



William Connor Magee

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William Connor Magee*

by R. P. C. Hanson

The lives of Victorian bishops do not usually make particularly enlivening reading. We must expect to encounter in them a good deal of Victorian gush and even more of Victorian moralizing. We can be pretty sure that the subject of the biography will express amazement that audiences of working-class men are ready to listen to him and will patronize them heavily, and we are lucky if he does not express views on art which are painful to our taste because of their banality and self-confidence.

William Connor Magee was indeed a Victorian bishop; his life (1821–1891) was lived wholly under the reign of Queen Victoria, and he necessarily shared many of the prejudices and conventional convictions of his time. But we find in his surviving works no gush and only a relatively small modicum of moralizing. His attitude to the working man was sensible and straightforward. In the addresses to Working Men which, like every other Victorian bishop, he gave, he neither patronizes nor flatters.¹ He disliked preaching to the working man and preferred conferring with him, and criticized, in a letter to his life-long friend and biographer, J. C. MacDonnell, the practice of his fellow-bishop Wilberforce of Winchester of what he calls 'stroking them down'.² And he had the good sense to admit that he knew nothing about art and therefore refrained from making any pronouncements about it.³ Magee was not a conventional Victorian bishop.

William Connor Magee was born in Cork on 17 December 1821, the son of a clergyman of the Church of Ireland who was himself one of the sixteen children of William Magee who was archbishop of Dublin in the 1820s. The career of the subject of this paper can be easily summarised. From 1844 to 1849 he was curate of St Thomas', Dublin; from 1849 to 1851 curate of St Saviour's, Bath; from 1851 to 1860 minister of the Octagon Chapel, Bath; and from 1860 to 1861,

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perpetual curate of Quebec Chapel, London, for a little over a year also being prebendary of Wells Cathedral. In 1860 he was appointed rector of Enniskillen and precentor of Clogher Cathedral, though he did not take up the appointment till 1861. In 1864 he was made dean of Cork, a post which he held till 1868; from 1866 to 1868 he was also dean of the Chapel Royal, Dublin. In 1868 he was made bishop of Peterborough, where he remained till January 1891, when he became archbishop of York. He died on 8 May 1891 of an attack of influenza.

Magee was an ambitious man, even though his actual achievements ultimately outstripped his ambition, and during the first part of his career he tended to be unsettled. He found the Orange politics and ecclesiastical quarrels of the diocese of Clogher very uncongenial. He was disgusted by the tardiness and indecisiveness of the people in Cork with whom he had to work in the task of founding and funding the present St Finbar's Cathedral there. He spent much of his time during that period of his life as dean of the Chapel Royal frisking around the Lord Lieutenant wagging his tail and expecting a bone from him in the form of an Irish bishopric. In 1866 he had great expectations of the see of Meath, whose occupant was dying; the Lord Lieutenant had virtually promised it to him. But then the ministry fell and the Lord Lieutenant changed. 'Three weeks of an expiring, and seemingly useless, life', wrote Magee to his intimate friend MacDonnell, 'lay between me and all that the bishopric implies'.⁴ Towards the end of 1868 he became weary of being dean of Cork and dean of the Chapel Royal at the same time, and wrote to Disraeli asking if he could be given a benefice in England within the patronage of the Crown. Disraeli wrote back to say, on one side of the letter, that he could not comply with his request, adding on the other side that he felt it his duty to recommend the Queen to nominate him to the see of Peterborough.⁵ This was far beyond anything to which Magee had aspired, but it was a characteristically shrewd choice by Disraeli. It pleased the Church of Ireland at a time when it was facing the imminent threat of disestablishment and it gave to the House of Lords a bishop who not only could defend the Church of Ireland there but who was one of the outstanding orators of his day. Later Magee had wistful longings for the see of Durham; when Tait, archbishop of Canterbury died, however, he had no idea of succeeding him, though by then he had given quite enough proof of his ability to justify such an appointment. And when in 1891 he was offered the see of York the offer took him utterly by surprise.

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He is the only Irish clergyman ever to have been appointed to an English see while holding a benefice in Ireland, though instances of English clergy becoming Irish bishops are innumerable. He is the only Irishman ever to be made an English archbishop, though several Scotsmen, with the acumen and drive of their race, have achieved these commanding heights. Though Magee was an outstandingly successful choice, the Westminster government has never shown the slightest tendency to repeat the experiment, and if they continue to follow the tendency towards the conventional, not to say undistinguished, which at the moment is their only discernible guiding principle, they never will do so.

Magee began life as a conventional Irish evangelical. An example of a student speech survives which is dreadfully florid stuff, reminiscent of the oratory geyed by Dickens when he gives the speech made at the Dingley Dell cricket supper. But he moved steadily away from this position during his lifetime. A letter from Spain in 1851 can speak of 'a sprinkling of evangelical ladies, tall, gaunt and good', in short a group of Miss Clacks.⁶ By 1884 he could describe his sufferings under an elderly evangelical locum-tenens in the parish where he had a kind of country retreat: he speaks of 'the dismal repetition of stalest evangelicism from an old Rip Van Winkle of a curate'. To hear these by-gone doctrines preached thus seemed, he said, like 'listening to a spinet played by an elderly lady, and sung to with quaverings that make you sad to think how she and her instrument were once young and voted charming.'⁷ He was strongly anti-Roman Catholic in his views, naturally, but towards the end of his life one can detect a mellowing. In a sermon preached in St Andrew's Church, Dublin, in 1866, he said, 'the remedy for Romanism is not Puritanism; the remedy for superstition is not irreverence; the remedy for ultra-ritualism is not sacrilege'.⁸ In a sermon preached in 1886 he made an admiring reference to Fr Damien. Someone in the congregation carried this reference to Fr Damien who was then living in Molokai, and Fr Damien sent Magee a message of thanks and his photograph.⁹ Magee could appreciate and admire the best in what the medieval monks of Peterborough had stood for,¹⁰ and could see good in the Tractarian movement.¹¹ All his life he had a great affection for his old university. It gave him a doctorate of divinity in 1860, and was responsible for offering him the benefice of Enniskillen in the same year. He delivered the Donnellan Lectures there, and in the last few months of his life he gave it a bust of himself which now stands in the Old Library.¹²

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If we are to determine the achievement of Magee, we shall not find the task an easy one.¹³ His career was, like that of most clergy occupied in a variety of aims. But we can distinguish two activities which contributed to a permanent improvement in the areas where he undertook them. He was largely responsible for securing the independence, what the Germans call the 'Selbstverständnis', of the Church of Ireland, even though in the middle of the crisis into which that Church was precipitated at disestablishment he left Ireland for ever for an English diocese. By 1867 he had come to believe that disestablishment was inevitable.¹⁴ In 1868 he preached a famous sermon at the service in St Patrick's Cathedral for the Church Congress held in Dublin, on 'The breaking net'; in it he envisaged realistically and tried to prevent the collapse which threatened the Church of Ireland as disestablishment was forced on it willy nilly.¹⁵ What disturbed Magee was the apparent paralysis of the church in face of this threat; its leaders, frightened by the dark pronouncements of ecclesiastical lawyers and hampered by an inherited Erastian mentality, either could not or would not summon a representative assembly which was urgently needed to avert collapse and chaos. Magee describes the situation in a letter to his great friend dated 14 July, 1868: 'the Primate [Beresford archbishop of Armagh] (will return) to his love of lobbying and dislike of any popular movements; the Puritans to their dread of the "high church" archbishop [Trench of Dublin], the lawyers to their love of routine and hatred and jealousy of clerical freedom and activity. The watchword now is, "As you were"; and so it will continue—all practising the goose-step—until some new and more successful assault knocks them all into a confused and frightened heap again.'¹⁶ A little later he wrote to the same correspondent, 'Well, some day or other we will teach his Grace that the production and maintenance of Beresfords is not the final cause of the Irish Church'.¹⁷ At the last minute, just in time to avoid disaster, the Church of Ireland was able to pull itself together and face the dreadful reality with a common mind, courage and good sense. It was owing partly to Magee's work that it could do so. His first speech in the House of Lords was on the subject of the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. It was probably the most famous of all his speeches, and it instantly made his reputation as the best episcopal speaker in the House and one of the best of any man there, so much so that for the rest of his career he was in demand for initiating church legislation in Parliament because he—and he alone—could always be depended on to

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secure the ear of the Lords. This particular speech¹⁸ was very largely a brilliant piece of special pleading, but it contains some fine shafts of wit and some good political common sense: 'You will find', he says, speaking of disendowment, 'that you have not produced paradisaical amity by compelling a resort to paradisaical scantiness of dress'; and he warns the Liberal peers that sacrificing the Irish Church will not appease but rather whet the appetite of the Irish nationalists; the Irish peasant has learnt 'that murder and outrage are a necessary stimulant to the consciences of English statesmen'.¹⁹

The other lasting contribution of Magee was the impetus which he gave, largely by his work in the House of Lords, to the reformation of abuses in the Church of England. It was not merely that he struggled manfully in the impenetrable thicket in which all English bishops were at that period involved as they attempted to regulate worship in their dioceses by law, and failing that by consensus of the clergy. It was that very often it was either legally impossible or financially ruinous for a bishop to deal effectively with cases of admitted and scandalous misconduct on the part of some of his clergy. He tells us that he was in Peterborough diocese compelled to institute four clergy of whom one was paralytic; another so old that he had immediately to ask for leave of absence from the parish; a third was a reclaimed drunkard returning to a parish near the scene of the scandal formerly created by him; and a fourth a man of homosexual propensities who had formerly resigned a public office rather than face investigation into his activities. He could not legally refuse to institute any of them.²⁰ In a speech in the House of Lords made in 1874 when he was moving for the appointment of a select committee on the reform of church patronage laws he attacked with unanswerable cogency the prevailing scandal of the sale of benefices. He pointed out that the English bishop was 'anxious to enforce the law and preserve the peace and purity of the Church; but possessed for this purpose of the most limited powers and constantly doomed to find each weapon of law that he takes up break in his hand as he uses it'.²¹ Seven years later, in 1881, when he was speaking in the Lords in support of the Ecclesiastical Courts Bill he declared that the action of the extreme low church Church Defence Association in using Disraeli's Public Worship Regulation Act to imprison clergy 'appears to me the most odious, the most spiteful and fatuous folly'—a verdict which history certainly justified. In the same speech he put his finger nicely on the difficulty; 'The misfortune is that at this moment the Church of England has neither

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perfectly defined rules nor courts of undisputed authority.'²² Whatever the immediate outcome of the measures which he supported, we cannot doubt that the vote and advocacy of such a man as he, and the pains which he took in ventilating the scandalous situation, contributed weightily to the eventual reform of the abuses.

Magee was above all an orator, an unsurpassed exponent of the art of persuasive speaking in an age when that art was still highly valued both in the pulpit and on the public platform and in Parliament. Long before he was offered the see of Peterborough, when he was still in Enniskillen and in Cork, he was being asked to preach on important occasions in many places in England. It is difficult for us to appreciate his skill, both because we do not possess any recorded examples of his living voice, and oratory reduced to prose on paper loses half its power, and also because we live in an age when the practice of oratory has been virtually abandoned both in secular and ecclesiastical contexts, the age of the deliberately coarse and vulgar political speech, and of the worthless, colourless, ten-minute sermonette. Magee's power of speaking soared far above mere flowery rhetoric and had nothing in common with the emotional, demagogic political speech devoid of intellectual content which is still apparently popular at American political conventions and with the electorate of Northern Ireland. Mackerness has correctly described his best sermons as 'sustained exercises in the practice of clear thinking on religious matters.'²³ Would that even one hundredth of our contemporary sermons could aspire to such an ideal! Victorian congregations gathered in cathedrals for Church Congress services or for a series of addresses on outstanding religious subjects were prepared to listen long and carefully to discourses containing closely argued reasoning, as we apparently cannot today. In his fine and touching last sermon in Peterborough Cathedral delivered only two months before his death, Magee said that the bishop must speak, 'no merely empty and vapid words of declamation, but words that come out of the deeper thoughts and deeper emotions of his own mind and heart'.²⁴ He certainly lived up to this standard. His style is sinewy and cogent; he uses little illustration and few metaphors and no ornament. One gains the impression of a strong and able mind expressing itself powerfully, candidly and persuasively. Some of his sermons could still be preached or read with profit today.

Magee was also famous for his wit, not always kindly wit. Englishmen are always a little afraid of Irish humour; that is one of the reasons why they try to make out that the Irish are stupid. 'Con-

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vocation', he says in a letter to J. C. MacDonnell from the Athenaeum in 1875, 'in our House is doing nothing with great dignity and calm. In the Lower House it is doing nothing practical with great heat and fury.'²⁵ In a letter to the *Times* in 1885 he ironically thanks those who have written to him about a pastoral letter which he was supposed to have issued but in fact had not: 'I ask your permission', he adds, 'to inform them, one and all—from the earnest Churchman who heartily thanks me for my pastoral to the still more earnest anti-Churchman who denounces me as "a highly-paid drone", "an enemy to Christianity" and "a Judas who ought to go to his own place"—that I have not recently issued any pastoral on the subject to which they refer.'²⁶ He can speak in a sermon on the reopening of St Andrew's Church, Dublin, after rebuilding, in 1866, of 'the error which provides, in addition to baptism, a new sacrament of instantaneous conversion'.²⁷ In a speech in the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, delivered in 1877, he points out that the laity are very ready to prosecute the clergy for ritual misdemeanours but will not do so for outright immorality: 'There may be laymen willing to prosecute a clergyman for standing at the wrong end of a communion table, but not one to prosecute him for standing drunk at the other.'²⁸

But it was not simply as an exponent of persuasiveness that Magee won his way to one of the highest positions in the Anglican Communion. He was widely recognized also as a man of unusually shrewd practical insight. This was shown both in his political and in his ecclesiastical views and actions. As a politician, he was decidedly conservative. He had, predictably, been strongly prejudiced against Gladstone from the moment that the disestablishment of the Irish Church was mooted. Disraeli had appointed him bishop of Peterborough. Salisbury made him archbishop of York. But as he grew older his opinion of Gladstone improved. After he had given an address to the Peterborough Church on disestablishment generally in 1885 he received a friendly letter from Gladstone assuring the bishop that he had no desire to disestablish the Church of England.²⁹ In 1890 he spent two days at the house of a friend where Gladstone was also staying and wrote with admiration to MacDonnell about him: 'assuredly I spent those two days in the company of the most amazing old man in Europe.'³⁰ Magee was cautious about the growth of democracy in the modern sense of the word which was taking place in his lifetime. He refused to sanction prayers for the imperialist ventures in Egypt of the Liberal Government: 'to me the whole

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of our Egyptian warfare seems the most causeless and unrighteous war we ever engaged in.'³¹ He stated emphatically on several occasions his opposition to what we today might call manifesto politics: 'It seems to me it is the duty of the voters at the hustings not to pass laws but to choose legislators.'³² 'I hold it is the right of Englishmen to be governed by the Estates of the Realm sitting in Parliament, and not by a haphazard majority, collected by agitation and canvassing.'³³ If we are simply to determine whether public opinion is in favour of a bill in order to determine whether it should be enacted, then 'the sooner you do away with Parliamentary debates, the better'.³⁴ He is quite sure that the decision of the majority of votes is not divinely inspired, and he makes a pertinent request not irrelevant to our times that those who speak about the will of the people will define whom exactly they mean by the term 'the people'.³⁵ In a sermon on 'St Paul on socialism' delivered in 1888 he predicts what will happen when socialism prevails: 'You will pass great social laws which, if they do not make men feel, will, at least, aim at compelling them to act, as if they were brothers.' In the process, liberty will have been destroyed: 'If you have destroyed a brotherhood of love, you cannot replace it by a brotherhood of law.'³⁶ He is equally unenthusiastic about the ideas of universal progress and social utopias which were becoming rife at the end of the nineteenth century and were often receiving support from religious leaders. Civilization, he says in a sermon preached in 1871, and art and science are not leading to a coming millenium; they may only be preparing more efficient means of murder.³⁷ He can even speak of 'the law of unequal distribution' as an irremovable barrier to progress.³⁸ He does not believe that Christianity can solve all social problems. 'No nation, governed on strictly Christian principles, could continue to exist for a week.'³⁹ The task of the church is not to reconstitute society but to sanctify it.⁴⁰ But it is not fair to describe Magee, as Mackerness describes him when he says that 'his attitude seems to be that of an astute temporizer, not of a person goaded by the promptings of an uneasy conscience.'⁴¹ Magee had a fund of compassion in his nature for the wretched and underprivileged. His speech on the Parish Churches Bill in the Lords in 1886 is a fine plea on behalf of the poor man's right to a place in his parish church unrestricted by the rich-pew-owner.⁴² And one of his last speeches in the House of Lords was on the subject of the injustice and danger to children arising out of the practice of insuring them.⁴³ His strong practical common sense is shown in the support which he gave by speech and action for the

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movement in Ireland to establish a system of national education which would not be divided by religious barriers. With many eminent Irishmen of his time he wanted education not to be run on denominational lines; he wanted united secular but divided religious education.⁴⁴ Had his efforts been successful the history of Ireland since his day might have been happier.

The same shrewdness and capacity to see the common sense solution characterized Magee's attitude to ecclesiastical affairs. He only supported Disraeli's Public Worship Regulation Act because it was introduced at the same time as a measure designed to reform the rubrics, and when this measure was frustrated by the folly and stubbornness of Convocation he regarded attempts to act upon the Act as unmitigated folly.⁴⁵ He gradually came to realize that the peculiar form of silliness evinced by the Church of Ireland was matched by a different but no less egregious form in the Church of England. He opposed the Ecclesiastical Courts and Registries Bill of 1872 on the reasonable grounds of its likely results: 'Three persons—let us say three old women—in the Channel Islands would have the right to prosecute, for any minute violation of the rubric, any clergyman within a stone's throw of your Lordships' House.'⁴⁶ He advises in a sermon delivered in Canterbury in 1872 against 'enforcing, in all its minutest details, the calm and staid solemnity of our Anglican rites upon more unquiet races than our own'⁴⁷—an admonition not always heeded by Victorian Anglican missionaries. Towards the non-conformists, whose opposition to the established church was always a power to be reckoned with in the political scene during Magee's episcopate, he was wary, and distant; he was ready to be friendly on occasion but it clearly did not seriously occur to him that he could discuss with them the differences that separated them from the Church of England.⁴⁸

Finally something must be said about Magee as a theologian. To an age of intense concentration and specialisation in biblical and historical theology, much of his utterances must appear jejune and ephemeral.⁴⁹ But in three fields of thought his acute intellect and powerful mind rendered what he had to say memorable and worth recording. His treatment of ethical problems is always impressive. A brief but admirable paper of his is extant on the reasons for running hospitals for Incurables.⁵⁰ His most famous single dictum which earned him more obloquy and notoriety than any other was made in a speech on a measure to restrict the liquor trade, when he objected, not to restriction as such, but to the proposal to put the power

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of restriction into the hands of local committees: '*if I must take my choice . . . whether England should be free or sober, I declare, strange as such a declaration may sound coming from one of my profession, that I should say it would be better that England should be free than that England should be compulsorily sober.*'⁵¹ Today we can only applaud so courageous and honest a declaration. He rejects firmly the possibility of scientific ethics: 'The eye of science is as capable of seeing morality as the nose of the spectator is capable of perceiving perspective.'⁵²

The same acute power of seizing the heart of the matter and expressing it effectively is to be observed in Magee's ventures into the field of what we today would call the philosophy of religion. He always insisted that reason and religion must not be divorced, and that Christianity should not bribe nor threaten nor dictate but can only persuade and appeal to the conscience.⁵³ 'The demand for a religion which shall dispense with the exercise of reason, and the discipline of thought', he says in a sermon preached in 1860, 'is ever punished by a belief in a religion which outrages all reason and, at last, silences all thought. Superstition is still the Nemesis, not of faith, but of unbelief.'⁵⁴ His sermon of 1867 on 'Speaking parables' is a good plea for a religion which shall contain mystery but not unreality.⁵⁵ His sermon preached before the British Association in Norwich in 1868 on 'The Christian theory of the origin of the Christian life' argues that Christian life, vital religion, must have a supernatural origin, turning from formal apologetics to existing religion.⁵⁶ In an address given in Norwich in 1871 on 'Christianity and scepticism' he distinguishes the agnostic, whom he respects, from the sceptic, whom he does not. He defines the sceptic as 'one who demands evidence of an improper and unreasonable kind', and gives as an example by no means strange to our situation today, a man who, offered historical evidence, says of its author, 'inasmuch as you cannot give me positive proof that he is not a liar, I will not believe his evidence.'⁵⁷ We cannot, he insists, demonstrate Christianity: 'Scepticism demands certainty, Christianity offers certainty, and gives it in the end. But the certainty Christianity offers is the certainty partly of reason, partly of faith, and partly of experience; whereas the certainty which scepticism demands is the certainty of science only.'⁵⁸

As one who began his intellectual career in the strait and narrow path of Irish evangelicism but who worked his way to a much more central position, Magee could hardly be expected to decry the

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necessity of dogma. In an address on 'Christianity and free thought' given in Norwich in 1871, he states that saying that we should have religion and no dogma is like saying that we can have 'sun, moon and stars, but no astronomy', 'plants, but no botany', 'chemicals but no chemistry', 'earth but no geology'.⁵⁹ And elsewhere he can point out the absurdity of hoping for Christian emotions without Christian belief. 'The model sermon, in their eyes, is that which contains the least amount of religious doctrine with the largest amount of religious sentiment—a sermon all colour and no form.'⁶⁰ But Magee is no ruthless dogmatist. He abhorred the possibility of a recoil from rationalism into 'a narrow and bitter dogmatism . . . clinging to every antiquated prejudice and fighting for small sectarian shibboleths as if they were articles of the creed.'⁶¹ He can, in two letters to the *Times* in 1878, indulge in a brilliant and shrewd demolition of the complacent appeal to the Vincentian Canon and the Ecumenical Councils.⁶² He is quite ready to agree that dogma must be translated into modern terms.⁶³ He has one wise saying about doctrinal formulae: 'But what an ignorance of the first principles of the subject he shows, when he talks of insisting on "unambiguous" formularies. How can our formularies be less ambiguous than the truths they are to express?'⁶⁴ And he gave a warm welcome to the volume of essays *Lux Mundi* shortly after it appeared, in 1890.⁶⁵ Perhaps Magee is seen at his best as an exponent of doctrine in a sermon which he preached in Oxford in 1880 on 'The ethics of forgiveness'.⁶⁶ This sermon shows a deep understanding of the atonement; it is by no means conventionally evangelical. It represents the atonement as a moral miracle wrought by God, upsetting law and suspending penalty, because God is the sort of God whose love transcends these things.

Summing up Magee's quality Mackerness says of him that he showed 'perpetual antagonism towards complacency in the affairs of the spirit'.⁶⁷ This is deserved praise, and if we are to learn nothing else from Magee this is a lesson well worth learning by all Christians today or in any age. But this survey of his career and work and character will have showed to those who care to think about them that Magee left more behind him than this when he ended his life in a London nursing-home eighty-six years ago. He left the example of a rounded and effective life (for all the brevity of his tenure of the archbishopric of York), of a wise and powerful mind, of a noble spirit. He was a man of whom the Church of Ireland may justly be proud, a man whom the University of Dublin can properly commemorate.

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Notes

1. I shall use the following abbreviations in this paper:
Life=*The life and correspondence of William Connor Magee* by J. C. MacDonnell (2 vols. London 1896); *GA*=*The gospel and the age*, sermons by William Connor Magee (London 1884); *GG*=*Growth in grace* and other sermons by the late W. C. Magee D. D., ed. C. S. Magee (London 1891); *SA*=*Speeches and addresses* by the late W. C. Magee D. D., ed. by C. S. Magee (London 1892); *HV*=*The heeded voice* by E. D. Mackerness (Cambridge 1959). I have also consulted *Famous speeches*, ed. H. Paul (London 1912) and T. H. Gregg *The Church of England*, a pamphlet published in 1875 in order to demand excitedly the disestablishment of the Church of England which quotes parts of one of Magee's charges, another pamphlet embodying a speech of Magee's to the Leicester Conference of the National Education Union given on 27 Jan. 1870 (Education Pamphlets, no. 13, in the John Rylands Library, Univ. of Manchester), and an obituary notice of Magee published in 1896 in the Third Series of Northamptonshire Historical Collections. In the time available to me I have been unable to obtain either Magee's *Sermons preached at St Saviour's, Bath* (1851) or the third volume of his works which C. S. Magee published after his death, *Christ the light of all scripture* (1892). Three addresses to working men are to be found in *SA*.
2. *Life* i. 257-8.
3. *Life* ii. 116 (letter to J. C. McD.).
4. *Life* i. 141, 142.
5. *Life* i. 197.
6. *Life* i. 44.
7. *Life* ii. 207.
8. *GA* 106.
9. *GG* 215-216.
10. *GG* 248-249.
11. *GG* 253-254.
12. *Life* ii. 298-299.
13. I disagree with Mackerness in including universal denominational religious education as one of Magee's achievements (*HV* 66); though he was active in supporting this cause, his cannot be described as a long-lasting achievement here.
14. *Life* i. 157, letter to J. C. McD.
15. The sermon can be found printed in *GA*.
16. *Life* i. 183.
17. *Life* i. 185.
18. It is printed in *SA*, but is also available in *Famous speeches*, from which I quote it.
19. The quotations are from pages 148 and 142.
20. Details in T. N. Gregg's indignant pamphlet, from a charge given by Magee to his clergy in 1875.
21. The speech is printed in *SA*, the quotation is from p. 163. Incidentally, in this speech, he declares his opinion (p. 166) that 'popular election is, in my opinion, the very worst of all possible modes of appointing ministers'.
22. The speech is printed in *SA*; the quotations are from pp 109 and 111.
23. *HV* 73.
24. Sermon printed in *GG*, quotation from p. 291.
25. *Life* ii. 22; compare his delightful description of Tangiers in a letter to the same correspondent on Easter Day 1883, *Life* ii. 191.

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26. *Life* ii. 213.
27. *GA*, 101.
28. The speech is given in *SA*.
29. *Life* ii. 216.
30. *Life* ii. 290.
31. *Life* ii. 208.
32. *Famous speeches* 149.
33. *SA* 120.
34. *SA* 36.
35. *Ibid.* 36–39.
36. *GG* 214–216.
37. *GG* 127.
38. *GA* 37.
39. *GG* 49.
40. *GG* 216.
41. *HV* 78.
42. The speech can be found in *SA*.
43. This speech is also to be found in *SA*.
44. See *Life* i. 124, 125, 129.
45. *Life* ii. 242, 243.
46. *SA* 95.
47. *GG* 173. He even dared to suggest (*GA* 71) that God can do without the Church Missionary Society though the Church Missionary Society cannot do without God.
48. See his addresses to non-conformists in *SA*.
49. He appears to believe that king Solomon wrote Ecclesiastes (*GA* 121, 122); and in an historical fall somehow involving hereditarily transmitted sin (*GG* 148, 149). His sermon preached in 1882 (printed in *GA*) on 'The Bible human and divine' is neither profound nor original, but at least he admits cautiously in it the possibility of errors in the Bible. And he can in a sermon on 'Foretelling and forthtelling' in 1871 point out that there are very few genuine and unmistakable predictions in the Old Testament, and that prediction is anyway something which 'the prophet might share with the witch and the wizard' (*GG* 26, 27, 29). His bugbears were, rather discreditably to him, F. D. Maurice and Benjamin Jowett.
50. *Life* ii. 24–32.
51. *Life* ii. 44; the whole speech is to be found in *SA*.
52. *Life* ii. 148, in a letter to J. C. MacD. Compare *GA* 253: 'we may still hold that life and death, and time and eternity, and God and the conscience and the soul are mysteries that are not to be solved by science, nor to be attacked by logic.'
53. See *GA* 305–306.
54. *GA* 20.
55. The sermon is to be found in *GA*.
56. The sermon is printed in *GA*.
57. *GA* 84, 85.
58. *Ibid.* 89; cf the passage on 102 beginning 'Be consistent in your scepticism'.
59. *GG* 73.
60. *Life* i. 146.
61. *GA* 105; quoted in *HV* 75.
62. *Life* ii. 102–106.

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- 63. *Life* i. 148.
- 64. *Life* i. 253, 254.
- 65. *Life* ii. 286-287.
- 66. Printed in *GA*.
- 67. *HV* 81.