bishop of Llandaff, was not so harassed, and was able to draw upon the store of learning which he had acquired in his years of greater leisure. The comparatively quiet years of his Regius Professorship at Oxford provided the opportunity for the origin of what may be regarded justly as his chief literary work.<sup>(2)</sup> As an author he was already known to many by his Boyle Lecture, and to University circles by his Bampton Lecture. These, especially, perhaps, the

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(1) Douglas Family History, pp.441-442.

(2) See extract from Bp. Middleton's letter, p. 365.

latter, had shown that he had literary gifts as well as sound scholarship. Indeed to read his Bampton Lecture, or his Lincoln's Inn Sermons, is to recall a time when the writing of good English was still a cherished art, and beauty in style was not regarded as superfluous.

There had long been needed a complete edition of the writings of Dr. Daniel Waterland, Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, from 1713 till his death in 1740. It is not easy to account for the fact that no alumnus of his own University had felt constrained to essay this task in memory of one whose reputation as a scholar had secured for him an assured place among English theologians. It is even more remarkable that no member of his own College should have endeavoured to pay this tribute to one who had been such a distinguished Master of that Society for more than a quarter of a century.

Thus Oxford had the honour of discharging the debt, and in 1823 a standard edition was at long last available, published by the Clarendon Press.

The edition consisted of six volumes and was prefaced by a review of the author's life and writings. This review

proved that Van Mildert had spared no pains to supplement existing information, already in print, with what could be gleaned from sources not generally accessible.

Though it is very evident that Van Mildert would have supported Waterland whole-heartedly in his controversy with Clarke there is noticeable an absence of uncharitable comment. In this connection the rough draft of a letter in Van Mildert's handwriting is extant among the Grant-Ives manuscripts. This letter indicates clearly a wish to put the best possible construction on Clarke's unfortunate attempt to improve upon the traditional definitions of the doctrine of the Trinity and of the Godhead of Christ. So far as is known to the writer the letter has not been reproduced hitherto, but it deserves to be rescued from oblivion, and to be available as illustrating that charity which *οὐ λογίζεται τὸ κακόν* and which is so easily forgotten in theological controversy. The letter provides no clue to whom it was written:

"Deanery, January 1825.

"My dear Friend - I have been musing on what you lately said respecting an intended Article in the Quarterly

upon the new Edition of Waterland. I am shy, however, of seeming to have any hand in such a matter, and commit my thoughts to you in confidence that you will take good care that no improper use be made of them. The writer of the Article, whoever he is, or is to be (and I desire not to know who he is at present), will, I hope, exercise his judgment freely and fully, without any regard to the Editor; who has no wish to be screened from any fair animadversion.

"Your wish, however, seemed to be that I wd. suggest any topic of observation which it might be desireable (sic) to bring forward.

"Some few supplemental matters might, I think, be introduced. For instance, respecting Dr. Clarke, there is room for a little more discussion both of his character, and his writings. I have no doubt that he was a very sincere Xtian, conscientious, and pious; and moreover, that he meant to be, and believed himself to be, a Trinitarian. His anxiety, however, to make his interpretation accord with that of the Church, led him to such refinements and subtleties in reasoning, as in any other man, I shd. say were hardly consistent with real integrity of purpose. In Clarke, however, I believe there was that integrity and I

can look upon his errors (for such Waterland, I think, has demonstrated them to be) with far more charity, than upon the use which has been made of them, to serve the cause of a species of Unitarianism which he wd. have regarded with abhorrence.

"Nor is this all. His work is not without its merits and its utility. A more substantial refutation of Sabelianism, and the errors bordering upon it, can hardly be desired; and errors of that cast, it shd. be remembered were rife in his days, as the writings of Cleadon, Nye and others bear witness. It was doing service, therefore, to strike a blow of this kind at one specious and prevailing heresy; and I think there can be little doubt that many readers, finding this notion to be so utterly unscriptural, wd., so far, be prepared to receive more readily, not Dr. Clarke's own hypothesis, but that of the generally received opinion of the Church. His book might also answer this purpose in another way. It clearly shows that Divinity, in some sense, is predicated of the Son; and also of the H. Ghost. This, again, not only strikes at the root of Unitarianism, whether of the present day, or of his time.

It is manifest, however, that between Clarke's tenets and those of the Church, though there seems to be but a shade of difference there is in reality such a difference as all his talent and ingenuity could not reconcile; and that the more he labours to bring up his own tenets to the standard of orthodoxy, the more completely (sic) he establishes the Catholic Faith, and upsets his own. It is very remarkable that this was the effect actually produced upon the acute and powerful mind of Bp. Horsley. Having, before he sat down to the perusal of Dr. Clarke's book, so far removed his own doubts, as to be satisfied of the pre-existence of our Lord, and that he was the maker of all things; but still, as he states, wavering between the Arian tenets and the Catholic faith; he rose from the perusal of it "a firm and decided Trinitarian." He also acknowledges that Dr. Clarke's book, as a digest, may, to those who are well qualified to use it, assist them in forming a judgment for themselves, and to a scholar, may be serviceable. But he strongly deprecates the use of it to those who are not accustomed, or not well qualified to think for themselves, and assigns such reasons for this caution, as fully justify

Waterland in the stand which he made against it. (See the whole passage in Horsley's letters to Priestly, from p. 279 to p. 283, which I think might with great advantage be extracted - without mutilation - and inserted as a note at the foot of the page. N.B. I quote from the edition of 1789. The passage is in the 17th Letter. See also another passage in Letter 15th pp. 258, 259, in which Waterland is briefly vindicated against a misrepresentation of him by Priestly). To my mind, indeed, nothing is necessary to vindicate Waterland's zeal in this controversy, but to consider the consequences that must follow from conceding that vital error, that *πρωτον ψευδος* (1) the possibility of their being any degrees, more or less, of perfection in the Godhead. With the intent of pressing the Unity entire and perfect, Arianism (such Arianism I mean, as Dr. Clarke's) is a direct violation of it. The acknowledgment of a Supreme God, and an inferior God, could be nothing but Polytheism; and therefore, however mysterious and incomprehensible the subject may be, the Faith of the Catholic Church is certainly more rational than this heretical Faith, inasmuch as it retains the belief of an inexplicable Unity in the Godhead in preference to that of a duality or plurality of separate

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(1) Unaccented, as in letter.



Beings, which, whether independent of or subordinate to each other, can never, in any sense, be regarded as constituting one God - I know not whether I make myself understood - and perhaps it is better to carry these metaphysical reveries no farther."<sup>(1)</sup>

Ives, in his Memoir<sup>(2)</sup> has left it on record that the Bishop had intended the visitation of 1825 to have taken place in 1824 and that he was prevented from fulfilling this plan by illness. A letter<sup>(3)</sup> written to the Reverend Henry Douglas from his Aunt Elizabeth, dated from Witham, 30th October 1823, refers to this illness.

The nature of the malady is not specified, but it necessitated an operation, and there is extant in the Bishop's handwriting the following poem, signed with the initials 'W.Ll':

"O Thou, our meek Redeemer! Pattern pure  
Of all that Man should practise or endure;  
Who through the path of Woe didst Bliss attain,  
Nor went'st to Joy till Thou had'st suffered Pain;  
Help me, O help me, by thy sovereign Power,  
To bear the Cross, which Thou hast borne before;  
To drink the Cup, whose bitterest dregs were drained  
By Thee! - by Thee, with Guilt or Sin unstain'd!

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS.

(2) Ives' Memoir, p.56.

(3) Douglas Family History, pp.549-551.

"For who am I, that I should dare repine  
 To taste of Pains and Grievs which once were Thine?  
 Shall Sinners murmur, for their Sins chastis'd,  
 When He who 'knew no Sin' the Cross despis'd?  
 Did He descend, our punishment to bear,  
 And do we grudge our lesser Ills to share? -

"O righteous Father! for Thy blessed Son,  
 Whate'er Thou biddest, let Thy Will be done.  
 Thy Pity will my weakness ne'er forsake,  
 The bruised Reed Thy Mercy will not break,  
 With Thee securely shall Life's path be trod,  
 Our Maker, Saviour, Sanctifier, GOD!

W.Ll.

"January 27, 1824, after undergoing a severe surgical operation." (1)

Rest was required, and it was decided to try a visit to Harrogate, and to take the waters there. This now famous spa was then quite a small place, and was only beginning to be widely known and appreciated. The Bishop was there for part of the summer of 1824, and in a postscript to a letter written to Henry on the 3rd of August he writes: "I hope I am gradually receiving some benefit from the Air and Waters of this Place, though I still feel occasionally the effects of my late local malady, from which probably I may never be entirely free. But I must be thankful for palliatives, if nothing more may be attainable." (2)

Ives tells us that the affliction was both 'painful and distressing' and, indeed, from that time till his death

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS.

(2) Douglas Family History, pp.551-552.

the Bishop was never really a strong man, and frequently had to pay visits to Harrogate. The cross-country journey there from his Llandaff Diocese must in those days have been far from easy, and the following memorandum by the Bishop of the journey from Abergavenny to Harrogate gives alternative routes for part of the distance, and a comparison of the mileage from London to Harrogate:

"Abergavenny to Harrogate"

"To Worcester (by Hereford)	52
Birmingham	26
Lichfield	16
Ashburn (by Sudbury)	26
Matlock	12
Sheffield (by Chatsworth)	26
Leeds	32
Harrogate	16
	—
	206
	==

"Another Road"

"To Hereford	24
Bromyard	14
Kidderminster	22
Dudley	11
Wednesbury	6
Walsall	3
Lichfield	9
	—

	89
"To Harrogate, as above	112
	—
	201
	==

"N.B. From London to Harrogate .... 211."<sup>(1)</sup>

Later, when Bishop of Durham, he must have found the journey comparatively simple. Both he and Mrs. Van Mildert seem to have had a real affection for, and interest in the place, which then, mirabile dictu, was in the Diocese of Chester. At least once<sup>(2)</sup> (18th July, 1824) he preached there, and when the old Chapel of Ease (St. John's) was pulled down and Christ Church built to take its place, the Bishop subscribed £50. The Church cost £4,500, of which sum £800 came from voluntary subscriptions. Its consecration was on 1st of October 1831.<sup>(3)</sup> Nor was the Bishop's generosity limited to the ecclesiastical needs of the growing town. He subscribed<sup>(4)</sup> ten pounds to the Harrogate Bath Hospital, and both he and Mrs. Van Mildert regularly subscribed to it one pound each from 1827 to 1835; when the Bishop died in 1836 Mrs. Van Mildert subscribed two guineas during 1836 and 1837, apparently continuing the Bishop's subscription as well as her own till her death in the latter of these two years.<sup>(5)</sup>

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS.

(2) See p. 98.

(3) History of Harrogate and Knaresborough by William Grainger, p. 159 (footnote).

(4) *Ib.* p. 156 (footnote).

(5) I am indebted for much of this information to E. P. L. Dixon, Esq., Secretary of Harrogate Royal Bath Hospital.

It was during the year of his convalescence (1824) that the Bishop had Ireland forced upon his attention once more. In the previous year the 'Catholic Association' was formed under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell, its aim being to remove the political and civil disabilities of Irish Roman Catholics, and the following year Parliament appointed a Commission to enquire into the conditions of educational institutions in Ireland. Apparently hope was entertained of forming a national system of elementary education which would be found satisfactory to Romanists and non-Romanists alike, and Van Mildert's opinion was asked by a member of the Commission. From the reply reproduced by Ives it is evident that the Bishop did not share this hope; he emphasized the value of 'Summaries of Doctrine, such as Creeds, Articles of Faith, &c.' and maintained that a school in which no Catechism was to be taught appeared to be 'an absolute solecism in religious education'. The only possible solution would be the use of the Bible in that version which each section held to be the true Word of God, allowing to each the right to interpret it in accordance with their conscientious beliefs, and requiring that proselytism should be eschewed. But he was

far from sanguine about the success of such an effort.

"Even with these safeguards, proselytism, on one side or the other, may probably be the consequence: and the utmost I should expect from carrying the plan into effect would be such a precarious sort of agreement, and good will, as may be supposed to subsist between brothers and sisters of the same family, where the parents are of opposite religious persuasions, and satisfy their religious scruples by training half of their progeny in one profession of faith, and half in the other; to the great edification, no doubt, of each party, who must be continually marvelling at each other, and vainly attempting to guess which of them is travelling in the right road."(1)

This was in 1824, and it is to the credit of the Crown's administration of its ecclesiastical patronage that only two years later the great historic see of Durham should have been offered to one who could express his views so uncompromisingly.

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(1) Ives' Memoir, pp.67-71.

## VI

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### BISHOP OF DURHAM

The See of Llandaff, though not the most ancient in the principality, might claim to be important by reason of its increasing population, due to developments in mining and industry. In income it was one of the smallest, and not only Van Mildert, but also his predecessor and successor were allowed to hold, in addition, the Deanery of St. Paul's in order to supplement the inadequate income. Yet many could not have been surprised to find that Van Mildert, with his reputation as a scholar and divine, was not allowed to end his days there. He had already, for very commendable motives (see p. 131), declined the Archbishopric of Dublin, and early in 1826 the Crown nominated him to the See of Durham. The Prime Minister personally responsible for the choice was Lord Liverpool, who had already given him proof of his esteem by nominating him to Llandaff and to the Deanery of St. Paul's, and by offering him an

archiepiscopal See. Some rumour had apparently got about that his nomination to Durham was due to the personal wish of the King (George IV), a token of royal regard for which Van Mildert may have had no wish! In a letter to his nephew Henry Douglas dated 1st April, 1826, he writes:

"..... You advert, however, to a supposed circumstance, not warranted, I believe, in fact, of 'the particular wish of the King' that I should be placed in this station. No such particular wish has been intimated to me, nor have I any reason to suppose it. The style, on such occasions, always is that the Minister has it in command for His Majesty to make the offer. But this implies nothing of a personal kind. Lord Liverpool must be considered, I apprehend, as the adviser - and consequently to him the credit, or discredit, is due. For obvious reasons, I could wish this to be rightly understood."<sup>(1)</sup>

Anxiety and gratification might well mingle in the Bishop's mind for the See of Durham had, and to some extent still has, a position quite unique amongst the other bishoprics. Canterbury and York stand alone in England as Arch-bishoprics, and London, as the capital city, inevitably

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(1) Douglas Family History, pp.463-464.



gives to its bishop an unrivalled place. But the aura of St. Cuthbert encircled Durham, and civil as well as ecclesiastical powers were vested in her Bishop. Students of the History of the See are under a very heavy debt to Dr. G. T. Lapsley for his book The County Palatine of Durham, wherein are garnered the fruits of so much research. Any attempt to summarize the results of this study would be difficult, and is, fortunately, outside the scope of this thesis. Reference to some prerogatives of the See and to their origin do, however, appear to require notice in order to understand their continuance in Van Mildert's episcopate, and appreciate the heavy and peculiar responsibilities he was called upon to bear.

It would seem to be impossible to assign a date to the origin of these prerogatives. In the Domesday survey it is recorded that neither King nor Earl had any custom or profit by right over the lands of St. Cuthbert in Yorkshire, and Dr. Lapsley concludes that the same exemption would apply to the lands of St. Cuthbert in Durham. Moreover there is no record that the special jurisdiction enjoyed by the See had been granted by William the Conqueror, and from this it is

reasonable to infer that these prerogatives were anterior to the Conquest.<sup>(1)</sup> These prerogatives invested the Bishop with very large powers in civil administration.

"As supreme head of the civil government in the palatinate, the Bishop held his limited rights of taxation and also a restricted right to take dues which may be regarded as half-way between tolls and custom dues."<sup>(2)</sup> But in the reign of Henry VIII there was passed (4th February 1536) "An Act for recontinuing of certain liberties and franchises hitherto taken from the Crown", and all franchises within the kingdom came within its scope. Thus the See lost most of its temporal power, and the Bishop could no longer pardon offences against the law, nor appoint judicial officers.<sup>(3)</sup> Writs, indictments and legal processes were to run in the name of the King and not of the Bishop, and offences were to be described as against the peace of the King and not as against that of the Bishop.<sup>(4)</sup> The terms of the Act do not make any reference to the right of minting coin which had been exercised by the Bishop, and Dr. Lapsley is of opinion that this

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(1) Lapsley, The County Palatine of Durham, p.159.

(2) Ib, p.275. (3) See infra, p.233.

(4) Ib, pp.196-197.

did not cease till the episcopate of Tunstall.<sup>(1)</sup> Certainly, as he points out, the Act could not have had any reference to the support given by the people of Durham to the Pilgrimage of Grace which, though it took place in the same year, occurred subsequent to the passing of the Act. He does, however, think that their action may have led the King to establish the Council of the North, for which the ground had already been prepared in 1522 by his decision to govern the North through a royal lieutenant and a local Council.<sup>(2)</sup>

In the time of Edward VI some further limitations were imposed upon the prerogatives of the See, but these were removed (not without considerable opposition) on the accession of Mary Tudor,<sup>(3)</sup> and so continued till the Commonwealth Parliament in 1646 formally abolished the Palatinate. At the Restoration, however, the See recovered most of the powers which had remained previous to the Commonwealth legislation,<sup>(4)</sup> but in 1688 another attack was made upon the Palatinate, this time without success owing to local opposition aroused by the threatened loss of its local courts,<sup>(5)</sup>

(1) Lapsley, The County Palatine of Durham, pp.278-282.

(2) Ib. pp. 196-197.

(3) Vide Stephen Gardinar and the Tudor Reaction, by Dr. J. A. Muller, pp. 252-253; (and p.383 in the Notes for authorities), S.P.C.K.

(4) Lapsley The County Palatine of Durham, p.199.

(5) Ib. p.201.

and possibly by pride in the revival of the See's influence and dignity during the episcopate of Cosin.

Thus when Bishop Van Mildert succeeded to the See the Palatinate jurisdiction still vested in the Bishop was quite considerable. The Bishop, as Earl of Sadberge, was still Earl Palatine of Durham, and the lord-lieutenancy of the County was his by right as also was the nomination of the Sheriff. Indeed, during the short period of the vacancy of the See, between the death of Bishop Shute Barrington and Van Mildert's episcopate, no prisoners could be tried, nor any other business transacted requiring the intervention of a jury!<sup>(1)</sup> This serious inconvenience was, however, almost at once removed by Act of Parliament.<sup>(2)</sup> The powers of the Bishop extended even to the Durham Trade Guilds, thus affording a most interesting example of the survival of the link between the Church and the incorporated companies. The Reverend Canon Whiting, D.D. (some time Professor of History in the University of Durham), has referred to those prerogatives in an article on The Durham Trade Guilds, printed in the Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland. He summarizes these as follows:

"Down to the abolition of the palatine powers of the Bishop of Durham in the days of Bishop Van Mildert, the

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(1) Cf. The Durham Advertiser, Friday, 31st March, 1826.

(2) Ib. 15th April, 1826.

companies were incorporated by the authority of the bishop, their bye-laws were presented to him for approval, and if approved by him had the same force as the clauses in the charter. One half of the fines originally went to the bishop; a penalty is generally set forth as so much to the company and so much to the Bishop, but under the Commonwealth the rights of the bishop in regard to the City were sold to the corporation, by order of the parliamentary commissioners for £200. After the Restoration, however, the bishop recovered most of his rights, but we still find the regulations of one or two companies directing the payment of fines to the mayor."<sup>(1)</sup>

Bishop Hensley Henson (the eighth Bishop of the See after Van Mildert), with the rare gift which combines historical insight with literary charm, has described something of the glory which the See possessed, and which still irradiates it. "The area between the Tyne and the Tees formed the immediate patrimony of S. Cuthbert, and was known throughout the Middle Ages and for long afterwards, not as the County of Durham, a description which (as Mr. Lapsley has pointed out in his learned account of the Palatinate) is 'essentially modern', but simply as 'The

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(1) Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland, Vol. ix (Pt. iii) p.310.

Bishoprick'. There was, indeed, no other bishopric in England to be compared with it. The profound reverence with which S. Cuthbert was regarded by the English had made his successor wealthy and powerful long before the Norman Conquest, and afterwards his power and dignity were increased by the development of feudal jurisdiction, the policy of the English Crown, and the personal weight of a long line of masterful bishops. The Mitre of Durham is encircled by a coronet, for time was when the Bishop wielded a twofold authority. Into his hand was given the Sword as well as the Staff. No doubt the measure of effective power varied from time to time, but it was always considerable, and sometimes all but regal..... In the sixteenth century the substance of secular power was taken away, and in the nineteenth century the shadow. An official precedence still remains to the Bishop, and the great memories of the See must ever make it famous. Even now a certain distinctiveness attaches to the See of Durham, which relieves the dull monotony of ecclesiastical system, and has a value for men of sense and feeling."<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) Quotation from Bishop Hensley Henson's Introduction to the first issue of 'The Bishoprick', and reproduced in his Retrospect of an Unimportant Life, Vol.II,p.xii.

To this See, so rich in the treasures of its past, Lord Liverpool nominated Van Mildert <sup>27</sup> on March 1826, and the 'Courier' in making the announcement, was able also to inform its readers that the Reverend Dr. Sumner would succeed him as Bishop of Llandaff and Dean of St. Paul's. The Durham Advertizer, as was to be expected, followed the sequence of events carefully, and in its issue of Friday, 31st March, it referred to the 'Courier's' announcement.

By the kindness of the Dean and Chapter of Durham the writer is able to quote extracts from the Archives preserved in the Chapter Office.

The Congé d'Elire was issued on the 5th April.

"George the fourth by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King Defender of the faith To our Trusty and well-beloved the Dean and Chapter of our cathedral church of Durham Greeting - Supplication having been humbly made to us on your part that Whereas the aforesaid church is now vacant and is destitute of the Solace of a Pastor by the Death of the Right Reverend Father in God Doctor Shute Barrington late Bishop thereof we would be pleased to Grant unto you our fundatorial leave and licence to Elect another Bishop and Pastor We

being favourably inclined to your Prayers in this behalf have thought fit by virtue of these presents to Grant you such leave and licence Requiring and commanding you by the faith and Allegiance by which you stand bound to us that you elect such a person for your Bishop and Pastor who may be devoted to God and Useful and faithful to us and our Kingdom IN WITNESS whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patent Witness ourself at Westminster the fifth Day of April in the Seventh year of our reign.

"BY WRIT OF PRIVY SEAL

"Gifford Bentall."(1)

The 'letter recommendatory' bears the same date, and no doubt arrived at the same time!

"George R

"Trusty and Wellbeloved We greet You well Whereas the Bishopric of Durham is at this present void by the death of the Right Reverend Father in God Doctor Shute Barrington late Bishop thereof, We let You weet That for certain considerations Us at this time moving We of Our Princely disposition and Zeal being desirous to prefer unto the

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(1) Dean and Chapter Archives.



same See a Person meet thereunto and considering the virtue, learning, wisdom, gravity and other good gifts wherewith the Right Reverend Father in God Doctor William Van Mildert, now Bishop of Llandaff, is endued, we have been pleased to Name and Recommend him unto You by these presents to be Elected and Chosen into the said Bishopric of Durham, Wherefore we require You, upon Receipt hereof, to proceed to your Election according to the Laws and Statutes of this Our Realm, and Our conge d'Elire herewith sent You, and the same Election so made to Certify unto Us under your common Seal. Given under our Signet at Our Palace of Westminster the fifth Day of April in the seventh Year of our reign."<sup>(1)</sup>

It is endorsed "To our Trusty and Wellbeloved the Dean and Chapter of Our CATHEDRAL CHURCH of DURHAM."

On receipt of the royal letters the Dean and Chapter issued Letters Monitory or Citatory to cite the Major Canons or Capitulars of the cathedral church to appear in the Chapter House on the 14th day of April in order to proceed with the election, and after the election the following letter was sent to his Majesty.

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(1) Dean and Chapter Archives.

"To the MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE IN CHRIST and Our most merciful Lord George the fourth by the Grace of God of the united Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King Defender of the faith..... Your humble and devoted Charles Henry Hall Doctor in Divinity Dean and the Chapter of Durham of the Cathedral Church of Christ and Blessed Mary the Virgin Pray Grace and everlasting Felicity in Him by whom Kings Reign and Princes bear Rule..... We unanimously Elected The Right Reverend Father in God Doctor William Van Mildert Bishop of Llandaff our and of your said Cathedral Church of Durham Bishop and Pastor humbly and devoutly supplicating that you would be graciously pleased to give your Royal Assent to our election aforesaid..... Given in our Chapter House the fourteenth day of April in the seventh year of your reign and the Year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and twenty-six."(1)

The Durham Advertizer reported this election on Saturday, 22nd April: "The ceremony of electing the new Bishop of Durham took place on Friday last (sic) when the Right Reverend William Van Mildert, D.D., was legally appointed to this

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(1) Dean and Chapter Archives.

diocese. The bells of the Cathedral and all the other churches were rung upon the occasion."

The Confirmation took place at St. James' Church, London, on the 24th April.<sup>(1)</sup>

There remained the installation into his lofty throne in the Cathedral Church, and into his Chair in the Chapter House, but this was fulfilled in the person of his proxy. Such a procedure would be regarded in these days as unjustifiable unless necessity compelled such a course. No evidence has come to light to explain why Van Mildert was not installed in person but, as we have noted, he had often suffered from attacks of illness, and possibly his health at this particular time made the long and rather exacting ceremony inadvisable.

Accordingly he nominated the Reverend Thomas Gisborne, Master of Arts, Prebendary of the First Prebend as his proxy, and the Installation and Inthronization took place in the Cathedral on 30th May, 1826, Prebendary William Nicholas Darnell officiating on behalf of the Chapter together with Prebendary George Townsend, "The said Prebendaries or Capitulars and Thomas Gisborne, Proctor aforesaid (the

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(1) Dean and Chapter Archives.

Choir in their habits) proceeding and going in procession from the Chapter House aforesaid into the Choir of the Cathedral Church aforesaid and solemnly singing the Te Deum and c." (Ps.c, ?)

The requisite oaths were taken by the Proctor who was then Inducted, Installed and Enthroned in "the chair or Episcopal Stall or Seat in the Choir anciently used and to be assigned to the Bishops of Durham."

At the conclusion of the ceremony the clergy returned to the Chapter House "the bells ringing according to custom in that behalf used." There on behalf of the Bishop the Proctor was installed in "the Place or Chair in the same Chapter House anciently used and accustomed to be assigned to the Bishops of Durham."

The form used for installing the proxy in the Episcopal Stall was as follows:-

"Possess in the Name and as Proxy of the Right Reverend Father in God William by divine Providence Lord Bishop of Durham, this Stall of old time appointed and allotted to the Bishops of Durham, whom may the Merciful and Almighty God direct, and may he rule and govern well the people of God and this Church."

And for Installing in the Chair in the Chapter House  
 "We Assign to the Right Reverend Father in God William by  
 Divine Providence Bishop of Durham this place or Chair  
 anciently assigned and allotted to the Bishops of Durham  
 and do place and leave him in your person, his Proxy, in  
 the same, in the name of Jesus Christ, Amen." (1)

The Durham Advertizer, of Saturday, 3rd June, after  
 giving a short account of the above added, "It is understood  
 that the Bishop of Durham will arrive in his new Diocese on  
 the 27th of the present month."

This formal entry into his Diocese took place on the  
 14th July 1826, and not on the 27th June as had been expected  
 by the Durham Advertizer. It was evidently carefully planned,  
 and those who witnessed it may well have sensed something  
 of the continuity of history. It must have seemed like a  
 picture from the past portraying the pageantry and splendour  
 which had signified the great feudal as well as spiritual  
 powers possessed by the Bishops of Durham. Fortunately  
 Robert Archibald Douglas-Gresley, whom Van Mildert had  
 appointed as his Secretary, kept a diary, and we thus  
 have a very full account of the journey from London and of  
 the entry into the Palatinate. Alumni of the University of

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(1) Dean and Chapter Archives.

Durham will be interested to note that on entering the Palatinate the Bishop was dressed 'in his purple coat and cassock'. There may thus be good ground for accepting the tradition about the origin of the colour of the Master's hood, which is mentioned in Canon Whiting's History of the University.<sup>(1)</sup> The day had not yet arrived when Bishops and Clerks in Holy Orders would feel it desirable to discard their cassocks, or even to disguise themselves as laymen!

"Tuesday, 11th July, 1826:<sup>(2)</sup>

"The Rt. Rev. William van Mildert, Lord Bishop of Durham, left London for Durham. His Lordship and Mrs. van Mildert travelling together in a chariot and four; and Revd. T. L. Strong and Rev. C. J. Plumer (Domestic Chaplains) and myself following in a coach and four. Slept at the Haycock Inn, Wandsford this night - 86 miles from Town..

"Wednesday 12th. Proceeded this day as far as Ferry Bridge in Yorkshire, and put up at the Angel Inn. 94 miles from Wandsford.

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(1) The University of Durham, p. 141, by Canon Whiting, D.D.  
 (2) Douglas Family History, pp.464-465.

"Thursday, 13th. Reached the Spa Hotel, Croft, on the borders of Yorkshire, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and there rested that night.

"Friday, 14th. This morning presented a scene of much bustle and gaiety at Croft, a great number of Ladies and Gentlemen arriving in carriages and on horseback to witness His Lordship's entry into his County Palatine of Durham. From 9 o'clock in the morning till 12 His Lordship was occupied in receiving visitors who called at the Inn to pay their compliments to him - amongst whom were Lord Barrington, Dr. Philpotts, General Aylmer, Col. Chaytor, Mr. Griffiths of Durham and his son, Mr. Faber, of Auckland, Mr. Rayson, the steward of Sir Edwd. Blacket, Lord of the Manor of Sockburne, &c. &c.

"At 12 o'clock his Lordship set out to cross the Bridge which is close to the Inn, in his coach and six horses accompanied by his two Chaplains and myself. He was dressed in his purple coat and his Cassock - the Chaplains were in their plain travelling dresses. Mrs. Van Mildert followed us in the chariot and four Post Horses. As soon as we had passed the centre of the Bridge, and were supposed to be in the County of Durham, the carriage stopt,

and Mr. Griffiths the Undersheriff opened the door and informed His Lordship that Mr. Rayson attended there on behalf of the Lord of the Manor of Sockburne to perform the honorary service due from the owner of that Manor (Sir Edward Blacket) and requested to know if his Lordship would be pleased to receive it in his carriage, or would alight. His Lordship alighted and Mr. Strong and myself followed him and stood on either side of him. Mr. Rayson then presented him with a curious old Falchion and addressed him nearly as follows:

"My Lord Bishop - I here present you with the Falchion, wherewith the Champion Conyers slew the worm, dragon, or flying fiery serpent, which destroyed Man, Woman and Child; in memory of which the King then reigning gave him the Manor of Sockburne, to hold by this tenure that upon the first entrance of every Bishop into the County this Falchion shd. be presented.'

"The Bishop took the Falchion in his hand and said, 'Sir - I receive this service from the Lord of the Manor of Sockburne with great pleasure, and request that you will return this Falchion with my best compliments and assure him that I wish him health, and long enjoyment of his manor.'



"His Lordship then re-entered his carriage, the people cheering. The crowd on the Bridge was so great that it was with difficulty a sufficient space could be cleared for the Bishop and his attendants to come out of the carriage.

"This ceremony being over we proceeded to Darlington a distance of four miles, followed by Lord Barrington in his carriage and four, and about forty other carriages besides a large cavalcade of horsemen, and some hundreds of people on foot. We drove up to the King's Head Inn, where the Bishop held a sort of Levee at which a great number of the Gentry and Clergy of the County and also the Corporation of the Borough of Stockton were introduced to him. His Lordship afterwards entertained them all with a handsome cold collation, at which Champagne, Hock, Claret and a variety of other wines were produced. At half-past two o'clock we set forward for Auckland Castle. The Bp. with Mrs. V.M. and Strong in the Coach and six and two outriders and Plumer and myself in the chariot. The distance was 13 miles - the road hilly and the country bleak and dreary. About a mile from the town of Auckland we were met by another cavalcade of about 30 or 40 horsemen, who preceded us to the

Castle Gate and there drew up on each side in rank and file while we passed through them into the Castle Court...."

From a letter reproduced in Ives' Memoir and in the Douglas Family History it is evident that the Bishop was very happy in his new surroundings, and that the climate and scenery of the Northern diocese appealed to him. The letter was to his old and trusted friend in the Llandaff diocese, the Reverend W. Bruce Knight, and is dated 17th October 1826. In it Van Mildert refers to the 'enormous domestic establishment' which he has to maintain at a cost likely to make the See 'a much less productive source of private wealth than some of much inferior revenues'. "In the Assize weeks I entertained in the course of three days upwards of 200 guests at dinner; and in my four public days at Auckland Castle, nearly 300." He thought that, 'the air of this delightful spot' (Auckland) would suit him 'extremely well'.<sup>(1)</sup>

Those who know Auckland Castle and its Chapel will understand how the Bishop must have loved it. The elder Raine has, however, criticized certain alterations which Van Mildert made in the Chapel. In his Brief Historical Account of the Episcopal Castle, or Palace, of Auckland, Raine<sup>(2)</sup> gave his

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(1) Ives' Memoir, p.77. and Douglas Family History, pp.485-486

(2) A brief historical account of the Episcopal Castle, or Palace, of Auckland, by the Rev. James Raine, M.A., 1852. pp.95-96.

opinion of the changes made by the Bishop. "Before the time of Bishop Van Mildert the side-aisles had been from old, as far as to the altar elevation, lower by two steps than the nave. The latter in fact had the appearance of a gracefully elevated platform, an arrangement which formed an excellent effect in breaking into well-proportioned spaces the parallelogram of the floor. The Bishop, anxious to obtain more sitting room, and not considering the effect of his alterations, raised the floor of the aisles to the same level as that of the nave itself, elevating at the same time and to the same height the stalls, and in so doing effectually destroyed a very characteristic feature of the fabric. His next step was one of still more questionable taste. In the clustered columns of each side, two of the shafts of each were of polished marble, Purbeck or Stanhope. These the Bishop very unadvisedly covered with a coat of whitewash, and in that state they now remain. He found the floor laid down by Bishop Cosin to a certain extent in decay, and he paved it entirely anew, after the former pattern, exchanging, however, some of the black marble steps in front of the altar for steps of freestone, carefully at the same time repairing Cosin's grave slab, and replacing the marginal stones, containing the text from Scripture Beati Mortui &c. His next

step was to redress and replace, where necessary, the jambs and mullions of the windows, reglazing the latter with the fret of Cosin, after the original pattern, but inserting at the same time much gaudy and ill-arranged pot-glass in the upper tracery." (There is a note here as follows: "The black stone was brought from Bangor in North Wales. The white from Heatherycleugh, near Stanhope.")

"Of the stalls in the aisles on each side, twenty-four in number, fourteen only on each side were close or panelled in front. The latter were now carefully repaired, and fronts of a similar pattern were placed before the rest. The oak which was required was taken from the floor of the black room in Durham Castle, a room which had been cut off from the north end of the Great Hall by Bishop Neile, and which, with the drawing-room above it, was, three years ago, removed, the Hall regaining its lost space." (There is a further note here as follows: "The whole of the above repairs and alterations cost £1,500. A memorial of these alterations was perhaps called for, but surely a better and modester plan might have been devised for that purpose than the substitution of Bishop Van Mildert's arms in the place of those of Bishop Cosin in the screen which the latter had erected, and which required no

repair whatever.")

Probably few will question the accuracy of the criticism contained in the last note, but it may be permitted to differ from Raine in his strictures on the alterations of the level of the side aisles, and the writer of this thesis was told by the present Bishop of Durham that he thought his predecessor's alterations in this respect were a distinct improvement.

But Van Mildert did not limit his activities to architectural alterations. The Chapel was cold, and he tried to remedy this defect by the introduction of hot air. The method was not a success, and in 1842 Bishop Maltby installed a system of hot water pipes beneath the floor. Very few interments in the Chapel had been recorded, and Raine could only find evidence of three - those of Bishop Cosin, of his son-in-law Mr. Davison, and of a certain 'noble youth' James Leslie. Van Mildert had intended that his own interment should be in the Chapel, and Raine mentions the provision which the Bishop had made for this purpose. "During Bishop Van Mildert's alterations a vault was constructed at the northern end of the cross aisle, for his own body and that of Mrs. Van Mildert, but they were both eventually interred before the high altar in Durham Cathedral."

The Park, too, claimed the Bishop's attention.

"In 1830 Bishop Van Mildert planted seven oaks on the ground south of the Bowling Green, now called 'The Seven Oaks Plain'."<sup>(1)</sup> He was also anxious lest developments in coal mining should destroy the amenities of so lovely a neighbourhood. The danger was indeed imminent for the owner of Binchester estates purposed sinking a pit close to Auckland Castle. Van Mildert managed to avert this catastrophe by getting an Act passed (7 and 8 Geo: iv), enabling him to enfranchise property belonging to the See in order to obtain the money necessary to purchase the Binchester Estates.<sup>(2)</sup>

Auckland and Durham could each in their several ways inspire one who had the gift to turn prose into poetry, and, fortunately, there are extant two poems in manuscript, written by Van Mildert belonging to this period.<sup>(3)</sup> The river Gaunless is a small tributary of the Wear near Bishop Auckland. As will be seen from the date the Bishop had soon learnt to appreciate its attractions. The other poem, with his Cathedral City as its theme, has had the date obliterated, obviously by the Bishop himself. The writer is inclined to

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- (1) Richley's History and Characteristics of Bishop Auckland,  
(1872) p.60.  
(2) Ib. p.190.  
(3) Grant-Ives' MSS.

offer "May 1828" as the probable date.

A Walk by the River Gaunless

How sweet, at Noon or Eventide,  
 To wander, Gaunless! by thy side;  
 To watch thy pure translucent stream,  
 When sparkling in the Sun's bright beam;  
 To listen to thy babbling rill,  
 More soothing than the Thrush's trill;  
 To trace thy fanciful meand'rings,  
 Thy path recluse, thy sportive wand'rings;  
 To linger in thy shelter'd vale,  
 Where neither strife nor storms assail.

Small though thy native strength I deem,  
 Thy course but brief, and scant thy stream,  
 Yet have I seen thy puny wave  
 Affect to toss, and fret, and rave,  
 When swoln by waters not thine own,  
 From upland torrents pouring down,  
 Thou fain wouldst mimic Ocean's power,  
 His foaming wrath and sullen roar -  
 How apt a type of human life,  
 Where many a turmoil, many a strife,  
 Descends from heights of lofty state,  
 Clamour and uproar to create  
 Amid the peaceful homes below,  
 Which else a trouble scarce would know! -  
 Yet, Gaunless! whatsoe'er thy mood,  
 Boist'rous or gentle, calm or rude,  
 Thy much-lov'd haunts I still frequent  
 Nor think the vacant hours mis-spent  
 That yield such rational content.

For here, unheeded, unmolested,  
 With thoughts of weightier cares divested,  
 Glad I escape from state and toil,  
 To muse and meditate awhile  
 On scenes that tranquillize the mind,  
 And leave no aching void behind.

Here, too, the antler'd Lord, like me,  
 Enjoys a quiet luxury;  
 When, by no rude intruder stirr'd,  
 He wanders from the social herd  
 And rests on some secluded spot,  
 To ruminate - on none knows what.

In every season, by thy side  
 Gaunless! let me still abide.  
 When radiant skies with ardour glow,  
 When distant heights are capp'd with snow,  
 In summer's heat or winter's cold,  
 Attractions thou canst still unfold.  
 Yon Scar, that from its wooded brow  
 Looks down upon thy stream below,  
 Reflecting to the gazer's view  
 A thousand tints of brilliant hue,  
 Still mellow when Autumnal gales  
 Sweep o'er the woodlands and the vales;  
 Say, masters of the scenic art,  
 Such charms what pencil can impart? -  
 And even now in leafless pride,  
 Its craggy front and furrowed side,  
 Still more majestically grand,  
 Seem to defy the Artist's hand.

These home-felt pleasures let me prize,  
 Which all around spontaneous rise,  
 To cheer me, Gaunless, when I pace  
 Thy sweet Sequester'd hiding place.  
 Possess'd of Thee, I envy not  
 The ambitious, or the vain, their lot,  
 Who visit Thames's crowded shores,  
 His busy marts, his splendid towers -  
 Not all that grandeur can procure  
 A taste fastidious to allure,  
 To me such pure delights bestow  
 As from Thy simple banquet flow.

December, 1826.

Who has not seen, on a clear Summer's Eve,  
 The Sun, ere yet our Hemisphere it leave,  
 Shedding around a Radiance mild, serene,  
 Where neither Clouds nor Vapours intervene;  
 The Earth still gladdening with its cheerful Light,  
 And calmly drawing on the Veil of Night? -  
 How pure the Scene! how soothing and sedate  
 The Feelings which its mingled Joys create!



So, mitred Durham! In Life's Evening-Day  
 Thy Sun diffuses still a gladdening Ray,  
 Delights the Intellect, the Temper cheers,  
 Dispels the Gloom of still advancing Years,  
 And, imperceptibly as Time rolls on,  
 Makes us forget how much is past and gone.  
 No darkening Mists obscure its cloudless Skies,  
 T' invade its peaceful Calm no Storms arise;  
 But while its Shadows lengthen o'er the Plain,  
 It gently sinks to Rest, to rise in Bliss again.

- W.V.M.

By the kind permission of the Right Reverend A. T. P. Williams, D.D., the present Bishop of Durham, the writer has been granted the privilege of access to the Acta Book of the Bishop. On the inside cover is written, "The Acts of the Rt. Revd. William Van Mildert, D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham who was elected on the 14th day of April and confirmed in St. James' Church, London, the 24th April 1826."

"Died at Auckland Castle on Sunday the 21st February, 1836."

A Clerk in Holy Orders elected to a See can, after his Confirmation, perform certain legal acts, and we thus find that as early as May 1826 Van Mildert had entered upon the duties of his office. In that month he issued three Commissions to institute or collate to three vacant Prebends in the Capitular Body, and to license a Clerk to a Perpetual

Curacy in Newcastle upon Tyne.

First Prebend. 4th May. Commission to William Nicholas Darnell,<sup>(1)</sup> Clerk, B.D., John Bird Sumner, Clerk, Prebendaries, to institute Thomas Gisborne, Clerk, M.A. on the Presentation of the King for this turn during the vacancy of the See.

Fifth Prebend. 8th May. Commission to Charles Henry Hall, D.D., Dean, and to William Nicholas Darnell, Prebendaries (sic), to collate John Bird Sumner, Clerk, M.A., in the gift or collation of the Bishop, and vacant by the cession of Thomas Gisborne.

Ninth Prebend. 13th May. William Stephen Gilly, Clerk, M.A., was collated to this Prebend, in the gift or collation of the Bishop and void by the cession of John Bird Sumner.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) See p. 234.

(2) Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Gilly like so many of the Prebendaries was a pluralist. From 1828 to 1831 he held the Perpetual curacy of St. Margaret's, Durham, and only resigned this to become Vicar of Norham. If he was not always mindful of past benefits (see p. 244), he was, nevertheless, remembered as a good parish priest at Norham. As late as 1881 there was published a poem with the title The Siege of Norham Castle by George Rule. It is based on a legend connected with the siege of that castle in 1497, before the Battle of Flodden Field, and is dedicated to Dr. Gilly's memory in the following stanza:

"Though in the tide of time's eternal flow  
The prime of youth and life has gone from me  
Since thou wert in the sacred dust laid low,  
No mist bedims my memory of thee,  
And I behold thee in my vision now,  
With manly port and high and noble brow.

St. John's P.C. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 4th July.

Commission to Thomas Singleton, M.A., Archdeacon of Northumberland, and Charles Thorpe, B.D., Official to the Archdeacon of Durham to Licence (sic) Henry Alison Dodd, Clerk, M.A., to the Perpetual Curacy of St. John's ..... on the nomination of John Dodd, Clerk, Vicar of St. Nicholas, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and patron of St. John's in right of his Vicarage.

These are the only Acta recorded previous to his Installation by Proxy on 14th July, and in the year following he held his Primary Visitation of the Diocese. In preparation for this the Acta Book, under date 28th May 1827, records the Bishop's Inhibition of the Dean and Chapter, and of the Archdeacons of Durham and Northumberland, but, strange to say, no relaxation of the Inhibition is recorded!

The following summary and quotations are derived from Ives' Memoir which reproduced both Charges in full.

The Charge opens with a generous appreciation of the character and worth of his predecessor (Shute Barrington), in which he stressed the great advantages the deceased had

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Footnote (2) continued from p.198:

Thy voice, so often heard in youthful days,  
Remains familiar to my inward ear;  
Its earliest tones, in fervent prayer and praise,  
And in discourse all eloquent, I hear  
Thou wert beloved by young and old as one  
In whom all worth and goodness had combined,  
And village schoolboys well believed that none  
Could be so wise and great among mankind."

possessed in birth and education, and referred to the truly Christian example of piety and charity which he had set during his thirty years' occupancy of the See.

The bishop expresses his sense of the disadvantage of being compared with such a standard; at the same time he acknowledges the advantage of having such an example as an incentive. The kind reception he has received since coming to the Diocese has also been a great encouragement, and he speaks in terms of high praise for the clergy of the Diocese. The following matters are referred to with satisfaction.

Glebe Houses are in good condition.

Parochial Schools are numerous.

Religious and Charitable institutions in union with the Church are flourishing.

The Laity co-operate with the clergy in their efforts.

Measures have been taken, or are being taken to increase the Church Accommodation in widely scattered or populous districts.<sup>(1)</sup>

Yet, though there is good reason for encouragement, there is no reason for complacency. So long as anywhere in the Diocese these advantages are lacking, so long is there need for vigilance and effort to supply the 'spiritual or temporal'

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(1) Ives' Memoirs, pp.514-515.

needs of the people.

Among matters still requiring improvement are the following: Licensing of Curates. Where this is lacking the Bishop cannot know who are actually officiating in the Diocese, nor can he exercise that effective supervision 'which is one of the most important functions of his office.' Moreover its absence may be a cause of trouble between Incumbents and Curates, and specially to the curates who thus have no claim upon the protection of their Bishop. An additional disadvantage is that the omission provides an opportunity for some to enter the Diocese, 'of whose character and qualifications sufficient evidence may be lacking'.<sup>(1)</sup>

The licensing of Schoolrooms and other unconsecrated buildings for public worship. Where the population is too small or too poor to warrant the building of a Chapel of Ease, or the provision of a regular Minister, the Bishop regards this expedient as an evil only justified by the circumstances. 'Places of religious resort so little consonant with the solemnity of the purpose tend, if not to create irreverence for religion itself, yet to diminish that respect for the Established Church, which, I am willing to

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(1) Ives' Memoirs, pp.516-517.

believe, is still among the people at large a predominant feeling'. Their increase would tend to diminish zeal for better provision, and he prefers the building and endowment of Chapels of Ease.<sup>(1)</sup>

Admission of Candidates for Holy Orders. 'It is well known, that the wants of this, and other remote Dioceses cannot fully be supplied from our Universities'. Thus has arisen the custom of meeting this need by admitting to Orders literates, after examination, irrespective of the place where these candidates were educated. Only urgent necessity can justify this. A few educational institutions have been established for this purpose under proper authority and have proved their usefulness. 'In the principality of Wales the experiment has been made with good effect; and in the Diocese of St. David's in particular, it is now about to be tried upon a larger scale, in an establishment which offers to the students many of the peculiar advantages of academical discipline.' In the North of England only one such institution exists, that of St. Bees in Cumberland, and the Bishop speaks highly of it, and of the clergyman in charge of it. He, therefore, intimates that, ordinarily, literates seeking Orders in his Diocese will only be accepted from that

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(1) Ives' Memoirs, pp. 518-519.

institution; exceptions to this will be as few as possible.<sup>(1)</sup>

The Bishop proceeds to deal with a matter which he evidently regarded as serious. In giving Titles for Orders some incumbents entered into private agreements with their Assistant Curates, whereby these latter undertook to receive a smaller salary than that mentioned in the nomination. This private agreement was kept secret from the Bishop, and, apart from this deception, a door is opened for the admission into Orders of those who are unworthy, and though not legally simoniacal the transaction has something of that character. There may be cases when the incumbent cannot afford to pay a sufficient salary, and where the prospective Curate can without difficulty accept one that would be in other cases inadequate. The law does not allow of much latitude in this respect, but where it is desirable and possible the Bishop is prepared to sanction the arrangement. He stipulates, however, that all the circumstances must be made known to him, and that his decision should be accepted by both parties.<sup>(2)</sup>

The Bishop then passes to subjects of general importance. He notices a growing indifference to ancient institutions, and a tendency to make experiments in Church affairs rather than

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(1) Ives' Memoirs, pp. 519-521.

(2) Ib. pp. 521-523.

to be guided by experience. Established opinions are discounted 'chiefly (as it seems) because they are established', and therefore are regarded as unsuitable for the present times.

Our 'opponents' are ready to suspend their mutual contentions in order to unite for the purpose of 'raising every religious sect and party to a level with the Established Church.' Whereas, formerly, toleration was sought, and the Church's ascendancy was not opposed, now the former will not satisfy, and the latter is looked upon as usurpation. Petitions to this effect have been presented to both Houses of Parliament, and in both Houses uncompromising supporters have been found. Even more dangerous is 'the insinuating pretext of amity and goodwill, where it is manifest that no real approximation in principle can take place, but at the cost of sincerity and plain dealing.' To acquiesce in such efforts would be to go beyond the requirements of amity.(1)

The alleged 'undue influence of the Clergy' is under 'contention'. Yet the Church, he maintains, need fear no comparison in this respect. "See the priest of the Church of Rome going forth among his people, armed with spiritual terrors and persuasions of every description; calling them,

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(1) Ives' Memoirs, pp. 523-527.



on pain of eternal perdition, to a confession of every thought, word, and deed; enjoining, on the one hand, the most rigid penance and mortification; offering, on the other hand, pardons, indulgences and absolutions; and withholding or inflicting either of these, at his own option and discretion. What control can the Clergy of our Church assume over the hearts and consciences of the Laity, bearing any resemblance to the effect of such engines as those of intimidation or persuasion? Again; look at the systematic organisation of some of our most popular sects, and see with what ingenuity it ensures an entire subjection of the people to those who exercise authority over them, far exceeding what the highest discipline of our Church would warrant."<sup>(1)</sup>

The Bishop freely admits an influence which is the outcome of the alliance of the Church with the State, but maintains that this the Clergy ought to have, so that they may the better fulfil their duties. 'A religious establishment without an ascendancy is a solecism in terms.' Yet though these advantages are great they are not oppressive, and the religious liberty of the community as a whole remains intact. The Church has no power to curtail the freedom granted by the

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(1) Ives' Memoirs, pp.527-528.

State to those who are opposed to her. Even over her own members her control is limited and must be in conformity with the laws of the country, and this condition operates in the relations between Prelate and Pastor, and Pastor and Flock.(1)

Further 'the Church of England is itself among the best bulwarks of religious liberty.' "It has rescued our country, at one period, from papal domination, and, at another, from the yoke, scarcely less galling, of sectarian usurpation."(2)

The danger facing us requires from the Clergy earnest prayer, zeal and unblemished conduct. Their devotion to their duties includes not only the performance of the public ritual of the Church, but visiting the sick, instructing the ignorant, relief of those in want, and 'the education of the poor in the principles of our Established Church'. Membership in the Parent Societies established for these purposes will be of great assistance to them. Vigilance in personal conduct in all the varied relations of life is, above all, necessary.(3)

"Be assured, too, my Brethren, that the Clerical character is becoming daily better understood among us, and more correctly estimated. The rapid progress of education, in all its

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(1) Ives' Memoirs, pp. 528-529.

(2) Ib. pp.529-530.

(3) Ib. pp.531-532.

branches, has introduced into every rank of society such accessions of general information, that a Clergyman will find himself less able than heretofore to maintain the credit due to his station, if his attainments fall short of what may reasonably be expected. If his office as a Priest entitle him to respect, let him remember that it subjects him also to a severer scrutiny, and that when any requisite qualification is notoriously wanting, it is not all the weight of assumed authority that will cover the defect. Public esteem is guided by other rules. It is not to be extorted by arbitrary mandates. It results from opinion, from observation, from comparison, from those mixed feelings and sentiments which, however they may occasionally err, afford, upon the whole, a pretty accurate criterion of real desert."

The Bishop concludes by quoting I Corinthians 14,<sup>20</sup> "In malice be ye children, but in understanding be men." (1)

It was in the autumn of this year (1827), that the Bishop entertained a large and distinguished company on a scale which, in its magnificence, might have seemed a revival of the splendours of the Palatinate's earlier history. The occasion was the visit of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Walter Scott to Durham, and readers of Lockhart's Memoirs of

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(1) Ives' Memoirs, pp. 533-534.

Sir Walter Scott will recall Sir Walter's vivid and colourful picture of the scenes in the Great Hall of the Castle at Durham, with the Bishop presiding as host. A great civic reception was accorded to the Duke. "There were bells, and cannon, and drums, trumpets and banners, besides a fine troop of yeomanry." Apparently, however, the Duke had lost some of his popularity. "The enthusiasm of the ladies and the gentry was great - the common people's more lukewarm." At the dinner in the Castle the guests, about one hundred and forty, included 'a distinguished company for rank and property' amongst whom were Marshal Beresford, the Marquis of Lothian, Lord Feversham, and the Marquis of Londonderry. The scene in the Great Hall made a great impression upon Sir Walter Scott. "The bright moon streaming in through the old Gothic windows contrasted strangely with the artificial lights within; spears, banners and armour were intermixed with the pictures of old bishops, and the whole had a singular mixture of baronial pomp with the grave and more chastened dignity of prelacy. The conduct of our reverend entertainer suited the character remarkably well. Amid the welcome of a Count Palatine he did not for an instant forget the gravity of the Church dignitary."

The Bishop, in proposing the toast to Sir Walter,

congratulated him on having written only what tended to 'the practice of virtue, and to the improvement of the human race'. In his reply Sir Walter said that he would always cherish the recollection that his health had been proposed by the Bishop of Durham on such an occasion and in the presence of the Duke of Wellington.

After the Banquet Mrs. Van Mildert 'held a sort of drawing-room .... at which a great many ladies attended', and the day ended with dancing in the Assembly-rooms. (1)

In regard to the Visitation and Confirmations of 1827 we have not only the timetable he had mapped out, but also notes he had made of the first few days of his tour. (2) It will be seen that this tour involved his being absent from Auckland Castle for the greater part of a month, and that during this time the Bishop could have had very little leisure, especially when one bears in mind the very different and much slower mode of transport. The diocese then included Northumberland, and must have been very unwieldy, and in many places almost inaccessible except for one on horseback - a mode of travelling hardly permissible for a Bishop of Durham accustomed to travel in state.

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(1) Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott, by J. G. Lockhart, Vol. ix. pp. 158-162. (A. C. Black, 1869 Edition).  
 (2) Grant-Ives' MSS.

The proposed itinerary is as follows:

1827

Visitations and Confirmations:

Monday, 2nd July	To Durham Castle.
Tuesday, 3rd July	Visitation at Durham - Dinner at the Castle.
Wednesday, 4th July	Confirm at Durham - Dinner at the Castle.
Thursday, 5th July	Confirm at Chester le Street - proceed to Newcastle, and dine and sleep at the Mansion House.
Friday, 6th July	Visitation at Newcastle - Dinner to the Clergy and the Corporation.
Saturday, 7th July	Confirm at Newcastle - proceed to Ryton. Dine and sleep at the Rectory.
Sunday, 8th July	At Ryton.
Monday, 9th July	Confirm at Ryton - proceed to Hexham.
Tuesday, 10th July	Confirm at Hexham - proceed to Rothbury, sleep at Mrs. Vernon's.
Wednesday, 11th July	Confirm at Rothbury - proceed to Wooler, sleep at the Vicarage, or the Tankerville Arms.
Thursday, 12th July	Confirm at Wooler - proceed to Berwick. Sleep at the Inn.
Friday, 13th July.	Confirm and visit at Berwick - proceed to Bambrough and sleep at the Castle.
Saturday, 14th July	Confirm at Bambrough.
Sunday, 15th July	At Bambrough Castle.
Monday, 16th July	Proceed to Alnwick - sleep at Sir David Smith's.

Tuesday, 17th July	Confirm and visit at Alnwick.
Wednesday, 18th July	Call at Howick - proceed by Warkworth to Morpeth - sleep at the Rectory.
Thursday, 19th July	Visitation at Morpeth.
Friday, 20th July	Confirm at Morpeth - proceed to Mrs. Clarke's, Benton Hall.
Saturday, 21st July	Confirm at North Shields - proceed to Whitburne - sleep at the Rectory.
Sunday, 22nd July	At Whitburne.
Monday, 23rd July	Confirm at Sunderland - return to Whitburne.
Tuesday, 24th July	Consecrate Ryhope Chapel - proceed to Castle Eden - dine and sleep at Mr. Burden's.
Wednesday, 25th July	Confirm at Hartlepool - proceed to Mr. Brewster's, Egglecliffe - dine and sleep there.
Thursday, 26th July	Confirm at Stockton - proceed to Sedgfield and sleep at the Inn.
Friday, 27th July	Confirm at Sedgfield - return to Auckland Castle.
Monday, 30th July	Visitation at Auckland - Clergy dine with me at the Castle.
Tuesday, 31st July	Confirm at Auckland - Clergy dine with me at the Castle.
Wednesday, 1st August	Confirm at Barnard Castle - return to Auckland Castle.
Thursday, 2nd August	Confirm at Wolsingham - proceed to Stanhope - dine and sleep at the Rectory.
Friday, 3rd August	Confirm at Stanhope - return to Auckland Castle.

Preachers:-

Durham: Mr. Thurlow  
 Newcastle: Archdeacon Singleton  
 Berwick: Mr. Haigh  
 Alnwick: Mr. Vernon  
 Morpeth: Mr. Ekins  
 Auckland: Dr. Phillpotts.

The notes made after his engagements only take us to Saturday, 7th July, and it will be observed that, even in the early stage of his tour, the Bishop was so far from well that some of his engagements had to be cancelled.

Visitations, etc.1827

Monday, 2nd July Arrived in the evening at Durham Castle. Mr. Thorp at Tea with us.

Tuesday, 3rd July Held a Visitation of the Deaneries of Easington and Chester, at the Parish Church of St. Mary le Bow, Durham. Preacher, Revd. E. S. Thurlow, Rector of Houghton le Spring. Dinner at the Castle - number of Clergy present.....

Wednesday, 4th July Confirmed at Durham Cathedral..... persons. Dinner at the Castle - about 6 or 7 Clergy present, besides Mr. Townsend and Mr. Gilly.

Thursday, 5th July Taken ill, and unable to confirm at Chester le Street - remained at the Castle.

Friday, 6th July Proceeded immediately after breakfast to Newcastle - held a Visitation at St. Nicholas's Church - numerously attended - obliged to decline dining with the Clergy, from indisposition - Archdn. Singleton preached the sermon, and presided for me at the



dinner - lodged and very hospitably entertained at the Mansion House by the Mayor ..... Reid Esq., the Mayoress and their 2 Daughters.

Saturday, 7th July

Confirmed at St. Nicholas's Church .... persons - took refreshment afterwards at the Mayor's, and then proceeded to Ryton - dined and slept at the Rectory - Rev. Chas. Thorp's - a most excellent parsonage house.

It is unfortunate that the Bishop had not available the numbers of those whom he confirmed, and that there is no description of his method of confirming. Apparently in the neighbouring arch-diocese of York about this period the numbers of those confirmed in the Minster would sometimes fill the nave, and the Archbishop, instead of laying his hands on each candidate, contented himself with extending his hands over the candidates while repeating the prayer!<sup>(1)</sup> In the absence of contrary evidence it is charitable to assume that Van Mildert did not follow the Archbishop's example.

The following<sup>(2)</sup> evidently refers to this Visitation journey (cf. note re proposed visit to Hulin Abbey), and indicates that the Bishop was eager to take full advantage of visiting places of interest en route.

"From Bambrough to Alnwick by Howick.  
To Lucher, Twizell House, North Charlton, Falloden;  
Genl. Grey's; Embleton, Dunstanborough Castle,  
Howick. Long Houghton, Alnwick.

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(1) Confirmation. By various writers. S.P.C.K. Vol. i.  
pp.219-220.

(2) Grant-Ives' MSS.

"From Alnwick to Morpeth by Warkworth.  
Alnwick to Warkworth, Widrington Castle,  
Greswell, (Newbiggin) Woodhorn, Bothall,  
Morpeth.

"Mem: To visit Huhn Abbey, a ruin, about  
2 miles from Alnwick - on the morning after  
the Visitation before starting for Warkworth.

"At Wooler, to go over Flodden Field.

"Between Rothbury and Wooler, to call at  
Eslington Castle, Ld. Ravensworth's.

"Alnwick.  
Hermit of Warkworth, with cuts by Berwick,  
Catnach, Alnwick. Views of Parish Churches,  
and of Durham Cathedral, on cards."

Possibly the next<sup>(1)</sup> refers to the same journey:-

"Wooler to Berwick by Cornhill:

Wooler,  
Cheviot  
Akeld  
Broom Hill  
Ewart  
Millfield  
Flodden  
Etal  
Palinsburn  
Cornhill  
Tillmouth  
Twizell Castle  
Norham  
East Ord.  
Tweedmouth  
Berwick

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS.

The second Visitation was held in 1831, and the Acta Book records the Inhibition under 1st June in these terms: "The Bishop signed Inhibitions to the Archdeacons of North-umberland and Durham, their Commissary or Official and the Dean and Chapter from exercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction during the Visitation and until the Bishop shall have granted his Licence and authority in that behalf." In this case the Relaxation is recorded under date 14th October.

Ives reproduces the following prayer compiled by the Bishop for his own preparation for this Visitation.

"Prayer"

"O God, the fountain of all wisdom, without Whose aid and blessing, vain are all our endeavours to promote Thy glory, or to set forth the knowledge of Thy truth; assist me, I beseech Thee, in all my religious studies and pursuits, with Thy most gracious favour and benediction. More especially, I pray Thee, vouchsafe me such a measure of Thy grace and help, as may enable me to prepare a fit and seasonable Discourse to be delivered to the Clergy committed to my Charge, at my intended Visitation now approaching. Grant me, O Lord, by Thy Holy Spirit, to design only what is lawful and right, and conducive to the edification of my hearers; and effectually aid me in discharging this sacred duty in a manner acceptable in Thy sight.

"Crown my labours, O Lord, I beseech Thee, with such success as will most promote Thy glory, the good of Thy Church, and the salvation of myself and others; for the sake of Jesus Christ, Thy son, our Lord."(1)

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(1) Ives' Memoir, pp.155, 156.

The Bishop begins with a reference to recent 'public events of deep importance' and remarks that, though the ordinary work of the Church continues, yet the clergy cannot be indifferent to them. The Clergy share the life of the community, and find their work affected by its events. Interest in spiritual matters is relegated to a second place when the public mind is preoccupied by politics.

Before dealing with these matters he turns his attention to those of local interest. He regards the Diocese as presenting 'an example of ecclesiastical conduct, well deserving the good opinion of the community'. Those matters upon which he had expressed his wishes in his previous Charge, had received attention, and there had been a general improvement. In particular he mentions the following:-(1)

Schools: Since his accession to the See twenty-seven new schools had been established, and eighty-five had been united with the National Society.

Glebe-Houses: Four new houses had been added; four more rebuilt or enlarged, and three are to be built.

Churches and Chapels: Fourteen have been built or are in building; thirteen rebuilt, or altered and enlarged,

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(1) Ives' Memoir, pp. 537-539.

eight are in progress or are proposed; nine have been newly endowed, and twelve, 'or more', have been augmented.

Parishes: Seven have been, or are to be, divided; three others have had districts allotted to them.

S.P.C.K. and S.P.G., Committees act and, on the whole, flourish.

The Church Building Society has rendered all the aid in its power, and has been limited only by inadequate financial resources.

Church Accommodation: A Suggestion had been made to him that in the mining districts 'auxiliary Chapels, similar to those in ancient times called Oratories' might be opened, and he cordially approved the idea. They would be licensed on the nomination of the Incumbent, and would be under his superintendence, subject to regulations to be issued by the Bishop who would have the authority of visitation; the buildings would be of the simplest kind consonant with their purpose, and would be set apart exclusively for the Church's services. Moreover there should be some guarantee that they would continue thus, and that the officiating minister should have adequate remuneration. He suggests that provision of this kind might be made when new collieries are opened, by an

agreement between the proprietors and the lessees. The scheme could perhaps be extended to other populous or scattered parishes, especially in those places where there had been ancient Chapels now ruinous. The Bishop makes a passing reference to the co-operation of the laity in all these matters which he gratefully acknowledges.

In reference to the recent repeal of the test laws, and to the admission of Romanists 'to the highest legislature', and to executive functions in the State, he states that he has no wish to discuss these matters.<sup>(1)</sup> He thinks the course he adopted in regard to their passing is well known to his hearers, and the testimonies the clergy then gave him of their approval were a source of great satisfaction to him. Though he does not discuss these changes, it is evident that he regarded them as most unfortunate.

"Can we look around, and see Infidelity and Atheism on one side, Fanaticism on another; Popery advancing in this direction, Socinianism in that; Dissent, Lukewarmness, Apathy, each with multitudes in its train; without perceiving such an accession of strength to our adversaries as none of the present generation, at least, have ever before

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(1) Ives' Memoir, pp. 540-544.

witnessed? ..... The Church of England never, perhaps, hitherto has had to contend with so great a number of open and avowed enemies; who, in their reiterated and persevering attacks, stop short of no misrepresentation, however (sic) flagrant, which tend/to hold it up to public scorn and indignation."

The Bishop proceeds to examine some of the objections urged against the Church: (1)

1. Those based on the revenues of the Church. Most inaccurate statements have been made, and the values of benefices, and the aggregate income of Church revenues have been grossly exaggerated. It is difficult to refute these specifically without detailed knowledge involving considerable labour. He hopes that soon accurate data will be available to disprove them.

2. Arising out of these statements there has been a clamour for 'a more equal distribution' of the Church's revenues. If the idea is that of 'entire equalization', it has been proved many times that were this adopted the competency desired for each benefice would not be secured.

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(1) Ives' Memoir, pp. 544-546.

The Bishop, however, objects to the principle underlying the idea: he thinks that so long as there are inequalities of rank, wealth and influence in the body politic, so long will it be requisite that religion should have a corresponding polity. "To ensure to Religion access upon equal terms, to the highest as well as to the middling and lower classes, means must be found to place a certain portion of its teachers upon such a footing as may give their ministrations due weight and influence, where otherwise they might be coldly and superciliously received."

He is somewhat sceptical even about the advantages of an approximation in the scale of remuneration to the clergy. In regard to stipendiary curates the law does provide that the remuneration should bear some proportion to the value of the benefice, and to the work involved. This the Bishop would appear to welcome 'so long as due regard is had to the relative conditions of the parties'. In regard to the beneficed, any legislation which would compulsorily take away some portion of one living, in order to make up a deficiency in another, is regarded by the Bishop as wrong in principle, and as calculated 'to undermine the basis of



all property whatsoever.' (1)

If, however, such augmentations or endowments are done voluntarily they should meet with every encouragement and sanction. Both amongst clergy and laity there has been seen a willingness to do this, but, up till now, the Law has not provided means whereby this could be done on any large scale. His audience will, therefore, have welcomed the Bill now before Parliament, 'to empower Bishops, Deans and Chapters, Impropriators, and Parochial Incumbents' to carry out these intentions. 'The excellent Primate' is sponsor for this Bill, and the Bishop feels sure that it will meet with the approval of the wealthier clergy. Deans and Chapters have been accustomed, for some time, to apportion 'some considerable part of their incomes' for the augmentation of poor livings in their patronage. (2)

The Bishop here makes reference to the Chapter of Durham, and mentions several schemes which have already been adopted by this Body. Livings, not held in plurality, are augmented to one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, and further augmentations are taking place. Livings, formerly united, have been separated, and Glebe Houses provided for each. Grants

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(1) Ives' Memoir, pp.546-550.

(2) Ib. pp.550-552.

are made to Schools and Annual sums are set aside for the education of the sons of the Clergy, and for the Endowment of Exhibitioners at the Universities. With the co-operation of the wealthy Clergy of the Diocese an excellent assurance Fund has been established to relieve poor Clergymen. This Fund pays the whole of the premium and expenses for the first year, and half the premium in subsequent years.

At the foot of page 552 there appears this most interesting note relating to the proposed Foundation of the University of Durham:

"Since this Charge was delivered (the matter being then in contemplation only), the Dean and Chapter of Durham have determined upon establishing, at Durham, an Academical Institution for the purpose of affording to the public, and to the Northern Counties in particular, the advantages of a University Education. The particulars of the plan will probably soon be more fully made known. At present it may be sufficient to state that it is intended to be formed in immediate connection with the Chapter, as the governing Body; with a Principal, Professors, Lecturers, Tutors, Endowments for Students, and such other provisions as may be found expedient. The want of such an Establishment in the North of England has long been felt; nor could an

Institution of this kind come forth under better auspices, or where greater facilities exist for carrying it into effect. A design so public-spirited and munificent reflects the highest credit upon the distinguished Body with whom it has originated: and it can scarcely be necessary to add that I am prepared to co-operate with them in this noble undertaking to the utmost of my power, and in any way by which my station in this Diocese may enable to promote its object." (1)

The Bishop proceeds to consider the objections which centre round Pluralities and Non-residence. He at once admits that, considered in the abstract, neither of them can be easily defended. They appear to be anomalies, because, in theory, a cure of souls implies 'an exclusively personal attendance on the Charge'. He holds, however, that in existing circumstances they are unavoidable. So many Benefices are incapable of providing a 'decent maintenance' for their Incumbents, and, therefore, either pluralities must be allowed, or the Incumbent must be permitted to fulfil also the duties of a Stipendiary Curate in another parish. This latter alternative is open to as great an objection as the former. In support of pluralities he urges that they make it possible for the Church to make use of the valuable help of unbeneficed

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(1) Ives' Memoir, p. 552.

clergy, whose services the Church might otherwise have lost. In regard to non-residence he maintains that entire non-residence is not so common as the accusers assert. Few of the beneficed can be accused of this, and scarcely any without a sufficient cause. Moreover most absentees are engaged in work suitable to the clerical profession, e.g. as Schoolmasters, Tutors and Chaplains, making due provision that the most important interests of their flocks be not neglected. Others, again, divide their time between their two benefices and, with the help of Curates, virtually discharge the duties of both benefices.

It is, however, evident that the Bishop is not altogether happy in the defence of these anomalies, and he agrees that, if possible, they should be entirely removed. He welcomes, therefore, two Bills before Parliament: (1) a Bill introduced by the Primate for regulating Pluralities; (2) a Bill relating to the augmentation of small Livings. The Church is not opposed to reform, but it desires 'that its spiritual constitution as a Divine ordinance together with its temporal pretensions, as invested by the State with long-established and well-founded rights and privileges, should be preserved inviolate.' (1)

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(1) Ives' Memoir, pp. 552-556.

The Bishop has much to say about the 'invidious distinction' made between what are called the operative or working Clergy and Dignitaries. He is bold enough to assert that 'never, perhaps, was there a time, when pastoral duties were more unremittingly discharged by the wealthiest beneficiaries: there is, throughout the Church, great activity, more distinguished ability, and greater devotion to the duties of the office. In both Universities there has been an improvement in the courses of study suitable for those who are to be ordained.

Grievous and bitter aspersions had been recently made upon the Clergy generally, and the Bishop quotes many of these. He will not lower himself by refuting them in detail: he would rather refer the matter to the judgment of the Laity - feeling quite confident that, from their personal knowledge of their own Clergy, they would condemn them as false.

Yet the Bishop is quite prepared to admit that in a class of men comprising more than twelve thousand individuals there will be found some who, in their personal conduct, or in their official duties, have grievously failed. Such offences should, of course, be in no way condoned, and 'the newly appointed Ecclesiastical Commission' is preparing

measures for dealing with them.(1)

Remedies should be applied to existing defects but rash and inconsidered plans should be rejected. "The Charge consigned to us is too precious to be bartered away for popularity, or to be yielded from mere deference to public opinion." Unwise zeal in defence of the Church would increase the agitation, and he would urge caution upon the clergy and well-disposed laity.

Let the clergy be zealous in combating pernicious doctrines not only in exhortations from the pulpit, but also in the daily discharge of their pastoral office. "The main root of the evil lies in a want of sound, sober and practical religious feeling, operating steadily throughout the community, and influencing the conduct of all the various departments of social life. The want of this is discernible in attempts to carry on the work of popular education without taking Religion for its basis; in the systematic and avowed separation of civil and political from Christian obligations; in the disposition to consider all truths, on whatever sacred authority they may rest, as matters of mere human opinion; and in a persuasion that the whole concern of government

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(1) Ives' Memoir, pp. 556-566.

of legislation, and of social order, may be conducted as if there were no MORAL RULER OF THE UNIVERSE controlling the destinies of man or of nations; no other responsibilities than those which subsist between man and man, unamenable to any higher tribunal." Yet there is no need to be discouraged so long as the Church remains true to herself and so long as her ministers are faithful.

"That the Protestant Church of England is a genuine branch of that holy Catholic Church, of which it is promised that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, none of us, I trust, can hesitate to believe. Yet the pledge with reference to any particular branch of the Church, is, like every other Divine promise, conditional as to its fulfilment." We must place our faith and hope in God. The Bishop concludes by quoting Revelation 2,<sup>10</sup> - "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life".(1)

During Van Mildert's tenure of the See eight Ordinations were held in the Diocese, and of these six were taken by Van Mildert himself. The other two, those in 1830 and 1832, were taken, at his request, by the Bishop of Bristol (John Banks Jenkinson), formerly a Prebendary of Durham (Second Prebend),

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(1) Ives' Memoir, pp.566-end.

and from 1827 till his death in 1840, Dean. It was to be expected that a former S.T.P.R.<sup>(1)</sup> of Oxford would require at least an adequate standard of education from candidates for Holy Orders, and it has already been noted that during his Episcopate at Llandaff he was most anxious to secure this. Apparently, however, it was not found practicable to insist that all candidates should be graduates of some University, but the following analysis of the Durham Ordinations will indicate that the majority were so.

1826, 17th September, in the Chapel at Auckland Castle  
 16 to the Diaconate (4 for the Archbishop of York, 1 for the Bishop of Carlisle, and 1 for the Bishop of Chester). Of these, 7 were Literates but only 2 of these 7 were for the Diocese of Durham. One other, ordained Deacon for the Diocese of Durham, may possibly have been a Literate as he is only described as of St. John's College, Cambridge, and no degree is named.

8 to the Priesthood, all for the Diocese of Durham of whom only 2 were Literates.

1827, 14th October, in the Chapel 'within the Palace at Bishop Auckland'

10 to the Diaconate (5 for the Archbishop of York). Of these 1 was a Literate for the Diocese of Durham.

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(1) Regius Professor of Divinity (Sacrae Theologiae Professor Regius)



11 to the Priesthood (2 for the Archbishop of York).

Of these there were 4 Literates; 3 for the Diocese of Durham and 1 for the Archdiocese of York.

1828, 5th October 'in the Chapel within Auckland Palace'.

6 to the Diaconate (1 for the Archbishop of York).

Of these 1 was a Literate for the Diocese of Durham.

4 to the Priesthood, all for the Diocese of Durham, and only 1 a Literate.

1829, 4th October in the Chapel within Auckland Castle.

8 to the Diaconate (2 for the Archbishop of York).

Of these 2 were Literates of St. Bees, and both for the Diocese of Durham.

7 to the Priesthood, all for the Diocese of Durham.

Of these 1 was a Literate, and possibly one other described merely as of St. John's Coll: Camb.

1830, 26th September in Durham Cathedral, by the Bishop of Bristol, at Van Mildert's request.

1 to the Diaconate.

8 to the Priesthood.

All were for the Diocese of Durham and 2 of those ordained Priests were Literates of St. Bees.

1831, 25th September, in the Chapel within Auckland Castle.

7 to the Diaconate (2 for the Archbishop of York, and 1 for the Bishop of Chester).

Of these only 1 was a Literate for the Archdiocese of York. 5 to the Priesthood, all for the Diocese of Durham, and none of them was a Literate.

1832, 7th October, in Durham Cathedral, by the Bishop of Bristol at Van Mildert's request.

7 to the Diaconate (1 for the Archbishop of York).

Of these 1 was a Literate of St. Bees for the Diocese of Durham, and possibly also the candidate from York who is described merely as of Catherine Hall, Camb.

1834, 14th September, 'within the Chapel in the Palace at Auckland Castle'.

6 to the Diaconate (1 for the Archbishop of York).

Of these 2 were Literates of St. Bees for the Diocese of Durham.

4 to the Priesthood, all for the Diocese of Durham, and of these 1 was a Literate of St. Bees.

The above list does not embrace all for whose admission to the Sacred Ministry Van Mildert was responsible, for many Letters Dimissory were granted by him. The Acta Book records the following:

1826	3 to the Diaconate.
1827	2 to the Diaconate and 2 to the Priesthood.
1828	2 to the Priesthood.
1829	5 to the Diaconate.
1830	5 to the Diaconate (one unnamed in the Acta Book!)

1831	3 to the Diaconate and 2 to the Priesthood. (Also one to an Order not specified in the Acta Book!)
1832	6 to the Diaconate, and 3 to the Priesthood.
1833	8 to the Diaconate and 11 to the Priesthood.
1834	3 to the Diaconate and 3 to the Priesthood.
1835	10 to the Diaconate and 9 to the Priesthood.
1836	1 to the Diaconate and 1 to the Priesthood.

Of these last (eighty in all) only about a dozen are probably Literates. Thus the proportion of Graduates for whose ordination he was responsible is very high.

It will have been observed that the last Ordination taken by the Bishop himself was in September 1834. By that time his physical strength had deteriorated considerably, though his mental abilities remained at their high level till the end.

An Acta Book only records the routine official and legal business of a Bishop, and in itself gives little, if any, indication of his personal and pastoral contacts with Clergy and Laity. That, if available, has to be found elsewhere, in letters and in the recollections of his generation. It has seemed little short of a tragedy to the writer of this thesis that a detailed 'Life' of the Bishop was not undertaken long ago, when such letters would have been extant, and when there were still living those who could have opened the 'lychgate of memory' and enabled us to pass

into the land of retrospect. Even those letters which remained in the possession of Mrs. Van Mildert's family have lately disappeared, though hope has not been abandoned that they have only been mislaid and not destroyed. The evidence which remains shows us one who was most generous and kind to those in distress, especially, and, perhaps, not unnaturally to members of the clergy. His high office and his reputation as a scholar ensured him respect in his dioceses and in the House of Lords, but there was added to this respect a feeling of affection, and his Clergy must have felt that in him they had one whose title of Father reflected his character as well as his office.

An Acta Book, being what it is, does not seem to demand, at least for the purpose of this thesis, a reproduction of all its entries. Commissions for institutions and inductions, and the granting of licences are generally only of local or personal interest. Some items, however, recall the prerogatives of the Palatinate Jurisdiction which Van Mildert possessed; others enable us to recapture a scene in which even masters of schools had to obtain licences from the Bishops. These and other items which seem to claim notice are mentioned under the years in which they occur in the Acta Book.

The writer of the thesis has added, in certain cases, comments which may be found of interest.

1826

15th June: Patent appointing James Scalett, Esq., Attorney General. Patent appointing N. C. Tindal, Esq., Solicitor General. The Palatinate had its own Attorney General, and Solicitor General, and the nomination of these belonged to the Bishop in right of his Bishopric.

1827

1st June: Gerald Valerian Wellesley, Clerk, D.D., instituted to the Rectory of Wearmouth Episcopi, void by the promotion of Dr. Robert Gray to the See of Bristol; on the presentation of the King 'for this turn by virtue of our prerogative Royal'. Mandate issued to the Clergy in general to induct.

Gerald Valerian Wellesley was a younger brother of the "Great Duke", whose 'image in a surplice' he is reported to have been. (1)

13th June: John Banks Jenkinson, Bishop of St. David's, instituted to the Deanery of Durham, void by death of Charles Henry Hall, D.D., on the presentation of His Majesty,

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(1) College Histories, Durham University, by Cannon J. T. Fowler, p.52, footnote.

King George IVth, in full right. Mandate issued to the President (sic) and Chapter to install.

18th June: John Bird Sumner collated to the 2nd Prebend, void by resignation of John Banks Jenkinson, on the donation or collation of the Bishop in full right of his Bishopric. Mandate to D. & C. to install.

18th July: Gerald Valerian Wellesley collated to the 5th Prebend, void by cession of John Bird Sumner, on the donation or collation of the Bishop. Mandate issued to D. & C. to install.

15th October: William Nicholas Darnell instituted to the Vicarage of Norham on the Nomination of the D. & C., Mandate issued to the D. & C. to induct.

Mr. Darnell was also a Prebendary of Durham and had been so since 1816.<sup>(1)</sup> Dr. Whiting points out that Keble's (and possibly Newman's) co-option on the governing Body of the University in its early days was probably due to Darnell who had been Keble's Tutor. He had held, previously, with his Prebend the Perpetual Curacy of St. Margaret's, Durham. Indeed the essential evil of Pluralism was only slowly realized even by high-minded and conscientious clerics. In 1831, (see p. 241) he succeeded Dr. Philpotts in the

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(1) The University of Durham, by Dr. C. E. Whiting, p.32.

very valuable living of Stanhope.

1828

17th January: Commission to William Nicholas Darnell, B.D., to 'licence' (sic) William Stephen Gilly, Clerk, M.A., to the P.C. of St. Margaret's 'near the City of Durham', void by the resignation of William Nicholas Darnell, on the nomination of the D. & C. as Patrons. Licensed 2nd February.

Mr. Gilly also held this with his Prebend.

21st June: Commission to W. N. Darnell, Clerk, and Peter Penson, Clerk, MA., to licence (sic) Henry Brown, Clerk, M.A. to the Office of Chief Teacher and School Master of the Grammar School of Kepier in the Parish of Houghton le Spring. On the nomination of Michael Angelo Taylor of the City of Westminster, Esq., and John Douthwaite Nesham of Stockton upon Tees, Esq., the Governors of the Grammar School and Alms House of Kepier. Licensed.

23rd August: The Revd. James Raine, Clerk, was instituted to the Rectory of South Bailey<sup>(1)</sup>, Durham, on the presentation of the King, and a mandate was issued to the Archdeacon of Durham to induct.

This James was the father of James the antiquary and historian.

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(1) St. Mary.

1829

20th January: Commission to John Collinson, Clerk, Rector of Gateshead, to collate Henry George Liddell, Clerk, M.A. to the Rectory of Whickham, on the donation or collation of the Bishop. Mandate issued to the Archdeacon of Durham to induct. Collated 27th January.

Henry George Liddell, brother of the 1st Lord Ravensworth, was the father of the Liddell of Greek Lexicon fame.

24th February: Thomas Gaisford, Clerk, M.A., was collated to the 11th Prebend, void by the death of the Right Honble. and Revd. Francis Henry, Earl of Bridgwater, Clerk, on the collation of the Bishop. Mandate issued to the D. & C. to install.

Thomas Gaisford had had a distinguished career. He matriculated from Christ Church 26th October, 1797, and was appointed Student, December 1800, B.A. 1801, M.A. 1804, Regius Professor of Greek 1812-1835; B.D. and D.D. by Diploma, 1831 (29th April, 1831); Prebendary of Worcester 1825-1828; of Durham 1829-1831, of St. Paul's 1833, and of Llandaff the same year. Rector of Westwell, Oxfordshire, 1815-1847; Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, 1831, till his death in 1855. He was buried in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford. The Revd. W. Tuckwell gives an amusing account of



him in his Reminiscences.<sup>(1)</sup> If the extract from one of his Sermons is authentic it was no doubt sincere, and must have come from his heart. "Nor can I do better, in conclusion, than impress upon you the study of Greek literature, which not only elevates above the vulgar herd, but leads not infrequently to positions of considerable emolument."<sup>(2)</sup> He may have been 'a rough and surly man', but he won the hand of 'the beautiful Helen' (Margaret) Douglas, (niece of Mrs. Van Mildert), whom he married from Van Mildert's house in Oxford on 11th July, 1815, while Van Mildert was S.T.P.R. By this marriage he had several children, but Helen Margaret died in 1830, and Gaisford married in 1832 Jane Katherine Jenkyns, daughter of the Rector of Evercreach, and sister of the Very Reverend Richard Jenkyns, D.D., Master of Balliol, and afterwards Dean of Wells. According to Mr. Percy Adams the lines written on the occasion of his betrothal to Helen Douglas were composed not, as Tuckwell thought, by Henry Cotton, but by John Hughes (senior) of Oriel.<sup>(3)</sup> His second marriage caused no estrangement between himself and Van Mildert though, apparently, Helen's brother, the Reverend Henry Douglas (afterwards Canon of Durham) not unnaturally

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(1) Reminiscences of Oxford by the Rev. W. Tuckwell, pp.129-134.  
 (2) Ib. p.129.  
 (3) Douglas Family History, p.503.

felt grieved at the short interval.<sup>(1)</sup> Tuckwell asserts that Gaisford wished to return to Oxford, while Samuel Smith, Dean of Christ Church ('Presence of Mind' Smith) was ill at ease there.<sup>(2)</sup> How exactly the exchange was effected is not clear but by October 1831 Gaisford was Dean of Christ Church, and, as we shall see from the Acta Book, Samuel Smith was collated to the 11th Prebend, vacated by Gaisford (vide p. 246)

22nd April: Thomas Gaisford, Clerk, M.A., was collated to the 11th Prebend, void by the death of the Right Honble. George Lord Viscount Barrington, Clerk, on the donation or collation of the Bishop. Mandate issued to the D. & C. to install.

30th April: Charles Thorp, Clerk, B.D., was collated to the 4th Prebend, void by the cession of Thomas Gaisford, Clerk, M.A., on the donation or collation of the Bishop. Mandate issued to the D. & C. to install.

Gaisford having relinquished the 4th Prebend, and having obtained the more valuable 11th Prebend, Van Mildert was able to collate Charles Thorp to the 4th Prebend. Between Van Mildert and Thorp there sprang up a close and intimate friendship, and Van Mildert reposed the utmost confidence in Thorp's judgment, and later appointed him Archdeacon of Durham. A

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(1) Douglas Family History, pp. 554-555.

(2) Reminiscences of Oxford, by W. Tuckwell, p.129.

parallel suggests itself in that entire trust and reliance which Lightfoot placed in his Archdeacon, Henry William Watkins whose influence is said to have won him the description, "He that leadeth Joseph like a sheep." The debt of gratitude which the University of Durham owes both to Van Mildert and Thorp, (its first Warden) cannot be over-estimated but some indication of this can be gained from the voluminous Thorp Correspondence, which has found fitting and safe sanctuary in the University Library.

Charles Thorp, F.R.S., was the son of Robert Thorp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, and was born 13th October, 1783. He was educated at Newcastle and Durham Grammar Schools and matriculated at Oxford from University College 10th December, 1799. B.A. 1803, fellow and tutor and M.A. 1806; B.D. 1822 and D.D. 1835. Rector of Ryton, 1817, Archdeacon of Durham 1831. Died 10th October 1862. (1)

30th April: William Ives, Clerk, was collated to the Vicarage of Haltwhistle, on the collation or donation of the Bishop. Mandate issued to the Archdeacon of Northumberland to induct.

William Ives was a nephew of Van Mildert being a son of

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(1) Alumni Oxonienses; also Note prefixed to the Thorp Correspondence.

his sister Anne and of Cornelius Ives of Bradden, their cousin. He was thus a brother of the Cornelius Ives who wrote the Memoir of Bishop Van Mildert, often referred to in this thesis. One of the most pleasing impressions gathered from a study of the more intimate and personal incidents of the Bishop's life is that of domestic and family concord. This is reflected in the cordial relations which existed among the relatives of the Van Mildert and Douglas families. Henry Douglas, writing, (after the Bishop's death) to his sister Fanny in October 1837, describes a visit to Haltwhistle: "About three weeks ago I went to visit William Ives, at Haltwhistle; his brother Cornelius was with him, and I spent a day or two very agreeably." (1)

23rd July: Dispensation to delay. The Bishop granted Dispensation to Thomas Gaisford, Clerk, M.A., Prebendary of the 11th Prebend 'to delay reading the Morning and Evening prayers and declaring his unfeigned assent and consent thereto. On account of particular circumstances, and until the said impediments be removed.'

31st December: 1829-1830  
Thomas Singleton, Clerk, D.D., appointed Charles Thorp, Clerk, B.D., to the Office of Official or

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(1) Douglas Family History, p.560.

Commissary of the Archdeaconry of Northumberland. On the  
 - - - day of January 1830 the Bishop signed his consent.

Thomas Singleton was Archdeacon of Northumberland and in this appointment of Thorp another parallel with Watkins can be observed, for Watkins was Archdeacon of Northumberland, and subsequently Archdeacon of Auckland, before he became Archdeacon of Durham.

1831

27th January: The Bishop accepted the resignation of the 6th Prebend by the Rev. W. N. Darnell.

27th January: Commission to Charles Thorp, Clerk, to institute William Nicholas Darnell, B.D., to the Rectory of Stanhope, (1) void by the promotion of Dr. Henry Philpotts to the See of Exeter; on the presentation of the King for this turn, 'by virtue of his Prerogative Royal'. Mandate issued to the Archdeacon of Durham to induct. Instituted 29th January.

22nd February: Henry Lord Bishop of Exeter was collated to the 6th Prebend, on the donation or collation of the Lord Bishop of Durham, 'in full right of his Bishopric'. Mandate issued to the D. & C. to install.

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(1) Vide p.235.

22nd February: The Bishop signed Proxy in favour of ----- to be installed as the Bishop of Exeter's Proxy into the 6th Prebend.

'Henry Exon's' great services to the Church have been deservedly recognized throughout the Anglican Communion, but his tenure of a valuable Prebend at Durham, after his elevation to the Episcopate certainly laid him open to attack. He was born at Bridgwater, Somerset, on the 6th May, 1778, and was the second son of John Philpotts who had sold the family estates in Herefordshire, and had become proprietor of pottery and brick works at Bridgwater. Subsequently John Philpotts became landlord of the Bell Inn at Gloucester, and managed to combine this with the post of land agent to the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester. Henry was sent to Oxford as a scholar of Corpus Christi College. Before his appointment as Bishop of Exeter he had been given the Deanery of Chester in 1828, which he held with the 4th Prebend at Durham. In 1832 there was printed at Newcastle a scurrilous attack on the Bishop, in verse, bearing the title, "Bishop Toby's Pilgrimage, or the Method of Procuring a Mitre. In six stages. Narrated by Himself by way of advice to his Son." In case the verses themselves should not sufficiently indicate the Bishop,

'notes' were added. The following extracts of the lines and notes will afford evidence of the writer's venom.

Page 3: "My next employ  
(A circumstance I blush to tell)  
Was waiting in my Sire's hotel....."

Note 2: "The Bishop of ----- was at the beginning of his career, a pot-boy in his father's inn at -----, a city in the West of England."

Page 21: "My good diocesan, Old -----  
Had got into a hot dispute....."

Note 7: "This was a controversy between Bishop S. and Dr. L. in which the Bishop in all probability had been defeated, had he not been seconded by Toby, who displayed, on this occasion, such an amazing talent of abuse, and that, too, so much to the satisfaction of the Bishop, that he made him his chaplain, and gave him the choice of his preferment as it became vacant!"

The Bishop S. was doubtless Van Mildert's predecessor - Shute Barrington, and 'Dr. L.', Dr. Lingard.

The following lines could hardly have commended this effusion to the clergy of the diocese!

"I found, too, that they'd nearly floor'd  
With arguments the mitred lord,  
While all the priests from Tweed to Tees,  
His lordship's dronish protegees,  
The most of whom were daily living  
Upon the Bounty of his giving  
.....  
Neglected him at such a crisis."

Fortunately Henry survived this and many another attack, and proved himself a doughty champion of the Church during his long occupancy of the See of Exeter (1831-1869). It can scarcely be said, however, that the University of Durham has any particular reason to be grateful to him, and Dr. Whiting has gently, though clearly, made this quite evident.<sup>(1)</sup> In this connection the evidence given by Dr. Philpotts to the Royal Commission, and referred to by Dr. Whiting, lends further support to the theory that Van Mildert instigated the Chapter to found the University.<sup>(2)</sup> It is indeed rather painful to note that Dr. Philpotts and Dr. Gilly,<sup>(3)</sup> who had both received Prebendal stalls from Van Mildert, did not further, but actually opposed his cherished project, almost as soon as he was dead.

1st June: "The Bishop signed Inhibitions to the Archdeacons of Northumberland and Durham, their Commissary or Official and the Dean and Chapter from exercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction during the Visitation and until the Bishop shall have granted his Licence and authority in that behalf."

"The Bishop issued Writ of Convocation of the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham to appear wheresoever in and

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- (1) The University of Durham, Dr. C. E. Whiting, pp.63-67.  
 (2) Ib, p.65.  
 (3) Ib, pp.65-66.



throughout the whole Kingdom of England together with the rest of the Prelates and Clergy held by the Lord Archbishop of York."

28th July: William Stephen Gilly, Clerk, M.A., was instituted to the Vicarage of Norham, void by the cession of Wm. Nicholas Darnell, Clerk, on the presentation of the Dean and Chapter, Mandate issued to the Dean and Chapter to induct.

-- September: "The Bishop appointed James Baker, Clerk, M.A., Vicar General and Official Principal of the Diocese of Durham, Commissary Commissioner, and Deputy for the purpose of holding the Quadriennial<sup>(1)</sup> (sic) Visitation at the time and places following that is to say at Morpeth on Friday the 16th instant, at Alnwick on Saturday the 17th instant and at Belford on Monday the 19th instant in his Name, Place and Stead."

13th, 15th and -- September: The Bishop 'personally visited' at Durham, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Auckland, being the ordinary 'Quadriennial' (sic) Visitation of the Diocese.

14th September: The Bishop accepted the Rev. William Stephen Gilly's resignation of the P.C. of St. Margaret's in

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(1) There is no reason to suppose that here and elsewhere in the Acta Books the Bishop was an advocate of any attempt at a Reform in spelling. Some clerk in the Registrar's office must have this distinction!

the City and Diocese of Durham.

26th October: "Edward Davison, the younger, Clerk, M.A., was licensed to be Lecturer or Preaching Minister of the parish of St. Nicholas in the City and Diocese of Durham void by the resignation of Edward Davison, the elder, Clerk, the last Minister there. On the nomination of the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Durham."

25th September (sic): Francis Bainbridge, Clerk, was licensed to the Grammar School of Rothbury, on the nomination of the Rev. Charles Vernon Harcourt, Rector of Rothbury, and the Rev. Thomas Singleton, Rector of Elsdon, the Trustees of the said Grammar School, with a stipend of £80 per annum.

14th October: Samuel Smith, Clerk, D.D., was collated to the 11th Prebend, void by the resignation of Thomas Gaisford, Clerk, on the donation or collation of the Bishop. Mandate issued to the Dean and Chapter to install. Samuel Smith, as already noted, had been Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and exchanged his Deanery for Gaisford's Prebend. According to Tuckwell this exchange, which resulted in Gaisford's return to Oxford as Dean of Christ Church, was effected by Van Mildert 'in some occult fashion'.<sup>(1)</sup> Tuckwell also gives an amusing account of the origin of the sobriquet, 'Presence of Mind Smith'.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) Reminiscences of Oxford, by the Rev. W. Tuckwell, p.129.

(2) Ib. p.128.

14th October: (presumably) The Bishop signed the relaxation of the Inhibition, issued on 1st June, to the Archdeacons of Northumberland and Durham, and to the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

2nd December: The Bishop accepted the Rev. Richard Prosser's resignation of the Archdeaconry of Durham, and declared the Archdeaconry void together with the Rectory of Easington, thereunto annexed.

6th December: Charles Thorp, Clerk, B.D., was collated to 'the Archdeaconry or Archidiaconal Dignity' of Durham, with the Rectory of Easington thereunto annexed, on the donation or collation of the Bishop. Mandate issued to the Dean and Chapter to install.

Reference will be found (p. 279 ) to a letter from the Bishop to Thorp, dated 8th December of this year in which this new appointment is evidently in his lordship's mind. The Bishop now had an important official in the diocese, whose views and policies he knew to be in accord with his own.

### 1832

13th August: The Bishop accepted the Rev. Charles Thorp's resignation of the Rectory of Easington.

1833

14th August: Henry George Liddell, Clerk, M.A., was collated to the Rectory of Easington on the donation or collation of the Bishop. Mandate issued to the Archdeacon of Durham to induct.

11th August (sic): Henry Douglas, Clerk, was collated to the Rectory of Whickham on the donation or collation of the Bishop. Mandate issued to the Archdeacon of Durham to induct.

It has already been noted (p. 156) that Van Mildert had given to Henry Douglas (his wife's nephew) the living of Newland in Gloucestershire, which was in his gift as Bishop of Llandaff. As early as 1st May 1832, the Bishop had written to Henry offering him Whickham.<sup>(1)</sup> In this letter he refers to the occasion which had produced the vacancy at Whickham.

"By an arrangement now taking place respecting my recent appointment of a new Archdeacon of Durham, the Living of Whickham in the County of Durham will soon become vacant, and at my disposal; and having long wished for an opportunity of somewhat improving your Clerical condition, I am desirous of knowing whether you think it worth the cost and trouble of a removal from Newland to the North. Should you think

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(1) Douglas Family History, pp.554-555.

it so, I need not add how much I shall be grateful in having you fixed in my Diocese; where, I am well assured you would both do me credit and essentially benefit the Parish committed to your charge.

"The inclosed paper will give you some notion of the nature of the benefice and its value. I wish it were of larger promise; but such as it is, it seems to hold out some advantages which may have their weight in determining your choice. At the same time, I am anxious that you should weigh all the cons as well as the pros; and have no hesitation in declining it, if you think it a questionable experiment.

"The main point, perhaps, to be first considered is whether you and Mrs. Douglas feel any reluctance to remove so far from the country and neighbourhood with which you have been so long connected. If not, I have no doubt that you will soon find yourselves well received by persons whose society is well worth cultivating, and your introduction to it as so near a connection of mine may be some additional advantage. The town of Newcastle is also a sort of metropolis of the North where wants of every kind may be amply supplied.

"I do not wish you, however, to make a hasty determination.

Consider the matter thoroughly in all its bearings.....

Most truly and affectionately,

Yours,

W. DUNEIM."

The Bishop adds a postscript referring to Gaisford's second marriage about which Henry apparently felt some grievance. It is obvious that Van Mildert had a high regard, and perhaps a warm affection for 'Black Roderick'.<sup>(1)</sup>

A further letter<sup>(2)</sup> dated from Durham Castle on 1st August indicates that there had been some delay in negotiating the arrangements of the ecclesiastical changes, but that by this date the traffic block had been cleared! The Assizes at Durham had not been too great a tax on his strength, but the seclusion of Auckland would be welcome. He urges that Henry should not delay coming North to be collated to the benefice.

1833

8th February: The Bishop accepted the Archdeacon of Durham's resignation of the 'District' Church of Winlaton, in the parish of Ryton.

Pluralism was becoming dangerous!

28th March: Commission to Robert Green, Clerk,

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(1) Reminiscences of Oxford, by W. Tuckwell, p.134.  
 (2) Douglas Family History, pp.555-556.

Incumbent of All Saints, Newcastle-upon-Tyne to license Edmund Hector Hopper, Clerk, M.A., 'to the Sunday Afternoon Lectureship' of St. John's Newcastle, on the nomination of John Dodd, Clerk, Vicar of St. Nicholas, and as such the Patron, 'with the Consent of Henry Allison Dodd, Clerk, Incumbent of the said Parochial Chapel.'

1834

-- April: Commission to ----- to license John Reed, Clerk, M.A. to the 'Sunday Afternoon Lectureship' of St. Nicholas, Newcastle, on the nomination of the Corporation of St. Nicholas aforesaid, with the consent of John Dodd, Clerk, Vicar of St. Nicholas. Stipend £100 per annum. On the ----- day of ----- he was licensed.

31st May: Commission to Robert Green, Clerk, M.A., Incumbent of All Saints, Newcastle-upon-Tyne to license William Brooke Kempson, Clerk, M.A., to the Afternoon Lectureship of St. Andrew's Chapel, Newcastle, on the nomination of John Dodd, Clerk, 'as Vicar of St. Nicholas', with the consent of William Dodd, Clerk, Incumbent of the said Chapel. Licensed 12th June.

14th September: Elisha White, Clerk, was licensed to the office of Schoolmaster of Norton Grammar School, 'on

the Nomination or Appointment' of the Vicar of Norton, 'Trustee of the said school and as such the Patron in full right: and to have receive and take all and singular Profits Benefits and advantages whatsoever.'

14th October: Henry Douglas, Clerk, M.A., was collated and admitted to the 7th Prebend, 'vacant by the death of Robert Gray, Clerk, D.D., Lord Bishop of Bristol', on the donation or collation of the Bishop. Mandate issued to the Dean and Chapter to install.

It is of course natural and legitimate that a Bishop should wish to have a relative or close connexion in the diocese. But this Van Mildert had already secured twice. He had collated his own nephew William Ives to the Vicarage of Haltwhistle (p.239), a living of considerable income, and Henry Douglas had received from him the valuable benefice of Whickham. There may have been very good reasons for offering Henry one of the Cathedral stalls, but there must also have been many priests with longer service in the diocese worthy of such preferment. The Bishop's letter<sup>(1)</sup> to Henry offering him the prebend is dated from Harrogate, 6th October, 1834, and has the following postscript:

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(1) Douglas Family History, p.558.



"P.S. .... We cannot give you a bed, but you will be decently accommodated, I should think, at Gascoigne's Hotel, opposite to us."

This addition, though of an incidental character, indicates where the Bishop used to stay during his frequent visits to Harrogate. It was evidently opposite 'Gascoigne's Hotel' and Ackrill's guide to Old Harrogate gives the following information: "Gascoigne's Hotel in High Harrogate was a favourite stopping place for stage coaches. It was formerly known as Hope Tavern, changed later to Salutation Boarding House, and is now known as the County Hotel."

The Bishop may have had some fear of adverse criticism in his appointing his Wife's nephew to a Stall. In a letter to Henry dated 20th October 1834 he quotes from a letter which he had received from the Bishop of St. David's:

"..... I most entirely concur with you in thinking that you have not in any degree departed from your engagements to the Chapter and the University, in considering this stall to be at your own free disposal, and accordingly bestowing it as you have done. From the respectability of Mr. Douglas's character I have no doubt that his appointment will be acceptable and give general satisfaction."

Van Mildert then refers to a gift of a set of silver corner dishes to Henry from his Aunt Jane who wishes them to be an heirloom for Henry's young son and to be engraved with the family arms. They are to be kept at Whickham until they can be used at Durham when Henry holds his 'hospitality' as Canon there.(1)

25th May: Commission to the Archdeacon of Durham to license Temple Chevallier, Clerk, B.D., to the Perpetual Curacy of Esh, on the nomination of the Bishop. Licensed 1st June.

Temple Chevallier had had a distinguished career at Cambridge, and had been appointed Professor of Mathematics at Durham. In addition to being a mathematician he was a theologian and a Hebrew Scholar. His nomination to Esh is an indication of the Bishop's anxiety to secure an adequate income for those Clerks in Holy Orders who were on the teaching staff of the University. Eventually he became a Residentiary Canon of Durham.(2)

28th August: Commission to William Rowe Lyall, Clerk, M.A., Archdeacon of Colchester to collate and institute Edward Churton, Clerk, M.A., to the Rectory of Crayke, alias

(1) Douglas Family History, pp.558-559.

(2) Durham University by Canon J. T. Fowler, pp.132-135.

Craik, 'in the Bishoprick County and Diocese of Durham' on the donation or collation of the Bishop. Collated 8th September; 'and a Mandate was issued to the Archdeacon of Durham or his official to the Dean and Chapter to his or their Vicegerent or Deputy or to any other Person or Persons to whom the execution of the mandate was known to belong.'

A critic of the administration of episcopal patronage can find strong reasons for condemning such an appointment as this. Abundant evidence has been given in this thesis to prove how close and intimate was the friendship between Van Mildert and Joshua Watson. Both belonged to the same ecclesiastical 'set' and though Van Mildert was some six years the older, and a trained theologian he relied to an extraordinary extent upon the judgment and literary taste of his lay friend, and in the winters of 1821 and 1822 they shared the same house in Great George Street, Westminster.<sup>(1)</sup> Edward Churton had been a master at the Charterhouse, and afterwards head of a private school at Hackney, where he became assistant Curate to John James Watson, the Rector of Hackney, and Archdeacon of St. Albans, Joshua Watson's

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(1) Memoir of Joshua Watson, by Ed. Churton, Vol.i, p.233.

brother. He had married John James Watson's daughter, and was thus Joshua Watson's nephew by marriage. Churton was naturally a prominent member of the 'Hackney Phalanx' but it can hardly be maintained that his clerical record alone warranted his nomination to a valuable benefice by a Bishop of a diocese other than that in which he was serving. For the real explanation of his appointment by Van Mildert we must refer to Churton's own Memoir of Joshua Watson, which leaves little room for doubt that personal reasons and private friendship were the determining factors. In the summer of 1835 Joshua Watson paid a visit to the Van Milderts and stayed with them at Auckland Castle. As events proved it was their last meeting, and, from a letter reproduced in the Memoir, (1) it is evident that Joshua Watson had referred to the living of Crayke, and had intimated the great pleasure it would give him if the Bishop were to offer it to his nephew Edward Churton. Watson's somewhat fulsome letter is dated from Callander, North Britain, 29th August, 1835, and after alluding to the recent visit with 'its strange conflict of affections' refers to the request he had made for his nephew's preferment to Crayke. (2)

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(1) Memoir of Joshua Watson, by Ed. Churton, Vol.ii, pp.43-45.  
(2) Ib. Vol.ii, pp.44-45.

The Bishop in his reply reciprocates Watson's affectionate recollections of their lifelong friendship, and in reference to his appointment of Churton to Crayke it is obvious that he felt no qualms of conscience: "As to Crayke, every day increases my satisfaction in having had the opportunity of rewarding good desert on the one hand, and on the other, of enjoying the purest of all gratifications in testifying my affection for the very best of personal friends, and the best of benefactors to everything deserving of support in Church and State."<sup>(1)</sup>

The year 1836 contains only one entry relating to Van Mildert. It is dated 27th January and records the granting of Letters Dimissory to two candidates to be ordained by the Bishop of Carlisle, one to the Diaconate, and the other to the Priesthood.

The next entry is as follows:

"1836

"The Acts of the Right Reverend Edward Maltby, D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham, who was elected on the 19th day of March and Confirmed in St. James's Church, London, the 28th day of June 1836."

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(1) Churton's Memoir of Joshua Watson, Vol. ii, pp.44-45.

## VII

### THE THORP CORRESPONDENCE

and

### THE FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY

If the close of the eighteenth century may be described, somewhat loosely, as the end of an epoch, and the beginning of what is called the modern age, then the University of Durham in its origin and purpose can claim a unique place in England, for it was an attempt to restore an ideal which seemed to be in danger of being lost, or at least obscured. "The Office and Work of Universities" - to use the title of Newman's book - have changed even within living memory almost beyond recognition, not merely because the scope of their curriculum has been so vastly widened, but because the several faculties, not excluding that of Theology, claim the right to function without reference to any dogmas of Christian theology. The close link between the Church and

the Universities of Europe has been described by Dr. Hastings Rashdall in The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, and the Editors of the New Edition (1936), F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, have added a note<sup>(1)</sup> on the development of the studium generale. "In the formative period the schools were fostered by the ecclesiastical authority and, like the universities into which some of them developed, depended upon this authority for the right to exercise that activity." In regard to Oxford the author points out that the powers of the Bishop were exercised sometimes in matters entirely academic. "In the closeness of the relations between the University and the Bishop, Oxford in its earliest days resembles rather some of the smaller universities of France, such as Orleans or Montpellier, than Paris, where a powerful chapter and a capitular chancellor stood between the bishop and the university..... In the period immediately after 1214 the Bishop, besides exercising his ordinary jurisdiction over masters and scholars, claimed at times to regulate matters of purely academic concern. The chancellor was merely his officer, and enjoyed just so much authority as the bishop

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(1) The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, by Hastings Rashdall; footnote to p.21, vol. I, 1936 ed.

chose from time to time to delegate to him."<sup>(1)</sup>

It is perhaps worthy of note that the first half of the nineteenth century saw the founding or refounding of many Universities in Europe. The following list, which is probably not exhaustive, gives the dates which may be taken as approximately correct. Athens (1836), Barcelona (1841), Berlin (1820), Berne (1834), Brussels (1834), Caen (1803), Christiania (1811), Munich (1826), St. Petersburg (Leningrad) (1829), Wilna (1803), Zurich (1832). Thus the founding of the universities of Durham and London is the English counterpart of a widespread movement throughout Europe towards higher education. That which gives to the University of Durham a unique place, so far as England is concerned, is the deliberate and carefully planned design to restore the mediaeval conception of a University owing its origin to the Church, and finding its ethos in the Faith and Worship of the Church. In Europe, however, it cannot, indeed, claim to be unique even in this respect, for the ancient University of Louvain after many vicissitudes, reverted in 1834 to this mediaeval conception. As a contrast the University of Brussels, founded that same

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(1) The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, by Hastings Rashdall, Vol.iii, p.114.



year, may be regarded, in its purpose and aim, as corresponding to some of the ideals which influenced the promoters of the University of London. The dates of the founding of the Universities of Durham and London provide also an interesting parallel. Fribourg in Switzerland, mutatis mutandis, can also claim to represent the same ideals as Durham, and it may be that Newman's idea of a Roman Catholic University of Dublin was an attempt to follow Van Mildert's lead.

The writer of this thesis cannot refrain from expressing his conviction that Van Mildert intended that the University of Durham should fill a place in the life of the Church of England, such as e.g. the University of Louvain has filled in the Church of Rome. Changes, perhaps inevitable, have obscured and to some extent altered this conception, but these changes would have to be of a revolutionary character to abolish that original filial relation to the Church which marked its origin. In this connection the words of one of Van Mildert's successors deserve to be quoted. On Sunday, 17th June 1906, at the close of Summer term there was preached in the Cathedral before the University a notable sermon subsequently published with the title, The Christian Student and his Mind. The

Preacher was Handley Carr Glynn Moule, the seventh Bishop to succeed Van Mildert. Bishop Moule certainly could not have been charged with being an obscurantist, but Van Mildert himself could hardly have clothed his ideal for the University of Durham in more felicitous language. "It is my privilege to-day, a privilege sacred to my heart, to preach the Word of God in this revered and beloved place just at the time when the University is about to close another year of life and study. I recognize to the full the significance of the occasion. To myself it presents in vivid association the great concurrent functions of reason and faith, of knowledge and worship, of the intellectual and the spiritual, which the true idea of a University enfolds within its life in an equal intimacy. Most of all must this be so with our own University of Durham, so signally marked in its origin and history by a direct filial connexion with the Church of God; a connexion for which we pray a long, a perpetual continuance, such as shall never indeed cramp or dwarf our intellectual energies, nay, such as shall, rather, quicken, warm and elevate them all, but which shall always shed around them the thought of God in Christ, in all its majesty, its purity and its hope."<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) The Christian Student and His Mind, published by Andrews & Co. Durham, 1906.

The history of the founding of the University of Durham has been so ably told by Dr. Fowler<sup>(1)</sup>, and, in greater detail, by Dr. Whiting<sup>(2)</sup> that the main facts are available for students. Both authors make it abundantly evident that the origin of the University was quite definitely ecclesiastical. Dr. Fowler<sup>(3)</sup> quotes from the Chapter Minutes of 4th April 1834. "The Academical Institution or College or University established by an Act of Chapter of the 21st September, 1831, be constituted a University, to be called the University of Durham, and under the direction and control of the Dean and Chapter of Durham as Governors thereof, the Bishop of Durham being the Visitor thereof, and a consenting party to all Acts of the Dean and Chapter relating to the said University." The royal charter did not pass the Great Seal till 1837.

There seems to be some difficulty in ascertaining with certainty in whose mind the idea of a University originated, and it had even been rumoured that it was the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Howley), who first suggested the project.<sup>(4)</sup> On the whole it would seem more

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(1) College Histories, Durham University, by the Rev. J. T. Fowler, M.A., F.S.A., Hon: D.C.L.

(2) The University of Durham, by C. E. Whiting, D.D., B.C.L.,

(3) College Histories, Durham University, by J. T. Fowler, p.27. (F.S.A.)

(4) The University of Durham, by Dr. C. E. Whiting, p.30.

likely that the credit should be given either to Van Mildert or to Charles Thorp, Archdeacon of Durham and First Warden of the University. It may not be possible to determine the matter but there was a tradition that Van Mildert's mind first conceived the plan and that he suggested it to the Chapter. There can at least be hardly any doubt that, if anyone knew the exact facts, that person would be Archdeacon Thorp and therefore any statements made by him have a special claim upon our attention. On Friday, 4th March, 1836, there was held the first Convocation of the University, of which the following account appeared in the Durham Advertiser<sup>(1)</sup>

"University Intelligence, Durham. The first meeting of the Convocation of the University, which was postponed from Thursday February 25th in consequence of the death of the Bishop of Durham, took place on Friday March 4th, at 12 o'clock according to public notice.

"The Senate met at 11 o'clock; and at 12 o'clock the Warden and Senate went in procession to Bishop Cosin's Library, the place appointed for the meeting of Convocation.

"The Warden took his seat upon a raised platform; the two Proctors, in their official dress, being seated on each side, and the Registrar at a table before the Warden...

"The Warden paid a feeling tribute of respect to the late Bishop of Durham, 'to whom, and to the Dean and Chapter, the University owes its existence' ..... The Warden observed, that no greater honour would ever attach itself to the University of Durham, whatever might be its fortunes, and how bright soever and

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(1) Durham Advertiser, 11th March, 1836.

illustrious its course than that it emanated from the wise munificence of Bishop Van Mildert, aided by a Dean and Chapter, anxious to forward his wishes and emulate his example; and he expressed a hope that the respected affection which had been shown to the Bishop when living, would manifest itself in the care of his University now when he is gone."

On such an historic occasion we may be sure that the Warden would carefully weigh his words. It is clear that he describes the founding of the University as due to the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter jointly, but the words used towards the end do seem to imply that the moving spirit was Van Mildert's whose munificence was 'aided by a Dean and Chapter, anxious to forward his wishes and emulate his example'. It will also be noted that in his reference to Van Mildert he uses the significant words "his university".

It may not be possible to solve the problem, but at any rate it would seem that there exist some grounds for maintaining that the University owes its origin chiefly to Van Mildert. (1)

The writer of this thesis has enquired whether any letters from Van Mildert are extant either in the Diocesan Registry, or in the archives of the Dean and Chapter, but unfortunately the replies were in the negative. The main source available is the Thorp Correspondence preserved in

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(1) See, however, p.222.

the University Library. The five large volumes forming that collection include very many letters received by the Archdeacon with copies or drafts, in many cases, of his replies. The letters from Van Mildert himself are very numerous, and it would be impracticable to reproduce all of these. Extracts of many have, however, been made, and these, even in their casual references, give an insight into the care and thought which the Bishop bestowed upon the responsibilities, not then entirely ecclesiastical, which he had to bear. They also show very clearly how dear to his heart was the University, and how anxious he was that its foundation should denote filial relation to the Church. As is natural, diocesan, palatinate, academical and personal matters are often dealt with in the same letter, and it has seemed better that those reproduced should not be mutilated by any attempt to separate these references from their contexts. We are not told whether the Archdeacon felt that loyalty to the Bishop required that he also should venture upon 'the hazardous experiment of a warm bath'!(1)

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(1) Letter 15.

Letter 1, dated from Doncaster, 21st June, 1831, to the  
Reverend C. Thorp:

"My dear Sir,

..... If Mr. Clarke has no other considerable means than from the revenues of Medomsley and Ebchester, it does seem hard to press him to do more for his deputy. Yet I cannot be satisfied with his attempting to resume the entire duty, which in that case would most probably be very inadequately performed. I am disposed therefore to take the augmentation of Mr. Waite's salary upon myself, by allowing him £30 per annum in addition to what he received from Mr. Clarke.....

"We have had thus far a prosperous journey, and hope to reach Harrogate about noon to-morrow.....

"Always, my dear sir,

"Most sincerely yours,

"W. DUNEIM."

Letter 3, marked "Private" dated from Auckland Castle,  
25th July, 1831, to Charles Thorp.

"My dear Sir,

"I am anxious to confer with you on the matter you mention respecting the Newcastle and Northallerton negotiation - of which a surmise had reached me a day or two before your letter. But I am so worn down to-day with letter-writing that I can send but a few words.

"I hardly think the Bishop of Carlisle would promote such an affair without my privity and concurrence. Yet he may reasonably suppose that the exchange would be beneficial to the great concern of Newcastle; and should I be consulted upon it, I might be at a loss for a satisfactory objection to it; except that I could confidentially state to the Bishop that I deemed Mr. ----- greatly deficient in judgment and good practical talent, however brilliant and specious in other respects. But this is a reason not to be mooted in public without offence; and I should soon have a swarm of hornets upon me were I to upset the arrangements.

"Again as to Mr. ----- and Mr. ----- Nothing seems more likely than the job you mention - and to jobbing I have an utter aversion. But having instituted Mr. ----- aforesaid to the same living, and (I believe) as a non-resident, it may be taken amiss to reject him now. I shall, however, not shrink from pressing the point of residence, especially since Mr. ----- had taken it expressly on that condition, and had engaged to build a house for the Living, to which I myself undertook to contribute (if I mistake not) fifty pounds. This may clench the matter, and put aside all manoeuvres for bringing in partizan curates.



"I see daily, and grieve to see, the rapid encroachments of the party, (for it is mere party-spirit) in every direction. Even the radicals themselves are scarcely more bent upon doing us mischief than this smooth and plausible and undermining confederacy."

Letter 4, dated from Auckland Castle, 26th July, 1831, to C. Thorp.

"..... Mr. Clayton Walters's letter deserves consideration. But it is obscure. He speaks of the parties as desiring a proprietary Chapel, yet as willing to divest themselves of the property, if they can have the patronage, either perpetual or limited. The latter is the only plan I wd. sanction. To proprietary Chapels, in the usual acceptation of the term, I have insuperable objections..... I do not understand where it is proposed to erect the Chapel, nor whether the Vicar would consent to it. I can say nothing decisive, till it comes before me in a more definite shape.

"The matters in Mr. Green's letter, from St. John's Weardale, want farther explanation..... The Surplice fees I shd. be very ready to allow to Mr. Green, if the Living can afford it. If not, I wd. willingly make Mr. Green a private compensation for the extra disbursements he adverts to.....

"Mr. -----'s letter of May 23rd you ought not to have been troubled with. He wrote to me somewhere about the time, requesting my contribution; but finding, from his subsequent letter, that it was for repairs only, and not any enlargement of the Church, that the sum wanted was very inconsiderable (towards which the Noble Marquis had, in the exuberance of his liberality, contributed £20) I declined doing any thing, on the ground that to assist in repairs only, where there was no call upon me as a Proprietor, wd. be a most inconvenient precedent, and one which almost every Parish in the Diocese might allege with equal propriety.

"..... The Petition from Longbenton in favour of Mr. Allison is creditable to the parties - but I suppose no answer is expected. Heartily glad shd. I be, were it in my power to find situations for every deserving Clergyman in the Diocese. But you well know how circumscribed are my means in that respect. Of Benefices or Curacies I believe I have not had one at my disposal for above two years past - and how many worthy persons are there to whom either would be acceptable!

Respecting the grant of a portion of the Ch: yard for a School-room at Hartlepool ..... there can be no doubt, however, of my inclination to accede to the proposal if it can legally

and properly be done. But this my Law-advisers must determine!"

This letter has a postscript, marked 'Confidential', as follows:-

"I had occasion to write to Dr. Gaisford yesterday - but I did not touch on the University topic, thinking it better that the first opening of that subject shd. come from you and Mr. Durell....."

Letter 5, dated from Auckland Castle, 27th July, 1831 to C. Thorp and marked "Private".

After referring to a long letter he had received from Mr. Durell the Bishop continues: "Difficulties, no doubt, must be encountered, and sacrifices made. Yet, I shd. hope, no insuperable obstacles may arise. Mr. Durell shews the best disposition to effect the object in view; though rather as a peace-offering to the public, than for its own sake. I incline to view it in both lights. He very properly supposes that my situation being much the same as the Dean and Chapter's we must make it a common cause - I have assured him I shall not hesitate in doing so, as far as I am individually concerned." The Bishop hopes that an Act of Parliament may not be necessary, 'since if it once gets into the H. of Commons, Messrs. Hume & Co. will be for cutting up root and branch, instead of

lopping off a sufficiency for the supplies.' .....

Letter 7, dated from Auckland Castle, 29th July, 1831, to  
C. Thorp.

The Bishop returns to the Archdeacon the outline of the University project and expresses his general approval of its terms. He adds, "I still incline to think that something may be expected, and justly, from the Bishop, in co-operation - though not, perhaps, as Mr. Durell seems to intend by making it 'a common cause'. I have floating thoughts upon that point which need not now be brought forward. Yet it may not, perhaps, be inexpedient, to let it be made known, as soon as the plan is somewhat more matured, that I am not only anxiously desirous of patronizing and forwarding it, but am quite ready to receive any suggestions and entertain any befitting propositions for appropriating some portion of the Episcopal Revenues to so laudable a purpose, as well as aiding it by my own individual contributions to the full extent of my ability. Indeed it would be mortifying to me, not to have a share in the cost as well as the dignity of such an undertaking. To bind my successors, however, may be impracticable without an Act of Parliament."

Letter No. 15, dated from Auckland Castle, 10th August, 1831, to Charles Thorp.

"..... I am also anxious that the Archbishop should now or soon be apprised of what is going forward. It would give me great satisfaction, and his suggestions might be of great use. But I have done - this has been a day of much letter-writing and I have just made rather a hazardous experiment of a warm bath which requires me to keep quiet for the rest of the day."

Letter No. 18, from Auckland Castle. 12th August, 1831.

"..... My warm bath on Wednesday succeeded well enough to induce me to repeat the experiment to-day."

Letter No. 23, from Auckland Castle. 17th August, 1831.

"..... Backworth seems, for the present, out of question. Killingworth, I should hope, may be accomplished. As even the estimate on the larger scale does not look formidable, I should incline to recommend its adoption. But I leave that to other hands. If I find that the colliery is held under the See, I shall readily contribute towards either the building or the endowment of the chapel - and if it should not be so, I would not suffer it to fail, for lack of aid. But the site must be made over to the church in some

way or other. There can be no doubt of assistance from the Church Building Society as well as from Lord Crewe's Trustees - and Balliol College ought to be called upon. For a national school also similar help may be obtained."

In regard to his Visitation in 1831 the Bishop had intended to hold this in his chapel at Durham Castle, but he found that the arrangements there and the accommodation available were so unsatisfactory that he proposed to hold it in Bow Church.<sup>(1)</sup> The following letter explains this:

Letter 35: to Charles Thorp. Auckland Castle, 31st August,  
1831.

"After hearing the report of the chapel at Durham Castle, and considering also the great inconvenience that must arise from having the business done there of the churchwardens and others, who ought to be in attendance afterwards, I have determined upon entirely relinquishing the plan, and having the whole take place, as heretofore, at Bow Church. The service before the Visitation, including the sermon, would probably not take much more than an hour - and if I can retire to the vestry for a few minutes before delivering my Charge, I should have good hope of getting through the whole without serious molestation. I could then return

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(1) St. Mary-le-Bow, Durham.

immediately to the Castle, and remain in perfect quiet and seclusion for the rest of the day, or at least till dinner time. An additional reason for this, is that Visitations ought to be public, and that it would be impossible to throw open the chapel to the multitude without extreme annoyance.

"Ravenshaw will nevertheless go over to Durham on Friday, to give directions for the better ventilation of the chapel, and extracting the damp from it; both with reference to its future benefit, and to enable us to use it for domestic service during our stay at Durham."

The letter then goes on to refer to the project of the University which indeed never seems to have been absent from the Bishop's mind. Almost all the letters of this period have some reference to it.

"I am glad you are in such good spirits as to our grand project. I still wish I might be permitted to announce (or rather to intimate however darkly), the intention of the thing." .....

Letter No. 48, marked Confidential, Charles Thorpe, Durham Castle. 10th September (year not given but obviously 1831).

"..... The enclosures in your letter I have read with fearful interest - the more so as I seem to have been somehow

committed in a way for which I could not be prepared. If Lord B<sup>(1)</sup> expects me to come forth with a plan for Church Reform, he would be grievously disappointed - and still more so if he supposes that my vote for the Parliamentary Reform Bill can be purchased by fears or menaces of the impending faith of the Church. I never can believe that the Church will be more safe, or last one year longer by supporting that measure, which can answer no purpose but to whet the appetites of the Radicals and atheists, and to give them an increase of power which no Govt. (certainly not the present) would long be able to resist. Such is my fixed opinion - and my Proxy (if anyone will take it) will be used to maintain it.

"As to my Charge I have kept clear of any express notice of the Reform Bill, and I think can hardly be said even to advert to it, otherwise than as speaking of the generally agitated state of the public mind upon various subjects political and ecclesiastical. Neither do I broach any plan of church reform, nor encourage any but such bills as are already in Parliament and such other measures as may be deliberated

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(1) Brougham.



upon hereafter.

"No more at present - but pray be careful how you hand me over to these high Whig gentry from whom I am very desirous to keep at a respectful distance."

(Eventually the Bishop decided that it would be better, in spite of difficulties, to hold his Visitation in his chapel at Durham Castle. The following letter deals with this.)

Letter No. 50, Charles Thorp, Auckland Castle, 20th September  
1831.

"It is settled that the Visitation should be held in my own chapel, and that the Parish Officers be accommodated in the Schoolroom. I am much pleased with this arrangement. I have had, too, a tolerable night, and feel better this morning. With good care and quiet to-day and to-morrow, I trust I may be able to get through the duties of Thursday and Sunday without great molestation. I am very sensible, however, of the Bishop of Chester's kindness in offering me assistance on Sunday. Pray tell him so, with my best regards, and add that should I find it necessary, I will make no scruple in availing myself of his services. I am anxious, however, to do the duty in person, if no untoward circumstances occur to prevent it."

Letter 67, Charles Thorp, Auckland Castle, 7th December, 1831.

"..... In case you send a messenger here to-morrow will you be so good as to procure for me from Andrews a copy of Sir Walter Scott's new novel just published<sup>(1)</sup> (I forget its name) and send it by your messenger. It may be a pleasant recreation for us on our journey."

(It is interesting to note that the next letter is the first letter extant written by the Bishop to Charles Thorp as Archdeacon. The Bishop begins his letter "My dear Archdeacon" and underlines the word "Archdeacon".)

Letter No. 68, Auckland Castle, 8th December, 1831.

"..... Respecting Divinity students, my opinion is that no money should be paid for the Professor's lectures..... The Stall will be ample remuneration for all his labours - and even the stipend ad interim is not a mean provision."

(Almost the whole letter shows the anxious preoccupation of the Bishop with the University project, and is an indication of how much time and thought he was constantly giving to it. In a postscript marked private he writes:)

"In my next, I will send you a copy of Lord Grey's answer to my letter which followed me on my road to Lambeth. It is highly complimentary, but expresses regret that I should feel

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(1) Probably either Castle Dangerous or Count Robert of Paris, both of which were published in November 1831.

so decided an objection to such prospective measures as he thinks might be very advantageously adopted. Even though some change in the existing constitution of the Capitular Body might be the result. But he will find me immovable on this point. I will endeavour to send it to you to-morrow."

The letter ends: "Thank you for your good wishes, and accept ours in return to you and Mrs. Thorp, who, I hope, bears 'meekly' the honour of being an Archdeacon's Lady."

(Unless otherwise stated all the letters from the Bishop are addressed to Archdeacon Thorp)..

Letter 70: From the Reverend -----, to the Bishop of Durham. (Copy) In pencil the date is given 14th December, 1831.

"To the Bishop of Durham,

"I ..... B.A. of the University of Oxford, ordained by the Archbishop of York, through letters dimissory from yourself, holding the office of Bishop of Durham in the Church of England, being no longer able (from a conviction in my own mind and conscience that the Church of England is a system of Anti Christ) to acknowledge her authority, discipline, and practice, have, in pursuance of this conviction, inclosed to yourself those letters authorising me to be a minister therein, which I received from the Archbishop of York at your

request. I do not wish to give you any offence by not addressing you by your usual titles of Lordship, but from a conviction that I have no right to call any man Lord over God's heritage.

"I subscribe myself, while, by this my act, I would wash my hands clean from that system of iniquity which I believe to be so dishonouring my only Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ - your obedient servant.

(Signed)

Oxford, Wednesday, 14th December, '31."

Letter 72, Hanover Square. 20th December, 1831.

"..... I inclose also a copy of another letter of a very different kind, and from a very different sort of person, viz. Mr. .... not long since (I think) sub-curate of ..... on which, if I mistake not, he was ordained as a title for Deacon's Orders - which Letters of Orders he has returned to me, and they bear date 14th December, 1828. How he was recommended to Mr. .... I do not recollect, nor any other particulars, except that I have a notion he went off from Darlington somewhat abruptly, having taken some dissatisfaction. I shall know more about

it when I see Burder, who returns from Oxford to-day where he has been attending an Ordination, and where I have desired him to make some enquiry about Mr. .... Gaisford, however, has let some light into the matter, by telling me that Mr. .... is a declared disciple of Mr. Bulteel. His letter is very much that of a person actually deranged in intellect. How to deal with him at present I cannot determine."

The Bishop's health at this time was far from satisfactory. In a postscript to a letter to the Archdeacon dated from Hanover Square, 21st December, 1831, he writes:

"Richardson seemed to think well of me - though I had a slight relapse while I was with him. On the road too I was somewhat annoyed, but inconsiderably, Mrs. V.M. is better."

The Bishop never seemed to be quite happy in his relations with Earl Grey. He was inclined to think that he might be trapped into saying something which he would afterwards regret. A letter marked private and dated from Hanover Square, 24th January, 1832, indicates this:

Letter No. 78:

"In the meanwhile, I need not hesitate in intimating my views to Earl Grey should an opportunity present itself of probing his feelings on the subject. But I shrink from communications with him, with a sort of instinctive apprehension of some collision of sentiment upon every matter of this kind, or of being ensnared in some way or other, to the defeat of my own purposes."

The letter concludes: "License goes to-day to use the intended Burial Ground at Hetton, waiting its consecration at some future time. Mr. Shepherd wrote to me upon it. Pray, burn this letter."

The "subject" referred to above in reference to Earl Grey was apparently in some way connected with Impropriation of Tithes and financial arrangements for the University.

Letter No. 80, Hanover Square, 25th January, 1832.

In a postscript the Bishop writes: "50 copies of my Charge (2nd edition) are sent to you by coach and with them 10 or 20 copies (I forget which) of my nephew Cornelius Ives's sermons - which, if you approve, I request you to distribute to Strong, Plumer, Fielding, Park, and any other clergy to whom you think they will be acceptable. I shall be glad to have your opinion of them."

The alarming outbreak of cholera in the Diocese was causing him great distress and in the same letter he writes: "Your letter as announcing no fresh cases of cholera at Durham, would give me great satisfaction, but for the concluding statement of your little one - but which I will yet hope may terminate to your comfort."

There is no doubt that there was considerable danger lest a project of a University on altogether different lines, should be started in Newcastle. There are references to this in these letters and in a letter No. 84 dated Hanover Square, 6th June, 1832, the Bishop writes:

"Yesterday we were in Committee on our University Bill from 2.0 to  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4. Lord D. sifted the preamble and clauses very astutely, but, on the whole, not ill-naturedly..... Finally, Lord D. reverted to the grand question of opening the honours and privileges of the University (not its emoluments) to persons of all religious persuasions, and identified his views with those of the Newcastle Petition." ("Lord D." is, of course, Lord Durham).

The Bishop, as Count Palatine, had many civil duties, as well as ecclesiastical, to fulfil. High Sheriffs had to be appointed.

Letter No. 93: Dated from Hanover Square. 8th January, 1833.

"..... Respecting the office of High Sheriff I can, for the present, only note down the names for further consideration - and when the list is reduced to 2 or 3, I shall probably ask you a few more questions. My present inclinations are towards Mr. Surtees of Mainforth<sup>(1)</sup> and Mr. Wharton of Dryburn. Could you, without committing me, find out whether either of these, or of the others you have mentioned, would accept the office?"

(The letter goes on to refer to various diocesan matters, and it is evident that the Bishop realized that his strength was failing; he writes:)

"My impatience, perhaps, increases with my years and infirmities, and I cannot help being anxious to close important matters before it may be too late."

Letter No. 94: Dated East Sheen. 15th January, 1833.

"..... I was not aware that the Chapter had 'purchased a chapel in Monkwearmouth', nor have I yet received Mr. James' appointment to it. Neither do I understand what Mr. Rennicott means by asking a license (sic) for performing both morning and afternoon service; nor how it is to be arranged that the person to be nominated to the chapel is to assist Mr. R.

---

(1) Mainsforth.



'generally' in the duties of the parish. Mr. R. seems to have rather confused notions of these matters - as indeed is evident from the disappointment he expresses in not being himself nominated to the chapel. I will thank you to give me some particulars of what has been done, or intended to do, that I may give clear directions accordingly; and satisfy Mr. R. that there has been no want of regard to his interests. Perhaps, too, you can tell me what is the actual value of Monkwearmouth and what the intended value of the newly purchased chapel. We have had a meeting of the Church Revenue Commission this morning. Little more was done than giving directions for preparing a tabular statement of the returns that have been made, preparatory to making a Report. An application from the Government was also granted, for a return of the gross and nett amounts of ecclesiastical property, as far as they have yet been received. I am not quite satisfied on this proceeding - but it could not well be put aside.

"The Archbishop is under grievous affliction. His son is almost in extremis, and not expected to survive another day. This is indeed a sore burthen to such a mind as his - and coming at the moment when all his energies are wanted for public service, is most distressing. I feel for him

deeply - and notwithstanding all his habitual tranquillity and self-possession, his looks indicate poignant suffering."

Letters Dimissory authorising ordination to the diaconate or priesthood by some other Bishop were quite commonly given. The following letter indicates the care that Bishop Van Mildert gave to such matters.

Letter No. 95: From Hanover Square. 18th January, 1833.

"I have received a letter from Mr. Luke Ripley, stating that the Duke of Northumberland has presented him to the livings of Ilderton and Alnham; which is to be tendered to me as a title for priests' orders, and that the Bishop of St. Davids' has kindly promised to give him a private ordination, if I would grant him Letter Dimissory for the purpose.

"I am not inclined to object to this arrangement, if the Bishop is willing to take the trouble of it. I had demurred, however, to a suggestion from Mr. Collinson of Gateshead, that the Bishop might be asked to do the same kindness for Mr. Shadwell, and from Mr. Cookson, both candidates for Deacons' Orders, if I authorized the application; but I was averse to troubling the Bishop, and proposed instead to give them Letters Dimissory to the Bishop of Rochester who

is to hold a public ordination at Bromley on the 3rd February.

"Should the Bishop of St. Davids, however, be inclined to take this trouble on Mr. Ripley's account, probably he would not object to admitting also Mr. Shadwell and Mr. Cookson, which would save them both the cost and inconvenience of a long journey. Perhaps you will have the goodness to represent this to the Bishop, and take his instructions upon it; with a clear understanding that I should not have thought of making the application, had he not volunteered his services to Mr. Ripley, without interference on my part.

"This is my reason for writing to you, rather than to Mr. Ripley himself; and you will oblige me by communicating this to Mr. Ripley, informing him at the same time that I shall be glad to receive his papers as soon as he pleases, and that he may make arrangements either with you or Mr. Strong for his examination.

".....Mr. Surtees, I observe, presided or made himself conspicuous at Mr. Bowes's election dinner. I like it not - and begin to draw more towards Mr. Wharton - of whom my only fear is, that I shall be vehemently assailed for honouring an ultra Tory, but I think I could bear this reproach, better than the credit I might get for setting up a Whig Radical. What say you?"

Letter No. 96: From East Sheen. 21st January, 1833.

"Lady Ravensworth has written to me, requesting that I would patronise a local subscription in Durham for the "Abbotsford Fund" now raising to honour the memory of Sir Walter Scott. Having already written to Messrs. Coutts & Co. to put down my name on the list of London subscribers for £30., I cannot conveniently give more than a small donation for this proposed Durham contribution. But as Lady R. mentions that the object is to obtain small donations from one sovereign downwards, I have no objection to head any collection that may be proposed at Durham by a subscription of ten or twenty pounds; which I suppose would be sufficient, especially if it be noted as in addition to a subscription to the London Committee..... Perhaps your Dean would have no objection to unite his name, or the Chapter as a body, with mine, on this occasion. But I do not wish to have the suggestion appear as coming from me.

"I have just received your two letters..... I attended the Church Revenue Commissioners last Tuesday, and mean to be there to-morrow. I think you need not trouble yourself about them just at present. The chief business now is to determine on the most convenient sort of digest, or tabular

statements, to be made of the returns to the enquiries - and this is so mechanical a work, that it can hardly be worth a journey of 300 miles to take a hand in it. Nevertheless, things drop now and then, from certain persons, which it is necessary to notice. The Government have obtained possession of the gross and nett averages of the returns, but without the explanations requisite to a correct judgement upon them. This must be carefully watched lest some sinister use be made of it. Lord Lansdowne seemed anxious to satisfy me that no such things were in contemplation. 'Sed. Timeo. All this is confidential."

The Bishop never forgot the financial difficulties of his early married life. Bradden and Farningham had taught him how difficult it was for very many of the clergy to live on the incomes of their so-called livings. There are many indications of his great generosity to necessitous clergy whether in his own diocese or elsewhere, and the following letter can be taken as an illustration.

Letter No. 97: From Hanover Square. 25th January, 1833.

"Any charitable recommendation from you will always be a sure passport to my purse. Mr. Thompson's case appears, indeed, a hard one. In what Diocese<sup>(1)</sup> Vensher is situated

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Co. Durham  
(1) Pensher,/(Penshaw); see Letter No. 100, p.290.

I know not - nor does any such place appear in the Clerical Guide. But on the broad general claim of poverty and good desert, I cannot withhold my mite. The enclosed £20, I hope will be deemed a sufficient token of my goodwill."

Letter No. 99: East Sheen. 26th January, 1833.

"A second letter from Lady Ravensworth tells me that she has written to you explaining that the intended local subscription to the Abbotsford Fund are<sup>(sic)</sup> not to exceed one sovereign each. You will therefore be so good as to reduce my contribution accordingly."

Letter No. 100: East Sheen. 30th January, 1833.

The "private" ordination to be taken by the Bishop of St. Davids was getting near and as yet the Bishop was not quite clear whether Mr. Shadwell intended to avail himself of Letters Dimissory to the Bishop of Rochester or to be ordained by the Bishop of St. Davids. But the Bishop was very anxious that there should be no hitch, and accordingly he wrote to the Archdeacon to ask him to assure the Bishop of St. Davids that if Mr. Shadwell did present himself all was in order. The letter goes on: "Mr. Thompson of Pensher appears to be well deserving of consideration; and if you will let me know

what stipend he now receives, and what is the value of Pensher I will not be slack in improving his circumstances.

"The Lanchester Thompsons I leave to your management. It is an odd feature in the present times that one is obliged to drive men to do what is for their own benefit. Witness, these Thompsons, and also the Rector of Gateshead Fell, whom, however, we have now, I think, in a mood to accept an addition of £100 per annum, without further grumbling. I have had an immense letter from him of five folio pages, and sundry copies of correspondence with the Archdeacon and the Lord Grewe's Trustees - to which I responded yesterday, and in a day or two will send you a copy of my answer - which being, or intended to be, both conciliatory and peremptory, I trust will put an end to the whole business."

In a postscript he adds:

"Mr. Stanley also is in town and called on me in his way to the H. of C. to support Manners Sutton against Tennyson!!! O rare Radicals."

It must be remembered that the Bishop as Count Palatine could hardly avoid interesting himself in political questions. His great secular office, with its large, if undefined, powers made it necessary for him to make decisions in appointments to

offices which necessarily bore a political character. We have seen the question of appointing a High Sheriff was giving him no little anxiety. It was still (31st January, 1833), unsettled.

Letter No. 101: From East Sheen. 31st January, 1833.

".....It is hard to be pressed so hastily to the appointment of a new Sheriff, and I am anxious to know whether you think that Mr. Clavering would undertake the Spring Assizes, so as to give me a little more time to make a satisfactory arrangement for the appointment of a successor." ..... "It is pretty evident, from the enclosed letter, that Mr. T. G. still reckons upon being Under-Sheriff. Yet after what has been shewn of his political doings, I am far from considering this to be a matter of course."

Secular affairs weighed heavily on the Bishop, and one can imagine how thankful he would have been to have been able to give his whole time and thought to the duties of his spiritual office. The letter ends pathetically:

"Pray, help me out, if you can, in this vexatious addition to my other troubles."

The selection of a High Sheriff gave the Bishop very



considerable anxiety. He offered the appointment to Mr. Brandling, Junior, but the offer was declined. Two others occurred to him, Colonel Cookson and Mr. Wharton; but Mr. Wharton declined, and Colonel Cookson does not seem to have been a persona grata to the Archdeacon. So the Bishop approached Mr. Morton Davison. Many letters passed between the Bishop and the Archdeacon on the subject, and it must have been a relief to the Bishop when at last the matter was settled, and Mr. Wharton accepted the office.

During all this time the subject of the University was never far from Van Mildert's thoughts.

Letter No. 108: Dated Hanover Square, 22nd February, 1833, indicates this -

"You will probably have been informed of my having placed the second £1,000 for the Durham University, to Mr. Chaytor's account at Coutts's; of which a letter from him this morning informs me that he has been duly apprised. I was anxious to do this as soon as possible, and it has been done without entirely exhausting the balance of my account at Coutts's."

Meanwhile diocesan problems had, of course, to receive their due attention.

Letter No. 109: Hanover Square. 27th February, 1833.

"Mr. Gray and Hylton Chapel. Fifty years' possession of the patronage appears to me rather an unreasonable expectation, notwithstanding his acknowledged munificence; and I should much prefer reducing it to less than half that time, and advising Dr. Wellesley to carry up his augmentation from £50 to £75. A better proposition, however, occurs to me. If Mr. Gray will altogether relinquish the patronage, and let it be consigned to the Bishop, I should then be enabled, and would gladly avail myself of the ability, to augment the Benefice still further by means of the Archbishop's Augmentation Act. In that case, in addition to Dr. Wellesley's appropriation of £50 or £75, I would take an early occasion to raise it to at least £200 per annum; and perhaps in consideration of such a benefit to the Chapelry, Mr. Gray may not be disinclined to accede to the proposal; especially when he understands that this is not merely a stipulation of a quid pro quo, but is proposed because, without such a condition, I have not the legal power to carry the purpose into effect. You will talk over the matter, however, with Dr. Wellesley and Mr. Gray, and let me know what they have to say upon it..... Your notice of my

'Liberality' to the Durham University etc. reminds me to express my uneasiness at the paragraph which has gone the round of all the papers, announcing my private charities as £9,000 per annum. It is a great exaggeration in the first place - and in the next place, lays me open to much annoyance. Since it appeared my table has been daily covered with pecuniary applications of all sorts, quoting this paragraph as the foundation of them - besides that it tends to invidious remarks which I cannot but deprecate."

Then, as now, authors liked to secure an initial advantage by dedicating their work to some well-known person. The Bishop though cautious, was generous.

Letter No. 113: Hanover Square. 15th March, 1833.

"..... I have no objection to Mr. Bell's dedicating his work to me, provided it be simply inscribed to me, and with no complimentary matter, and nothing that may intimate my previous acquaintance with the work, or any implied sanction as to its plan or execution. You may state to him, that I make it a rule not to commit myself to any supposed recommendation of such works, when I am unacquainted with the Author. Of course, I should be willing to subscribe - and my name may be put down for 5 copies."

The Bishop felt much more than a high regard for the Archdeacon, and many of these letters contain kind messages and enquiries, and they often end "Affectionately yours".

The question of the future professorships at Durham was being considered by the Bishop.

Letter No. 116: East Sheen. 26th March, 1833.

"I received the enclosed today, and, with a copy of my answer shall send it to you by the post tomorrow from London. I know nothing personally of the writer - but his 'Pastoralia' you are, no doubt, acquainted with, and think as I do of it. Mr. Norris speaks highly of him from personal knowledge; and the high estimation in which he is held by the Irish Primate speaks well for him. But I cannot think of him for either of my Professorships. I believe I have sent you a similar application from Mr. Penrose, a few days ago. We must soon have more communication on these matters."

The same matter is referred to in Letter No. 118, dated East Sheen, 30th March, 1833.

".....I am strongly solicited from Wynyard, and Lowther, and elsewhere, to appoint a Mr. Williamson Piele now of Liverpool to the Greek Professorship of Durham. He is powerfully recommended by Mr. King, the President of Queen's, and Wordsworth, Master of Trinity, having been a member of the latter college, (I believe) and obtained high Academical

honours. Do you know anything about him? I shall be careful, as yet, not to commit myself in the affair."

It is perhaps impossible at this remote stage to form any approximate calculation of the extent of the Bishop's generosity, to individual clergy, or to their benefices. The following letter illustrates this.

Letter No. 119. East Sheen. 4th April, 1833.

"The Satley Parsonage subscription, £180, cannot go to the Bounty Board, without the addition of £20, to make it up £200 - which addition I readily take upon myself, and you may authorise Mr. Thompson to tender that sum (£200)."

The death at Auckland of Mr. Faber (the Bishop's Secretary), meant additional anxiety. In Letter No. 120 from Hanover Square, 6th April, 1833, the Bishop refers to this, and mentioned that his nephew, Mr. Douglas Gresley would be proceeding to Auckland to help Mr. Burder in dealing with the situation. And there was also family anxiety as well.

"Notwithstanding this distress, and other matters that press hard upon me (particularly the daily expectation of the death of a sister, very dear to me, Mrs. Ives of Northamptonshire), I have been able to address a short letter today to Mr. Wharton, requesting his acceptance of the Shrievalty, without noticing the vexatious circumstances we have lately had to contend with,

but intimating that he would relieve me from much anxiety by accepting the office."

It was hardly to be expected that the Bishop would escape anonymous correspondents, and the following letter must have given him no little distress.

Letter No. 121: Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 9th April, 1833.

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's attention is earnestly solicited to the following disgusting facts.

"The Reverend ----- of this Town is a perfect disgrace to the Sacred Profession of which he is a member..... Well may the Church be said to be in Danger if its Ministers are allowed like Mr. ----- to sin with perfect impunity. Your Lordship will be written to again upon the subject. You Bishops persecute a Clergyman if he be Evangelical. A ..... like ..... are regarded as comparatively innocent characters.

(Signed) A Churchman."

The letter is endorsed, almost certainly in the Bishop's handwriting as follows:

"Anonymous - a libel on the character of Mr. ----- dated Newcastle, 9th April, 1833."

Letter No. 127: Place of origin not mentioned. 1st May, 1833.

Naturally the Bishop was indignant at the receipt of such an anonymous letter. He writes as follows:-

"..... I enclose an infamous note received about 3 weeks ago, which I can hardly but suppose to be a most unfounded calumny ..... but of course I shall not notice it."

Letter No. 128: East Sheen. 6th May, 1833.

The following extract is another indication of the Bishop's generosity:

"In due time we may consider of increasing the curate's stipend at Medomsley. In the meanwhile, not knowing the present state of the Barrington Fund, I have remitted a gratuity from my private purse, to carry Mr. Waite through his immediate difficulties."

The Bishop, faced with the necessity of appointing a domestic chaplain, decided to offer it to Mr. Gerald Wellesley of Wearmouth. But Mr. Wellesley was a very young man and so the Bishop did not intend that he should be an Examining Chaplain.

Letter No. 131: Hanover Square. 17th May, 1833.

"Of course, I shall still look (as I did whilst Dyke was with me) to older more experienced persons for the responsibility of Examination."

The time for making some decision about University appointments was drawing close.

Letter No. 132: Hanover Square. 24th May, 1833.

".....And now for your letter of today's arrival.

1. University arrangements. These will not admit of much longer delay. Yet I cannot at all see my way through them, and want much of communication with you, to enable me to do so. The only impediment to Mr. Rose for the Divinity Chair is the state of his health, which makes one afraid of the experiment, and which I believe overpowers, on his part, the strong inclination which he would otherwise have to undertake the charge. Of Mr. Greswell, though there can be no doubt of his high scholarship, I am not equally assured of his theological attainments, nor of his aptitude for lecturing, and I have been told that he is much of a recluse in his habits. If I were to select him at all it would be for the Classical rather than the Theological department. For the latter I have lately been thinking of Mr. Blunt, whose compendious history of our Reformation written for the Family Library, gave me a most favourable opinion of his talents for popular writing, as well as his solid acquirements, his judgement, temper and taste. And his Hulsean Lectures very much confirmed me in this opinion. On mentioning him casually to Dr. Wordsworth,



he spoke of him as much esteemed in the University.....  
 There is also another point connected with this subject,  
 on which I am much perplexed, viz. as to retaining for my  
 own previous disposal, as private and personal patronage,  
 some one stall independent of those intended for the pro-  
 fessorships. On this I have thought much, and ruminated on  
 a plan for making some such proposal to the Chapter as may  
 acquit me of selfish views, or of a wish to postpone public  
 to personal feelings. But it would take too much time now  
 to explain it.....

3. As to Confirmations. The Diocese was so well gone through  
 last year by Bishops Percy and Gray, that I imagine but few  
 places remain for this year. But let me know what they are,  
 and means shall be provided accordingly."

Letter No. 135: Hanover Square. 25th June, 1833.

"..... I had written to make the offer of the pro-  
 fessorship to Mr. Mills, before I received your letter; but  
 not having actually sent it off, I have kept it back in con-  
 sequence of your report from Dr. Smith, to whom I immediately  
 wrote for more particular information, and am waiting to hear  
 from him. The offer of the Divinity Chair went off by Friday's  
 post to Mr. Blunt, and I hope soon to receive his answer. I

have just looked over three articles of his in the Quarterly Review, viz. on Paley's works, Hall's works, and Todd's Cranmer; which are all masterly performances."

The Bishop was anxious to secure that the Bishops should accept Graduates of the University of Durham on the same terms as they accepted Graduates of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Letters were therefore sent to Bishops on this matter.

Letter No. A 139: A copy from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishop of Durham respecting the University of Durham. Dated 7th January, 1834.

"My dear Lord,

"I should have informed you before of the result of my proceedings relative to the question of the Durham degrees, but have received an answer from the Archbishop of York only this morning. Both the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London concur with me in readiness to accept the two first Clauses, i.e. those who have graduated in Arts at the Old Universities or at Durham, as Candidates for ordination, and have gone through their studies in Divinity according to the regulations of the latter University. The Bishop of London as well as myself can promise nothing with respect to the third class. The Archbishop of York states that he cannot

object to the third as he has found it expedient to admit Divinity Students from St. Bees, who have resided two years there at the least, if recommended by Dr. Ainger.....

"Believe me, My dear Lord,

(Signed) W. Cantuar."

Letter No. 140: Harrogate. 25th January, 1834.

"I received the enclosed this morning. Though anonymous, it seems to deserve attention. The poor Woman ought, I think, to be somewhat better remunerated for quitting the Premises: and it seems to me that I ought to be the person to do it."

Letter No. 142: 7th February 1834, from Henry, Bishop of Norwich.

"My dear Lord,

"The happiest portion of my protracted life was passed in the County of Durham; I feel therefore more than a common interest, in the success of any plan which promises to promote its welfare: independently of this natural feeling, I may be allowed to add, that the experience of many years, during which I examined my own Candidates for Orders, convinces me, that the course of study pursued in our 'Old Universities' is very defective, as far as it relates to young men intended for the Church. This cannot possibly be said of the plan adopted by the Durham University; a plan which I shall be happy to

encourage to the utmost of my power in every way."

It would be a very great mistake to suppose that Van Mildert had any grievance against Oxford or for that matter Cambridge. It is very evident that he was most anxious that the University of Durham should be in filial relation to the Church, and in that respect it was an effort to restore the mediaeval conception of a University. But he certainly did not want the University of Durham to be regarded as in opposition to Oxford or Cambridge.

Letter No. 146: Harrogate. 8th February, 1834.

"..... I enclose also a letter just received from the Bishop of Norwich, the first answer to the Circulars I have sent forth. I wish all the others may be as hearty and encouraging. It almost makes me forget all the old man's mischievous vagaries. Only I do not quite understand his spite against the 'Old Universities.'"

It should not be overlooked, however, that very many had long recognised that the course of preparation for Ordination at Oxford and Cambridge left very much to be desired. This is seen reflected in the Bishop of Norwich's letter, and the following letter from the Bishop of Chichester indicates the same feeling.

Letter No. 161: Preachers' Chambers, Lincoln's Inn,  
13th February, no year given, without  
doubt 1834.

"I feel that in any question of church regulation, I could not follow better examples than those of the Archbishops and Bishop of London; but I am moreover persuaded that, in accepting any candidates for Orders there, who shall graduate in Arts at Durham, I have a chance of securing a better stock of really professional knowledge, than is at present supplied by our universities to students in Divinity....

E. Chichester."

Any spirit of petty criticism that may have developed later in reference to the University of Durham was markedly absent, and the following letter from the Bishop of Oxford, coming from the occupant of that See, is worthy of note.

Letter No. 162: 14th February, 1834.

"My dear Lord,

"Your letter of the 8th which followed me from Cuddesdon only reached me yesterday, or it should have received an earlier answer.

"With reference to the subject of it, I beg to assure your Lordship and the Dean and Chapter of Durham, that I shall not only willingly but gladly receive as Candidates for Ordination those who have graduated in Arts at Durham University

on the same terms with those who have graduated at Oxford and Cambridge.

"My approbation will add but little to the high authorities who, with your Lordship, so entirely approve of the proposed course of study for students in Divinity. I will merely therefore say that I cannot conceive any greater security of fitness being brought before a Bishop, than a testimonial from Durham University after such a course of study.

"That your Lordship may long have health to superintend and to witness the success of this noble establishment is my hearty wish and prayer.

(Signed) R. Oxford."

Mrs. Van Mildert's health had been failing for some time.

Letter No. 166 B: Harrogate. 18th February, 1834.

"Before I enter upon the main subject of this letter, you will be glad to hear that the apprehensions of danger to my dear Invalid are this morning pretty well removed. She has rallied so as to come down to breakfast, and, I trust, with due care, may escape a relapse. But these recurrences keep me in perpetual anxiety, and the shock I received from that of yesterday still dwells painfully in my recollection."

Apparently a less satisfactory letter re the University had been received from the Bishop of Rochester. The Bishop's reply; as might be expected, is admirable.

Letter No. 169: Harrogate. 22nd February, 1834. To the Bishop of Rochester. (A Copy).

"My dear Lord,

"I have received your Lordship's answer to my Circular respecting our Durham University Degrees, and shall forward it to the Dean and Chapter.

"Without any wish to induce your Lordship to give us your support, in opposition to your own judgements, I may be permitted to observe, that you appear to me somewhat to misconceive the nature and extent of our Design, and to consider it as nothing more than a Theological Seminary, like that of St. Bees, only on a larger scale. Our views (as the enclosed paper will show) certainly take a wider range: nor would such an Establishment as the Chapter has formed be necessary for a more limited Design.

"The object is, not merely to provide a competent supply of what are usually termed Literates, for admission to Ordination, but to afford to Students of all classes and descriptions the full advantages of an Academical Education; and, unquestionably, neither the Chapter nor myself need make

the sacrifices we have made, and are prepared to make, for any concern of less magnitude, or of less general public utility.

"It is very true, that the chief and primary object in view, was to supply the exigencies of the Northern Counties. But even that project could not well be obtained, without holding out fair expectations, that those who graduated among us would be reckoned on the same footing with graduates of the other Universities, with reference to Ordination, should they present themselves to Bishops of Southern Dioceses. Without that assurance they would seem to fall into an inferior caste, in the Church, and in Society at large; which might altogether discourage them from coming among us. And although it is probable there may be comparatively few of our graduates who may seek for admission into Southern Dioceses; yet it is of importance that they should not be held dis-qualified for admission, should they seek it.

"Respecting your Lordship's observation on the impolicy of encouraging a cheaper mode of Education for the Southern parts of the Kingdom, and the evils to be apprehended from admitting a greater number of the inferior orders of the people into the learned Professions, I can hardly think them applicable to our case. In the North of England there



are many, very many persons, not fairly to be classed among those inferior orders whom I suppose you to mean, but sons of clergy, and Gentry, and persons of real respectability, to whom we have reason to believe our Institution will be peculiarly acceptable; but who will nevertheless feel a reluctance in belonging to it, if they find it must consign them to a lower grade in Society than their circumstances and station entitles <sup>(sic)</sup> them to hold. With a view to such persons, we cannot but deem it important (for the good of the Church, as well as of the individuals) that any reluctance of this kind should be removed; and I incline to think, that the object of increasing the respectability of the Clergy will even be more attained by countenancing such a plan as ours than by throwing it into the shade.

"I have not Lord Bacon's Essays on hand. But with respect to the civil and moral, as well as religious effects, of an Institution so planned, so conducted and so guarded as ours, I would fain hope that no evil which Lord Bacon would deprecate is likely to arise from it. It is on the special ground of its offering the best possible guarantee for its adherence to every sound and legitimate principle by which Church and State are bound together that we wish its pretensions to be tried; and when it swerves from these, let it be cast 'to the moles

and to the bats.'

"If your Lordship should see only, in these observations, the partiality (I hope venial partiality) of one who is anxiously fostering this rising Institution, be assured, I shall take no offence. I know you will give me credit for good intentions, at least; and in the full persuasion that we are mutually solicitous to do that which is best for the great interests we have to uphold.

"Believe me to remain,

With great regard,

My dear Lord,

Your very faithful Servant

(Signed) W. DUNELM.

In regard to the Professorships attached to the Stalls a very difficult problem was envisaged by the Bishop. He foresaw the possibility that at some future date the government in power might wish to promote to the Stalls men whose ideals were altogether different from those which he wished to impress upon the University of Durham. For there was the difficult question of the Royal Prerogative: if the holder of one of the Stalls to which a Professorship had been attached was promoted to a Bishopric, the Crown would have the right of presentation for that turn, and this he wished

to avoid, not indeed because he had any objection to the exercise of Crown Patronage, but because he felt that that exercise should not have scope in Academical appointments.

Letter No. 175. Hanover Square. 21st April, 1834.

"..... I cannot consider the limitation of the Prerogative to be a new feature in the Bill; because it could not be introduced into it until a previous assurance of the consent of the Government, yet I always understood that we mutually concurred (I mean, the Chapter and myself) in the expediency, or rather necessity, of keeping the appointment to the Academical offices exclusively in our own hands. Unless this be done, I think that future evil, and at no distant time, may be contemplated; and of a very formidable kind, supposing the Government of the country to remain in such hands as at present, or probably in worse. I remember it was your own observation that the present minority would assuredly avail themselves, with eagerness, of any opportunity to get a hold upon any of the University offices; and, having got it, to retain it for the purpose of eventually moulding the institution itself to their own view and purposes.

"..... Earl Grey, however, seems to be fully aware that our desire to retain the appointment of the Academical offices in our own hands, is perfectly just and reasonable,

although he felt reluctant to concede the prerogative of the Crown, as to the Stalls. Accordingly, since I wrote to you, he has suggested an expedient, which he conceived might do away the objections on both sides. This suggestion is, that in the event of the Crown promoting either of the professors of those Offices and Stalls to a Bishopric, the Crown should have the nomination to the Stall, but the Stall itself should be charged with a competent Stipend to the Office so vacated, the appointment to which Office should be vested in the Bishop, as now provided for in the Bill.....

"Nevertheless, I own I should greatly prefer an exclusion of the Crown altogether from the Stalls as well as the Offices - as is the case, I believe, in all other Academical offices, similarly circumstanced - as, for instance, in the Margaret Professorship at Oxford, the Provostship of Oriel, and the Mastership of Pembroke College, Oxford - in all of which the Crown is absolutely barred of its right respecting the stalls, because the tenure by which they are held is Academical not Ecclesiastical. The cases of the Christ Church Professorships are not in point - because there the Stalls and the Offices were ab origine of Royal patronage and of Royal endowment, and could not be separated one from the other."

Apparently Archdeacon Thorp had intimated to the Bishop that he did not feel any great anxiety about the exercise of the Royal Prerogative in such a matter, and that he even thought that the University itself would gain from the interest which the Crown would have in such appointments. But the Bishop did not concur.

"I cannot but think that your opinions in this respect have undergone some considerable change, and that you are disposed to place more confidence than heretofore in the conformity of the views of the present government with ours - and certainly much more than I can bring myself to entertain. Let me put one case only - what, if Dr. Arnold was to replace yourself or Sidney Smith our Professor Rose?"

(Apparently the Bishop now retired early to bed. )

Letter No. 180: Dated Monday evening. No month or year, but almost certainly of the year 1834, and while the Bishop was staying at Harrogate.

"I shall be sorry if you leave Harrogate without seeing me. Yet it is now so near the time of our domestic retirement for the night (usually at nine) that I could hardly sit with you for five minutes; and in truth I am exceedingly jaded, and have suffered much pain in my journey."

The safeguarding of the valuable Cosin's library enlisted the Bishop's thought and generosity.

Letter No. 181: Harrogate. 15th May, 1834.

".....But his suggestions about Cosin's library are important, and when I am a little more recovered from fatigue and indisposition, I hope to say more about them. To secure the Library from spoliation is the first point to be attended to, and a correct catalogue, printed as well as MS. seems to be a desideratum. Of the funds of the Library, I want more special information than I have at present; and Douglas Gresley should be desired to search for it at Auckland among the episcopal Archives. Also, to find what is the stipend allotted to the Librarian, which ought not to be a niggardly pittance. Whatever is wanting in these respects, I shall gladly supply; and I shall be obliged to you, if you will confer with Mr. Whitley as to whatever expenditure is requisite to put the Library into reputable condition, and to make all desirable improvements; pledging me to defray the charges, subject only to your approval and ratification. The suggestion of a house contiguous to the Library, for the Librarian, I think also specially worthy of consideration. Let me know more about it. Mrs. V.M. is in the carriage waiting for me so farewell."

(Assize days in the Palatinate were of great importance.)

Letter No. 182: Harrogate. 20th May, 1834.

"I have written today to request Mr. Gamler to preach the Assize sermon at Durham. But I cannot recollect to whom I was to write for the Newcastle sermon. Perhaps you can refresh my memory. I have also asked Archdeacon Singleton to recommend me a good man for the occasion.... I have written to Burder and to Douglas Gresley for some information about the Fund for Bishop Cosin's Library. The Librarian ought to be handsomely remunerated, and attention should be given to keeping up the Fund. When I get to Auckland (as I hope I do in about a fortnight from hence) I must have more talk with you on this and other academical matters, which I am anxious to put on the best possible footing.

"It may be satisfactory to yourself and the rest of the Chapter that I have actually given Messrs. Coutts and Company instructions to pay every half year the sum of £1,000 to your University account with Mr. Chaytor - that is to say, £1,000 on the 4th of July (the day on which the Act passed for constituting of the University) and £1,000 on the 5th of January - and so on to continue during my Incumbency, or until further notice."

There exists what seems to be a copy of the questions addressed by the Church Commissioners to the Archdeacon of Durham relative to the statutes of the capitular body.

The date at the head of the manuscript is 10th April 1835; the questions are very numerous but one or two in reference to the University deserve to be noted.

It is reasonable to surmise that the Answers were given by the Archdeacon after consultation with the Bishop, and they seem to provide a fitting close to this chapter.

Q. By what statutes is the Cathedral governed?

A. By the statutes of Philip and Mary.

Q. On what ground do the Chapter think themselves justified in appropriating the property of the Chapter to the foundation of the University?

A. Because one object among many others, of the Institution was the education of youth in virtue and good literature. I think I use the expressions of the statute..... Henry 8th obtained from the Prior and Monks a cession of their property, and he restored it in its integrity to the same persons, the Prior and Monks, under the denomination of Dean and Prebendaries. The statutes were given by Philip and Mary and one of the objects of the Institution, among others, is the education of youth in virtue and good literature. The statutes make



a provision for education and the Dean and Chapter thought that under the altered circumstances of the Country and of the Chapter, population and wealth having both increased, that they were acting according to the spirit of their statutes in doing what they did in the foundation of the University, by means of which they conceived they could best answer the object of the founder as to education. I speak of the statutes of Philip and Mary as indicating those intentions.

Q. Was it well considered before they adopted that course?

A. It was - but I must add not with a view to any objections, or with an apprehension that what they regarded as a proper extension of the statutable provision for education under new circumstances and wants, was in any respect a questionable proceeding.

Q. Did the framers of the statutes contemplate any provision for the education of youth save the foundation of a grammar School for the city which was to be maintained by the Dean and Chapter?

A. A grammar School only is provided for, but the benefits of the foundation are not restricted to the city of Durham.

Q. Had you in fact a school of any kind?

A. A grammar school dependent upon the Chapter.

Q. And is it still remaining?

A. Yes.

Q. You consider that the words of the statute are so indefinite that you find yourselves at Liberty to extend that?

A. I consider the Dean and Chapter fully justified in extending the means of education in connection with the Cathedral church, and under their own government and direction as prescribed by the statutes. Statutably there are so many scholars to be educated and Masters to be provided and the Chapter are to superintend the education, appoint books of Study and so forth.

Q. Is it so prescribed?

A. It is prescribed in the statute, the purpose of the School being as I understand it, the education of youth in virtue and good literature.

Q. Is not the specific mode prescribed in the statute as to education namely the appointment of a grammar School under different lecturers?

A. I know of no lecturer. Masters are named, a grammar school instituted, and the Dean and Prebendaries are charged with the care and superintendence of this as well as other parts of the establishment. They are to appoint the Masters and correct them if wanting in their duty, to prescribe books of

study, elect Scholars, and generally to preside.

Q. Is there anything further you can give the Commission information upon?

A. I wish to remind the Commissioners of the peculiar situation of the County of Durham, the interests and prospects of which are entirely changed by the discovery of the richest veins of coal under the Magnesium lime Stone where none were before supposed to exist. Hence the County will take a new character and increase in numbers and wealth as the mining population spreads itself abroad over those parts which have been heretofore occupied by agriculturalists; and our extensive parishes, large enough to comprehend 20 ordinary parishes, must either be broken up or furnished with numerous Chapels at a cost I do not care to name, because any calculation must be uncertain and fallacious.

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## VIII

### THE BISHOP AS A SPIRITUAL PEER

Crown appointments to ecclesiastical offices have had to face severe criticism, and they by no means escape it in these days. A century ago, however, an objection could be brought against them, which perhaps can hardly ever be urged in our time. There can be little doubt that then politics entered very largely into such appointments, and it was regarded as almost certain that Bishoprics and other 'Dignities' would be bestowed only upon those who had rendered, or might be expected to render, good service to the Government which had made the appointments. We need not suppose that ecclesiastics consciously assumed in the eyes of the Government a virtue not their own, and certainly there is every reason to believe that Van Mildert's dislike of the Whigs, and still more of the Radicals, was genuine.

Bearing this in mind it is natural to find that Bishops frequently espoused political causes and often wrote and

spoke on behalf of the Government. The House of Lords had to listen to their speeches to an extent not common to-day, and which now might not be welcome. Van Mildert was no exception, and on the great questions of the day his voice was often heard. Reform, or, as Van Mildert would have termed it, Revolution was in the air culminating in the First Reform Act of 1832. To read his speeches is to get the impression of an effective speaker who relied more upon argument than rhetoric, and never sought popularity when truth, as he deemed it, was at stake. Summaries and extracts of some of his speeches on important matters affecting Church and State have been included in this thesis with the object of giving some idea of his qualities as a Parliamentarian. The references throughout are from The Mirror of Parliament.

1828 Debate on the Bill for repealing the Test and Corporation Acts.

Vol. ii, pp.944-946.

Thursday, 17th April.

The Bishop did not admit any natural interest and inalienable right, belonging to every member of the community, to be deemed eligible to offices of trust and power in the State, without regard to his religious opinions. He would, however, give his vote for the repeal of the Acts because

the preamble of the Bill set forth definitely that the Protestant Episcopal Church of England was established permanently and inviolably. He referred to the close relation existing in England between Church and State, asserting that 'the history of our country clearly shows the connexion between religion and government, the inseparable alliance between Church and State, to have been the fundamental basis of our political constitution, from its earliest periods - certainly, ever since we have been a Christian country.' There were oppressive acts against heresy during the domination of Papal power, but, providentially, England at the Reformation was enabled to preserve the Church entire, and to maintain its connexion with the State, by uniting both under one supreme head - the Sovereign of the realm. The sacramental test, in reference to those seeking office under the state, was adopted as being 'the most direct and unequivocal evidence of Church-membership.' He could not agree with the harsh expressions of condemnation now used in regard to it, but admitted that it was no longer a real proof of Church membership, and that its continuance might cause scandal and offence. The Bill therefore proposed a political, in place of a religious, test, but the object was the same, viz. to give security to the established religion

of the State by requiring a prescribed declaration instead of a religious test. He added a generous tribute to those separated from the Church: "But, in claiming this much for our national church, I do not mean to disparage or depreciate the pretensions of those who separate from us. I cannot forget what obligations we owe to them in literature, in arts and sciences, in religion, in biblical criticism, and even in government itself. No one can more willingly recognise these services than I do."

Vol. ii, pp. 1013-1014.

Monday, 21st April, 1828

In reply to a speech by the Earl of Harrowby recommending that the Church should not rely upon enactments of Parliament for its security, but upon its own purity of doctrine, and upon the affection of the people based on the devoted work of its Ministers, the Bishop reminded the House that the devotion and learning of the Clergy did not avail to save them in 'the disastrous times from the reign of Charles I to the Restoration'. Some legal securities are necessary, and he suggested that the declaration should provide that those taking offices were Christians.

Vol. ii, pp. 1150-1151.

Monday, 28th April 1828.

The Bishop would have preferred that the Bill had not been introduced, but as it had been, he, and others of the Episcopal bench, could not ignore the repugnance with which the Sacrament test was viewed by laity and clergy of the Church, as well as by Dissenters. Moreover the annual Indemnity Acts passed during the last sixty or eighty years had intentionally made it possible for Dissenters to be admitted to offices. The Bill did not attack that alliance between Church and State which existed long before the Test Act: it merely provided another safeguard in place of the Sacrament test, and he could therefore support it. He would, however, have felt happier if he could have been quite sure that the concessions made by the Bill would not be regarded merely as instalments for further concessions. He himself would have preferred that the declaration should have made it clear that it was made by a Protestant.

In his speech the Bishop had said how sorry he was to have to differ from the Earl of Eldon. The remarks of the Earl in reply show the high regard the Earl had for the Bishop. "I rise merely to state that the sentiments the Right Reverend Prelate has now declared, and the terms of



respect in which he has spoken of me, give me the greatest comfort and consolation. Coming as they do from such a quarter, I know not how sufficiently to express my sense of their value."

(Test and Corporation Acts were repealed 9th May, 1828).

Vol. iii, pp. 1848-1849.

Monday, 9th June, 1828.

The Marquess of Lansdowne moved the Order of the Day. "That it is expedient to consider the laws affecting his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, in Great Britain and Ireland, with a view to such a final and conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the United Kingdom, to the stability of the Protestant Establishment, and to the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of his Majesty's subjects."

In the Debate the Bishop refers to the speech he made when the subject was last before the House, and in particular to the point of 'divided allegiance' which he had then stressed, and which he proceeded to deal with at considerable length. He maintained that Roman Catholics should feel no grievance when reference is made to the obedience which they themselves acknowledge to be due to the Pope.

They were not accused of any conscious disloyalty to the Sovereign but the fact remained that they believed that in spiritual matters obedience was due to the Pope, and that only in temporal matters was obedience due to the Sovereign: "We insist, that, by the Laws and Constitution of this realm, he is entitled to it in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters also." It had, however, been urged that if the distinction they held was really a danger to the State, that danger would be all the greater in those countries where the population was Catholic, but the fallacy underlying this objection was that in such countries no question of divided allegiance arose: the sovereign himself acknowledged the same obedience to the Pope, and neither he nor his subjects would have regarded any oath of allegiance which ignored this distinction. The Bishop quoted passages from Dr. Doyle, from the Declarations of the Roman Catholic Bishops and from Dr. Poynter, in all of which (he maintained) an effort was made to draw a clear line between 'temporal and spiritual power'. In reply to such arguments the Bishop referred to treatises by Lord Clarendon and Dr. Burrow, giving quotations from that of the former, in support of his contention that no power, whether spiritual or temporal, could rightly be

conceded to the Pope. The Bishop added, "But I will not weary your Lordships with further citations from writers of this early date. We have been told, indeed, of late, that it is vulgar prejudice to look back to past times; that it is ungentlemanly to cast reflections upon the tenets of the Roman Catholics; and that only book-read blockheads trouble themselves with researches of this kind. Yet it may be hard to show why book-read persons may not form an opinion on these subjects, as well as they who read no books."

The Bishop then proceeded to the arguments based on the opinion of the six foreign Universities given in answer to queries addressed to them relative to the Pope's authority. He had given careful consideration to these documents, but he felt that neither the queries nor the replies dealt with the question really at issue. All that they elucidated was that the Pope had no rightful claim to exercise merely civil or temporal authority within other states. Such a reply was beside the point: it was a different kind of question which should have been put. "What, then, ought the question to have been? Not whether he had authority in temporals as such; but whether his spiritual authority can

be fully exercised without interfering in temporals; how far it extends; where it begins, and where it ends; what are its limits, its purposes, and objects? These were the points necessary to be ascertained; and had the queries been somewhat to this effect, it may be difficult to conjecture what answers would have been elicited, but it is not difficult to conceive that they would have been very different from those which have been actually returned."

The Bishop proceeded to refer to the limitations restricting Papal authority even in 'Catholic countries' instancing, in particular, Austria where the restrictions practically implied that there, as in our own country, the sovereign was "in all causes, and over all persons, as well ecclesiastical as civil, supreme." Much the same was true in 'Protestant Continental States'. Yet it must be remembered that no parallel in despotic governments exists with our own constitution wherein even the Sovereign himself is controlled by law. Nor did the Bishop think that adequate securities can be obtained from Roman Catholics in return for the concessions sought; even the proposed veto on the nomination of their bishops had been uncompromisingly rejected. He concluded by asserting that he could see no

solution to the difficulty until the Roman Catholics in this country repudiated all Papal authority - and concluded by adding, "My Lords, it is painful to make these observations; but where such great interests are at stake, I cannot conscientiously do otherwise, nor hesitate in saying, on the present question, 'Not content'."

(N.B. On a division the following day, 10th June, the motion was rejected by a majority of forty-five).

Vol. ii, pp. 1396-1397

Friday, 23rd March, 1832.

#### Debate on Plurality of Benefices Bill.

The Archbishop of Canterbury had moved that the House should go into Committee on the Bill, and in his speech had dealt with the provision that not more than thirty miles should separate any livings held in Plurality, and in advocating this had expressed the opinion that this provision in itself would tend to limit the number of livings held in plurality. Lord Suffield who followed criticised the limitation of the distance of thirty miles, and also urged that the requirement that the values of the livings held in plurality should not exceed £400 per annum would press hardly on the poorer clergy. He proposed as an amendment that the Archbishop should have power to grant a dispensation to hold

livings together of any value, provided that the surplus over £1,000 per annum should be paid over to the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty.

The Bishop in his opening remarks referred to his ill-health. "My own physical state of inability will not allow me to trespass long upon your attention." He objected to the proposal that any surplus should be alienated from the benefices. "There is something in this principle so like spoliation, that I very strongly object to it; and I consider it a very dangerous principle to be adopted." The question of value should not enter. "If I understand the question rightly, the principle which ought to regulate pluralities is this - that where the benefices are so distant as to deprive the parishioners of one of the parishes of the benefits of a resident incumbent, in the case of both the benefices being used by one person, then the law should declare that those benefices should not be so held. With regard to the value of the livings, that, it is obvious, cannot affect the question; the evil to be remedied does not arise from the value of the benefits (sic), but from the circumstances that one person cannot well discharge the duties of two distant parishes." Accordingly he recommended the provisions of the Bill.

Vol. ii, pp.1560-1561.

Monday, 2nd April, 1832.

Plurality of Benefices Bill, (continued).

The Bishop made a valiant defence of some of the dignitaries of the Durham Diocese, with special reference to an article in the Times of Friday, 30th March, entitled "Pluralist Bishops" and from which he quoted the following extracts:-

1. "The Bishop of St. David's, Deanery of Durham, £12,000 per annum." The Bishop's comment was that the statement was 'at least one-third more than its actual value'.

2. "The Bishop of Exeter, Prebendary of Durham." The Bishop remarked that the 'commendam' had been annexed by the Crown by the existing Government, in lieu of the much more valuable Rectory of Stanhope.

3. "The Bishop of Bristol, Prebendary of Durham." The Bishop's comment on that was that when the Bishop of Bristol acceded to his See he vacated the living of Bishop Wearmouth which was of considerably greater value than the prebend.

4. "The Bishop of Chester, Prebendary of Durham." The Bishop pointed out that in that case also the

the Bishop, on promotion to his See, vacated a living in Oxfordshire.

The Bishop however was careful to make it clear that in all the above cases he was in no way personally responsible. It was, perhaps, fortunate for the Bishop that no-one in the House reminded him that for almost the whole time that he was Bishop of Llandaff he had been quite content to hold also the Deanery of St. Paul's.

5. "Honourable and Revd. Dr. Wellesley, Prebendary of Durham, Rector of Bishop Wearmouth, Rector of Reed End, Herts, late Rector of Chelsea, and Chaplain of Hampton Court." The Bishop's first comment on this case was to ask, very pertinently, why the Rectory of Chelsea was referred to, when the Prebendary had already ceased to hold it. In regard to the Hampton Court Chaplaincy this was probably of small value, but the Bishop admitted his ignorance on that point. He had thought that Dr. Wellesley had resigned the rectory in Herts, and if this had not been actually done no doubt it was intended, as Dr. Wellesley had recently expressed the satisfaction he would have in being able to devote his whole energies to his Prebend, and to his Rectory of Bishop Wearmouth, distant only a few miles



from each other.

6. The case of Archdeacon Thorp was next dealt with by the Bishop. The statement, which indicated that he possessed no less than eight benefices, was as follows: "Prebendary of Durham, Prebendary of Brecon, Archdeacon of Durham, Rector of Ryton, Rector of Easington, Chaplain to the Bishop of Durham, Principal Warden of the Durham University, and Trustee of Lord Crewe's Charity, with a house at Bamborough." The Bishop made a very spirited reply to this formidable list; "a goodly assortment truly, my lords, but which I must reduce to two benefices only, or at most two and a small fraction, if the prebend of Brecon be included, which, probably, is not in value forty shillings per annum." (It was here intimated that the Archdeacon had resigned the prebend of Brecon on his being collated to that of Durham).

He then proceeded to deal in detail with the preferments mentioned in the quotation. Mr. Thorp was an entire stranger to him before he became Bishop of Durham, and was then only Rector of Ryton. He had never appointed him his Chaplain, but he had given him the Prebend at Durham. For some time Mr. Thorp had acted, gratuitously, as official of the Archdeacon of Durham, and when, last December, the

Archdeacon had resigned, he had appointed him as successor. The Rectory of Easington was an impropriate Rectory, and constituted the endowment of the Archdeaconry. "But, my Lords, I have already in your Lordships' House, a Bill to enable me to separate the rectory of Easington from the Archdeaconry, for the purpose of making it a spiritual benefice with cure of souls, and annexing, in lieu of it, that prebend which Mr. Thorp already had in possession. As soon as this can be completed, Mr. Thorp necessarily will resign either Easington or Ryton, and be in possession of his stall and one rectory only, being precisely circumstanced as he was before his acceptance of the Archdeaconry, and deriving from that no additional emolument whatever..... As to the wardenship of the Durham University, that is as yet in nubibus only, though I hope the Institution will in due time come forth and prosper. At my request, Mr. Thorp undertook the office provisionally, and to continue as long as circumstances may require. The office, however, he undertakes gratuitously; and by so doing relieves the Institution in its infant state from a considerable burthen it must otherwise provide for..... With respect to the last appointment named, that of a trustee to Lord Crewe's Charity,

it is almost ludicrous. This office has no emoluments attached to it. The trustees are chiefly appointed from the Chapter, the Bishop having no concern in it. The house, Bamborough Castle, well-known as one of the noblest remains of antiquity in the Kingdom, is kept up at the expense of the Trust; and one or other of the trustees occasionally occupies it for a few weeks, to superintend the local purposes of the charity. To represent this as an ecclesiastical benefice is utterly absurd. As well might I be called a pluralist, by being a governor or trustee of any public charity whatsoever. Yet such is the attempt to represent as an enormous pluralist, one of the most estimable clergymen - than whom I would confidently challenge any diocese in the kingdom to produce one more deserving of respect."

7. The last case was that of Mr. Gilly. Prebendary of Durham, Vicar of Norham, near Berwick, and Perpetual Curate of Crossgate, Durham." The Bishop's reply was that Mr. Gilly had resigned his perpetual curacy in Durham on taking the Vicarage of Norham. He thus had only his prebend and his vicarage, and divided his residence on each almost equally.

The Bishop concludes: "With respect to pluralities in general, I may add, that I believe there are fewer of them, in proportion, in the diocese of Durham than in any other. I have never yet given a living in plurality in the diocese, nor intend to do so. And I may also say of my clergy in general that they are a valuable body of men, attentive to their duties, and ready to adopt any improvement that may be recommended. I have only to add, that the statement in the paper to which I have adverted is signed "Dunelmensis". If it be really communicated by a Durham correspondent, the misrepresentations it contains are so much the more inexcusable."

Vol ii, 1670-1671

Monday, 9th April, 1832.

Debate on the Reform Bill.

The Bishop opened his speech by declaring that only his official position, the respect he owed to the Government, and the nature of the subject under debate, made him feel that it was a necessary duty for him to express his views, though he knew well 'the obloquy, or more than obloquy' which the expression of his views would bring upon him. He would not wish that it should be thought that the

rejection of the Bill implied 'the rejection of reform in toto'. Circumstances had occurred which necessitated that there should be some reform, and his remarks must, therefore, be regarded as relating to the Bill actually before the House.

It could not be denied that the country was divided on the question, and he would have thought that any measure of this magnitude should have been directed towards tranquillizing both parties, whereas he feared that this measure would satisfy neither party.

One would also have thought that in introducing a reform of this extent proof would have been given that it would remove some great practical evil, or accomplish some great practical good. "I must confess that I have been unable to discover either the evil that is to be practically removed, or the advantages that are to be practically produced by the present Bill. Theoretically, some anomalies are to be removed, but are only to be replaced by new ones; and it has not yet been shown that the existing anomalies described are so injurious to the country as to call for so great a change as that which is now sought to be effected..... "

"..... The present Bill tends, I conceive, to establish a dangerous precedent, by disregarding prescriptive rights and privileges, which are so unsparingly swept away, that it is impossible not to entertain considerable apprehensions that the example may be hereafter followed to a still more alarming extent."

"Again, my Lords, this Bill will enforce a very large portion of the democratic influence into the Legislature, tending to weaken the Executive Government, the Aristocracy, and eventually the monarchy itself. These are reasons sufficient to determine me to vote against the Bill, as leading to the most dangerous results. Other considerations, also, tend to confirm me in that determination. My Lords, we have been admonished to look to the signs of the times; and I take the advice in good part; it is wholesome and good advice, though, so far as I myself am concerned, it may be superfluous. I have looked to the signs of the times - I have viewed them with great attention and great anxiety for some time past, and I think it is impossible not to discover in them much to create apprehension and great uneasiness. Among other signs of the times there is a spirit of insubordination, and of general restlessness

abroad - a disposition in favour of innovation - a sort of rooted antipathy to ancient establishments, merely because they are ancient, and a desire to make rulers subjects, and subjects rulers - to make the constituted authorities of Government subservient to the will of the people. I see all this, and I also see, that in my opinion this Bill will tend to increase these propensities, and to extend them. My Lords, if this measure were carried into effect, I apprehend the necessary consequence will be an immediate deterioration of the House of Commons; yet giving it, at the same time, such an ascendancy as to make it substantially the ruling power of the State - while it, in its turn, will be subject to the control of external associations and political unions in every district, until it becomes nothing more than an assembly of the delegates of the democracy."

The Bishop then considered the moral and religious effects which the measure may have on the country. Atheism and infidelity, dissent and discord abounded, and he feared that these would be increased if the Bill were passed. It was urged that such a measure was necessary because of the progress of knowledge and of what was called, 'in cant phrase, "the march of intellect."' Knowledge certainly was

power but unless controlled aright, it was a power of evil rather than of good, and it was the duty of statesmen to guide public opinion, and not to yield to popular clamour. "The power, also, which knowledge bestows, is not always in proportion to its real value. The most superficial knowledge, by setting a man somewhat above his compeers in society, will give him an ascendancy over them which his superiors in station, though superior also in knowledge, will not be able to maintain. Having acquired such a degree of knowledge as to become arrogant and confident in his own opinion, he becomes so much more easy a prey, and so much more liable to be influenced by the members of political unions than by those who are possessed of superior talents and acquirements, and who have no wish to enter the lists with such competitors. Much, I fear, therefore, my Lords, that when you can get rid of what are called nomination boroughs, we shall have, in many popular places, political union boroughs, under an influence far more dangerous and degrading; and that the return of Members to the other House of Parliament will necessarily be influenced by noisy demagogues, wily agitators, and ambitious aspirants to popular favour. British gentlemen, British merchants, and British colonists will have little disposition to offer



their services, and still less chance of success, against the description of influence which will be thus brought to bear against them."

He had not failed to note the calumnies against the Bill's opponents, and against the Bishops in particular. "They have been charged with a wish to curtail the liberties of the people; and that they have thought only of their own interests, regardless of the welfare of the lower classes. My Lords, these are most unjustifiable aspersions, and I resent them with indignation. If I could conceive that the lower orders would be benefited by this Bill, it would go far to remove my objections to it, and induce me to give it my support. But I have yet to learn what advantage they can derive from it. I have yet to learn how it can advance the poor man's interest - how it can add to the real happiness of the peasant, or the artificer, to take him from the field or the loom, for the purpose of associating with political unions, and becoming dictators to the Government."

In conclusion the Bishop referred to the argument for the Bill based on the dangers which would result from its rejection. He admitted that such dangers did exist, but asserted that he would rather face such dangers, than the probable consequences which might follow were it passed.

The years of the Reform Bills of 1831 and 1832 were marked by many unruly incidents which sometimes led to serious riots, as in Bristol and those who think that they can see in current events the signs of approaching anarchy might modify their opinion by reflecting upon the angry demonstrations of that time. It can scarcely be denied that Van Mildert took a gloomy and pessimistic view of the tendencies of the proposed legislation but allowance must be made for the fact that he had personal experience of violent hostility, because of his known opposition to the Bill. A letter<sup>(1)</sup> to Henry Douglas dated 12th February, 1831, describes the times as 'fearful', and in a further letter<sup>(2)</sup> dated 26th November, 1831, he refers to demonstrations of hostility because of his opposition to the Reform Bill. His effigy had been burnt before his Castle gates 'with threats of demolishing windows and so forth' and had he passed through Darlington he was to have been 'waylaid and personally maltreated'. Resentments against the Bishops were, however, widespread, and even the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Howley) had to share them.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Douglas Family History, pp. 552-553.

(2) Ib.

(3) Ib. pp. 468-469.

In addition to these outbursts of hostility there is evidence that there was a considerable number who clamoured for Reform in the Church itself. Pluralism and sinecures had been tolerated and condoned by the Bishops for too long, and the case of the Church of Ireland presented a problem for friend and foe alike. Seen in retrospect, the suppression of eight Irish Bishoprics as separate Sees did not indicate such an 'apostacy' as was thought at the time. Yet every period of transition is apt to appear to be fraught with dire consequences, and it is not surprising that many churchmen, both clerical and lay, should have felt that almost every change must be for the worse. Van Mildert undoubtedly regarded the trend of events as revolutionary and destructive to Church and State. Writing to his nephew, Henry Douglas, on 1st January, 1833, he expresses his apprehension. (1)

"Hanover Square,

1st January, 1833

"I am sick of electioneering and politics. In pejoratus seems but too applicable to what is going on. What we are to expect in Church matters is a problem not yet solved..... I have good hope, however, that whatever may

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(1) Douglas Family History, pp. 556-557.

be the result our Bench as a Body will come out of the conflict without discredit, notwithstanding some few exceptions."

It is evident that Van Mildert thought that only the Divine Mercy could save both Church and Nation from disaster. In the light of his opposition to the Reform Bill and its subsequent enactment the petitions of the Prayer can be easily appreciated.

#### "Prayer

For this Church and Nation in the year 1833

"O, Almighty and most merciful God, Thou God to whom vengeance belongeth, but who in Thy wrath thinkest upon mercy, vouchsafe, I beseech Thee, to hear the humble supplication of Thy unworthy servant, in behalf of our Church and nation, at the present fearful crisis, when the hearts of the righteous among us are failing through fear of Thy impending judgments, and many evils, both from within and from without, threaten to overwhelm us, if not averted by Thine all-powerful hand.

"It is of Thine infinite mercies, O Lord, that the sins and iniquities prevailing among us have not yet drawn down upon our heads the full measure of Thine indignation, and that time is yet presented to us for repentance and amendment. Thou art a righteous Judge, and Thou art provoked every day. Wickedness and blasphemy go through the land unpunished and unrestrained; Thy Sacred Word, Thy Church, Thy Sabbaths, Thy Holy Name, are slighted, vilified and contemned! Thy mercies in Christ Jesus our Saviour are set at nought by the Infidel and Scoffer; whilst among those who yet profess and call themselves Christians are multitudes who hold not the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, or in righteousness of life. Strife and disunion, envy

and discontent, pride and ambition, impatience of control, seditions and heresies, the spirit of insubordination and contempt of all lawful authority, the spirit of slumber also and of inconsideration, surround us on every side, threatening the entire dismemberment of the social body, and pouring down in a torrent; against which the utmost efforts of the just and upright must be unavailing without that help from above which Thou, O Lord, hast never withholden from those who truly serve and fear Thee.

"In Thee, O Lord, do we trust, O let us not be confounded, nor given over to the will of our enemies. Many a time and oft have this Church and Nation experienced Thy Mercy and protection, under perils and difficulties, the most urgent and perplexing. We know of a surety that Thine arm is not shortened that it cannot save. O! let it again be stretched out in pity and in power, to rescue us from the evils we have provoked, and the judgments we most righteously have deserved. Grant us grace to repent and turn ourselves from our transgressions, that so iniquity may not be our ruin. Rebuke the spirit of atheism, of infidelity of profaneness, and blasphemy among us; turn the hearts of the scoffer and the scorner, that they may yet be brought to contrition and remorse, and made to tremble at Thy word; protect the righteous and unoffending against the machinations and devices of those who seek to involve their country in confusion and anarchy; direct the Counsels of our Rulers in Church and State to such measures as may be effectual, under Thy good Providence, in averting the evils which beset us; give them the spirit of true Christian courage and resolution to put down the turbulent and unruly; preserve them from rash enterprises which may endanger our ancient and well-tried Institutions in Church and State and thereby open a way to the evil-minded to effect the overthrow of our dearest and most sacred rights; above all, grant to them, and to us; to our Sovereign and all who are put in authority under him; to our Nobility, Legislators, and others engaged in the public service; to our Bishops and Clergy, more especially appointed by Thy Providence for the maintenance of Thy true Religion; and to every member of our Church and every subject of the realm; such faith and trust in Thee, such fear and love of Thy Holy Name, such godly sorrow for sin,

such firm resolutions of amendment, and such constant obedience to Thy Will, as may obtain for them, through the merits and intercession of our Blessed Redeemer, Thy pardon and favour, Thy protection and blessing, now henceforth and for ever. - Accept, O Lord, these my humble supplications and prayers, for Jesus Christ's sake, Thy Son, our Lord." (1)

Three months later his anxiety had good reason to be increased and he was wondering whether the Government would confine their attentions to the Church of Ireland, or bring forward some similar proposal in regard to the Church of England. In a further letter (2) to Henry, dated 11th March, 1833, he writes:

"..... You will easily suppose that the crisis fills me with apprehension. But as yet we are kept in darkness as to the intention of the Govt. respecting our branch of the Church. The fate of that in Ireland seems to be nearly sealed....."

By the 14th of August that year the crisis, so far as concerned the Church of Ireland, had passed, but the patient had suffered severely, for the suppression of eight Irish Sees as separate bishoprics had become an accomplished fact. Van Mildert's abhorrence of the measure is shown in a letter (3) to Joshua Watson, written during the progress

(1) Grant Ives' MSS.

(2) Douglas Family History, p. 557.

(3) Churton's Memoir of Joshua Watson, Vol. ii, pp.24-25.

of the Bill through the House of Lords. "The detestable Bill stands for our second reading on Monday next. Sorely to my vexation and annoyance, I postpone my journey to the North till the first night of the debate is gone by, intending to tell my mind to their Lordships as briefly and temperately as I can, and then leave my proxy in safe keeping, in case the debate is prolonged to another night. The worst is, the probability that I may find myself in collision with the person of all others from whom I should most reluctantly differ. You know whom I mean. But I cannot help it: again and again have I considered the matter, and can see only one course open to me consistently (sic) with integrity or a safe conscience, or with my notions of sound policy and discretion. You may be assured, however, that my utmost endeavours shall be used to give no just occasion for offence to opponents or to friends."

Almost exactly a month before the passing of the Act for the suppression of the eight Irish Sees Keble had preached his sermon on National Apostacy from the pulpit of St. Mary's, Oxford, on the 14th of July, and as a result of the dangers threatening the Church an effort was made to form an "Association of Friends of the Church." William

Palmer has given a full account<sup>(1)</sup> of this plan, which was eventually abandoned in favour of an Address to the Primate. In a letter<sup>(2)</sup> from Auckland Castle, dated 18th December, 1833, Van Mildert deprecates the suggestion that the Bishops should either encourage or discourage such Associations, and expresses pleasure that the idea of an Association has been given up. If measures hostile to the Church should be introduced it might then be necessary to present petitions to both Houses of Parliament. Apparently Newman had been sanguine about securing Van Mildert's support, for on 9th February, 1834, he wrote<sup>(3)</sup>: "I am sorry to hear what you say about Durham, and cannot quite understand it. At first the Bishop of Durham had scruples, but I was told, had overcome them."

Sincere well-wishers of the Church could hardly fail to be alarmed; Joshua Watson thought that it might be advisable that a 'Commission of Enquiry' should be proposed from the side of the Church itself, and drafted an elaborate 'Scheme'<sup>(4)</sup>

- (1) Narrative of Events connected with the Publication of Tracts for the Times. W. Palmer.  
 (2) Ives' Memoir, pp.136-137.  
 (3) Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, Vol. ii, p. 23. (Letter to J. W. Bowden).  
 (4) Churton's Memoir of Joshua Watson, Vol. ii, pp.4-6.



which he submitted to Van Mildert, who had thought that the Premier (Earl Grey) would approve the idea of a Commission. Watson's 'Scheme' met with Van Mildert's unqualified support, and subsequently received also the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury, (Howley) and the Duke of Wellington, but unfortunately failed to commend itself to the Premier. However in 1832 a Royal Commission was appointed, and in 1836 the Commissioners were incorporated by Act, dated 13th August. The appointment of the Commission had encouraged Van Mildert, and writing to Watson in March 1835 he expressed his conviction that the Government entertained 'the best possible feeling' towards the Church. (1) Naturally he was specially anxious about the revenues of the Capitular Body of Durham, and the effect that any measure might have upon the future of the University, but in that matter too he was very hopeful. "The case of Durham especially seems to be regarded with a more favourable eye than I had expected; and at all events, I am assured it will be considered on its own merits as entitled to separate attention. I have also laid a foundation for effecting our purpose of annexing prebendal stalls to academical offices, and

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(1) Churton's Memoir of Joshua Watson, Vol.ii, p.42.

moreover for obtaining a royal charter for our University. I have not found any discouragement to either of these projects, but a wish to facilitate their attainment."

Professor Hughes, in his article The Bishops and Reform<sup>(1)</sup> has quoted letters which show that Van Mildert did not lack a sense of humour, and indeed the Thorp Correspondence contains many indications of this. Even the august body of Commissioners could be referred to as 'the Ecclesiastical Divan'! "Although I have had an Ecclesiastical Commissioner here, daily going in and coming out for a fortnight, yet I have done little more than laugh at the expected secrecy of printed papers and copied resolutions, when our friend has come home every afternoon with his packet stamped with the talismanic words, Strictly Private."<sup>(2)</sup>

In his 'Memoirs' Sir Robert Peel includes a letter<sup>(3)</sup> which he had written to the Bishop. This letter is dated 23rd February, 1835, and may well have been the reason why Van Mildert in his March letter, already quoted, expressed a more hopeful opinion about the Government's intentions towards the Church. Sir Robert indicates that he thought

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(1) English Historical Review, July 1941.

(2) Churton's Memoir of Joshua Watson, p.47.

(3) Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel (1857) Vol. ii, pp.77-85.

it better that the Crown should concern itself with the affairs of the Church than that such matters should be left to Parliament.

He agrees with Van Mildert that 'Cathedral dignities' can be defended, and that they provide leisure for, and encouragement of, learning, nor would he wish that they should be alienated. He thinks, however, that Parliament would not allow them to remain as they were in view of the inadequate provision for the local clergy, and he cited the cases of Nottingham, St. Margaret and St. John, Westminster and Colne in Lancashire. In reference to the Deanery of Durham he asks whether a Minister or friend of the Church could, with prudence, advise the King to fill up the Deanery with its income of £9,000 a year without charging it with some additional spiritual functions. If the Deanery were left with an adequate income would it be injurious to the Church if the remainder of the income were used towards founding a new Bishopric in the North of England and so relieving the See of Chester from some of its excessive labours? Again, if one of the Durham prebends were attached to a rectory like that of Newcastle-on-Tyne, or to the spiritual welfare of vast masses of population,

would these involve greater violation of principle than the sale of Chapter property for endowing a University, or attaching prebends to University-professorships?

In a postscript Sir Robert adds that he entirely shares Van Mildert's opinion that it would not be right to interfere with the emoluments of the Durham Chapter in such a way as would militate against their plan for the University.

To the casual reader this letter probably would have seemed considerate, but it would not have been admitted by either the Bishop or the Chapter that in founding the University there had been any alienation of Church property from its original purpose. This had been made clear by Thorp in his reply to the questions of the Church Commissioners relative to the endowments of the Capitular Body.<sup>(1)</sup> The contention of the Chapter was that they were the rightful and legal owners of the endowments of the dissolved Durham Priory and that the Charter of their foundation in the reign of Mary Tudor required that they should provide for education. This important point was explicitly urged by the first Warden, and, if admitted, rules out the comparison suggested in Peel's letter. Even so, however, the tone

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(1) See p.316.

of the letter might well make Van Mildert feel less anxious about the Government's policy towards the Church.<sup>(1)</sup>

The Commissioners made their Report to Parliament that same year (1835) and the following particulars are taken from their Return of the revenues of the See of Durham, and of the Capitular Body.

The annual<sup>(2)</sup> income of the See is stated to be £19,066, net, £21,991 gross.

Capitular Body<sup>(3)</sup>

<u>Preferment</u>	<u>Average Net Income</u>
	£
Deanery (The Bp. of St. David's)	3,266
1st Prebend (The Rev. T. Gisborne)	706
2nd " (The Bp. of Chester)	813
3rd " (The Rev. R. Prosser)	486
4th " (The Ven. C. Thorp; also Rector of Ryton)	402
5th " (The Rev. the Honble. G. V. Wellesley; also Rector of Bishopwearmouth)	391
6th " (The Bp. of Exeter)	565
7th " (The Bp. of Bristol)	687

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- (1) See extracts from the Thorp Correspondence quoted by Professor Whiting in The University of Durham pp.37 & 75. See also extract from a speech of Van Mildert indicating his abhorrence of any alienation of Church property from its original purpose, quoted in this thesis on p. 329.
- (2) Return of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into Ecclesiastical Revenues - Diocese of Durham, p.4.
- (3) *Ib.* p.42.

8th Prebend	(The Rev. D. Durrell, also Rector of Mongswell and Crowmarch, Oxfordshire)	£ 576
9th "	(The Rev. W. S. Gilly)	312
10th "	(The Rev. G. Townsend; also Vicar of Northallerton)	1,043
11th "	(The Rev. S. Smith; also Prebendary in York Minster, and Rector of Dry Drayton, Cambs)	1,400
12th "	(The Rev. J. S. Ogle)	872

The Dean and Chapter, after all payments, had a yearly surplus of £20,877 which was divided into fourteen parts, of which the Dean took two, and the rest was divided equally between the twelve Prebendaries.<sup>(1)</sup> It will thus be realised that the term 'Golden Prebends' in reference to Durham was hardly an exaggeration, as approximately £1,500 was available to be added annually to the value of each stall!

By April of that year Sir Robert had resigned and Lord Melbourne took office. It was a change which made Van Mildert less sanguine. Writing to Joshua Watson on 28th January, 1836, the Bishop expressed his anxiety.<sup>(2)</sup>

"I have written somewhat largely to the Archbishop on our Durham University Concerns, and the arrangement of our

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(1) Return of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into Ecclesiastical Revenues - Diocese of Durham, p.15.  
 (2) Churton's Memoir of Joshua Watson, Vol.ii, p.48.

prebendal stalls, which, I much fear, will not go on so smoothly as when Sir Robert Peel was an Ecclesiastical Commissioner. I have stirred up the Archbishop to do what he can for us; and, knowing his goodwill in the matter, I hope for the best. But what is to be done with deans and chapters? I can gain no gleam of information. A rumour prevails that, because four residentiaries suffice at St. Paul's, therefore the rest may be reduced to that number, which, if carried into effect, will be as decided a case of spoliation and confiscation as can be imagined, and can hardly lead to less than the dissolution of the whole body. But the mist must soon be cleared away, and our destiny disclosed."

The concluding words of the letter have a pathetic ring. In less than a month the mist had indeed been cleared away for the Bishop, who had passed to his rest.

In the article in the English Historical Review<sup>(1)</sup>, in 1941, Mr. Hughes, the present Professor of History in the University, has made available some valuable extracts from letters of the Bishop included in the Thorp Correspondence. These illustrate the Bishop's attitude to the momentous measures passed by Parliament between 1828 and 1832. As Professor Hughes points out they indicate that Van Mildert

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(1) English Historical Review, July, 1941. 'The Bishops and Reform, 1831-3. Some Fresh Correspondence'.

had come to be recognized almost as the protagonist of the Church - so far at least as the Bishops could be regarded as expressing Church opinion.

It is evident that Van Mildert regarded very seriously the opportunities afforded to him by his seat in the House of Lords. The trend of affairs in the direction of what is now called popular control filled him with distrust and even alarm, and the certainty of the unpopularity of his avowed opinions never made him waver in pursuing the course he deemed right. Perhaps this characteristic quality, more than even his reputation as a scholar or his exalted office, accounted for the great respect always shown him in the House. Ives in his Memoir quotes many extracts from his speeches, and some passages from his letters which prove that measures affecting Church and State weighed very heavily on his mind.<sup>(1)</sup> Where he deemed some vital principle was at stake he was adamant, but when it was only a question of expediency he was open to conviction. This is seen in his attitude to the proposed Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts (cf. 320-321). In regard, however, to the so-called 'Catholic Emancipation' measures he remained unconvinced that this was either desirable or safe, for Church or State. The author of The Georgian Era unjustly

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(1) Ives' Memoir, pp. 85-109; 124-128.



charged him with inconsistency in this respect, writing of him in these terms: 'He is amicable in private life; a good preacher; a most orthodox divine; a profound scholar; and an admirer of Lord Liverpool's political principles, although he thought proper to vote for Catholic Emancipation, when it was brought forward as a government measure, by the Wellington Cabinet'.<sup>(1)</sup>

Indeed, it was his consistency in this matter which must have caused grief to himself, and to his great friend Charles Lloyd, Bishop of Oxford. Lloyd had been persuaded by Sir Robert Peel, whose tutor he had been, to support the 'Catholic Emancipation' Bill, and had thus publicly advocated a policy in opposition to Van Mildert. He had belonged to that inner circle to whom Van Mildert was known affectionately as 'Van',<sup>(2)</sup> and it was even thought that the distress of this conflict hastened his premature death.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) The Georgian Era, p. 524 (1832).

(2) Churton's Memoir of Joshua Watson, pp.279-282.

(3) Ib. p.293.

IX

MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE AND WRITINGS

Reference has already been made to the unfortunate circumstance that many letters by Van Mildert, formerly in the possession of the Douglas Family, have either been lost or mislaid. He had so large a circle of friends, and held at various times so many important offices, that it is reasonable to believe that they would have filled in a good deal of the background of the picture which the writer of this thesis has attempted to present. Many, however, were reproduced in Mr. Percy Adams' history of the Douglas Family, and so have been preserved, even though they may never be available again in the original form. Very many other letters, fortunately, are extant in the Thorp Correspondence, and of these numerous extracts have already been given. In this chapter several manuscripts, referred to as "Grant-Ives' Manuscripts" are reproduced. Most of them are undated, and some of them belong, almost certainly, to an early period in Van Mildert's life. It

has seemed better, however, to include them in this chapter. Churton's Life of Joshua Watson provides us with some other letters, and among the Grant-Ives Manuscripts are five letters to Van Mildert from Bishop Middleton, and a memorandum of his reply to two of these.

The five letters<sup>(1)</sup> from Bishop Middleton are all very long, and are as interesting as they are long. They give us a rather pathetic picture of the difficulties which the first Bishop of Calcutta had to face, not only from clergymen of 'the Church of England in India' but from Government. This is not the occasion to deal with them in detail, and therefore only a few extracts will be given. They have been included because of their more or less obvious relation to Van Mildert.

The first is dated from Calcutta, 14th February, 1815. The Bishop begins with a reference to a 'delightful visit' to Van Mildert at Oxford, and to a promise to write to him if he should reach 'the banks of the Ganges' safely. The long and hazardous voyage is described - 'a dreadful undertaking'. Arrangements for his reception on arrival had not been satisfactory, and a note of disillusionment can be heard faintly as an undertone. "Everything like a

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS.

Church of England feeling is out of the question.....

Christianity exhibits as much variety among the 7 or 8,000 persons professing it in this place, as it does in London." He had not forgotten the S.P.C.K., and he refers more than once to Bartlett's Buildings, at that time the Headquarters of the Society. But in spite of disappointments he is anxious to get to work: 'I see before me a wide field of action, if it shall please God to preserve my health.....'

"You see, my friend, how different are our destinies and occupations, both, I trust, tend to the same point. You converse with scholars in the bowers of Oxon and with men of the world at Lincoln's Inn, and find your recreation in your retirement of Ewelme (sic): while I am thrown into this distant world, where Academical Studies are almost unknown, where the men are all absorbed in business, and the women in dissipation, and where my principal relaxation is a solitary evening ride thro' Hindoo villages: yet are we both, I trust, faithful sons of the Ch. of Engd. you, while you deliver her doctrines from the Chair at Oxford, and endeavour to keep her future ministers in the paths of truth, and soberness, and I while I am labouring to lay her foundation among our country men in India.

"I need hardly assure you, what pleasure I shall have

in hearing from you: to know that I live in the recollection of my friends in Engd. is indispensable to my comfort.... Mrs. M. has her health very well so far: she desires to join me in kind remembrance to Mrs. V.M. and the Miss Douglasses. Pray mention me to the good Warden of Wadham and to Prof. Gaisford.

"I am, my dear Sir, with sincere esteem,

Yr. faithful friend,

(Signed) T. F. CALCUTTA.

"P.S. I have actually this moment recd. an application from the Presbyterian Preacher to lend the Cathedral for the Service of the Ch. of Scotland!! Only till his Congregation can be accommodated with a place of their own. I wonder whether any Bp. before myself was ever called upon to refuse his Pulpit to an Anti-Episcopalian."

The second letter is dated from Madras, 20th January 1816.

The Bishop refers to the arrival in India of a Mr. Tayler, 'the welcome Bearer of your Bampton Lectures, and what was scarcely less interesting to me, of a letter from the Lecturer .... I read thro' your lects with as unmixed pleasure, as I ever experienced in reading the work of a friend. It is a volume which will do you credit.....:

the matter is admirably arranged, much of it is new, and the style is, I really think, as pure as that of any volume, to which I could immediately refer: in this point of view it is very striking: and the application of the whole to present circumstances and opinions will do great good, if good is to be done at all. I sincerely congratulate you on this very successful attempt. Rivingtons sent a Duplicate which I gave to one of my Archdeacons.'

The Bishop proceeds to describe some of his many difficulties. "There is not a particle of Church feeling in the country, and a favourite axiom among the very few, who profess to have any concern about Christianity, is, that we should here attend to no distinctions but that of Christian and Pagan." There was delay in recognizing his powers and authority, and even a Governor proved far from helpful. He looked forward to the time when he could talk to Van Mildert of all he had had to do in India, and was very grateful for Van Mildert's gift of Joseph Simon Assemani's Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana; 'your splendid present of Assemani's (sic) "Bibliotheca Orientalis" travels with me, and is absolutely invaluable.'

. Van Mildert has left notes on the subjects he intended to refer to in reply to these two letters. He contrasts the exacting and arduous labours of Bishop Middleton with those of an English Bishop and in

reference to the somewhat anomalous status of the Bishop in India, thinks that this may be due largely to the recognition in Great Britain of two distinct establishments, viz. the Episcopal and the Presbyterian. The latter may be expected to continue in view of the large proportion of Scotsmen who go out there. "But if fanaticism, indifferentism, and schism can be put down, and no other 'ism left but Presbyterianism, and that only a fair proportion of Scotch and English, we ought not to complain." He hopes that the Bishop's efforts to further the S.P.C.K. (1) will diminish the influence of the Bible Society.

Comment to be made on topics of interest, including Bishop Marsh, (2) Bishop Ryder, (3) Bishop of Oxford (4) and "Mrs. G's marriage" (5).

"Mem:- Contrast the situation of the Church in India with that in England. Divisions existing here - Combination against the Church - defection of many of its own members. Though more Heads to take counsel together, yet the responsibility being thus divided, less perhaps is done, and less attempted than if the management were in fewer hands, or even in those of one person."

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(1) 'The Socy. at B. Bgs'. The S.P.C.K. had then its offices at Bartlett's Buildings.

(2) Nominated to See of Llandaff 1816.

(3) Nominated to See of Gloucester 1815.

(4) The Rev. the Honble. Edward Legge nominated to the See of Oxford 1815.

(5) Probably Helen Douglas's marriage to Gaisford, 1815.

The third letter from the Bishop is dated from Calcutta, 7th January 1818. It describes with much detail the difficulties he met in the episcopal oversight of the Clergy, who appeared to regard the East India Company as the chief authority. The Bishop complains that the restrictions imposed by the Company made it practically impossible for him to ordain any to the Ministry, and so made void the powers expressly mentioned in his Letters Patent. He had given a course of Lectures and one expression he uses raises the very interesting question of its origin. "After Easter I hope to resume my Lectures on our incomparable Liturgy...." Van Mildert uses the same adjective in reference to our Liturgy in one of his Sermons at Lincoln's Inn, and it would be interesting to ascertain who first coined the description!

The fourth letter is dated "Prince of Wales's Island, 3 May, 1819."

The Bishop gives a vivid account of a hazardous voyage to the Island undertaken in the course of only 'half a Visitation', which on his return to Calcutta will have involved travelling a distance of about 3,600 miles. He continues: "But all the while, I am not answering your Letters: with regard to the Note announcing your most



splendid present of Books from the Clarendon Press, I do assure you that I shall value them not only on account of their intrinsic worth: .....

"It gave me much concern to hear from some of our common friends, before I received your Letters, that you had been in so indifferent a state of health: to recommend any thing like inactivity to an active mind is, I am aware, to offer advice with little prospect of its being followed: but I really do think it, not merely allowable, but a part of duty in men, who are labouring effectively for the public good, to moderate their labours from a regard to health, and not to wear themselves out prematurely by excessive exertion. You have, I fear, in the University and at Linc: Inn more to do than any man can do, who is not content with mere routine, but is hardly satisfied when he does his best - Your edition of Waterland will, I have no doubt, be a valuable accession to Theological Libraries; and hope that mine will possess it, as soon as any in India; as I gave orders for it some time ago; it is surprising that the works of such a man were not collected sooner: he stands very high in the first class of our Divines. I thank you for your account of all that is going on in the way of Literature at Oxford, especially of the Venetian MSS."

The fifth Letter is dated from Calcutta, 20th September 1819, and the customary address has been changed from "My dear Sir" to "My Dear Lord", for the Bishop has received the news of Van Mildert's nomination to the Bishopric of Llandaff, and sends his congratulations.

"It is with sincere pleasure that I am enabled thus to address you: your elevation to the Bench is an event in which all your friends, and the friends of the Church, which however is little more than a different designation of the same thing, most cordially rejoice; and none rejoice more cordially, be assured, than myself. The intelligence, however, did not excite in me any feeling of surprise: I recollect that when I parted from you, between five and six years ago, I told you that if ever I saw England again, I should look for you in the House of Lords: when I return, if ever that happen, your Lordship will not be a new tenant of that illustrious Mansion: I still hope however I shall find you there, whether as Llandaff, or, as an ancient would have said, by whatever name you may delight to be called." The Bishop had to report that the Books Van Mildert had ordered from the Clarendon Press had unfortunately gone down with the ship, but he begged that nothing should be done about it. Evidently the Bishop thought that

Van Mildert's generosity might lead him to renew the order! The rest of the letter is mainly concerned with the Bishop's difficulties, and with his proposed college. Like the other four letters there is a strain of pathos running through it, the result, perhaps, of the loneliness and isolation of his office. This time the letter is signed:

'I am, my Dear Lord, yr. Lordship's faithful and affectionate Friend and Brother, T.F.C.'

Bishop Middleton, alas! did not live to experience the joy of returning home. To the very great regret of his many friends, and of that still larger circle who hoped great things from his episcopate, he died of fever on the 8th July, 1822, in the midst of his work.

Van Mildert's generosity can rightly be described as princely and many instances have been given. One case is deserving of special notice. The name of the recipient is not known, but he is described as 'a very estimable and highly gifted clergyman', who was suffering from sickness and poverty. Those interested in his misfortunes appealed to Van Mildert whose response<sup>(1)</sup> is a model of humility and tactful sympathy. "I well recollect when a certain individual, in temporary difficulties far less urgent, was

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(1) Churton's Memoir of Joshua Watson, Vol.ii, pp.37-39.

extricated by the benevolence of another individual, who insisted that the aid afforded was to be regarded in the light of a duty to his mother Church, rather than as a largesse to the person so relieved. I would fain, therefore, adopt the same view of the matter in the present case, and persuade the good recipient that the help administered emanates from a sense of public duty no less than from personal regard, and is therefore clear from anything that shall be painful to a sensitive mind. No-one will know better how to do this than yourself, and such as may co-operate with you in what is to be done ..... I will add but one word: £200 you will take as my minimum; to be increased, as you may advise, to £500."

Except for Van Mildert's trip to the Low Countries (p.45) in early life there is no record of his being away from our shores. Perhaps the duties of his many offices, and his studious habits did not leave much opportunity for this, and his constitution, which was never robust, may have made it inadvisable for him to risk the discomforts of foreign travel and foreign food. It may be safely assumed that his comments would have been both interesting and amusing, for his itineraries and notes relating to journeys in England

show him to have been a careful observer.

Riddles in rhyme were once popular, and, though less of an 'intelligence test' than cross-word puzzles, could be enjoyed by a larger circle, and were thus a more sociable pastime. The Bishop could find amusement in making them. (1)

"What makes the Soldier's spirit boil,  
What aids the Student's midnight toil,  
Will show, when clearly written down,  
A far-famed Castle and its Town."

"What needy Debtors vigilantly shun,  
What Dobbin looks for, when his journey's done,  
Will name (so my Itinerary shows)  
A Town where late I pass'd a night's repose."

Van Mildert generously wrote the answer, "Warwick", to the first, and then on second thoughts obliterated it - not too successfully. On writing the second the generous mood had passed, and the writer of this thesis must leave the reader to discover the answer.

"Satisfaction: A hint to Duellists", can be assigned, from the postmark on the reverse side, to 1789. It formed an addition to a letter written by Van Mildert to his Cousin (who was also his brother-in-law), Cornelius Ives of Bradden. It is prefaced by the following note which formed a kind of postscript to the letter.

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS.

"Duelling has lately been much talk'd of - you know my sentiments on the absurdity of it. It has struck me that there is but one way in which it can be said to give Satisfaction. What that way is, I have endeavoured to express in the following Jeu d'Esprit, which is much at your service."

The lines are quite good, and he gains his objective, though critics might object that he only does so by changing the 'universe' of 'satisfaction'.

"Satisfaction - A Hint to Duellists"

"Florio, bred up in Fashion's school  
 In modern Ethics deeply learn'd,  
 Knew every well-adapted rule  
 Where injur'd Honour is concern'd:  
 Could canvass each minute offence,  
 Unfold each intricate transaction,  
 And with proportion nice, dispense  
 The measure due of Satisfaction.

For proof of Florio's education  
 At length a fit occasion's found:  
 His fav'rite female's reputation  
 Some friend too rash has dar'd to wound.

Affront so dire, so foul a stain,  
 Nought can repair but lead or steel.  
 They meet - each fires - but fires in vain -  
 No vengeance yet does insult feel.

Still Satisfaction keeps aloof.  
 How then, decide fair Honour's prize?  
 The sword? ay, that's the surest proof  
 Agreed - poor Florio falls and dies.

Old-fashion'd Wisdom, grave and slow,  
 Musing th' event in thoughtful way,  
 Long rack'd her curious mind, to know  
 Where Florio's Satisfaction lay.

Pho! cries pert Honour, cease your stuff -  
 Nor vex with idle thought your brain.  
 He's satisfied who has enough -  
 And Florio has enough, 'tis plain."

The delightful poem, 'Nymph! fare thee well!' (1) is reminiscent of an earlier romantic stage when 'Fair Eliza' (App. I to Ch. II.) inspired his pen. But thoughts are more mature, and the metre has changed. Was it an 'Adieu' to Eliza, or to some girl he had known at Oxford? The writer of the thesis inclines to the view that it belongs to a much later period - probably to the time when he was Regius Professor, for the handwriting is not like that of his earlier years. It may well have been a graceful tribute to an attractive relative of one of his contemporaries during the years of his Professorship.

"Nymph! fare thee well!  
 Enough thus for thy sweets to have sipp'd,  
 And in thy odours to have dipp'd -  
 I go to tell  
 To distant folk thy prodigies,  
 And bid the witty and the wise  
 Hither with winged speed resort,  
 And wait attendant at thy court.

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(1) Grant Ives' MSS.

So haply, in sublimer verse,  
 Thy virtue's and thy votaries' praise  
 Some future Laureate shall rehearse,  
 Thy fame record in deathless lays,  
 Until thy crowded shrine be prest  
 By suitors yet unborn, and many a welcome guest."

Probably to the same period should be assigned the translations of some of John Owen's Epigrammata, and of Gray's lines in praise of Caelia. (1)

"Oweni Epigrammata"

"Malum infinitum.

Mille mortis morimur mortales, nascimur uno:  
 Sunt hominum morbi mille, sed una salus.

O tempora! O mores!

Cur accusat homo mores ac tempora, culpam  
 Moribus ascribens temporibusque suam?  
 Non in temporibus vitium est, aut moribus ullum;  
 Non vitiamur ab his temporibus, sed in his.

Ad medicos et Jurisconsultos.

Ulceribus, Galene, vales tantummodo nostris;  
 Stultitia nostra, Justiniane, sapis."

"Anglice"

"A thousand modes of Death we meet -  
 Our Birth is but by one:  
 A thousand maladies we feel,  
 But Health comes all alone.

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(1) Grant Ives' MSS.



O tempora! O mores!  
 Against times and manners, why, prithee, declaim?  
 Ascribing to them for what you are to blame?  
 No fault's in the manners or times - but, too true,  
You vitiate them, they vitiate not you.

Physicians and Lawyers.  
 The sons of Galen by our miseries thrive;  
 The law's wise sages by our follies live."

His translation<sup>(1)</sup> of Gray's ode to Caelia has the following note in another's handwriting: 'The above Latin lines (translated by Van Mildert) were written by Gray, in imitation of Martial: on Mr. Mason's commending the superiority of his mistress to Mr. Gray's.'

"Fulvia formosa est multis mihi candida, longa  
 Recta est, hoc ego; sic singula confiteor:"

"Of Fulvia's beauty many tell us:-  
 Fastidious think me not, or jealous,  
 If somewhat I demur -  
 She's fair, she's well-proportioned, tall:  
 These charms I grant her, one and all:  
 Thus far, I none prefer."

"Totum illud, formosa, nego: nam nulla venustas  
 Nulla in tam magno corpore mica salis."

"But Fulvia's beauty I deny;  
 And still must think, that praise so high  
 To Her is ill assign'd.  
 In whom, nor elegance, nor grace,  
 Nor wit, nor spirit, finds a place -  
 A form without a mind!"

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(1) Grant Ives' MSS.

"Caelia formosa est, quae cum pulcherrima tota est,  
 Omnibus una omnes surripuit Veneres."

"No! Caelia beauty's palm shall claim,  
 In whom the fairest, loveliest, frame  
 Bespeaks as rare a soul!  
 She, all at once the Heart disarms,  
 Despoils the Graces of their charms,  
 And reigns without controul!"

It may well have been that Van Mildert often amused himself in 'free periods' by endeavouring to give in English verse equivalents of the Latin originals. This next illustration<sup>(1)</sup> is his rendering of the following lines to be found in the Life of Virgil by Tiberius Claudius Donatus (if this was indeed the author's name!

"Sic vos non vobis nidificatis, aves;  
 Sic vos non vobis mellificatis, apes;  
 Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis, oves,  
 Sic vos non vobis fertis aratra, boves."

"Not for themselves birds build their nests with care,  
 Not for themselves bees your honied stores abound  
 Not for themselves the sheep their fleeces bear,  
 Not for themselves do oxen plough the ground."

It will be noticed that the second line is not in accord with the other three as it retains the second person of the original, instead of substituting the third person as in the others. From the manuscript it is evident that Van Mildert had intended to retain the second person throughout. He

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(1) Grant Ives' MSS.

successfully accomplished the change to the third person in the others, but he left the offending line unaltered. Perhaps some undergraduate had managed to penetrate into the fastness of his study, or a Lincoln's Inn sermon had claimed his attention!

In these days Van Mildert would have been described as a 'Die-hard' Tory, nor would the description have been inaccurate provided that Tory policy did not conflict with what he deemed to be the interest and welfare of the Church. It is important to remember this proviso, for the freedom and security of the Church in spiritual matters was a determining factor in his life. Where, however, domestic or foreign policy did not appear to be in conflict with the Church he was ready, and indeed eager to support the Tory party. "The Mastiff, the Fox, and the Wolf,"<sup>(1)</sup> cannot be dated exactly from internal evidence, and it is not even clear whether it is intended as a warning, or as a description of events that have happened. Thus it might be before or after the passing of the Reform Act. In any case his own sentiments are not disguised.

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(1) Grant Ives' MSS.

"The Mastiff, the Fox, and the Wolf"

- A Fable -

"Long did a faithful Mastiff's care  
 His Lord's distinguished favour share;  
 Long had he watch'd, with heedful eye,  
 To ward off dangers far and nigh;  
 Still early at his post, and late  
 Sure guardian of the Castle-gate,  
 Old Trusty, let what would betide,  
 His honour'd name had ne'er belied.  
 Thus ever vigilant and true,  
 All things around him prosperous grew.

In-doors, security, protection,  
 Banish'd disquieting reflection;  
 All ate, and drank, and slept in quiet;  
 No jarrings, no tumultuous riot;  
 The Chaplain, too, said grace, read prayers;  
 And whose so fair a lot as their's?  
 Doubting not friends, nor fearing foes,  
 What should disturb their calm repose?

Out-doors, went matters much the same;  
 All knew the Mastiff's honest fame:  
 Whene'er his voice their ears assail'd,  
 Rogues, vagabonds, marauders quail'd.  
 And foes, of whatso'er degree,  
 Well knew that Guardians, such as he,  
 'Gainst bribes and menaces were proof,  
 And wisely kept themselves aloof.

A wily Fox, of slender parts,  
 But long well-vers'd in vulpine arts,  
 The Mastiff's post with envy view'd,  
 And many a crooked scheme pursued,  
 To oust him from the Castle-gate,  
 And proudly there himself instate.  
 - 'Twere but a profitless narration,  
 To tell each crafty machination  
 This mischief-making wight essay'd  
 Old Trusty's station to invade.  
 His cubs around him, too, he drew,  
 Who well his object kept in view;  
 By trick or clamour, stealth or force,  
 Shaping, as he enjoin'd, their course.

- But all in vain - even Reynard's skill  
 Still fail'd his purpose to fulfil:  
 With Trusty for its stout defender,  
 The Castle yet makes no surrender.

A Wolf, hard by, who nightly prowl'd  
 To prey on stragglers from the fold,  
 View'd oft, with dark and scowling eye,  
 The Castle's turrets rear'd on high:  
 Its inmates deeply he detested,  
 With envied privileges vested;  
 And vow'd the time, ere long, should come,  
 He'd drive them from their lordly home;  
 And (sweet reward for all his toils!)  
 Would revel in their costly spoils.  
 The Mastiff, too, should soon give way,  
 And bow to his imperious sway.

Sly Renard hears, with satisfaction,  
 These bodings of decisive action,  
 And seeks the grisly Chief, to league  
 With him in warfare and intrigue.  
 "Give me the lead," he cries, "and then  
 "We'll hunt these monsters from their den.  
 "You shall have plunder, quantum suff;  
 "For me it will be quite enough  
 "To guard the Castle from disaster,  
 "When I'm become its Lord and Master;  
 "To make as we see fit, fresh Laws,  
 "To uphold Reform, spread Freedom's cause,  
 "Preserving still, for our own use,  
 "Whate'er these measures can produce."

Sir Wolf, he grinned a ghastly smile -  
 " - Suspend we grudges for a while;  
 "Let us shake paws, and vow fraternity,  
 "Nor still be squabbling to eternity.  
 "But first that Mastiff we must turn out;  
 "The Household then we soon shall burn out;  
 "And of the Castle take possession,  
 "Of right our own, by storm or cession.  
 "And whether you or I shall rule,  
 "What matters it? - one must be tool;  
 "And let him govern who, as strongest,  
 "Can hold the reins of power the longest - "

So said, so done; the coalescing  
 Requires no form, and time is pressing.  
 Hours quickly fly, the work is o'er -  
 Old Trusty's driven from the door.  
 The Castle's storm'd - the Inmates fly -  
 Keen Reynard and his grim ally  
 Enter its portals, flush'd with glee,  
 'Midst shouts and howls of Victory.

Thus for the work of Spoliation -  
 - How speeds it now with Renovation?

At home are bickerings, strifes, dissensions.  
 Clashing of rights and of pretensions -  
 Though Reynard is a practis'd schemer,  
 Sir Wolf is neither dolt nor dreamer;  
 And hints of sharp collision prove  
 'Twere better not disputes to move,  
 Reynard assumes the chief command,  
 But Wolf is ever near at hand,  
 To do, or undo, as he lists -  
 In whom the Government consists,  
 Who holds the rod, or wears the ermine,  
 It boots but little to determine.  
 Meanwhile the Castle-folk bemoan  
 Their wonted peace and quiet gone.  
 Wild uproar's never-ceasing din  
 Proclaims that Discord reigns within.  
 Finding that vain is honest labour,  
 Each studies to supplant his neighbour.  
 The Chaplain's stinted to short commons,  
 And none regards his godly summons.  
 Some domineer, and others tremble,  
 Some clamour loudly, some dissemble.  
 Dread and suspicion lurks throughout,  
 Good faith and honour are thrust out.

Abroad, too, the contagion spreads -  
 None sleep secure in their beds.  
 Foxes and Wolves the country scour,  
 With uncontroll'd and lawless power.  
 Goodwill, sincerity, calm reason  
 Give way to hatred, fraud, and treason.  
 Each faintly whispers to his friend,  
 O! when will all this turmoil end?  
 - Never, till we can reinstate  
 Old Trusty in the Castle-gate.

Application

Each Fable with a moral ends:-  
 Mine to one obvious purpose tends:-  
 For Mastiff, Fox and Wolf, write down  
Tory, Whig, Radical - you'll own,  
 However mystic the narration,  
 It needs no other application."

It is unfortunate that Van Mildert was content to record his obiter scripta on scraps of paper, sometimes without any annotations explaining their context. Thus we cannot determine whether the following fragment<sup>(1)</sup> refers to tests set to those who had attended his Lectures at Oxford, or to candidates for Ordination either at Llandaff or Durham. Bearing in mind the absence of public examinations, as we know them, during his Oxford professorship, it seems on the whole probable that it refers to candidates for Ordination.

"Scriptures"

"St. John's Gospel - 1st or 3rd  
 Acts of the Apostles - 8th or 9th.  
 St. Paul's Epistles - Galat. 3rd.  
 Some few passages to be selected from these, to be literally construed, and such questions put as may serve to elucidate their meaning, and their connection with the context, as well as with other parts of Scripture."

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS.

"Articles"

"Proofs of the doctrine of the Trinity, the Divinity of our Saviour, and the Divinity and Personality of the Holy Ghost, Art. 1, 2, 5.  
Original Sin, Art. 9.  
Faith and Works, Art. 11, 12.  
Sacraments, Art. 25.  
Baptism and Regeneration, Art. 27.  
Lord's Supper, Art. 28.

Questions to be asked on two, or more, of the above articles, so as to ascertain whether the Candidate understands and agrees with the doctrine of the Ch. of England concerning them."

"Writing Exercises"

"A short Exposition, in English, of either of the following Articles, viz. 9th, 11th, 27th or 28th with Scripture Proofs.

Translation into Latin of one of the Advent Collects, or any other portion of the Liturgy.

N.B. Previous to either the viva voce Examination, or the written Exercises, inquire into the Candidate's course of reading, and question him as to the general purport of the books he professes to have read. Ascertain also what commentaries on the Scriptures he has chiefly used."

But there was an inner sanctuary of prayer and devotion, the veil of which can only be lifted with hesitation and reverence. Van Mildert, in spite of the many high offices he had held, was essentially humble and devout. For him prayer itself deserved, and received, careful thought, and



the manuscripts available provide proof of this for in several cases there are corrections and alterations in his handwriting.

The morning and evening prayers,<sup>(1)</sup> 'altered from Bp. Wilson', were probably written and used during the time of his professorship at Oxford (compare the petitions included in brackets in the 'Morning Prayer'), but may have been used throughout his life. They are both undated.

#### "A Morning Prayer"

"O Almighty and most merciful God, what shall I render unto Thee, for all Thy mercies from day to day renewed unto me? I will offer the Sacrifice of Thanksgiving, and pay my vows unto Thee, O Lord most High!

"Accept, O God, I beseech Thee, my humble and hearty thanks, for all the Blessings of the Night past, for my Preservation and Refreshment, and for raising me up in Safety to praise Thy Name. Possess my Soul, O Lord, with such a sense of this Thy Goodness, and of my continual Dependence upon Thee for Life and Health, Prosperity and Comfort, that it may be my daily Delight, as it is my Duty and my Interest, to serve and obey Thee. And that I may do this with a quiet Mind, forgive me, I pray Thee, the Sins whereof my Conscience is afraid, and avert the Judgments which I have justly deserved. Give me grace, that I may continue in Thy Fear all the day long; that I may live and act as having Thee the constant Witness of my Conduct; and that it may be the stedfast Purpose of my Soul never wilfully to offend Thee. Let thy restraining Grace preserve me from the Temptations of an evil World, from the Frailty and Corruption of my own Nature, from all Adversities which may happen to the body, and from all evil thoughts which may assault or hurt the Soul.

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(1) Grant-Ives! MSS.

"Possess my Heart, O Lord, I beseech Thee, with a sincere Love for Thee, and for all Mankind. Grant that I may ever have this comfortable and sure proof of Thy Love abiding in me, that I study to please Thee, and to keep Thy Commandments. Give me also a tender compassion for the wants, the Infirmities, and the Distresses of others, that Thou mayest have compassion upon Me.

"In all my ways, O Lord, I do acknowledge Thee. Do thou direct my Paths, and teach me to guide my affairs my designs, my words and actions, with charity, discretion, justice and piety. Shew me the Way that I should walk in and give me grace to follow it, that I may do my Duty in that state of life in which Thy Providence hath placed me.

("More especially vouchsafe me Thy Help, I beseech Thee, in discharging the functions of my Sacred Calling, and in preparing and delivering Instructions for the edification of those who may be in any way committed to my charge. Bless and sanctify, I pray Thee, all my studies and endeavours to promote in this University and elsewhere, the knowledge of the Truth and to preserve myself and others from any dangerous Errors). Make me diligent in all that I have to do; ever remembering that the Night cometh when no man can work; and that now is the time in which to provide for Eternity.

"Finally, O Lord God, grant, I implore Thee, that no worldly pleasures, no worldly business, may ever make me unmindful of Death, or of the many dangers that surround me. Impress me with a constant dread of the Punishments prepared for impenitent sinners, and with a just sense of the Blessings which will be the sure reward of all them that love Thee, and obey Thy Laws.

"Hear me, O most gracious God and heavenly Father, not according to my imperfect Petitions, but according to the full meaning of that holy Prayer which Thy beloved Son hath taught us:

"Our Father, &c."

"An Evening Prayer"

"O Almighty God, and heavenly Father, accept, I beseech Thee, my humble and hearty Thanks, that it hath pleased Thee to add another Day to the years of my Life. For this and for all Thy Mercies from Day to Day bestowed upon me, I bless Thy good Providence; most earnestly beseeching Thee to pardon all my Offences of the day past, and to grant they may never rise up in Judgment against me..

"O Lord, I am fully sensible that the frailty of Man without Thee cannot but fall. In all Temptations, therefore, I pray Thee to succour me, that no sin may ever get the dominion over me. Give me a salutary Dread of the Corruption of my own Heart. Make me ever mindful of the end of sin, and of my own Infirmities. Enlighten my Soul with saving Truth. Correct me in Mercy and lead me back unto Thy Paths, whenever I go astray. Preserve in me a constant remembrance of my latter end, and fix in my Heart a lively sense of the Happiness and Misery of the World to come. Let the Thoughts of Death mortify in me all Pride and Covetousness and inordinate Love of this World: and let my firm Belief of a Judgment to come make me always careful to please Thee, that I may find Mercy when Thou shalt come to be our Judge.

"Grant, O Lord, that I may lie down to sleep this Night with the same charitable and forgiving temper, the same pure and holy Frame of Mind, in which I desire and hope to die. And vouchsafe me such refreshing Rest and Sleep that I may rise in the morning more fit for Thy Service.

"Take me, O Lord, I beseech Thee, and all who are dear to me, this Night under Thy gracious and all-powerful Protection. Be thou ever over and with us, and keep us in perpetual Peace and Safety.

"These Prayers and Supplications I humbly offer up in the Name and through the Mediation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, according to the full meaning of that perfect Form of Prayer which He Himself hath taught us:-

"Our Father, &c."



which have been included here. In this connection it is of interest to refer to a fragment<sup>(1)</sup> in his handwriting giving suggestions for Prayers to be said by the Aged and Infirm. It will be noted that provision is made for prayers at Noon as well as in the morning and at night. From the heading "No. 1" it is reasonable to suppose that it formed, or was intended to form part of a series.

"No. 1"

"Devotions for the Aged and Infirm"

Morning

- "1. Lord's Prayer.
2. Collect for the 3rd Sunday after Epiphany.
3. Confession in the Communion Service, abridged.
4. First of the short Collects at the beginning of the Visitation of the Sick.
5. Third Collect in the Morning Service.
6. General Thanksgiving, abridged.
7. Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c."

"Noon"

- "1. Lord's Prayer.
2. Collect for the 4th Sunday after Epiphany.

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS.

3. Absolution in the Communion Service formed into a Prayer.
4. Second of the short Collects at the beginning of the Visitation of the Sick.
5. Prayer for all conditions of men, abridged.
6. 'Glory be to God on high', abridged from the Communion Service.
7. 'The Peace of God', &c."

"Night"

- "1. Lord's Prayer.
2. Introductory Collect in the Communion Service.
3. Prayer in the Visitation of the Sick, 'O Father of Mercies', abridged.
4. 'The Almighty Lord, who is a most strong tower', &c. abridged from the Communion Service.
5. 'O Saviour of the world', &c. from the Communion Service."

It will be observed that the description of Nos. 4 and 5 as from 'the Communion Service' is obviously a lapsus calami for 'the Visitation of the Sick'. There was not then the abundance of small devotional books to which we have been accustomed, and perhaps the following<sup>(1)</sup> may have been suggestions for more general use.

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS.

"Morning"

"Lord's Prayer.  
 Confession.  
 Collects.  
 Thanksgiving.  
 Benediction."

"Evening"

"Lord's Prayer.  
 Confession.  
 Collects.  
 Prayer for all conditions of men.  
 Commendatory Prayer.  
 Benediction."

In addition to his own afflictions Van Mildert had to bear the distress of his wife's failing health. Jane was a little older than he, and it seemed more than likely that she would be the first to be called to her rest. The letters and references reproduced in this thesis are evidence of the loving companionship which at the time of his death had lasted for some forty years, and which had witnessed the guiding Hand of God from comparative obscurity to the splendour of the See of Durham. It is with diffidence that the writer includes the following Prayer<sup>(1)</sup> found amongst the Bishop's papers.

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS.

"O, Almighty and most merciful God, who art nigh unto all them that call upon Thee faithfully, graciously hear my supplications on behalf of my beloved Wife, labouring under increasing age and infirmities.

"Comfort her, O Lord, I beseech Thee, with Thy heavenly Grace, and enable her with patience and cheerful resignation to submit to Thy blessed Will. Strengthen her with the assurance that Thou makest all things work together for good to them that love Thee. Bless the means used for her relief and comfort; and preserve her in such a state both of body and mind, as may give her sure hope and confidence in Thy favour and protection. Grant her grace also to continue in Thy faith and fear, and in a constant state of preparation for her latter end. And whereinsoever she may have failed in her duty, Lord, shew mercy to her, and cause her to trust, not in her own righteousness, but in the merits and mediation of our Blessed Redeemer, through whom alone she may receive health or salvation. Finally, grant her a peaceful and tranquil end, full of faith, hope and charity, and in a firm expectation of a blessed Resurrection to Eternal Life, through our



Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. Bless me also, O Lord, I beseech Thee, with Thy grace and heavenly benediction; and help us both, so to pass the waves of this troublesome world that finally we may come to the land of Everlasting life, and have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in Thy eternal and everlasting glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

It is recorded of Richard Hooker that shortly before his death he 'was meditating the number and nature of angels, and their blessed obedience and order.'<sup>(1)</sup> Van Mildert also found comfort in a realization of the ministry of Guardian Angels and with his love for poetry expressed his thoughts in verse.<sup>(2)</sup>

"Night Thoughts"

"Guardian Angels! watch around me,  
Ministering Spirits from above!  
Let your cheering smiles surround me,  
Beaming peace, and joy, and love!

"If thoughts of guilt and death and woe,  
Fill me with corroding care;  
O! shield me from the ruthless foe,  
Who else would plunge me in despair.

If holy aspirations rise,  
Lifting the heart to praise on high,  
Oh! may their holier minstrelsy  
My weakness aid, my wants supply.

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(1) Hooker's Works by Isaac Walton, Vol.i, p.67, Oxford University Press 1845.

(2) Grant-Ives MSS.

If, reckless of celestial joys,  
Corruption presses down my soul,  
And, deaf to every warning voice,  
Gives sense and appetite control: -

Let them forsake me not, but wait,  
Till by renewing aids of Grace,  
Recover'd to a healthier state,  
My faltering footsteps I retrace.

In pain or ease, in mirth or sadness,  
From hour to hour, by day or night.  
Be they at hand, to whisper gladness  
And cheer my path with visions bright;

With visions of that future bliss,  
When, likened to yourselves, the just  
Shall hail a brighter world than this,  
Releas'd from their terrestrial dust."

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his translation to Durham, however, his enfeebled health and the increase in administrative duties precluded him from embarking upon fresh literary work. A greater work was yet to be achieved by him at Durham - the founding of her University.

Yet though fresh literary work was no longer possible, he was able to revise and publish two volumes of Sermons. Reference has been made before in this thesis to the painstaking care which Van Mildert expended upon sermons, and to their literary excellence. In this connection J. H. Overton's remarks deserve to be recorded. "Equally unfair would it be to take the printed sermons of the time as a true measure of pulpit eloquence. Everyone knows how a sermon which is most effective when delivered orally may be very flat and disappointing when read in 'cold blood'. This is especially the case with sermons chiefly addressed to the feelings, as those of the Evangelicals mostly were. It is not, therefore, among the famous Evangelical preachers of the day, the Gisbornes, the Milners and the Daniel Wilsons, but among men like Hugh James Rose, William Van Mildert and John Jebb, all of whose sermons read admirably, that we must look for the best specimens of the preaching of the day."(1)

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(1) The English Church in the Nineteenth Century (1800-1833)  
by J. H. Overton, p.138.

Apparently<sup>(1)</sup> Van Mildert had often been asked to publish those Sermons which he had delivered at Lincoln's Inn, and during a period of enforced rest through illness, he was able to see the two volumes through the press. They were published in January 1831.

It was no doubt due to his enfeebled health that he was not called upon to assist more frequently in the consecrations of bishops, and after 1827 he does not appear as a co-consecrator. Two occasions have already been noted (pp. 140,141) and the others were as follows:<sup>(2)</sup>

1823

1st June: Assisted at the consecration at Lambeth of Reginald Heber, successor to Bishop Middleton, to the See of Calcutta.

1824

25th July: Assisted at the consecrations at Lambeth of Christopher Lipscombe to the See of Jamaica, and of William Hart Coleridge to the See of Barbados and the Windward Isles.

1825

27th March: Assisted at the consecration at Lambeth of John Inglis, first Bishop of Nova Scotia.

1826

1st January: Assisted at the consecration at Lambeth of Charles James Stuart to the See of Quebec.

(1) Preface to his Lincoln's Inn Sermons, Vol. i.

(2) Stubbs' Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum, pp. 172, 181, 182, 169.

At all these Van Mildert acted as Bishop of Llandaff. As Bishop of Durham he only acted as co-consecrator on three occasions, all in 1827.<sup>(1)</sup>

4th March: Assisted at the consecration at Lambeth of his very dear friend Charles Lloyd to the See of Oxford.

25th March: Assisted at the consecration at Lambeth of Robert Gray to the See of Bristol. Bishop Gray was already a Prebendary of Durham.

3rd June: Assisted at the consecration at Lambeth of John Thomas James to the See of Calcutta, rendered vacant by the lamented death of Reginald Heber.

It will be observed that Van Mildert assisted at the consecration of the three Bishops of Calcutta immediately succeeding his friend Bishop Middleton, and doubtless it was his friendship with Middleton and his interest in his work which made him wish to take part in the consecration of the others.

By 1835 the Bishop's health had deteriorated so considerably that no hope of recovery could reasonably be entertained. The Bishop indeed had realized this for in a letter dated 24th November 1834, enclosing a donation for use in his former diocese of Llandaff, he had not hesitated to intimate that a severe winter might prove too great a strain for him.

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(1) Stubbs' Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum, (pp. 150, 173).

In March of 1835 he was in London, and there was a consultation on his health by his doctors, Sir Henry Halford, Dr. Prout and Mr. Copeland, at which only palliatives could be recommended for a condition now hopeless. It is to be remembered that he was called upon to bear not only the discomfort of weakness, but, also, almost constant pain. Ives reproduces part of a letter from the Bishop, written in May of that year, in which there occurs the following passage: "My complaint has, for many weeks past, scarcely allowed me an interval free from pain for two hours together, either by day or night." Writing to a friend (the Reverend W. Bruce Knight) on 8th December 1835 from Auckland Castle he encloses a donation of £100 for use in the Llandaff diocese, and seems to indicate that it is his farewell message and gift. "My good friend, fare you well; with the best old-fashioned salutations of the approaching hallowed season (including a Bishop's blessing to you and yours), believe me always sincerely and affectionately yours. W.D."

It would seem that, not unnaturally, the Bishop's thoughts at this period were of earlier years, when, as a simple parish priest, he had ministered to his flock. (1)

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(1) At Braddon, Northamptonshire.

Writing to the priest (his nephew, Cornelius Ives), who was then their pastor, he recalls those days, and with characteristic generosity sends his gifts. "The near approach of Christmas reminds me not to overlook your flock (some of them formerly of my flock also), in the distribution of a few comforts, which may add somewhat to that hallowed season. The enclosed banknote of twenty pounds will, I hope, answer this purpose, and keep alive their kind recollection of me. You will know best how to apportion it."<sup>(1)</sup>

Yet he was spared to those who loved him for another Christmas, and in January his sufferings seemed to be less. On Sunday, 24th January (the third Sunday after the Epiphany), he was even able to preach to his household in the Chapel at Auckland Castle (see p. 94) - his last Sermon.

But the gift of light and happy verse had not yet deserted him, and we can almost hear once more the schoolboy of St. Saviour's, Southwark, and of Merchant Taylors'. The occasion was the marriage of the Reverend the Hon. Robert Liddell and Emily Anne Charlotte, daughter of Prebendary the Hon. Gerald V. Wellesley. The lines<sup>(2)</sup> accompanied a gift from the Bishop of a silver-gilt paper-knife, and bear the date "Jany. 26, 1836."

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(1) Ives' Memoir, pp.142.

(2) I am indebted to H. A. Douglas, Esq., of Rhyl, for these lines and for the information about them. The lines themselves have been copied in another's hand.



"Impromptu"

"Admit me, Lady fair! I pray  
 To greet you on your bridal day!  
 With merits, tho' of small pretension,  
 Not quite unworthy your attention.

Full many a treasure of rich lore  
 My aid will help you to explore -  
 Whate'er sweet strains of Poesy,  
 Or graver page of History,  
 Or Art, or Science may impart  
 To gratify the Head or Heart -  
 Of subjects higher, nobler still  
 To regulate the Thought or Will; -  
 Behold me stationed near at hand,  
 Prompt to unfold at your command.

To cheer a solitary hour  
 I boast the enviable power; -  
 To enliven social conversation  
 Not less befits my occupation.  
 Nor think me vain if I presume  
 In Boudoir or in Drawing-room  
 To claim a seat among your guests,  
 Proud to obey your high behests."

On Monday, 11th February, however, the fatal illness began, with fits of shivering and pain, though on the Thursday he could still join in the prayers said by his Chaplain, the Reverend T. Strong. From that day he was mostly in a comatose state, and at nine o'clock on the morning of Thursday, 21st February in the seventy-first year of his age, he passed to his rest 'apparently without the slightest pain or distress.' (1)

Archdeacon Thorp had already informed Earl Grey of the Bishop's serious condition, and on the death of the Bishop he had apparently written at once to the Archbishop of Canterbury from whom he received the following letter. (2)

"Lambeth, February 24th, 1836.

"The death of my excellent Friend, the Bishop of Durham, will be deeply lamented by many true friends of the Church acquainted with his character and talents; and of course much more by those who had the happiness of sharing his regard, and possessing his confidence in private life. No demonstration of respect to the memory of such a man can exceed his merits: I would only suggest the propriety of

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(1) Ives' Memoir, p.143.

(2) Thorp Correspondence, Letter 210.

considering well what can be accomplished, before any plan may be determined on, that there may be no chance of failure. At the same time whatever is done should be done speedily, before the feeling cools.

"It is probable that the care of Durham University will soon be taken into consideration by the Commissioners. Of course it will be desirable to have all the documents before us without loss of time.

"Your faithful Servant,

(Signed) W. CANTAUR."

The Archdeacon wrote to the Prime Minister to inform him of the Bishop's death, and to urge that, in filling the vacancy, the interests of the University should be remembered. In reply Lord Melbourne wrote: "I beg leave to acknowledge your letter of the 21st inst. conveying the melancholy intelligence of the death of the Bishop of Durham. You may rest assured that in arrangements for filling up the See, which he has left vacant, every attention will be paid to the maintenance and encouragement of that institution, which was the object of his Care and Solitude, and I request that you will at your earliest convenience communicate to me upon this subject any information of what you deem it material that

His Majesty's Government be in possession;

(Signed) MELBOURNE." (1)

As has been observed already the Bishop's own intention had been that he should be interred in his Chapel at Auckland Castle, and a vault had been prepared for himself and Mrs. Van Mildert. The Dean and Chapter of Durham, however, made earnest representations that his Body should be allowed to rest in his Cathedral Church, and their request was granted. A vault was therefore made before the High Altar, and Tuesday, 1st March, was fixed for the interment. The funeral oration was preached in the Cathedral on the 28th February, the Sunday before the interment, by the Reverend Prebendary Townsend, M.A., Vicar of Northallerton, and was subsequently printed.

It bears the following dedication:

"To the Right Revd. the Lord Bishop of St. David's, Dean, And to the Hon. and Rev. the Prebendaries, who were present at the Cathedral Church of Durham, when the following Discourse was delivered, These pages, published at their request, are respectfully dedicated by their obliged and faithful Servant, Friend and Brother,

Geo. Townsend."

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(1) Thorp Correspondence, Letter 211.

Before the Sermon the Preacher recited 'in obedience to the Canon', the Bidding Prayers, which he was accustomed to use when preaching in the Cathedral Church. In place of the usual phrase 'particularly for the Lord Bishop of this Diocese' he inserted the following; 'and that God will grant to this portion of his vineyard a ruler, like him, whose grave is now open before us - whose Christian principles we may approve, whose Christian wisdom we may trust, whose Christian example we may follow' -

The bidding included the following:

"And for a continual supply of fit and able men duly qualified to serve God both in Church and State, let us entreat the blessing of God upon all Schools and Seminaries of sound learning and religious education - upon the Universities of the United Kingdom and especially upon the University of Durham."

The text was 2 Samuel 3, 38: "Know ye not that there is a Prince, and a great man fallen this day in Israel?" After a brief explanation of the context, the Preacher said: "If the King of Judah could require his servants to weep over the body of one, who had been either an avowed enemy or a suspicious friend, because he was a Prince in rank, and great in energy, talent or enterprize, how much more ought those

who can now appreciate talent and firmness, learning and munificence, to lament, at a time when the Church of England requires all the aid that such great qualities can give to its sacred cause, the loss of a man, who was the consistent, able, uncompromising friend of its doctrines, discipline and influence" . . . . . "He was a Prince, not merely by his high rank, among us, but in the right sense of the original word, a bulwark to the Church, a ruler, and a leader to his Brethren. He was a great man, in the true sense of the word, great, because he was distinguished in his day, by those qualities in which all who desire to be the instructors of their Brethren, ought to excel; by devoting all his talents at the foot of the Cross, and by undoubted and lasting usefulness to the Church of God."

The Sermon proceeds to consider the claims the deceased Bishop had under three heads: (1) His Labours and Usefulness as an Author; (2) The Principles on which he acted; and (3) His general character. Under the first of these he refers especially to the Bishop's Boyle Lectures, "An Historical View of Infidelity, with a refutation of its Principles and Reasonings", stressing the underlying argument of the author, that Infidelity is due to Satan, and that a spurious liberality

of sentiment leads to the blurring of all distinctions between Truth and Falsehood. A passing reference is also made to the Bishop's Bampton Lecture, and to the two volumes of Sermons preached at Lincoln's Inn 'before the most intellectual audience in London.' (It is somewhat surprising that the Preacher did not refer to the Bishop's edition of Waterland's works, and in particular to the valuable biography of Waterland, prefaced to that edition.)

(2) The principles of his life are summed up as 'the love of truth, and the determination to seek for, and defend truth, at all hazards - a deep sense of religion, and the solemn conviction that he was but a Steward of the gifts of God.'

(3) His general character. "In attempting to describe this the time would indeed fail me to relate at sufficient length to do them justice - his freedom from ostentation, and his great simplicity of manners - his extensive knowledge, and his ceaseless industry - his unaffected kindness, and his perfect courtesy - his disinterestedness, and his firmness - his charity and generosity. The time would fail me, more especially to relate his lordly, his princely munificence - munificence, like that of his noble and illustrious predecessor,

displayed on all occasions to the laity, to the clergy, to the poorer curates of his diocese, to private applications, and to public Institutions; but more particularly towards that new Institution, in this place, which I trust will be so blessed by the great Head of the Church, that it will give to the country, and to the world, men great and illustrious as himself."

The sermon ends with these words: "Pray with me, that from this place more especially there may depart a perpetual generation of zealous and faithful men, who shall go forth in the strength of the Lord our God, to serve and to establish the Church. May the Sons of the Durham University, endued with power from on High, go forth useful to man, accepted of God, adorning the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things - blessing, and receiving a blessing."

Of the Funeral itself the Durham Advertiser, in its issue of Friday, 4th March, gave the following account.

"Funeral of the late Lord Bishop of Durham

"The mortal remains of the late Bishop were removed, in the night of Monday last, from Auckland Castle to the Castle in this City, preparatory to their being deposited in the tomb prepared to receive them without the rails of the Altar,



in the Cathedral. The funeral procession was intended to have been formed in the Castle, and to have moved thence across the Palace Green to the place of interment; but in consequence of the inclemency of the weather on Tuesday morning, it was ultimately arranged that the body should be privately removed to the Galilee Chapel, at the Western end of the Cathedral, so that the procession should be entirely under cover."

About eleven o'clock, the great bell of the Cathedral commenced tolling, and before twelve o'clock, the hour appointed for the commencement of the mournful ceremony, every place within the spacious building, which could command a view of the procession, was occupied, even the lofty hanging gallery, and the openings above the arches in the Choir.

Benches were placed from nearly end to end of the Nave, and these were crowded with spectators. Sufficient space was left open in the centre for the procession, which began to move from the Galilee soon after twelve o'clock, in the following order, the choir singing "I am the Resurrection and the Life", etc.

The Porter of the Cathedral.

Bishop's Bedesmen in their Gowns - Two and Two.

Officers of the Palatinate and the See - Two and Two.

Chief Officers, etc., of the Household.

Revd. James Raine, Principal Surrogate, representing  
the Revd. James Baker, the Spiritual Chancellor  
of the Diocese.

Mayor, Aldermen and Town Council.

Nobility and Gentry.

The Constable of the Castle, C. J. Clavering, Esq.

The High Sheriff, W. L. Wharton, Esq.

Junior Verger of the Cathedral

King's Scholars - Two and Two.

Masters of the Grammar School, the Revd. M. H. G.  
Buckle and the Rev. Luke Ripley.

Students in the University - Two and Two.

The Rev. T. W. Peile and the Rev. Charles Whiteley,  
Proctors.

Professors, etc.

Minor Canons.

Choristers.

Organist.

Precentor

Senior Verger of the Cathedral.

The Dean of Durham - Lord Bishop of St. David's.

Two Mutes.

Late Bishop's Chaplains.

Macebearer with Mace reversed.

Train-bearer with Sword of State.

The Rev. Dr. Gilly,  
Prebendary of Durham

The Rev. G. Townsend  
Prebendary of Durham

The Hon. & Rev. Dr.  
Wellesley, Prebendary  
of Durham.

The Rev. John S. Ogle,  
Prebendary of Durham.

### Mourners

The Rev. C. Ives  
The Rev. H. Douglas  
R. A. D. Gresley Esq.  
J. Richardson Esq.

The Rev. W. Ives  
Wm. Grant Esq.  
Christ. Hodgson, Esq.  
A. Douglas, Esq.

The Rev. C. Thorp, D.D., Archdeacon of  
Durham.

Supported by the Rev. S. Gamlen, Official,  
and the Rev. G. S. Faber, Master of Sher-  
burn Hospital.

The Clergy of the Diocese.  
Late Bishop's Servants - Two and Two.  
Gentlemen, Tradesmen, and others.

On entering the Choir, the persons forming the proces-  
sion proceeded to the seats provided for them, and the  
coffin was placed on tressels, near to where the Litany  
Desk usually stands. The Bishop of St. David's, Dean of  
Durham, read, in a most impressive manner, the first part  
of the Funeral Service, and after the Anthem (Luther's Hymn)  
the body was removed to the grave, preceded by:

A Porter  
 Mutes  
 Choristers  
 Precentor  
 Minor Canons  
 Verger  
 The Dean  
 Late Bishop's Chaplains  
 Late Bishop's Mace-bearer  
 and Sword-bearer, as before;

and followed by:

The Mourners - Two and Two  
 Archdeacon of Durham  
 Lord Ravensworth  
 Constable of the Castle  
 High Sheriff.

After the Burial Service was concluded, the Rev. J. Raine, M.A., the Principal Surrogate, standing at the head of the grave, and turning towards the congregation, proclaimed the style and titles of the deceased Prelate in the following terms:-

"Thus it hath pleased Almighty God of his great goodness to take unto himself the Right Reverend Father in God, William Van Mildert, Doctor in Divinity, by Divine Providence Lord Bishop of Durham, Count of the County Palatine of Durham, Earl of Sadberge, Custos Rotulorum of the County Palatine of Durham, and Visitor of the University of Durham. His body is here buried in peace. His spirit is gone to God who gave it."

The procession then quitted the tomb, and returned to the Nave in reverse order, the organ playing the "Dead March in Saul".

The coffin was covered with black velvet, having massive gilt handles and a breastplate, on which was the following inscription:-

"William Van Mildert, D.D.,

Bishop of Durham

Died 21st February, 1836

Aged 70 years"

The pulpit of the Cathedral, and the Throne, were covered with black cloth, with a representation of a mitre on white silk on each. The stalls were also covered with black cloth.

The Music of the Burial Service was the same as that performed at the funeral of his late Majesty Geo. IV, with the exception of Luther's Hymn, which was substituted for a portion of Handel's Funeral Anthem. The composers of the rest were Croft and Purcell. "Thou knowest the Secrets of Our Hearts", by Purcell; all the rest by Croft. The music is solemn and well adapted to the occasion, but is of a heavy and monotonous character, and deficient in variety. The solo part of Luther's Hymn was effectively sung by

Mr. Smith, the tenor chorister.

A mourning pe<sup>o</sup>el from the bells of the Cathedral closed the solemnities of the day.

It was most gratifying to observe the proper feeling which pervaded all ranks who attended on this mournful occasion to pay a last tribute of respect to the virtues of the deceased and ever-to-be-lamented Prelate."

(N.B. In ink is written at the bottom of the paragraph: "The shops throughout the town were closed during the whole of the day.")

The paper used to have on its front page a woodcut showing the Cathedral and Courts of Justice, but in this issue these are reproduced upside-down! Someone has written in ink at the top of the page, "Here is a Revolution with a vengeance - the Cathedral and Courts of Justice turned topsyturvey."

So were laid to rest the mortal remains of the last Bishop of Durham holding the rank and title of Earl Palatine. Bishop Henson in his Lecture to the Harrogate Literary Society on 5th December, 1928, expressed the significance of the event in these moving words: "The Bishop's burial was made the occasion of a remarkable display of county feeling. From

the borders of Scotland to the borders of Yorkshire, throughout the whole expanse of the historic Bishopric there was a deep and mournful perception that a link with the famous past had been severed, and a light of immemorial splendour put out."

There was one witness of this memorable scene upon whose sensitive mind the tragic pathos of the event made a deep impression. This was Frederick William Faber, then acknowledging as his Spiritual Mother the Church of which 'this old Palatine' had been so distinguished a Prelate. His Father had been Secretary to both Bishop Barrington and Van Mildert, but had died in 1833. The following verses of his poem, "The Last Palatine" are reproduced here; they depict with poignancy that severance with the past, and that quenching of a light to which Bishop Henson has referred in the passage just quoted.

"How dark and dull is all the vaporous air,  
Loaded with sadness as though earth would grieve  
Whene'er the skirts of ancient grandeur leave  
A place they once enriched forlorn and bare!  
Man and the earth in mutual bonds have dwelt  
So long together, that it were not strange  
Old lights eclipsed and barren-hearted change,  
Should be by sentient nature deeply felt.

How the dense morning compasses the town,  
 As though there were no other place beyond,  
 And with its sweeping mist bids us despond  
 For the old forms which one by one sink down!  
 How patiently the Minster stands, a vain  
 And beautiful monition, from the hill  
 Rising or rather growing, mute and still  
 Within a cavern of dark mist and rain!

O venerable Pile! whose awful gloom  
 From my first boyish days hath been the sign  
 And symbol to me of the Faith divine  
 Of which thou art a birth! from out the womb  
 Thou springest of the old majestic past,  
 Colossal times, which daily from the heart  
 Of this dear land with lingering steps depart,  
 Furling the mighty shadows that they cast.

How patiently the Minster stands! So well  
 Hath it time's mute indignities sustained,  
 It might for its own beauty have detained  
 The grandeur now withdrawing. Hark! the knell!  
 Durham, the uncrowned city, in meet grief  
 Prepares to celebrate within the shrine  
 The obsequies of her last Palatine;  
 And nature's gloom is felt as a relief.

The blameless prelate in the antique gloom  
 Of the low western Galilee is laid,  
 In the dark pageantry of death arrayed,  
 Nigh to the Venerable Beda's tomb;  
 And in the distant east beside the shrine  
 There is a grave, a little earth up-cast,  
 Wherein to-day a rich and solemn Past  
 Must be entombed with this old Palatine.

See how with drooping pall and nodding plume  
 In many a line along the misty nave  
 The sombre garments of the clergy wave,  
 Bearing the last prince-bishop to his tomb!  
 And, as the burden swayeth to and fro,  
 I see a glorious relic, most sublime.  
 A dread bequest from out the olden time,  
 Borne from the earth with ceremonial show.



To one old priest were Keys and Sceptre given,  
 Two rights combined, the human and divine,  
 Blended in one high office as a shrine  
 Where earth might into contact come with Heaven.  
 This homage of great times unto the Cross,  
 All this magnificent conception, here  
 Outstretched upon the Palatine's frail bier,  
 Is borne away; and will men feel no loss?

Hath not a sacred lamp gone out to-day  
 With ominous extinction? Can ye fill,  
 Wild men! the hallowed vases that ye spill,  
 And light our darkened shrines with purer ray?  
 O where shall trust and love have fitting scope?  
 Our children will cry out for very dearth  
 Of grandeur, fortified upon the earth  
 As refuges for faith and holy hope.

The cloud of music hushed still loads the air;  
 The herald breaks the wand, while he proclaims  
 The gentle Palatine's puissant names:  
 Yon kingless throne is now for ever bare!  
 This is a gesture, whereby we may solve  
 The temper of the age; upon this day,  
 And in St. Cuthbert's shrine, the times display  
 The secret hinge on which they now revolve."<sup>(1)</sup>

...

...

Steps were at once taken to raise subscriptions for some memorial to the Bishop, and a meeting was held in Bishop Cosin's Library on the 14th March with the Archdeacon of Durham (the Ven. Charles Thorp), in the chair. It was decided that the Memorial should consist of (1) a monument in the Cathedral, and (2) a Scholarship in the University to be known as 'The Van Mildert Scholarship'; and that

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(1) "Poems by Frederick William Faber, D.D." 4th Edition, published by T. Richardson & Son, London, 1856.

subscriptions should be invited for each of these objects. There is extant amongst the Grant-Ives papers a printed account<sup>(1)</sup> of the meeting with a list of subscriptions to each of the objects, and this paper is reproduced here. For the Monument there has been added the following names and amounts:-

Sir P. H. Dyke, Bart.	£50
Hon. & Rev. G. Wellesley	£25
Hon. Aug. Barrington	£5

And to the subscribers to the Scholarship is added, "Hon. & Rev. G. Wellesley, £25."

These names are added in ink and possibly the list received further additions.

"Monument to the late Bishop of Durham"

"At a General Meeting, held in Bishop Cosin's Library on the 14th of March, 1836, in pursuance of a Requisition addressed to the Archdeacon of Durham, for the Purpose of VOTING A MONUMENT to the late lamented and most munificent BISHOP OF DURHAM -

It was Resolved -

That we feel it to be our bounden duty to mark our respect and affection for our late most excellent Diocesan, William

(1) Grant-Ives Papers.

Van Mildert, Lord Bishop of Durham; and that a Subscription be opened for the purpose of erecting a Monument to his memory, in the Cathedral Church.

That the following Noblemen and Gentlemen be appointed a Committee to carry this Resolution into effect, viz:-

The Archdeacon of Durham,  
Chairman

Lord Ravensworth	Dean of Christ Church
Lord Kenyon	Master of Trinity College,
Hon. Mr. Justice Park	Cambridge
Hon. A. Trevor, M.P.	Master of Sherburn Hospital
Edward Stanley, Esq., M.P.	Rev. H. G. Liddell
The High Sheriff	Rev. W. N. Darnell
Joshua Watson, Esq.	Rev. N. J. Hollingsworth
C. J. Clavering, Esq.	Rev. H. H. Norris
R. S. Pemberton, Esq.	Rev. T. L. Strong
William Grant Esq.	Rev. T. H. Dyke
R. A. Douglas Gresley Esq.	Rev. T. Chevallier
Christopher Hodgson Esq.	Rev. H. Douglas
Hon. & Rev. Dr. Wellesley	Rev. S. Gamlen.

That the Rev. Charles Whitley be appointed Treasurer to the Committee.

That as soon as the Subscriptions are collected, the Committee be requested to call a General Meeting, to receive and determine upon Plans suitable to the Person and the Place, and to consider the proper application of any Surplus which may remain after a Monument shall have been erected.

CHA. THORP,

Chairman.

M O N U M E N T

To the Bishop of Durham, in the Cathedral Church

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	£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
Allan, R. H. Esq.	2	2	0		Durham, the Arch-			
Allan, John Esq.					deacon of	100	0	0
Blackwell	5	0	0		Darnell, Rev. W. N.	50	0	0
Aylmer, J. H. Esq.	5	0	0		Dyke, Rev. T. H.	50	0	0
Andrews, Mrs.	1	1	0		Davison, Thomas			
Ashton, Mr.	2	2	0		Esq.	21	0	0
Bangor, Bishop of	50	0	0		Davison, Joseph			
Baker, A. J. C. Esq.	10	0	0		Esq.	10	0	0
Brewster, Rev. J.	5	5	0		Douglas, Rev. H.	100	0	0
Brewster, Rev. J. Jn.	2	2	0		Douglas, Mrs.	20	0	0
Buckle, Rev. M. H. G.	1	1	0		Durell, Rev. D.	50	0	0
Blenkinsopp, G. T. L.					Dunn, John, Esq.	2	2	0
Esq.	5	0	0		Dodd, Rev. W.	1	1	0
Blenkinsopp, R. G. L.	1	0	0		Eade, Rev. John D.	5	0	0
Blenkinsopp, E. C. L.					Ebdon, Rev. Thomas	2	2	0
Esq.	1	0	0		Ewbank, Mr.	1	0	0
Christchurch,					Ewbank, Rev. T. Elton	2	2	0
Dean of	100	0	0		Fielding, Rev. Geo.	20	0	0
Canterbury, Arch-					Faber, Rev. G. S.	25	0	0
bishop of	50	0	0		Faber, Rev. F. A.	10	0	0
Chester, Bishop of	30	0	0		Faber, F. W. Esq.	1	0	0
Chevalier, Rev.					Faber, T. H. Esq.	2	2	0
Temple	3	0	0		Flounders, Benjamin			
Clavering, C. J. Esq.	10	0	0		Esq.	5	0	0
Clarke, John Esq.	10	10	0		Fowler, Marshall			
Collinson, Rev. J.	10	0	0		Esq.	2	0	0
Cust, Hon. & Rev. R.	10	0	0		Fenwick, Thomas Esq.	5	5	0
Collinson, Rev. H. K.	1	0	0		Forster, P. Esq.	1	1	0
Cresswell, Rev.					Feetham, Mr. W.	1	1	0
Oswald J.	5	0	0		Fisher, Rev. J.	1	1	0
Cook, Rev. Joseph	5	0	0		Fenwick, Mr.			
Churton, Rev. E.	5	0	0		Stanhope	1	0	0
Collingwood, E. Esq.	3	0	0					
Cundill, Rev. James	1	1	0					

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Garthwaite, J. D. Esq.	2	2	0	Richardson, R. Esq.	20	0	0
Gould, Rev. W.	2	2	0	Richardson, Rev. Dr.	5	0	0
Griffith, John, Esq.	5	0	0	Raisbeck, Leonard,			
Gamlan, Rev. S.	5	5	0	Esq.	5	0	0
Gray, Rev. R.	5	0	0	Strong, Rev. T. L.	50	0	0
Greenwell, John, Esq.	2	0	0	St. Asaph, Bishop			
Hollingsworth, Rev.				of	50	0	0
N. J.	20	0	0	St. David's, Bishop			
Humble, Mr.	2	2	0	of	50	0	0
Jenkyns, Rev. H.	5	0	0	Smith, N. T., M.D.	5	0	0
Kenyon, Lord	25	0	0	Sharpe, Mrs. Clare			
Liddell, Rev. H. G.	10	0	0	Hall	5	0	0
Liddell, Hon. & Rev.				Stephenson, Rev.			
Robert	5	0	0	George	2	2	0
Maynard, T. C. Esq.	1	0	0	Shields, Mr.	1	1	0
Newby, Rev. Geo.	5	0	0				
Northumberland,				Sandilands, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Duke of	100	0	0	Story, Henry, Esq.	2	2	0
Northumberland				Thurlow, Rev. E. S.	10	0	0
Duchess of	50	0	0	Thorp, Robert, Esq.	10	0	0
Norris, Rev. H. H.	50	0	0	Thorp, Mrs. Charles	10	0	0
Park, Hon. Mr.				Thorp, Miss Fanny	5	0	0
Justice	50	0	0	Thorp, Miss Mary	1	0	0
Park, Rev. W. W.	20	0	0	Thorp, Miss Durham	5	0	0
Park, Rev. James				Thorp, Thomas Esq.	2	2	0
Alan	10	0	0	Tyson, Rev. John	1	1	0
Park, A. A., Esq.	10	0	0	Trotter, John, M.D.	1	1	0
Plumer, Rev. C. J.	10	0	0	Wellesley, Hon. &			
Pemberton, Ralph				Rev. Dr.	50	0	0
Stephen	10	0	0	Watson, Joshua, Esq.	50	0	0
Prosser, Rev. Dr.	50	0	0	Watson, Archdeacon	20	0	0
Perceval, Rev. H.	10	0	0	Wharton, W. L. Esq.	10	10	0
Parker, S. W., Esq.	5	0	0	Whitley, Rev.			
Palmer, W., Esq.	1	1	0	Charles	5	0	0
Ravensworth, Lord	50	0	0	Wilkinson, Thomas			
Ravensworth, Lady	20	0	0	Esq.	5	0	0

It was further Resolved:-

On the Motion of the Rev. John Tyson, seconded by the

Rev. T. R. Shipperdson,

That, considering the high character of the late Bishop of Durham, as a Divine, and also his munificent benefactions to the University of Durham, with his unceasing desire for its prosperity, this Meeting cannot separate on the present occasion without expressing its opinion, that whilst the name and memory of the late Dr. Van Mildert are most justly worthy of being perpetuated in monumental marble, some scholastic foundation in the University of Durham would be a further desirable and living memorial of the talents, station, and literary munificence of their late Bishop.

VAN MILDERT SCHOLARSHIP  
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Allen, R. H. Esq.	3	3	0	Ebdon, Rev. Thomas	3	3	0
Andrews, Mrs.	1	1	0	Ewbank, Mr.	1	0	0
Burrell, J. Esq.	5	0	0	A Friend	1	0	0
Buckle, Rev. M. H. G.	5	0	0	Forster, P., Esq.	1	1	0
Binks and Telfair, Messrs.	2	2	0	Gisborne, Rev. Thomas	50	0	0
Burrell, R. Esq.	2	0	0	Gray, Rev. Robert	10	0	0
Chevallier, Rev. Temple	10	0	0	Gray, Rev. R. Jun.	2	2	0
Churton, Rev. E.	10	0	0	Greenwell, J. Esq.	4	0	0
A Clergyman's Widow	3	0	0	Hollingsworth, Rev. N. J.	20	0	0
Durham, Archdeacon of	100	0	0	Humble, Mr.	3	3	0
Davison, Thomas Esq.	21	0	0	Jenkyns, Rev. H.	30	0	0
Ellerton, Rev. Dr.	10	0	0	Liddell, Rev. H. G.	10	0	0
Eade, Rev. John D.	5	0	0	Maynard, T. C. Esq.	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Newby, Rev. George	5	0	0	Salvin, General	2	0	0
Ogle, Rev. J. S.	50	0	0	Thurlow, Rev. E. S.	10	0	0
Frosser, Rev. Dr.	50	0	0	Tyson, Rev. John	1	1	0
Palmer, W. Esq.	50	0	0	Trotter, John M. D.	1	1	0
Palmer, Mrs. M.	10	0	0	Wharton, W. L. Esq.	10	10	0
Peile, Rev. Thomas W.	10	0	0	Walters, W. C. Esq.	10	0	0
Richardson, Rev. Dr.	5	0	0	Whitley, Rev. Charles	5	0	0
Shipperdson, Rev. T. R.	5	0	0	White, Mr. James	1	1	0
Sharp, Mrs. Clare Hall	5	0	0	Wharton, Mr. F.	1	1	0
				Webster, Mr.	1	1	0

The Treasurer has opened Accounts with the Banks of Sir M. W. Ridley & Co., in Durham and Newcastle, and of Sir R. C. Glyn & Co., in London, where Subscriptions will be received; as also by any Member of the Committee."

Both these Memorials were accomplished. A very fine marble effigy of the Bishop, seated with a book in his hands, was placed in the Chapel of the Nine Altars, the sculptor being J. Gibson, R.A. The monument bears the following inscription:

"Gulielmus Van Mildert S.T.P.

Episcopus Dunelmensis

Vixit Ann LXX Mens III D XV

Decessit Februari D XXI AS MDCCCXXXVI

Vir inter Praestantissimos sui temporis

Theologos Ponendus

Ingenio subacto comitate ac literalitate insigni

Pietate erga Deum constanti

Quanto Amore in Litteras sacras Profanasque

Et scientiarum studia Abundarit

Posteræ Aetati Testis erit

Academia Dunelmensis

Hanc Talis Tanti que viri imaginem

E Marmore B.M.F.C.

Aequales et Amici."

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The Van Mildert Scholarship is available for the study of Theology within the University of Durham. No object could have been found more in accord with the Bishop's wishes.

An eloquent tribute to the Bishop was paid by the Archdeacon of Durham (the Ven. Charles Thorp), in his Charge to the Clergy:

"The removal of such a man as Bishop Van Mildert must have been felt as a serious calamity at any time. His great experience and authority; the space he filled in the eye of the Church; his thorough devotion to her cause; his superiority to personal and common objects - rendered a life, so dear, on other accounts, to his Clergy and his friends, invaluable to the public. In the ten years of



perplexity, during which he presided over us, we had the most ample proof of his worth; and the paternal solicitude of his administration; the cheerful application of the energies of his powerful mind to the interests of the Diocese, and of his clergy; his liberalities, bounded only by his means of exercising them; his sincere, open, courteous carriage, which won the favour and the confidence of all who approached him; his love of truth, and those who held it - gave to him the highest place in our affections and esteem."<sup>(1)</sup>

Other tributes are also referred to by Ives<sup>(2)</sup> in his Memoir; they include those delivered in the House of Lords by the Marquis of Londonderry and Lord Melbourne; and at the Spring Assizes at Durham Lord Denman gave this high praise; "There never was a Prelate who more deserved the good opinion of the public..... His piety and learning placed him amongst the highest names of England; while his numerous acts of charity and munificence, and his love of truth and justice made him entitled to their warmest gratitude and praise, as one of the greatest Benefactors which this, or any other country had ever been blessed with."

Allowance must always be made for excess of admiration

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(1) Ives' Memoir, pp. 146-147.

(2) Ib.

leading to exaggeration, for a recent loss is apt to destroy the sense of proportion. Yet the fact that such testimonies were publicly given by those occupying responsible positions indicates that the Bishop had been greatly revered, and his death mourned.

The Bishop had made his Will on the twenty-third day of November, 1835, and it was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on the fourteenth day of March, 1836. The substance of the Will, and the Attestion of Proof are given below. <sup>(1)</sup>

The Bishop appoints as his executors the Reverend Henry Douglas, Prebendary of Durham, Robert Archibald Douglas Gresley Esquire, of Bishop Auckland, William Grant, Esquire, of Lichborough, and Christopher Hodgson, Esquire, of Dean's Yard, Westminster, and provides for the following bequests:

(1) To the said Revd. Henry Douglas the Bishop's contingent interest in the monies held by the Trustees of his marriage settlement, amounting to £4,817 18s 4d  $3\frac{1}{2}\%$  Reduced Bank Annuities.

(2) To Jane, his Wife, such of his 'plate, linen, china, pictures, jewels, ornaments, books, carriages, horses, household goods and furniture, wines and other liquors and stores' as she shall, within three calendar months next after his

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS.

decease, select for her own use, subject to such reasonable restrictions as to quantity and value as his executors shall prescribe, 'with due regard to her wishes and suitable accommodation on the one part, and to the interests of the other objects of the Will on the other part.'

(3) To the above-named executors all the residue and remainder of the goods and chattels, personal estate and effects, to pay funeral and testamentary expenses, dilapidations and just debts, and, thereafter a life-interest in the remainder to his Wife, and after her decease, as under:-

(i) as to one moiety; (a) one fourth part to the children of the late Helen Gaisford, (née Douglas), by her marriage with the Very Reverend Doctor Thomas Gaisford, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford; (b) one fourth part to the children of Mary Stanley (née Douglas), by her marriage with Edward Stanley of Ponsonby Hall, Cumberland; (c) one fourth part to the children of Mary Lowndes (née Douglas), by her marriage with the Revd. Richard Lowndes of Farnham; (d) and the remaining fourth part to be divided between the said Robert Archibald Douglas Gresley, and Mary Douglas, daughter of the late Revd. Philip

Douglas, D.D., Master of Corpus Christi College,  
Cambridge.

(ii) As to the other moiety; (a) one fourth part to his Sister Catherine Van Mildert, for life, and thereafter to be divided equally between the children of his late Sister Anne Ives (née Van Mildert) by her marriage with Cornelius Ives, Esquire, of Bradden; (b) one fourth part to be divided equally between his nieces Martha and Eliza Etherington, but if they shall have predeceased him and his wife then the said fourth part to be divided equally between the children of Cornelius Ives, aforesaid; (c) the two remaining fourth parts to be divided equally between the said children of Cornelius Ives.

(4) To the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Durham such part of his residuary personal estate which, by lapse or otherwise, would (but for this present provision), become divisible according to the Statute of distribution of Intestates' Estates 'upon trust to apply the same towards the Endowment under their direction of one or more Studentships in the University of Durham.'

The witnesses to the Will were Charles Thorp, Archdeacon of Durham, George Fielding, Perpetual Curate of St. Andrew,

Auckland, and William Trotter of Bishop Auckland, Solicitor.

"The Will of the Right Reverend William Van Mildert, Doctor in Divinity, Lord Bishop of Durham deceased was Proved at London on the fourteenth day of March in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and thirty-six before the Right Honorable Sir Herbert Jenner, Knight, Doctor of Laws, Master Keeper or Commissary of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury lawfully constituted, by the oaths of the Reverend Henry Douglas, Clerk, Master of Arts, Prebendary of Durham, Robert Archibald Douglas Gresley, Esquire, William Grant, Esquire, and Christopher Hodgson, Esquire, the Executors named in the said Will to whom administration of all and singular the goods, chattels, and credits of the said deceased was granted, they having been first sworn by Commission duly to determine the same.

Chas. Dynsley	} Deputy Registrars."
John Iggulden	
W. F. Gostling	

It will be noted that Mrs. Van Mildert's relatives received a slightly larger share of the Bishop's Estate than his own relatives, and as the net value of the estate was returned as over £44,000, the Douglas Family probably felt

that Jane had done well in marrying 'the little Dutch Curate.' (1)

The Will was also proved in the Prerogative Court of York, on the 18th day of January, 1837.

There exists also a copy of the Return<sup>(2)</sup> made by the Executors of the Commissioners of Stamps dated 15th June, 1839. This Return is a statement of the Account of the Bishop's Personal Estate, and of monies arising out of the Real Estate. The items included are set forth below:

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REGISTER	C. D.	NO. 1	1836	Folio 154
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AN ACCOUNT of the Personal Estate, and of Monies arising out of the Real Estate, of the Rt. Revd. Wm. Van Mildert D.D. Lord Bishop of Durham who died on the 21st day of February One thousand Eight Hundred and thirty six exhibited by Revd. H. Douglas, Prebendary of Durham, R. A. D. Gresley of Bishop Auckland William Grant and C. Hodgson the Executors of the Deceased, acting under the Will, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on the 14th day of March 1836 and the Prerogative Court of York on 18th Jany. 1837.

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- (1) Mr. Percy Adams, (author of the Douglas Family History so often referred to in this Thesis), tells me that in Van Mildert's early days this description was used by some members of the Douglas Family.
- (2) Grant-Ives' Papers.

<u>Description of Property</u>	<u>Money Received</u>			<u>Value of Property</u>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Cash in the House	140	7	0			
Cash at the Bankers	2,059	5	8			
Furniture, etc.	7,920	5	10	350	16	0
Wine and other Liquors	707	9	2			
Horses and Carriages, Farming stock and Implements of Husbandry	1,692	8	4			
Leasehold Estates	2,250	0	0			
Life Assurance Policies	5,595	0	0			
Rents due at the death of deceased	6,109	17	9			
Book and other Debts	916	19	2			
Consols, 3 per cent (Sold to pay duties) £2,812.8.7. @ 95 (£2,671.16.2 less brokerage £3.10.4)	2,668	5	10			
Consols in name of decd. £30,000 @ 95				28,500	0	0
Do. in name of Exors. £10,455.15.0 @ 95				9,932	19	3
Property not comprised within the above descriptions, viz.	471	14	6			
Rents due at death of decd. still in arrear	153.17.8					
Deduct part thereof supposed irrecoverable but if recovered to be hereafter accounted for	69.8.0					
	84.9.8					
Deduct cost of collecting in this balance of £84.9.8 at 5 per cent	4.4.5					
	80.5.3			80	5	3
Total of Col. No. 1.				30,531	13	3
Total of Property				£69,395	13	9

<u>Payments</u>	<u>Money Received</u>			<u>Value of Property</u>			
	B/F	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Probate or administration		872	12	8	69,395	13	9
Funeral expenses		580	0	4			
Expenses attending Executorship		2,287	7	10			
Debts on simple Contract		7,691	13	11			
£13,268.3.7 Consols purchased at different times into the names of Exors as per the annexed particular		12,000	0	0			
		<hr/>			23,431	14	9
Net amount of Property Carried Forward					45,963	19	0
Dividends on the Stocks and Funds sold to the time of sale, and of those remaining unsold, including the last dividends					649	0	5
					<hr/>		
					46,612	19	5
<b>PAYMENTS OUT OF INTEREST</b>							
Nil							
<b>DEDUCTIONS FROM RESIDUE</b>							
The value of annuities given by the Will and now remaining a charge on the residue viz.							
As per Schedule annexed		1,640	11	4	1,640	11	4
		<hr/>					
					44,972	8	1
Deduct any portion of the residue not liable to duty, or for which duty is paid on separate receipts							
					43,704	14	8
		<hr/>					
Residue on which Duty is chargeable ... ..					£1,267	13	5
		<hr/>					



DECLARATION

I do declare that the foregoing is a just and true account, and I offer to pay to the Commissioners of stamps the sum of £19. 0. 3 for the Duty, after the rate of £3 per cent upon the sum of £633.16. 8 being a moiety of the said Residue and Monies to which we are entitled and intend to retain for the use of Miss C.V.M., the five children of Martha Ives decd., Miss Martha Etherington and Mrs. Eliz. Cooke (late Etherington) according to the trusts of the Will of the deceased, being a sister and descendants of sisters of the Deceased.

Dated this 15 day of June 1839.

(For myself and Co. Exors.) R. A. DOUGLAS GRESLEY "

The item of £1,640 11s 4d which had to be deducted from the Residue of the Estate, consisted of the following amounts, as given in the Schedule already mentioned.

	£	s.	d.
"A Debt still due from the Estate	2	5	10
Value of Furniture retain'd for use of the Deceased's Widow	193	16	0
	<hr/>		
C/F	196	1	10

	£	s.	d.
B/F	196	1	10
The late Bishop's Portraits left as an Heirloom at Auckland Castle	105	0	0
Defalcation in payment of Auctioneer balance of proceeds of sale of Books, and which as he died wholly insolvent is irrecoverable, but sd any part thereof be received it will be accounted for	1,243	7	6
Wearing apparel given to servants	40	0	0
Sale price of Books returned to Auctioneer after the sale as imperfect, but which in consequence of the death and Insolvency of the Auctioneer were not returned to the Exors, tho' for the amount thereof as being so returned he had taken credit in his account	56	2	0
	<hr/>		
	£1,640	11	4"
	<hr/> <hr/>		

This reference to the Books possessed by the Bishop deserves comment. It will be noted that the value of the books sold was not very large. The Bishop had, however, already given to the University Library in January 1833 one hundred and one volumes of the Acta Eruditorum (Benedictine Fathers), and other books.<sup>(1)</sup> His anxiety about the proper care of the books in Cosin's Library, and provision for a Librarian has already been noted, (p.315 ), and the

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(1) The University of Durham, C. E. Whiting, p.275.

gallery in that Library, erected at the Bishop's expense, provides additional shelf-room for the University Library. (1)

Mrs. Van Mildert did not long survive the Bishop. She died in Harrogate on 19th December 1837, and her body was laid to rest in the Cathedral in the Bishop's Vault. (2)

There can hardly be any doubt that by his death the Church of England lost one of her greatest theologians of that period. A critic, whose knowledge of that epoch makes his judgment specially valuable, felt justified in giving the following verdict: "Since the death of Bishop Horsley there had been no divine of the calibre of Van Mildert, and it may be doubted whether there was his equal during the whole of our period. Unlike some of the Bampton, Dr. Van Mildert's lectures are eminently readable by others than specialists. Written in a clear, pure, and scholarly style, they lay down principles of scriptural interpretation of a markedly Church character; and they would well repay perusal even at the present day, when a flood of light is supposed to have been shed upon the subject." (3)

Had he been able to live ten years longer his accurate knowledge of the Church's Formularies, his balanced judgment,

(1) The University of Durham, C. E. Whiting, p.274.

(2) Gent. Mag. 1838, 1, 221.

(3) The English Church in the Nineteenth Century (1800-1833)  
by J. H. Overton; p.179-180.

and his sense of proportion might have exercised a restraining influence upon some whose zeal outran their discretion. To the University, bereft of his advocacy and influence in its first critical years, his death was a calamity, and, except for Archdeacon Thorp, there were few even of the Capitular Body who were prepared to devote themselves to its welfare.

And what of the man himself? Ives has told us enough to enable us to see a very lovable character, gentle and, except to intimate friends, somewhat restrained; alert in mind, and quick to see the drift of an argument. He was of medium height and his abstemious diet matched his spare frame. Abundant evidence has, surely, been produced to prove that he was of a most generous disposition. In days when a Bishop was regarded by the Clergy and Laity of his diocese chiefly as a highly-placed official, Van Mildert by his affection and sympathy helped to revive the ideal of the Father of a Family and the Shepherd of a Flock. The most ardent admirer would admit that he had his limitations. In many of his writings he seems to be so enamoured with the status quo both in Church and State that he could scarcely contemplate any proposals involving change without aversion. This inherent caution and restraint may be the reason why his Sermons lack that evangelical fire and missionary zeal which can win some whom

a scholarly and polished discourse will fail to convert. But who can doubt that the Church has need of both if it is to fulfil the task of commending the Gospel to all men? Certainly it was an advantage that at a time of transition the Church heard Van Mildert's warning against change for the mere sake of change. For the University whose interests were so near his heart it was a great asset to have in him one whose reputation as a scholar insured a respectful hearing for the revival of the mediaeval idea of a University in filial relation with the Church.

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FUNDAMENTA EJUS SUPER MONTIBUS SANCTIS

Van Mildert's claims for recognition as a theologian would probably have continued to receive wider recognition had he survived another decade, and thus been able to make his contribution to the controversies aroused by the Oxford Movement. Every age must of course be a period of transition, but often the changes are slow, and their significance is only recognised by few. It was otherwise in the case of the Oxford Movement which at once affected not only University circles, but influenced by its Tracts the parochial clergy and the ordinary lay folk. Yet though he did not live long enough to take part in those controversies it would be unreasonable to suppose that one who, as Regius Professor of Divinity, had taught so many in the University of the Movement's origin should have failed to influence those who had sat at his feet, or had read his books.<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) See Footnote 2, p. 108 ; also p. 109.

In the earliest years of that movement the Church of England was often regarded as providing a *via media* between Roman Catholicism and Continental Protestantism; Van Mildert can be cited as an exponent of this view, and one of the aims of this Chapter will be to suggest that in this, as in the general trend of his teaching he can be regarded as one of the forerunners of that Movement.

Yet it would be a mistake to regard Van Mildert mainly as an exponent of one school of thought in the Church. His first considerable effort was his Boyle Lecture, consisting of twenty-four Sermons or Lectures having as their title "An Historical View of the Rise and Progress of Infidelity, with a Refutation of its Principles and Reasonings". These were delivered at various times between 1802 and 1805, and the references given are from the edition published in 1806 by F. C. and J. Rivington of London. The first twelve deal with the history of the origin and growth of infidelity, and the remaining twelve with the a priori and a posteriori arguments in its support. Each part has also an appendix with additional notes, and with references to, and quotations from a truly formidable list of authors. Probably it would not be unfair to say that much of the historical section

could not be used effectively to-day in the light of increased knowledge and of the progress made in the study of the comparative history of religion. Even in regard to the section dealing with the a priori and a posteriori arguments against Theism and Christianity it would be unreasonable to expect that Van Mildert's replies would be considered adequate to-day. Knowledge, no less than Peace may claim to be 'one and indivisible', and the statement "Philosophy and Theology are branches of knowledge entirely distinct, both as to their principles and their objects"<sup>(1)</sup> would not be hailed with acclamation either by Theists or Christians. Moreover it exposes the whole argument to the charge that the real reason for the proposition is to provide religion with a safe line of retreat if the issue of the contest should appear doubtful. The references to Natural Theology,<sup>(2)</sup> and the very limited scope which he was prepared to assign to it, are far from convincing, and the texts upon which he relies are capable, to say the least, of a wider and more generous interpretation. Moreover his constantly recurring references to the Bible would be hardly likely to strengthen his case with those who were either atheists or agnostics. They may

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(1) Boyle Lecture Vol. ii, p.18

(2) Ib. Vol. ii, pp.47-52.



have been helpful to Theists, or to those who were only in a state of doubt, but to those who had already accepted an agnostic, or still more, an atheistic interpretation of the universe the appeal might well seem to involve a fatal petitio principii, and to vitiate to a large extent his arguments. He was on safe ground however when he maintained 'our faith is founded upon the basis of fact, not of opinion; and is to be proved, like all other matters of fact, by historical testimony';<sup>(1)</sup> nor would even an ardent advocate for the supremacy of Reason demur to the statement that Reason is 'fully competent to judge of the credibility of anything which is proposed to it as a Divine Revelation.... Reason is to judge whether those things be indeed so revealed: and this judgment it is to form, from the evidence to that effect. In this respect it is the foundation of certitude because it enables us to ascertain the fact that God has spoken to us'.<sup>(2)</sup> It is to be feared however that the sceptic would be inclined to think that this generous admission was considerably weakened by assumptions which Van Mildert somewhat naively wished to be accepted as proved, or at least as beyond reasonable doubt. Certainly to-day he would be guilty of wishful thinking who assumed that the

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(1) Boyle Lecture Vol. ii, pp.10-13.

(2) Ib. Vol. ii, pp.165-166.

facts recorded in scripture had been so established 'by competent human testimony' as to remove any reasonable grounds for doubt<sup>(1)</sup>, and however satisfactory may be the tests for miracles quoted by Van Mildert<sup>(2)</sup> probably few Christians would care to accept a challenge to prove that they could be applied successfully even to the miracles of the New Testament.

Yet in attempting to assess the value of any book regard must be paid to time and circumstances, and Van Mildert has some shrewd remarks to make on the theory that distance of time or place, if great, deprives us of sufficient evidence for belief. He points out that the acceptance of this theory would militate against the credibility of the conclusions of all historical research. "That there may be sufficient evidence of things done at the greatest distance of time or place, is the grand postulatum on which all historical truth depends."<sup>(3)</sup> In regard to the objection that all religions claim similar authority in opposition to each other, and that many facts do not admit of metaphysical or mathematical proof, Van Mildert replies that the real answer is not that all should be rejected, but

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(1) Boyle Lecture, Vol. ii, pp.274-276.

(2) Ib. Vol. ii, pp.328-335.

(3) Ib. Vol. ii, p.261.

that all should be examined.<sup>(1)</sup> This emphasis on the appeal to objective evidence is reflected in his treatment of the value of Prophecy. Thus 'the truth of the facts themselves, on which Christianity is founded, does not at all depend on the Prophecies relating to them', for prophecy, from its very nature, must be antecedent to the facts, and therefore incapable of attesting them.<sup>(2)</sup> Nor does the obscurity of some prophecies deprive them of value, for we have no reason to suppose that a prophet would have the same clear knowledge of the Christian Revelation as those who saw the prophecies fulfilled.<sup>(3)</sup>

His valuable edition of Waterland's works prefaced by a most careful and sympathetic life of the author, is referred to elsewhere in this thesis. Only incidentally, and that too in a most restrained way, does he indicate his personal views, but it is of course evident that on the whole, and entirely so in regard to the Trinitarian controversy and to the Deity of Christ, he would have supported Waterland. The fact that Van Mildert did not here obtrude his personal views is no defect, for his purpose was to act as editor, and to let the writings speak for themselves. The comments

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(1) Boyle Lecture, Vol. ii, pp.263-265.

(2) Ib. Vol. ii, pp.348-349.

(3) Ib. Vol. ii, pp.355-357.

and quotations in his preface are intended mainly to be of an introductory character and to prepare the reader for appreciating Waterland himself.

It is to the Sermons at Lincoln's Inn (and elsewhere), to the Bampton Lecture, and to his Charges that we naturally turn for material to enable us to ascertain his views on subjects which were then, and which still are, matters of controversy. Many of these deal with the Bible, the Church, Biblical criticism, the Sacramental system of the Church, and the nature and authority of the Christian Ministry.

A preliminary remark may not be out of place in reference to Van Mildert's general attitude towards these and kindred subjects of discussion.

Throughout his writings there can be sensed an attitude of mind markedly different from that to which we are accustomed to-day. In reading Van Mildert we seem to pass from an atmosphere of hesitancy and uncertainty to one of assurance and confidence. Quite definitely he did not regard the Church of England as infallible,<sup>(1)</sup> but there is a difference between acknowledging, theoretically, that the Church may err, and holding that the Church has, in fact, erred: and

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(1) Bampton Lecture, Sermon viii, p.223.

this difference is of no small consequence. To the Church of England, as she has expressed herself in her Formularies of Faith and Worship, he manifested a loyalty almost unlimited.

And the other characteristic is a consistency which gives the impression of an organic whole, and is an indication that the wider experience gained as Bishop had not caused him to modify his views. The high preferments which came to him were not gained by any policy of compromise in dogma.

Beyond all question Van Mildert maintained that the scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the supreme authority in faith and morals. Thus 'their sufficiency, their perfection, their pre-eminence above all pretensions of human wisdom or authority, and above all imaginations of preternatural gifts, are points never to be yielded, by those who have resolved to keep the faith committed to them whole and undefiled'.<sup>(1)</sup>

But in assigning to the Bible a unique place as the Rule of Faith, Van Mildert did not fetter himself with

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(1) Bampton Lecture, S. iiv, p. 83 (Oxford, S. Collingwood, 1831). Cf. S. i, pp. 9, 12; S. ii, p. 33; S. iii, p. 48 et passim; S. v. p. 143; S. vi. pp. 158, 180; S. vii, p. 213; S. viii. pp. 232, 241, 245.

obscurantist theories about inspiration. That the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testaments were inspired by God he held firmly,<sup>(1)</sup> but his views about inspiration were far more liberal than might have been expected at the time. So much study has been expended on both textual and higher criticism, and so many manuscripts have been collated, and indeed discovered within the last hundred years that it would be unreasonable to expect that he should be able to give much help in either field of criticism.

It is, however, instructive to note that he allows a wide scope for criticism, though, of course, that scope is far more restricted than is now generally acknowledged. As far back as 1805 in his Boyle Lecture while he held that 'verbal' inspiration may be found in certain portions of the Bible he was prepared to contend only for the Divine authority and sufficiency of Scripture as a whole.<sup>(2)</sup> The inspiration received by the writers sufficed to guard them from 'any undue mixture of human opinions' and exercised a superintending influence.<sup>(3)</sup> The writers were 'secured against important error' and inspiration did not supersede the use of other sources of information.<sup>(4)</sup> There may even be defects in the

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(1) Boyle Lecture, Vol.ii, Sermon xxiii, p.389, and throughout the Bampton Lecture.

(2) Ib, S.23, pp.393-394.

(3) Ib. S.23, pp.395-396.

(4) Ib. S. 23, pp. 402-407.

method of argument or contradictions and inconsistencies but such do not affect matters of 'faith or practice' necessary for us.<sup>(1)</sup> His Bampton Lecture shows a similar breadth of view. Thus the interpretation of Scripture demands an acquaintance with the rules of criticism and a knowledge of the original languages, and textual criticism has its rightful sphere in order that we may ascertain, so far as possible, the correct reading.<sup>(2)</sup>

Though Scripture is the word of God, yet it comes to us in human language and is 'subject to the general rules of human composition,'<sup>(3)</sup> and must not be treated as 'an insulated production, entirely unconnected with human knowledge.'<sup>(4)</sup> Moreover Van Mildert would have been able to appreciate the work of those who to-day stress the progressive development of God's Revelation, and its adaptation to the needs of the generation to which it was delivered.<sup>(5)</sup> Peculiarities of style and idioms of language must all be taken into account,<sup>(6)</sup> and a present-day higher critic might find that he would be well content with the following extract

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- (1) Boyle Lecture, S.23, pp.407-409.
  - (2) Bampton Lecture, S.1, p.13; also S.3, p.70.
  - (3) Ib. S.i, p.18.
  - (4) Ib. S.iv, p.86.
  - (5) Ib. S.v. pp.115, 132.
  - (6) Ib. S.iv, p.134; S.vi, p.154.

from the Bampton Lecture. "The Scriptures comprehend a vast extent of knowledge, human as well as Divine; and in the illustration of them scarcely any acquisitions of human learning are useless or unimportant. The adept in ancient languages, in philology, rhetoric, logic, ethics, metaphysics, geography, chronology, history ancient and modern, will have a conspicuous advantage in the study of the Sacred Writings, over him who is deficient in these attainments. Where they are capable of application to the subject, no competent student need be fearful of pursuing his enquiries to their utmost extent."<sup>(1)</sup>

Thus every gift of human understanding and every aid to knowledge can help towards the right interpretation of the Bible, and among those means Van Mildert regarded the Church as the highest, being the constituted guardian of the truth.<sup>(2)</sup> This function the Church exercises normally through its ministers. Hence 'though the Word of God is in itself a perfect rule of faith, yet to the far greater portion of mankind it can only become so through some medium of instruction. That medium the scripture itself has pointed out to be the Christian ministry.'<sup>(3)</sup> He quotes<sup>(4)</sup> with approval

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(1) Bampton Lecture, S.iv, p.104;cf.S.viii, p.226.

(2) Ib. S. iv, p.89.

(3) Ib. S. iv, p.91.

(4) The Hutchins Sermon, Ives' Memoir, p.174.



Chillingworth's dictum 'the Bible and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants', but his insistence on the necessity of a teaching and preaching Church led him to regard with suspicion the dissemination of the Bible unaccompanied by the ministry. (1)

Closely allied to this is his attitude towards the still highly controversial subject now commonly described as the undenominational teaching of religion in schools. It is clear that he would have had no sympathy with any theory of religious education divorced from dogma, and the search for 'Agreed Syllabuses' would have seemed chimerical. "A School in which there shall be taught no catechism appears to me an absolute solecism in religious education. Merely to read the New Testament, and to get it by heart, can to a child never answer the purpose of conveying clear and definite apprehensions of its meaning." (2) Indeed, all education which was not based upon what he regarded as the fundamental dogmas of Christianity would have seemed to Van Mildert dangerous. Thus the mediaeval ideal of the control

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- (1) Cf. The Hutchins Sermon, Ives' Memoir, pp.178-179. It should be noted that though this was delivered in 1797, Van Mildert issued it again in 1817, 'revised and enlarged', when he had already been Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford for some years (Ives' Memoir, p.161). Cf. Bampton Lecture, Sermon viii, pp.221, 222, 243, 246; S.P.G. Sermon, 1822 (Ives' Memoir, pp.242, 243).
- (2) Ives' Memoir, pp.67-71; extract from his letter to a member of the commission appointed by Parliament in 1824 to enquire into educational institutions in Ireland.

of education by the Church was reflected in the original constitution of the University of Durham, by which the determining voice was not that of the academic body as such, but of the Church acting through the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter.

The attempt to revive this mediaeval ideal certainly indicates that Van Mildert held an exalted theory of the Church, but it is at least possible that his conception of the teaching and preaching office of the Church is based on his views of the Christian Ministry rather than on the Church itself. In its origin and its functions he maintained that the Ministry was from God and not from man. Thus its authority was a delegated one, and could not be assumed at the will of the individual himself.<sup>(1)</sup> Such a theory suggests, even if it does not involve a belief in a commission transmitted from those who had first received it from our Lord, and in order to describe its transmission he used the term 'apostolical succession'.<sup>(2)</sup>

Of necessity this view affected his attitude to the non-episcopal Churches, and he seems to have regarded even the search for any basis of agreement as unlikely to succeed

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(1) Sermons preached at Lincoln's Inn, Vol. ii, pp.148-149.  
Cf. Bampton Lecture, Sermon viii, pp.221, 223.

(2) Bampton Lecture, Sermon viii, p.224.

without sacrifice on the part of the Church of essential principles: 'the failure, hitherto, of every such attempt only serves to show the impracticability of the thing; and may teach us to be so much the less sanguine in our expectations that the purpose will ever be accomplished.'<sup>(1)</sup>

Towards the solution of the problem of a divided Christendom he has nothing constructive to offer, except mutual respect and agreement to differ. Though he is careful to insist upon charity towards those separated from the Church,<sup>(2)</sup> we look in vain for any real appreciation of the results of Methodism - or indeed of any other religious Body except the Church of England.<sup>(3)</sup> Van Mildert inherited the dislike for 'Enthusiasm' which was general amongst the clergy in the eighteenth century, and which had been a contributory cause of the separation of Methodists from the Church. It is only fair also to bear in mind that the Church had to face the hostile criticism to be found in the two editions of The Black Book.

Yet when all due allowance is made an impression remains that he was too ready to identify dissent from the Church's

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(1) Bampton Lecture, Sermon viii, p.239. cf. ib. Sermon i, pp.7-8, and Appendix pp.371-372. cf. Lincoln's Inn Sermons, Vol.ii, pp.468-469, 476.

(2) Cf. His Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Llandaff, Ives' Memoir, pp.510-511.

(3) The following extract from The Times, (copied from the Durham Advertiser) should, however, be noted in this connection. "The late Bishop of Durham - Among the

doctrines with fanaticism. Thus as 'open and avowed enemies' of the Church he includes in one paragraph 'Infidelity and Atheism on one side, Fanaticism on another; Popery advancing in this direction, Socinianism in that; Dissent, Lukewarmness, Apathy.' (1)

His opposition to Roman Catholicism was at least as great if not greater, and he did not hesitate to describe it as 'anti-Christian'. (2) During the 'Popish darkness' there were errors both in faith and practice and 'superstitious and even idolatrous ceremonies were supposed to atone for the worst moral depravities'. (3) Yet its errors consisted

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(Footnote continued from p.447)

many private acts of beneficence which throw a lustre around the late Lord Bishop of Durham, one to the Scotch Church, South Shields, deserves to be noticed. Two years ago, when the Church was erecting (sic), the Rev. William Graham made an application to his Lordship as the spiritual guardian of the diocese for some assistance, and, though entire strangers to each other, he enclosed a draught (sic) of £20 which arrived on Christmas morning, no doubt intended to be understood as a Christmas offering to a Church of Christ. In the letter which enclosed it his lordship expressed his high regard for the church of Scotland, and his willingness to contribute to its support." - The Times of Wednesday, 16th March, 1836, p.6, column 2.

- (1) Primary Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham, Ives' Memoir, pp.540-544.
- (2) Boyle Lecture, Vol. i, Sermon vii, p.234.
- (3) The Hutchins Sermon, p.164. Cf. Boyle Lecture, Vol. i, Sermon viii, pp.291-292, 295-296.

chiefly in additions, for 'Popery gloried in the Cross, and strenuously maintained all the essentials of the Christian Faith, though it loaded it with non-essentials, and brought it into contempt, by a corrupt admixture of human inventions with the word of God'.<sup>(1)</sup> To his repugnance to its doctrines and practices there was added his fear that its central doctrine of subservience to the Pope was a menace to the British Constitution. This possibility of a conflict of loyalties governed his attitude to the 'Catholic Emancipation' Bill, and is expressed with force and cogency in his speech in Parliament.<sup>(2)</sup>

The relations of Church and State have provided only too frequently in England, as elsewhere, occasions of difficulty, and at this present time an understanding of the essential principles of their respective prerogatives and mutual responsibilities is an urgent necessity when claims are being made for the State which, if admitted, might make Religion a mere State Department to carry out the policy of any government which might happen to be in office. Certainly Van Mildert did not undervalue the link which binds together Church and State, and if any charge of a

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(1) Boyle Lecture, Vol.i, Sermon vii, pp.234, 235.

(2) Mirror of Parliament, Vol.ii, Sections 1848-1849.

compromising spirit can be sustained against him it would not be in the sphere of dogma but in a diplomacy which strained every nerve in order to maintain that link. This is perhaps most clearly seen in his policy towards the unhappy Queen Caroline and her visit to St. Paul's.<sup>(1)</sup> But any attempt on the part of the State to encroach upon the spiritual authority of the Church would have met with uncompromising resistance. In a valuable note to one of the Sermons of his Boyle Lecture he makes it clear that he had no confused ideas of what the 'Establishment' of the Church involved. "Nothing is of greater consequence to the stability both of civil and ecclesiastical authority than rightly ascertaining the grounds on which they respectively rest. That both powers are ordained by God is unquestionably true. But the line which marks the boundaries of each is easy to be discerned. No temporal potentate on earth can confer spiritual powers, any more than the Ecclesiastical body can give laws to the body politic. But both are evidently designed to co-operate with each other, because both relate to interests common to all men. Their distinct provinces were strikingly exemplified during the three first centuries of

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(1) See pp. 133-140.

Christianity including the period in which our Lord and his apostles exercised their ministry, unsanctioned, nay, opposed and persecuted, by the civil power. Their capability of union and co-operation was manifested in the following ages from Constantine to Justinian....."(1)

That the alliance of the Church and State gives to the 'religious Establishment' a position of ascendancy, he freely admits and regards as inevitable, (2) but he seems unable to appreciate that other Christian Churches might have any just cause for grievance in mere toleration. One cannot help wondering whether he himself would have felt quite satisfied in a country where the Roman Catholic Church was the 'religious establishment'. Fortunately for him the country his ancestors had adopted as their own presented no difficulty in its 'Constitution' in Church and State. Thus his constant efforts were directed to maintaining the existing status quo, and the Reform Bill of 1832 seemed to him likely to bring disaster to both Church and State. (3) To-day he would probably be described as a 'Die-hard' Tory, but it is questionable whether politics, in the sense in which the term is now used,

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(1) Boyle Lecture, Vol.i, App. pp.39-40.

(2) Primary Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham, Ives' Memoir, pp.528-529.

(3) Mirror of Parliament, Vol.ii, pp.1670, 1671; cf. Ives' Memoir, pp.85-109; 124-128.

really interested him.<sup>(1)</sup> Religion always came first with him - and religion he identified with the Church.

What, it may now be asked, was the main contribution which Van Mildert gave to religious thought and to the Church of England in particular? Those who are familiar with his writings would hardly claim that he was an original thinker, and it seems safe to add that he himself would have disclaimed such a description. In an age which saw the beginnings of great changes his sympathies were rather with the old order than with the new one which was emerging, and in opposing atheism and agnosticism the traditional arguments were used and his Boyle Lecture does not plough up fresh ground. A similar criticism can be made about his treatment of the inspiration of the Bible in his Bampton Lecture. Yet if this judgment be true it in no way necessitates the view that his work in these fields had no positive value. It is no small contribution to clothe afresh the thoughts of others in terms which make them applicable to the needs of another generation. Nor must we overlook the steadying effect which the re-affirmation of old truths has upon those whose faith has been shaken by the impact of a criticism mainly, if not

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(1) See his Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Llandaff, Ives' Memoir, pp.498-499.



entirely, destructive in tendency: For such it must have been a refreshing thing to read that the historic faith was founded upon facts as objectively real as those recognised by their opponents, and that the Bible need fear no criticism which could be legitimately applied to any other written record.

Undoubtedly his greatest contribution, however, was in expounding what he deemed to be the teaching of the Church of England, and in this work he gave of his best. Even to-day there are probably many who, if they did but know his writings, would acknowledge that his interpretation of the mind of the Church was only what they themselves had been taught. Yet here too we do not find new thought but a re-statement of the principles of the Caroline divines and of the 'orthodox' of the eighteenth century. In this respect the Oxford Movement owed much to him, as, of course, it did also to the other members of the 'Hackney Phalanx'.<sup>(1)</sup> But Van Mildert counted for more than most of the others, though doubtless some of his influence was due to the offices he held both at Oxford and at Durham. The main doctrines for which the leaders of the Oxford Movement contended can

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(1) For particulars of some of its representative members see pp. 66, 67.

be found in many passages in Van Mildert's writings, and he appointed as Divinity Professor at Durham Hugh James Rose in whose Rectory-house at Hadleigh the project of the "Tracts for the Times" was evolved. If, for example, we take the doctrine of 'Apostolic Descent' (to quote the term used in the first of the Tracts) we find many passages in support of it in Van Mildert's writings. Quite recently this doctrine has been presented in a somewhat different form,<sup>(1)</sup> but the principle of delegated authority remains, and to this extent would have been in line with Van Mildert's teaching.

Similarly he would have been in sympathy with the movement's emphasis upon the Priesthood and the Sacraments. "If the Sacraments be not only signs or emblems of spiritual benefits, but the instituted means of conveying those benefits; and if the ministration of the Priesthood, as a Divine ordinance, be necessary to give the Sacraments their validity and effect; - then are these interwoven into the very substance of Christianity and inseparable from its general design."<sup>(2)</sup>

Yet while he would have been definitely on the side of

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- (1) The Apostolic Ministry, by various contributors, edited, with preface, by Bishop of Oxford, ~~S.P.C.K.~~ 1946.  
 (2) Bampton Lecture, Sermon v. p.125, cf. Boyle Lecture, Vol.i, Sermon vi. p.216.

the promoters of the Oxford Movement at least in its earlier stages, equally by conviction he would have disapproved strongly of many developments taught and practised by those who claim to be their heirs and successors. In regard to the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Eucharist, for example, he would have shrunk from any definition which approximated to Transubstantiation or Consubstantiation, holding that it was sufficient to believe that the Body and Blood of Christ were 'mystically and sacramentally present'.<sup>(1)</sup> Sacramental confession as taught and practised in the Church of Rome he strongly condemned,<sup>(2)</sup> though there is evidence that he approved the doctrine of ministerial absolution by the Church.<sup>(3)</sup> Moreover he recognized a legitimate scope for casuistry based on 'a well-digested system of Scripture Ethics.' "Moral Philosophy would then fall into its proper rank, as the mere attendant on Revealed Religion; and would

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(1) Lincoln's Inn Sermons, Vol.i, Sermon v, p.102.

(2) Primary Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham, Ives' Memoir, pp.527, 528.

(3) Lincoln's Inn Sermons, Vol.i, Sermon xxiii, p.484. The allusion seems to indicate the form of Absolution in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, and its comparatively incidental character may be significant as an unintentional reference to personal experience.

be chiefly occupied in the study of Casuistry, teaching men how to apply the precepts of Scripture to the practical concerns of life."<sup>(1)</sup>

But he gloried in the Reformation. "Never, perhaps (except in the great triumph of Christianity over Paganism) was the Divine interposition more conspicuous, than in the success of the Protestant Reformation."<sup>(2)</sup> Nor did the Church of England only renounce the claims of the Papacy: there were many other doctrines and practices which she rejected. "Everything, therefore, relating to the adoration of the Host, to the worshipping of images, to the invocation of Saints, or of the Blessed Virgin, and other such like unscriptural devotions, was totally and unequivocally rejected. Even such ceremonies, or peculiar modes of expression, as had a tendency to lead men into these errors, were laid aside."<sup>(3)</sup>

Quite clearly he disliked and even feared Romanism, and

- (1) Boyle Lecture, Vol.ii, Appendix to Sermon xv, pp.17,18,19.  
 (2) Ib. Vol.i, Sermon viii, pp.281-282.  
 (3) The Hutchins Sermon, Ives' Memoir, pp.168-169. There is, however, room for speculation whether he would have expressed so sweeping a condemnation towards the close of his life. Thus the poem on Guardian Angels quoted in this thesis (p. 389) does indicate a somewhat hesitating acceptance of direct invocation of angels.

any proposal for reconciliation with Rome which involved an assimilation to Roman standards of faith and practice he would have strongly deprecated. There is, however, one point - and that a significant one - which provides a striking exception. It is possible that he would have been prepared to admit, no doubt with safeguards, that some kind of Patriarchate might belong to the Bishopric of Rome.<sup>(1)</sup>

"The Protestants, generally speaking, resisted the Pope, not in his Episcopal character as Bishop of Rome, nor as Metropolitan or Patriarch in the province over which he might have lawfully presided; but as an unlawful usurper of authority, both spiritual and temporal over provinces, nay, over kingdoms and empires, wholly independent of him."<sup>(2)</sup>

It is a remarkable point of contact with a school of thought in the Church to-day which believes that on this basis a reconciliation might be possible. Whether he would now regard any safeguards as adequate may well be considered doubtful for the Vatican Council of 1870 left little room for Gallicanism, and an Anglican form of the theory might be expected to have a very precarious existence!

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(1) Boyle Lecture, Vol.i, p.305.

(2) Ib.

If it be asked what special message, if any, Van Mildert has for the Church of England to-day, the writer believes that he would have urged upon the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity, the need of loyalty to that Faith and Order set forth in her Formularies, and devotion to her interests. At the close of his Bampton Lecture he referred to the blessings we derive through the Church, and to the obligation of fidelity to her teachings. His own words will provide the best conclusion for this chapter.

"If these considerations be of any weight, they will lead us uniformly to acquit ourselves as steadfast members of the Communion to which we belong; desirous to perpetuate its blessings in this our highly-favoured land, willing to communicate its benefits to others, and vigilant to protect its ancient and well-established foundations against all who would endeavour its overthrow, either by open violence, or by undermining subtlety. This vigilance and this fidelity we shall best evince, by thoroughly examining wherein the strength of our fortress lies, and on what support, Divine and human, it principally depends; by cautiously guarding against specious plans of union or alliance, where the true

principles of union are wanting; and by acting up to the full measure of our duty as faithful soldiers and servants under the great Captain of our Salvation.

"'Walk about Zion,' then, 'and go round about her, and tell the towers thereof, mark well her bulwarks, set up her houses, that ye may tell them that come after. For this God is our God for ever and ever: He shall be our Guide unto death.'"<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) Bampton Lecture, Sermon viii, pp.246-247.

# A P P E N D I C E S

## CHAPTER II

### I

Few fragments (in manuscript), belonging to this period are extant, but they are sufficient to make us wish that more had been preserved. We see in most of them that attraction to the rhyming couplet, either octo-syllabic or deca-syllabic, which continued to be his favourite metres even at the close of his life. The following bears date May 1782.

#### "Verses Inscribed to a Young Lady on Her Birthday(1)

"Wm. Van Mildert, anno aetat: 16

"On Miss A.....'s Birthday - who had lately left London and was then residing at Paris.

"Where'er I wander through each Grove or Lawn,  
What various Beauties ev'ry Scene adorn!  
Their am'rous Strains the feather'd Warblers sing,  
And grateful welcome the return of Spring. -  
My Muse awake! and join the vocal throng,  
Eliza's Birth demands the willing Song. -  
Will she tho' led by Pleasure's jocund Train,  
Accept the Tribute of my artless Strain?  
Perhaps some shady Bow'r, or opening Glade,  
Invites the footsteps of the lovely Maid;  
Whilst musing as she goes, her tender Mind,  
Recalls those anxious Friends she left behind,  
Or now perhaps by Music's magic Art,  
She soothes to Transport ev'ry melting Heart;  
And as in Air the trembling Notes rebound,  
Her Voice responsive vibrates to the Sound.

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS.



Or O'er the Globe's extent with tender Hand,  
 Explores the Limits of each distant Land.  
 See with what sprightly Air she moves along,  
 And joins in mazy Dance the sportive Throng;  
 While active Vigour heightens ev'ry Grace,  
 And adds new Beauty to her blooming Face.  
 Perhaps some nobler Youth now strikes the Lyre,  
 And celebrates her Praise with rapt'rous Fire;  
 Invokes his Muse such Beauty to rehearse,  
 And wake to equal Strains his lofty Verse.  
 Yet still unpolish'd tho' my Numbers flow,  
 Thy Praise, fair Nymph! will I delight to show;  
 Tho' Waller's artless Grace, nor Prior's Ease,  
 In spite my Muse, or make her Efforts Please:  
 Yet if Eliza's Smiles my Lay reward,  
 Those Smiles shall dignify her youthful Bard.

May 1782."

The Spring of 1783 had evidently seen the return of 'fairest Eliza', whose identity remains unknown. This time the rhyming couplet has been abandoned,<sup>(1)</sup> and the lyric has quite a charming lilt in it.

"Again, fairest Maria! I see thee return  
 And hail thy Appearance so sprightly and gay;  
 Again shall my Muse with new Ecstasy burn,  
 Whilst the Birth of my Fair One ennobles her Lay.

See, fairest Eliza, what Beauties appear,  
 To welcome auspicious the fortunate Morn;  
 The Groves of fresh Verdure new Liveries wear,  
 And Nature exults ev'ry Scene to adorn.

Where'er, led by Fancy, attentive I rove,  
 What Scenes of Inchantment enrapture the Sight!  
 The Mountain, the Valley, the Lawn, and the Grove,  
 All jocund and gay, to new Pleasure invite.

The Lily its delicate Lustre displays,  
 The fresh-blooming Rosebud diffuses its Sweets,  
 While each feather'd Chorister warbles his Lays,  
 And Echo delighted his Numbers repeats.

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS.

But ah! ye faint Types of the Charms of my Fair,  
 How feebly ye shine when Eliza is nigh;  
 How vain do ye strive my Attention to share,  
 The Ear to amuse, or enrapture the Eye.

With a Blush more enchanting her Cheek is array'd  
 A Complexion more lovely, unsullied, and fair;  
 And cease, envious Warblers, nor rudely invade,  
 When her Notes more melodious enliven the Air.

Yes, yes, fairest Nymph, 'tis thy Charms that alone  
 To make ev'ry Object delightful conspire;  
 And Nature unheeded so gayly had shone;  
 Did not Betsey more charming awaken my Lyre.

For, say, who unmov'd and regardless can see  
 Those manners engaging, that elegant Mien,  
 Where the Heart's gentle Thoughts, from each  
 Artifice free  
 Are stamp'd on the Features, blithe, gay, and  
 serene.

Then, oh! would the Fair one attend to my Lays,  
 And propitious accept the poor Tribute I bring;  
 My Muse on her Smiles with new Rapture shall gaze,  
 And each Season appear as delightful as Spring.

W.V.M. 1783."

The end of the Wars with America, France and Spain, and the signing of the Treaties of Peace at Versailles on 3rd September, 1783, came as an inexpressible relief. The country was tired of the War, and many must have also doubted whether, in regard to America, we could claim that right was entirely on our side. The Shelburne Administration had only lasted from July 1782 to April 1783, for it had had to face the 'political Jar' caused by the enmity of Fox. Tumultuous

peace rejoicings are exciting to all school-boys. William saw another side of it all, and he did not like it. The following bears date "Oct. 10th, 1783":-

"JANUS CLUSUS

"The Proclamation of Peace

"A Ballad - Written Impromptu.

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"Ye calm temper'd Souls, who, when Enmities cease,  
Wish again to enjoy the true Blessings of Peace,  
No longer regard the fierce Tumult of War,  
But repair with Delight to renown'd Temple Bar.

Sing Heralds, and Soldiers, Mayor, Sheriffs, and Show,  
And the wonderful Blessings that Peace can bestow!

There tost in the air see a dead Dog approaches,  
Here crowded and falling advance broken Coaches;  
Broken Shins, broken Arms, shatter'd Heads, bloody Nose  
And Battles the Nation to Peace shall compose;

Sing Heralds, and Soldiers, Mayor, Sheriffs, and Show,  
And the wonderful Blessings that Peace can bestow!

Hail! Liberty! Liberty! hail happy Souls!  
 Whom Justice, nor Law, nor good Order controuls!  
 Hail Shelburne! who, tir'd of political Jar  
 Givs't the Tumults of Peace for the Tumults of War!

Hail! Heralds, and Soldiers, Mayor, Sheriffs, and Show,  
 And the wonderful Blessings that Peace can bestow!

W. Van Mildert, Oct. 10th, 1783." (1)

Apparently the writing of a poetical composition in Latin and English was sometimes set as a school exercise at Merchant Taylors. A manuscript headed 'Van Mildert 6' has the Latin title 'Stapes', and the English 'The Stirrup'; and is described as 'a School Exercise'. The meaning of the Number after the name has not been definitely ascertained, but from information very kindly supplied by Mr. Birley, Headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School, it seems probable that the Sixth Form is indicated. According to this information "only twelve years later it was possible for a Head Monitor of the School writing an official letter to refer to certain boys as 'members of the Sixth Form'."

Even at this early stage some faint shadows of coming events can be seen. Van Mildert's Bampton Lectures were to

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS.

provide him with abundant opportunities of dealing with 'literal sense'; 'Reform' and other Bills were to bring him into close contact with politicians and his tenure of the office of Preacher at Lincoln's Inn was to provide him with many opportunities of becoming well acquainted with the legal profession.

"Van Mildert 6"

"STAPES"

"Sistere equos dociles ad pondera quaeque ferenda  
 Vidimus, et suetum non renuisse jugum.  
 Nec satis est humeros lumbosve onerare, necesse  
 Est equiti corpus fulciat ipse suum.  
 Nisu quippe levis moles tolletur in altum,  
 Quae tandem nimium crassa movetur humi.  
 Omnibus haud vis est eadem, non una facultas  
 Surgere, at indoctus terque quaterque cadis:  
 Iam forti esto animo, varios depone timores,  
 Auxilium praesens Stapidis esse vides:  
 Crede pedem, mox et sellam superabis equestrem,  
 Sit corio Stapes fixus uterque pari,  
 Tunc erit in medio tutam servare bilancem  
 Dorso, et ventris iners pondus habere tui.  
 Si turbetur equus, limo titubetve, cachinnus  
 Nullus erit, dextra corripiente jubam."

"THE STIRRUP"

"Well, Sirs, my Brethren of the Stable,  
 With all the speed and care they're able,  
 T'equip their Leader for a Ride  
 A Boot and eke a Spurr supplied;  
 Whilst others, not to be thought idle,  
 Have brought a Saddle and a Bridle  
 Far be't from me to shame a Brother.  
 But yet with all this mighty Pother,  
 Unless I haste to help them out,  
 They'll be of little use I doubt;

And tho' equip'd with Spur and Boot  
 Captain must e'en still trudge on Foot.  
 Or if by unforeseen Event,  
 He gain at last a safe Ascent,  
 'Tis odds if through his Expedition,  
 He keep a firm and sure Position."

"Thus much for literal Sense - I trust,  
 I've prov'd, by observation just,  
 A right to claim no humble Station  
 In this our Squire-like Occupation. -

But why thus squander Time you'll say,  
 In proofs as glaring as the Day? -  
 Or whence of all that has been said  
 The Application to be made?

- The Application? - A Propos! -

One minute's patience and you'll know. -

For Horseman's Aid these real Uses

The Stirrup chiefly then produces:  
 To mount; and, when his Seat's secure  
Support him in it firm and sure.  
Look around - these Qualities you'll find  
 Are known and prov'd by all mankind.  
 For Politicks, and Law, and Trade,  
 Nay all the World, it may be said,  
 The Muse, with all things else beside her,  
 Have each a Stirrup for their Rider. -

But Arguments sans proof are vain. -

- These few my Thesis will explain. -

First then for Politicks - and here  
 Undoubted Facts will prove it clear;  
 When Parties rage in Opposition  
 Faction's the Stirrup of Ambition; -  
 By this they mount to lofty Station,  
 There sit secure and ride the Nation.

- Secure? you'll say - what, never stumble?

Ne'er meet with rough Roads, Jolt or tumble?

- Hold, sir; sometimes they fall, 'tis true -

But still the proof is valid too. -  
 For if they fall, let this be told,  
 'Tis when they lose the Stirrups Hold:  
 And this too, by the bye observe,  
 (That from my proof I need not swerve,)  
Faction which their Ambition led  
 Then mounts up others in their stead. -

To Lawyer next from Politician

Is, you must grant, no hard Transition;  
 And Lawyers have, 'tis plainly shown,  
 An usefull Stirrup of their own.  
 Let him who at the Barr would rise,  
 All Shame and Ridicule despise;  
 A Brazen Stirrup first procure;  
 He then may mount and ride secure. -

One moment more I crave Attention -

Of Brazen Stirrups I made mention. -  
 Effectual too they are, 'tis plain -  
 But if these fail the point to gain,  
 There's yet one kind, whose sovereign power  
 Is seen, experienced, every Hour;  
 This o'er all others still prevails;  
 A Golden Stirrup never fails.  
 To clear this point, if Proofs were needed,  
 A Thousand might be quickly pleaded;  
 Rapacious Nabobs, Mushroom Cits,  
 With upstart Beaux, and Lordling Wits,  
 Who with no other Hope or Claim,  
 Rise daily into Power and Fame,  
 Might potent Arguments supply,  
 Which Rhyme nor Reason could deny. -

But hold - no longer now to roam;

Let's see what Proofs exist at home;  
 And here, methinks, myself may stand  
 A ready instance near at hand.  
 Whilst I aspire to exaltation,  
 My Stirrup is your Approbation.  
 From that alone I seek to please,  
 And mount my Pegasus with Ease;  
 That only can my Hopes compleat,  
 When mounted, to secure my Seat." (1)

To write 'correct' English so as to appeal to the 'genteel' was almost an obsession with many in the eighteenth century, and often produced an artificial and stilted style in which the wording of the phrase seemed almost to rank of greater importance than the meaning, and even Religious subjects had to submit to the same criterion. Van Mildert's Observations upon the Works of Horace, (assuming, indeed, that it is a schoolboy's essay) probably reflected the style advocated by his Form Master. If the term 'first' applied to the "Odes" has chronological signification we may surely exonerate William from dogmatism, and assume that the Master of his Form did not regard the Master of Trinity as Infallible! What, however, we cannot fail to notice is the acquaintance with Horace's writings implied in the Essay. Equally significant is the attempt to compare with Horace some of our English Writers, whether one agrees with the result of this comparison or not.

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS.



"OBSERVATIONS UPON THE WORKS OF HORACE

"No Nation has produced a greater number of eminent and distinguished characters than the Romans; nor can a Person of Taste and Sensibility peruse the Works of a Roman Historian or Poet, without looking back with the greatest admiration upon those times, when magnanimity of Soul and extensive Genius were the peculiar objects of Honour, and the distinguishing marks of public Admiration. It would be endless to enumerate the many excellent Authors, both Historical and Poetical which adorned that once flourishing State. Amongst the latter, there is none which lays a greater claim to our attention, than that justly celebrated Poet Horace; his works are replete with Wit, Elegance and Vivacity; and display throughout the most extensive Genius.

"The first and principal of his Compositions are his Odes, which alone are a striking Monument of his extraordinary abilities and for which he is deservedly stiled the Prince of Roman Lyric Poetry; in this beautiful Collection he has shown himself Master of every Topic; when he sings the Praises of Augustus or Drusus, his language is sublime and majestick; if he addresses himself to Maecenas, he is copious and void of restraint; if to Lydia, genteel and complimentary without Flattery; if to Varus, Fuscus, or Tibullus, lively in

Imagination, elegant in Description and full of Friendship and Esteem. His Secular Poem to Apollo and Diana, is the master-piece of all his Works; every part of it is truly poetical and abounds with that elegant simplicity, which was the peculiar characteristic of this Author.

"Although Horace's Genius was most excellent in Lyric Compositions, yet it was too extensive to be confined to any particular kind of Poetry; of this his Satires and Epistles are convincing proofs; 'tis true, they do not excell in Harmony of Metre; but then this defect is abundantly supplied by the fund of Wit and Learning, which are display'd in them: the former of these are worthy the greatest commendations and are superior to those of either Juvenal or Persius: the subjects of them are well chosen, and whilst they lash in the severest manner the vices and follies of his age, are free from that malevolence and personal sarcasm, which too frequently is made the principal object in satirical compositions. His Epistles possess an equal share of Merit; in these the Reader is presented with some striking expressions of friendly affection, intermixed with some excellent Rules for moral Conduct and many pertinent Observations upon the manners and customs of the Romans.

"His Art of Poetry has been no less a subject of admiration than his Satires or Epistles; in this Poem he has taken occasion to praise in the most candid and impartial style, all the noblest Productions of the Greek and Latin Authors and to condemn with vigour the Poetasters and Scribblers with which the Age was infested; it has always been considered as the Standard of Poetry, nor have the greatest Scholars hesitated to establish their Opinion upon the Observations which it contains.

"To trace this extraordinary Genius through all his Works and to point out the many singular Beauties with which they abound, would be an Undertaking as useless as it would be difficult, since every one who reads them must be sufficiently convinced of their excellency from their own Observations.

"England, ever celebrated for Men of Genius and Learning, has rivalled Rome in almost every branch of Literature, and particularly in Poetry. But she can nowhere boast of one, who has all the Excellencies of Horace united. For his Satires and Epistles, we may undoubtedly produce the excellent Compositions of Pope or Swift; but the Works of Dryden, Prior or Congreve, great as they are, cannot be put in competition with the Lyric Performances of our Roman Poet; they

certainly possess a great share of merit and abound with innumerable Beauties, but when compared to Horace they will be found to want that delicacy of expression which was the peculiar Distinction of this immortal Poet.

"To the admirer of Miscellaneous Pieces, Horace will ever afford an inexhaustible fund of entertainment, and if an Author's character may be discovered from his writings, he seems to have been a Man of sound Judgement and Learning, an admirer of Morality and Virtue, a sincere friend; and an entertaining Companion."<sup>(1)</sup>

...

...

To the same period, approximately, must be assigned the quite delightful The Form at School. Certainly the Master of Trinity lacks not his meed of praise in this poem, and the introduction of Lily is quite skilful. One is rather puzzled by "Woolpack", but the original has definitely a 'p' and not an 's'.

"THE FORM AT SCHOOL"

The Form at School! (Methinks I hear  
Some Critic thus profoundly sneer)  
And shall we then be doom'd to sit,  
And patient hear a Schoolboy's wit,

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS.

Of Nouns and Pronouns Conjugations  
 And Lily's humdrum observations?

- Hold, Hold, good Sir, suspend your rage -  
 Nor with such hasty warmth engage -  
 Have you so soon forgot the days,  
 When proud of every pedant's praise,  
 With looks profound and grave, at school,  
You conn'd o'er many a Syntax Rule?  
Can your fraternity despise,  
 That which your greatest fav'rites prize?  
 For say could Bentley (Reverend Sage!)  
 Have dar'd such arduous tasks engage;  
 Had not his wit so shrew'd discerning  
 Ransack'd each Grammar through for learning?  
 Nor Muses nor Parnassian Mount,  
 Nor Aganippe's sacred fount,  
 Shall e'er immortalize his name,  
 He seeks the lower road to fame -  
 With verbal incense loves to cram her,  
Lily his Muse his Lyre a Grammar.

Nor let these Gentlemen refuse,  
 To league with such an humble Muse.  
 The Woolpack with imperious pride,  
 My humble station may deride,  
 Boast of its own extensive sway,  
 Whose Mandate Senates must obey -  
 But let its vot'ries frankly own  
 Without my Aid they'd ne'er been known;  
 Nor he who with majestic awe,  
 Rules and directs each potent law,  
 Had e'er obtain'd that noble Seat,  
 Did not Instruction guide his feet  
 Through Science' path to seek a name,  
 And gain the steep Ascent to Fame."

"Nor can e'en Justice boast, 'tis plain,  
 A better title to be vain.  
 What progress could she e'er have made,  
 Had not fair Science lent her aid?  
 Or how explor'd the doubtful way,  
 Did not her penetrating Ray  
 The mists of Ignorance pervade,  
 And guide her through the gloomy shade?"

These points so clearly gain'd, the Muse  
 Now turns to more extensive views -  
 And proves by apt resemblance tried,  
Grammar and Morals near allied.  
 You ask perhaps, from whence her claim,  
 To such an universal Fame?  
 'Tis from this plain; substantial Rule,  
The World itself is but a School.  
 Where, right or wrong, each Regulation  
 Springs from Neglect, or Observation  
 Of proper Genders, Moods, and Cases  
 And Government of Time, and places,  
 Of Concord to take nicest Care -  
 Of all Misconstruing to beware -  
 And duly treasure in the Mind  
 What should or should not be declin'd  
 Now having prov'd her right the same  
 From all the World Respect to claim;  
 No further Arguments in view,  
 My Muse most humbly bids adieu -  
 On you alone her hope depends,  
 In You she seeks for powerful friends;  
 Secure that none will e'er deny  
 That praise your favor may supply;  
 Or dare, with petulant neglect,  
 To such a Special Rule object." (1)

Only with considerable hesitation can The Phoenix be  
 assigned to the same period, for the quality, both of the  
 Latin and of the English, suggests a later date. The  
 beautiful word-picture of the stanza beginning "When rolling  
 Seasons bring the Thousandth year" cannot fail to win admira-  
 tion.

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS.

"PHOENIX"

"Quam decore insolito effulsit divina potestas,  
 Quae tam mirifico munere finxit avem.  
 En avis in terris quae sola atque unica dicor  
 Cui nulla est similis, nulla secunda datur  
 Quae neque Concepto Foetu, nec Semine surgo,  
 Sed mihi sum proles, sum pater atque mihi  
 Nullius generis, nec mas, nec foemina Phoenix  
 Forma tota potens ardet amore sui  
 Secura haud metuit te, nec tui vincla, Cupido,  
 Nullam poscit opem, teve, proterva Venus,  
 Mors est sola Venus, sola est in Morte Voluptas,  
 Ut possit nasci perplacet ante mori  
 Quae nova sors haec est? Quippe idem nascor et alter,  
 Est mihi mors iterum vivere, Vita mori."

"THE PHENIX"

"In Araby's blest Clime, where Nature show'rs  
 Her choicest Gifts and makes her noblest Pow'rs  
 Where Kindlier Suns with genial Influence shine,  
 Where richer Soils with kindlier Suns combine,  
 Till each warm Plant a varied Scent exhale,  
 And ev'ry Fragrance glows in ev'ry Gale,  
 The Phenix lives; himself no trivial Boast,  
 No vulgar Produce ev'n of such a Coast.  
 Ev'n such a Coast has found since all begun  
 One the whole kind - a Microcosm in one.  
 Take Muse (the Theme deserves the loftiest Lays)  
 Description's mimic Pencil; paint the Blaze  
 That flows from either Eye in Circlets bright  
 Of intermingled Hues, and many tinctur'd Light  
 Say on his Head how nods the rising Crest,  
 A living Coronet, with Gems confest  
 Of plummy polish - Soft around the Neck  
 Cast intercepted Shades and Lights, that Break  
 Along the Down and in each Motion stream,  
 A fresh Infinity of Golden Gleam:  
 O'er his full Breast with lavish Boldness throw  
 The Tyrian purple's deep majestick Glow:

Tell on his back and Tail, how richly spread  
 In lengthen'd Lustre flames the vivid Red,  
 How wide his Wings in airy Flight display  
 Commixt, the Sapphire's and the Emerald's ray;  
 How glossy Plumes o'er all his Body rise,  
 That change with ev'ry changing Beam their Dyes,  
 In unconceived Vicissitudes of Hue,  
 Still various, and still radiant, and still new  
 A Work so gay demands an equal Space;  
 Through ten long Ages with perennial Grace  
 Shines the great masterpiece, then meets a Fate  
 Distinguished as himself, and truly great.  
 When rolling Seasons bring the Thousandth Year  
 And Instinct speaks the destin'd Period near  
 From ev'ry spicy fruit, and odorous Bloom  
 Each Juice each Gum of more intense Perfume  
 The Busy Bird collects the Funeral Pyre,  
 The Sun's high Blaze imparts the friendly Fire,  
 Sudden the Flames with mingled Sweetness rise,  
 And in the mingled sweets the willing Victim dies.  
 Yet think not thus extinct the Beauteous Kind  
 The dying Phenix leaves an Heir behind  
 From the warm Ashes of the fragrant Nest,  
 Another Phenix rears his spangled Crest;  
 Gives his broad wings their Splendour to unfold,  
 Exults with equal Life, and glows with rival Gold.  
 Hail! Type of Man immortal he shall turn  
 Like thee to Dust, and triumph thro' his Urn;  
 Shall bear the last sad Pangs his Fathers bore  
 Then rise with life renewed, and live for evermore."(1)

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(1) Grant-Ives' MSS.



CHAPTER II

2.  
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"Poems by a Literary Society"

This little publication is evidently extremely rare. No copy exists in the British Museum, the Cambridge University Library, the Durham University Library, the London University Library, nor in the London Library, and the only copy known to the writer is in the Bodleian. The frontispiece gives the following description, and the price was one shilling -

"Poems by a Literary Society; comprehending  
Original Pieces in the Several Walks of Poetry.

"Parts answering parts, shall slide into  
a whole." - Pope.

London.

Printed for the Society, by J. Nichols:

And sold by T. Becket, in Pall Mall; and

J. Sewell, Cornhill.

MDCCLXXXIV."

There were nine collaborators, and their initials, and the number of pieces contributed by them are as under:-

W.V.M. - 4; T.P. - 1; W.B.P. - 2; W.D. - 2;

A.P. - 4; S.C. - 8; H. - 1; J.B. - 1; R.H. - 1.

Those by Van Mildert, (W.V.M.) are Ode to Genius, (pp. 9-13); Miss Diana Toothless's Petition (pp. 36-43); Song, (pp. 59-60); and Sonnet to Dr. Johnson (p. 64)

Two specimens are reproduced here and the date of the publication shows that they must have been written either while he was still at school or during his first year at Oxford. Perhaps Amoret veils the identity of "fairest Eliza"! None of them, however, attains the high standard and beautiful imagery of The Phenix.

### "S O N G

"Whene'er, enrapt with fond amaze,  
On lovely Amoret I gaze,  
A thousand beauties strike the sight  
A thousand charms my heart delight.

"In other nymphs some partial grace  
With cool applause perhaps I trace;  
One tries with winning smiles to charm,  
With accents soft my breast to warm.

"The one attract with mien so gay,  
The rose another's cheeks display;  
Another boasts her auburn hair,  
Her sparkling eye or bosom fair.

"I grant ye, all your charms impart,  
 But ah! too weak to share my heart -  
 For see with smiling artless glance  
 My lovelier Amoret advance. -

"In her, each native grace divine  
 (1) Your single boast, united shine,  
 The blooming tint, the auburn hair,  
 The sparkling eye, the bosom fair. -

"In vain each beauty you display,  
 To her I speed my rapt'rous way,  
 In her behold your scatter'd rays  
 Shine forth in one concentred blaze.

...

"So when a single flower we view  
 Cull'd from the garden's varied hue,  
 Ere yet the fading charm expire,  
 We faintly, or a time, admire.

...

"But when the rich parterre we gain,  
 No more the slighted gift retain;  
 Enraptur'd hail the pleasing change,  
 And o'er the gay profession range. -

W.V.M."

"SONNET TO DR. JOHNSON"

"Johnson! whose art instructs the Poet's lyre,  
 My Muse enraptur'd hails thy splendid page,  
 Where ev'ry beauty, ev'ry grace conspire,  
 And lofty Genius mix'd with Judgement sage.

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(1) The word is doubtful as the type is blurred.

"Still may that Judgement guide the improving age,  
That Genius still its noblest efforts raise;  
So shall no scribbler urge the critic's rage,  
No tuneful Muse e'er mourn neglected lays.

"In vain would sons of Envy mock thy power,  
The fame they seek despise with wayward pride;  
From thee they gain the flutter of an hour,  
But for thy rays that little hour deny'd:  
As planets to that Sun their lustre owe,  
Whose blaze obscures the beam their  
borrow'd lights bestow.

W.V.M."

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CHAPTER IIICopy of the Will of Cornelius Van Mildert

"In the name of God Amen I CORNELIUS VAN MILDERT of the parish of St. Mary Newington in the County of Surrey Gentleman being of sound and disposing mind memory & understanding do make and ordain this to be my last Will & Testament in manner & form following namely I desire to be decently and privately buried at the discretion of my Executors hereinafter named And as to such worldly estate wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me and I shall or may be possessed of at the time of my death (it at present consisting of personal estate only) I give and bequeath the same as follows First I give and bequeath unto the Trustees of the Charity School of the parish of St. Mary Newington aforesaid the sum of Twenty Pounds for the benefit of the said Charity to be paid into the hands of the Treasurer thereof I give & bequeath unto my dear & loving wife Martha Van Mildert One thousand five hundred and seventy five pounds East India Stock now standing in my name and further I give and bequeath unto my said wife Martha Van Mildert One thousand pounds Four per cent Bank Annuities for her own absolute use and benefit and I give & bequeath unto my said wife ALL my

my household furniture (pictures excepted) plate linen china books and wearing apparel and further I give and bequeath unto my said wife Two hundred and fifty pounds four per cent Bank Annuities In Trust to pay the Interest & proceeds thereof to accrue and become due after my death to my Niece Ann Bagshaw of Grocer's Hall Yard London to and for her sole use and benefit during her life I give and bequeath unto my Executrix and Executors hereinafter named One thousand pounds to be placed out at Interest in the public funds In Trust for my daughter Martha Etherington the Interest & proceeds thereof to be paid to her during her life and after her decease to such child or to be equally divided between such of her children as shall be living at the time of her death I give and bequeath unto my Executrix and Executors hereinafter named One thousand pounds to be placed out at Interest in the public funds In Trust for my daughter Anna Ives the Interest and proceeds thereof to be paid to her during her life and after her decease to such child or to be equally divided between such children as shall be living at the time of her death I give and bequeath unto my Executrix and Executors hereinafter named Two thousand pounds to be placed out at Interest in the public funds In Trust for my daughter Catherine Van Mildert the Interest and proceeds

thereof to be paid to her as it becomes due If she dies without being married the said Two thousand pounds to be divided equally between my Son the Reverend William Van Mildert and my daughters Martha Etherington and Anna Ives and if either of them die before my daughter Catherine and leave a child or children the said child or children to inherit their parents share but if any of them die and leave no child their share to go to the survivor or survivors I give and bequeath unto my Brother in law William Hill of Albion Place Esquire (one of my Executors hereinafter named) Fifty pounds as a small acknowledgment for the trouble he may have in such Executorship I give and bequeath unto my son the Reverend William Van Mildert All my pictures prints and drawings Watches Watch-chains seals and a gold headed cane I give unto my Niece Ann Bagshaw Ten pounds for mourning Also I give to each of my Children my Son-in-law The Reverend Thomas Etherington my son in law Cornelius Ives Esquire my daughter in law Jane Van Mildert my Niece Ann Bagshaw my brother in law William Hill Esquire and Mary Catherine Hill his wife my Cousin Lady Rachel Lyde my Cousin Mary Chandler and George Chandler Esquire her husband each of them a mourning ring of such sort as my Executors in their discretion shall

shall think fit. I give unto my servant Ann Williams Five pounds for mourning and thirty pounds more in consideration of her long and faithful service and her constant careful attendance on my late daughter Rachel I give unto my other female servant if she shall have been in my service one year before my death five pounds for mourning ALL the rest residue and remainder of my moneys chattels credits effects and personal Estate whatsoever and of what nature or kind soever not hereinbefore given or disposed of after payment of my debts legacies funeral expenses the expenses of proving this my Will and all costs and charges which my Executors may sustain or be put unto by reason or means thereof I give and bequeath to my Children to be equally divided to them AND lastly I do make and ordain and constitute and appoint my wife Martha Van Mildert Executrix and my said brother William Hill Esquire and my said son The Reverend William Van Mildert to be Executors of this my last Will and Testament and I do hereby revoke disannull and make void all former & other Wills and Testaments by me at any time made In Witness whereof I have to this my last Will and Testament contained in this and the one preceding sheet of paper set my hand to the first sheet thereof and my hand and seal to this second and last sheet thereof this twenty seventh day of September One thousand seven hundred and ninety seven.

CORN. VAN MILDERT



"The preceding Will contained in this and the preceding sheet of paper was signed sealed published and declared by Cornelius Van Mildert the Testator therein named as and for his last Will & Testament in the presence of us who in the presence of the said Cornelius Van Mildert and at his request & in the presence of each other have subscribed our names as witnesses thereunto.

William Cabell, No. 5 Newington Place  
Martha Cabell, Do." (1)

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(1) Grant-Ives MSS.

CHAPTER V

"Summary of the Will of Mrs. V. Mildert deceased  
dated Novr. 18th 1803

1. The Revd. W.V.M. appointed sole Executor.
2. Copyhold estate in Essex devised to him and his heirs for ever, but in case of his decease without lawful issue of his body, then devised to her daughter Catharine and her heirs.
3. To sd. Wm. V.M. £60 bequeathed to him to pay the fines &c. on his admittance to the sd. Copyhold estate.
4. To sd. W.V.M. All such plate or silver as are marked with the family Arms.
5. To Jane V.M. All her books and set of Dinner china.
6. To sd. Jane V.M. Five Guineas for a Fancy ring.
7. To Mrs. Etherington, her diamond hoop ring, six silver table spoons marked A.V.M. and the silver meat skewer.
8. To Mrs. Ives, Six silver table spoons marked C.V.M., a silver punch table and a gold watch with the gold case & chain.
9. To Cath: V.M. All the remainder of the table spoons, all the silver tea spoons, silver decanter, lables, silver marrow spoon, silver soup ladle, silver handled knives and forks and all other knives and forks, candlesticks China, glass, earthenware, household linnen and wearing apparel.
10. To sd. Cath. V.M. All household goods and furniture if unmarried at the time of her mother's decease, if then married, to go as part of the residue.

11. Mrs. Hannah Hill, £10 for mourning.
12. Ann Williams, £30 and £5 for mourning.
13. Clare Carrell, £5. £5 for mourning.
14. Mrs. Chandler, 2 Guineas for a fancy ring.
15. The Revd. W.V.M. the further sum of £100 for executing the Will.
16. Mrs. Hannah Hill in case she be willing to deliver up the bond for the Annuity of £13 from the late C.V.M. Deceased, the interest of £400 in the 4 p. cent to be paid to her during her life, and after her decease the sd. £400 to go into the residue.
17. The freehold Messuages at Peckham to be sold and the money arising from the sale to be divided into three equal shares between Mrs. Etherington, Mrs. I. and Cath. V.M.
18. All the rest of her personal estate to be converted into money divided into four equal shares between said W.V.M., C.V.M., Mrs. Ives and Mrs. Etherington, the three first for their own use, the last to be held in trust by W.V.M. to pay the Interest to Mrs. E. for her own sole use during her life and after her decease the whole to be divided equally between her Children at the age of 21 years."

"Abstract of Memorandum added to Mrs. V. Mildert's Will, but not signed by her, during her last illness.

1. Cath. V.M. to keep house with her money after her decease as long as she remains in the house and that Williams & Clare may both continue with her during that period.
2. Her two Grand daughters, Martha & Eliz. Etherington to have £10 apiece for mourning.
3. Mr. Onslow to have a ring.

4. Clare Carrell £10 over and above what is left in the Will as a recompence for her kindness during her long illness.

Dated Sept. 1st 1818." (1)

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(1) Grant-Ives MSS.

## CHAPTER IX

### "Journey from Ponsonby Hall to Oxford"

"Oct. 27th - To Ravenglas, 9 miles - highly picturesque and pleasing - views of the sea, on the right, continued with scarcely any interruption the whole way, and becoming more and more extensive on approaching to Ravenglas. On the left, very fine mountain scenery, also increasing in extent and grandeur, till within a mile or two of Ravenglas. The Screes, on the bank of Wast Water, Sty-Head, and Scaw Fell are the most striking, and are presented in different points of view as the road winds along the line of the coast. Black Coombe, stretching out in a line from these mountains to the very edge of the coast, and forming a bold promontory towards the sea, is a noble feature in the landscape. The road passes over the Sands near Ravenglas, and is not passable at high tide.

"To Bootle, about 4 miles beyond Ravenglas, the road skirts along the coast, presenting a fine sea-view, occasionally intercepted by sand hills, and on the left some of the same mountain scenery as before, but less frequent in view, and altogether less pleasing. - Ravenglas is a mean town. Bootle is also an inconsiderable place. The King's Head

afforded a comfortable breakfast, and is a decent inn.

"To Newby Bridge, 15 miles of excellent road, and through a country of almost unrivalled beauty, improving in scenes of most magnificent and picturesque character. After ascending a long hill, but peculiarly inviting, the prospect becomes more and more interesting. Towards Hawkshead on the left, the Coniston Fells, with the Old Man at Coniston, and the more distant Fells by Windermere Lake, form a striking assemblage. Towards Ulverston and the sea, the eye ranges over a spacious, rich, and most delicious vale, bounded for the most part, by a noble amphitheatre of lofty hills, wooded almost to their summits, and interspersed with scattered houses and villages. The road winds continually in various directions presenting fresh objects at every turn, or fresh views of the same objects, "ever varying, ever new". At Penny Bridge, a road turns off to Hawkshead and Coniston Lake, and the Hills bordering on the Lake become more distinct and prominent to the view. From thence to Newby Bridge, every part of the Valley increases in beauty. The river Leven runs through it, from the foot of Windermere to the sea at Ulverstone, rapidly flowing over a rocky bottom, with all the brilliancy of a continued cascade. By the side of this river the road passes for about a mile to Newby Bridge; and

immediately facing the Bridge stands the Swan Inn, a small neat house, with good accommodations, much civility, cleanliness and attention.

"The weather, through the whole of this day's journey was very favourable; of an agreeable autumnal temperature - frequent interchanges of cloud and sunshine, giving occasionally the happiest mixture of light and shade to the mountains, from some of which, however, the mists seldom entirely cleared away, but served only to heighten their majestic appearance, and to exhibit other parts of the landscape in a livelier contrast.

"Near Newby Bridge is a tower upon an eminence, built as a prospect-house, commanding a beautiful bird's eye view of Windermere Lake and the surrounding country. It is about 2 miles from the Inn, though said to be but one mile - and the way to it is through a fine shady walk for about half the distance, and afterwards up a steep, but not difficult ascent, on the side of a wooded hill. The view of the Lake may be seen almost in equal perfection, at a considerable distance before the summit is reached on which the Tower is erected.

"October 28th

"To Broughton From Bootle is called 14 miles; the country for the most part, hilly and steep, but the road good,

and even superior in point of picturesque interest, to that from Ponsonby to Ravenglass. As the Hills round Wast-Water recede, others come into view between it and Coniston Lake, and some still more remote form the extreme boundary of the landscape; while, on the other side of the road, more enlarged sea-views appear, over Cartmel Sands. - Broughton is a small Town, inconsiderable, except for the romantic beauty of its situation. The Inn is plain and decent, much of the same character with that at Bootle.

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"From Newby Bridge to Milnthorpe - fine romantic country - gradually decreasing in boldness - extensive peat moors - Leven Sands.

"Milnthorpe to Lancaster - pleasing character of the country, with distant views of hills and of sea-coast, broad and extensive vallies (sic) - disfigured by peat moors - approach to Lancaster grand.

"Lancaster to Garstang - country much of the same character - but the Hills and the sea still more distant.

"To Preston do. do.

"To Chorley, very pleasing, except that here as about Preston, the number of manufactories making the scene smoky and takes off from the natural beauty of the country.



"Octr. 29

"From Chorley to Bolton, a dull, uninteresting drive - some parts might be pleasing, were they not continually disfigured by manufacturing establishments - the roads are rough and fatiguing.

"To Manchester from Bolton, the country somewhat improves, and much of the road is paved. The environs of Manchester, for some miles round, partake too much of those of London to gratify the taste for rural beauty.

"To Wilmslow and Congleton (about 24 miles) is exceedingly pleasing - the country rich and productive, finely intermixed with hill and dale, and a succession of gentlemen's seats, giving the whole an air of cultivation and good neighbourhood, as well as of natural beauty. Villages succeed each other at short distances, and some handsome churches give great additional effect.

"The next stage to Trentham Inn is equally agreeable, and the road good - the distance 16 miles - passing through Newcastle under Lyme, a handsome town. Trentham Inn is beautifully situated, at the entrance to the Marquis of Stafford's noble seat. It is a neat Inn, with comfortable accommodations and much attention and civility. Mem: Most dismal weather.

"Octr. 30

"From Trentham Inn to Stafford 12 miles - the first mile through the Marquis of Stafford's Park, exceedingly pleasing - the park not on a very large scale, nor exhibiting any remarkable features, but laid out with taste and judgment, and shewing more of comfort than of grandeur - the exterior of the house corresponds with this description. The road to Stafford is good, and in general, passes through a fine country, rich and fertile, but, like most of the districts bordering on the Trent, much annoyed by inundation. Good Horses at the George Inn.

"From Stafford to Wolverhampton, 16 miles, the road excellent - several gentlemen's seats - altogether pleasing. Lion Inn. The town is handsome.

"From Wolverhampton to Kidderminster, 16 miles of most execrable road, with but little to observe except the town of Stourbridge, and some distant views of Dudley and other places of less note.

"Lion Inn. The town ugly; excepting the new Church, very lately built, the exterior of which is most superb, and does honour to modern architecture.

"From Kidderminster to Worcester, 14 miles of remarkably

pleasing country, passing through Hartlebury and Ombersley, with a fine view of Westwood (Sir John Packington's) and several other seats at some distance from the road.

"Inns

"Bootle, in Cumberland - plain and decent.

Broughton in Furness - do. do.

Newby Bridge - very comfortable, and most delightfully situated.

Milnthorpe, Westmoreland, pretty good.

Lancaster, King's Arms, large and handsome, but in a narrow and noisy street.

The New Bridge Inn, appears more attractive in its exterior, and is finely situated at the foot of the Bridge, with the best possible view of the Church and Castle.

Garstang, Royal Oak, very unpromising in appearance.

Preston, King's Arms, large and respectable in appearance, but ill situated - town very smoky.

Chorley, Royal Oak, tolerably good - dined and slept here.

Bolton, Ship Inn, intolerably bad - most filthy. The Bridge Inn we were told at Manchester is the best in the place.

Manchester, Bridgwater Arms, a fine and spacious Hotel, full of guests and bustle.

Wilmslow, Swan, tolerable.

Congleton, Bull's Head, apparently clean and decent.

Trentham Inn, very comfortable, accommodations, and very pleasantly situated, with a full view of the Marquis of Stafford's Park. Dined and slept there.

Stafford, George - of respectable appearance - good horses.

Wolverhampton, Lion. Ditto.

Kidderminster, Lion. Ditto.

Worcester, Hop Pole." (1)

Doubtless the notes originally included the rest of the journey to Oxford. Ponsonby Hall, the starting point, was the seat of Edward Stanley, J.P., D.L., and sometime Member of Parliament for Cumberland. He had married, (1821) Mary, daughter of Mrs. Van Mildert's brother, William Douglas.

"Penrith to Ambleside by Ullswater

"Penrith to Ullswater foot - 5 miles.

"An excellent road, on each side of the River Eamont - that on the North side leads by Dalemmain, the seat of Edward Hasell Esq. - the other crosses the Eamont at Eamont Bridge, and turns to the West near Arthur's Round Table, which it leaves on the left. At the Village of Pooley, cross the Eamont again at Pooley Bridge (where there is a comfortable Inn, called the Sun) to Dunmallet at the foot of Ullswater.

"Dunmallet is a steep conical Hill, at the foot of which is the Lake, on all sides surrounded with mountains, on the left, lofty and craggy, on the right lower and gradually sloping towards the water. At the extremity is

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(1) Grant-Ives MSS.

Hallen Fell or Place Fell, which projects boldly, and forms with Swarth Fell a spacious bay.

"From hence to Patterdale, or head of Ullswater, is - 9 miles.

"This is the whole length of the Lake; its greatest width is less than a mile. At the end of 3 miles &  $\frac{1}{2}$ , it turns at the Foot of Place Fell almost due West. It is soon again interrupted by the root of Helvellyn.

"From Dunmallet the road proceeds along the northern margin of the Lake. On the right is Soulby Fell, planted with wood. In your progress, you pass several handsome houses; - Ramsback Lodge, Mr. Stagg's, with a lawn and wood, sloping to the Lake;  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile further, Bennet Head, Mr. Todd's; - Watermillock, the celebrated seat of the late Mr. Robinson, the prospect from every window in the house presenting a charming landscape; opposite is Swarth Fell, on the left Martindale bay, on the right Helvellyn - next comes Beau Thorn; -  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile further Lemon House fronting Martindale Fell; and close by it a new-built house, Mr. Hutchinson's; - a little further, is Old Church, a farmhouse on the site of an ancient Church or Chapel, opposite to which is a fine view of the almost perpendicular mountain of Swarth Fell, memorable for Mr. Hasell's memorable escape with his

horse White-stockings. Down this mountain Swarth Beck pours its stream into Ullswater.

"About a mile from Watermillock, enter Gowbarrow Park. Here the middle reach of the Lake appears at once, three miles in length, and  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile in breadth - above the rugged mountains to the West Helvellyn shews itself. The road leads for about 3 miles through the Park, contiguous to the shore. Opposite are Birk Fell and Place Fell. In the Park is Lynlph's Tower, whence is a walk up the rocky vale to the water fall called Airey's Force, 80 feet in height and 16 in width. At the upper end of the park, the last reach of the Lake appears, sweeping round Place Fell. On the right is the farm of Glencoyn.

"Stybarrow Crag next presents itself, beneath which lies the road, commanding a fine view of the Lake. (See the plate, p. 44). This pass has an impending mountain on one side, and a steep bank of the Lake on the other; here the water is said to be very deep.

"A little beyond Stybarrow, on the left, a summerhouse constructed with straw-matting - and a house of the Rev. H. Askew, incumbent and patron of Graystock.

"Nearly opposite Stybarrow Crag is Cherry Island, a small rocky islet.

"Hence the road winds round the head of Ullswater to Patterdale. From a rock immediately behind the public house is a fine view of the last reach of the Lake. At the head of the Lake is Patterdale Hall, Mr. Mounsey's, whose ancestors used to be called Kings of Patterdale.

"A little above the Inn at Patterdale is Gold-rill Bridge, another beautiful view (see plate, p.59) - then the village of Hartsop on the left, then Brotherwater, a small lake, (plate p. 60) - then the heights of Kirkstone to Ambleside - in all, from Patterdale, 9 miles."

#### "Haddon Hall

"An old baronial edifice, near Bakewell in the vale of Haddon. It stands on a rocky knoll near the Wye - has an especially magnificent and picturesque effect from the vale between Haddon and Rowsley. Has been erected at various and remote periods of time. The old tower which surmounts the gateway is said by Gilpin to be anterior to the Conquest; but there is no testimony that any portion of it was erected many years before the reign of Stephen, when one of the Peverels resided here. Early in the reign of Richard 1st it came into the possession of one of the Vernons, in which family it remained nearly 200 years, famous for feudal splendour and

hospitality. Sir Geo. Vernon who died in Elizabeth's reign, was called King of the Peak. One of his daughters married to Sir John Manners, through whom this mansion passed to the house of Rutland, whose residence it continued to be till the beginning of the last century, when it was deserted for the Castle of Belvoir. In the days of the first Duke of Rutland upwards of seven score servants were maintained in it.

"In the dining-room are portraits of Henry 7th and his Queen - the crest of Edward the Black Prince on a shield - and the arms of the Vernon family.

"The gallery is of the date of Queen Elizabeth. In the windows are the arms of the Vernon and the Manners families. It is 110 feet long and 17 wide, said to be floored from one oak tree.

"Mrs. Ratcliffe, a native of Derbyshire, often visited Haddon Hall, to store her imagination with romantic ideas, and some of the most gloomy scenery of the "Mysteries of Udolpho" was studied here.

"The summer-house commands a very extensive view of mountain scenery.

"Rowsley is lower down the vale, about a mile and a half from Haddon: near it, the Wye loses itself in the Derwent."



### "Bakewell

"Derives its name (Bath-quelle or Bakequilla), from a Bath, long in use before the time of Edward the Elder, 924, when it was called Badecanwyllam, and was a fortified town or city. The Parish is 20 miles long, and 8 broad, containing nine Chapelries and several Hamlets.

"The place where the ancient Bath was situated is now occupied by the residence of Mr. White Watson, who forms mineralogical collections for private collections, and whose own collection of fossils attracts many inspectors.

"Soon after the Norman Survey, Bakewell (with the exception of Haddon) became the property of the Peverels. Part of the tithes, with the glebe and patronage, were afterwards given to the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield. In the reign of Henry 7th the Manor was sold to the Vernons of Haddon from whom it has descended to the Duke of Rutland, the present possessor.

"The Church, from its various styles of architecture appears to have been erected at three different periods. The Western part of the Nave and the West door are Saxon - the greater part of the rest of the Church is of the 15th century. It contains monuments of several of the Vernons

and Manners's - also of Sir Godfrey Foljambe in the reign of Edward 3 and of Sir Thomas de Wednesley killed in the battle of Shrewsbury in Henry 4ths reign. The Living is a Vicarage in the patronage of the D. & Ch. of Lichfield. In the churchyard is a curious ancient cross nearly 800 years old.

"The Bath has lately been put in complete repair, is 17 feet high, 33 long, and 20 wide. There has also been found a sulphureous spring, supposed to be of the same strength as Kedleston, and useful in the same complaints.

"There is excellent angling at this town, and a capital Inn (the Rutland Arms) kept by Mr. & Mrs. Greaves.

"On the road towards Tideswell, after ascending from Ashford, and just beyond the third milestone, is a fine view of Monsal Dale, stretching to the right and left, through which runs the river Wye.

"Mrs. White Watson's garden, in connection with the walk from the Inn to the Bath, a delightful promenade."<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) Grant-Ives MSS.

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**ACTA BOOKS** of William Van Mildert's episcopate at (1) Llandaff, and (2) Durham. Of these the Llandaff book is very incomplete. When consulted by the writer it was in the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth. The Durham book is in the Diocesan Registry at Durham and probably contains all the more important acts of the Bishop.

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