WILLIAM BEDELL

Provost of Trinity College, Dublin
Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh

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I.

During the three centuries between the Reformation and the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1869, the Crown appointed to Irish Sees, either by the elevation of presbyters or by translation, some five hundred and fifty bishops. Of these the most distinguished were men of the seventeenth century or early eighteenth century. Among these, half-a-dozen were most outstanding: Usher, who became Archbishop of Armagh and Primate, Bramhall who succeeded him, Bedell, Taylor of Down and Connor, King, Archbishop of Dublin, and Berkeley of Cloyne. These are remembered, while hundreds are not even names to us. This alone enables us to estimate the worth of William Bedell.

What advantage we may derive from remembering William Bedell will be chiefly the example set us by a noble soul, free from the vices of ambition and avarice, without vanity or self-interest, and eager only to advance the cause of religion and the welfare of every institution committed to his care.

Many tributes have been paid at different times to his memory—Coleridge said that "in all ecclesiastical history he had read of no man so spotless". Sinclair Brooke speaks of him as "the best of bishops and holiest of Chris-

tians; so good, so loving, so useful, so self-denying". Richard Cumberland, the dramatist, and son of a successor of Bedell in Kilmore, tells us that his father wished to be buried by Bedell's side: so also did another successor, Bishop Wettenhall.

Goldwin Smith, writing of the Civil War of 1641, speaks thus—"In Ireland, against the dark clouds of the storm, one rainbow appeared. Bishop Bedell had won the love of his neighbours. He and his family were not only spared by the rebels, but treated with loving-kindness". Lecky writes—"In that rebellion one Englishman was exempt from the hostility that attached to his race. He was treated with the most respectful and even affectionate deference, and when he died he was borne to the grave with all the honours the rebel army could afford. That Englishman was Bedell, the counsellor of Sarpi and de Dominis, and the founder of proselytism in Ireland".

In his diocese of Kilmore, the Cathedral rebuilt in the last century bears the title "The Bedell Memorial Church". In that century, too, a literary devotion to Bedell was well displayed in the publication of valuable editions of two contemporary biographies, one by his son, and the other by his son-in-law, Alexander Clogie. Forty years ago these were also republished in one volume with a selection of Bedell's letters of unusual interest by Mr. Shuckburgh of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Archdeacon Cotton also collected materials for a biography which he unfortunately was unable to publish. All this bears witness to the fadeless charm of

a Christian personality, for it is supremely as a Christian that Bedell has impressed man-kind for three centuries.

II.

William Bedell was born in 1571, in Essex. He grew up in the Puritan atmosphere of East Anglia, and was educated at the newly-founded Puritan College of Emmanuel in Cambridge. The Master of Emmanuel was Dr. Chaderton, one of the translators of the Authorised Version of Holy Scripture, a sturdy divine who died at the age of one hundred and four years. Under him Emmanuel had Puritan usages which were peculiar to it, such as having the Psalms read in chapel by the minister alone, instead of alternate reading with the worshippers, and not using the Prayer Book for daily prayers. These practices or mis-practices Bedell kept up throughout life. In days of strife he often looked back upon the peace and good order of Emmanuel.

Bedell became a Fellow of his College in 1593, and entered Holy Orders in 1597, and thereafter devoted himself to the study of oriental languages in which he became highly proficient. At the same time he preached a good deal, and on vacating his Fellowship became a parochial clergyman. He had been ordained by a Dr. Stern, suffragan bishop of Colchester. This bishop, on being rebuked by his superior for some carelessness in the choice of ordinands answered a threatened suspension by saying that in ordaining Bedell he had ordained a better man than any his superior had laid hands on.

III.

In 1607, Bedell was appointed to go to Venice as Chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, the English Ambassador there. Wotton is now remembered as a graceful poet, but in those days his fame rested in his wide experience of the Italian courts. Venice had just been set free from an Interdict imposed by Pope Paul V, as a result of a conflict of authority. That piece of discipline had not unduly embarrassed Venice: rather, it had inclined her rulers to consider the possibility of going over to the side of the Reformation. The ecclesiastical leader of the Republic was Fr. Paul Sarpi, a Servite friar, and historian of the Council of Trent. Bedell became his intimate friend and counsellor, and translated the Book of Common Prayer into Italian for his benefit. They spent many hours in each other's company, and it was hoped in England that Sarpi might be a leader of reform, but he said himself that he was no Luther, and Bedell said of him that all he needed was more spirit. Sarpi may be said to have been Catholic in general, and Protestant in particulars. Under the Calvinistic Bedell's guidance he read English theology, but without lasting effect upon the religious history of Venice.

After three and a half years in Venice, Bedell returned to England. There followed him one convert of his persuasiveness, Mark Antony de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, who accepted a benefice and a deanery in the Church of England, but missing the genial suns and wines of Italy, returned to his native land as a penitent, and died in a prison of the Inquisition.

Bedell arrived home with a rich store of knowledge, and a taste for gardening which he kept for the rest of his life. He devoted much of his time to editorial work on Fr. Sarpi's books, translating them from Italian into Latin. He could say that his friendship with Sarpi was "an invaluable mental experience, and enrichment of knowledge of divinity and polite learning". While in Venice he had persuaded Deodati, the Genevan reformer, to visit him, and this friendship had important bearing upon his later career, by bringing him to the notice of powerful friends.

IV.

Some years after his return Bedell was appointed Rector of Horningsheath, in the diocese of Norwich. There we find him beginning a course of action which, with intervals, we find him pursuing nearly all his life. He began that career of legal disputing which, though generally to his disadvantage, he seemed unable to avoid. Yet he always acted with the highest motives. He quarrelled with the Bishop of Norwich over the fees, payable at his institution to the Bishop's officers. He held that these charges were simony and would not pay. At length the Bishop yielded, an act as honourable in him as it was complimentary to Bedell, who lived in such good repute that he became Proctor for his diocese in the Convocation of 1623. That was his highest eminence in the Church of England. It is said that he sought nothing: that is not quite true. In 1613, he had asked if Sir Henry Wotton could approach King James to obtain for him a Prebend on the

ground of his services in Venice. If this were done, he said, it might encourage others not to neglect him. Wotton's own fortunes were at that time at a low level, though he ended his days as Provost of Eton, obtaining the post against the candidature of the then discredited Lord Bacon. Nothing could be done by him to further Bedell's interests.

Bedell, however, had a contented spirit. He was happily married, and had adequate means, but he would have been less than human if he had not realised his fitness for more important work.

The story is told that when Deodati came to England about 1627, he was astonished that those he met knew nothing about Bedell. He recommended him to Dr. Morton, Bishop of Coventry who is said to have helped his advancement. A more likely cause is the fact that he had become acquainted with Dr. James Usher, the Irish Primate. We find Bedell writing in 1624 to Dr. Ward of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, that he had that day dined with Usher.

V.

We now come to Bedell's appointment as Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, which was in the year 1627.

On the death of Sir William Temple, the previous Provost, the Senior Fellows had elected a Mr. Mede, and the Junior Fellows, a Mr. Usher, nephew of the Primate. The vacancy had been discussed a year earlier as Temple was infirm, and then Primate Usher had pro-

posed to the Chancellor of Dublin University, of which Trinity was, and is, the sole College, George Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury, that a Mr. Sibbes, Preacher of Gray's Inn, and a noted Puritan, should be chosen. Sibbes would not accept, and Usher wrote again to Abbott saying "I cannot think of a more worthy man than Mr. Bedell". When the actual vacancy came Mede withdrew, and the King, at the instance of Abbott, appointed Bedell.

Among the recommendations addressed to King Charles was one from Sir Henry Wotton who wrote thus of his old chaplain—"I am bound to affirm of him that I think hardly a fitter man could be found for that charge in your whole Kingdom, for singular erudition and piety, conformity to the rites of the Church, and zeal to advance the cause of God. This is the man whom Father Paul Sarpi took into his very soul".

Bedell's Calvinism, which Bishop Burnett says hindered his preferment in England, was no impediment in Ireland, where Usher, also a Calvinist, was supreme.

Bedell showed no great eagerness to come to Ireland. In the seventeenth century, Ireland was a country to be exploited; a land where astute adventurers, ecclesiastical and lay, could prosper, but scarcely enticing to a retiring scholar. The Chancellor pressed him to go, though the College offered only £100 a year as salary, and there was a promise from the Lord Deputy of a lectureship at Christ Church, the diocesan Cathedral. To his friend Ward Bedell wrote that he had heard the College

" was eager to see him that ere long they would think he came too soon." He would not resign his English parish until he had tried the Provostship for a while. He came to Dublin and took the Provost's oath, declaring he would not bind himself not to make changes by way of explanation of the Statutes.

Family objections had been made to his removal to Dublin, but Bedell said " If I can be of any better service to our common Master, to my country, to God's Church, I must close my eyes against all private respects. I shall obey, if it were not only to go to Ireland, but into Virginia itself. Yea, though I were not only to meet with troubles, dangers and difficulties, but death itself in the performance ". So indeed it turned out in the end.

VI.

Installed as Provost, Bedell set about patching up numerous quarrels, sought to be reconciled with the defeated candidate Robert Usher, and held a Communion Service in the Chapel of the College. This was the first administration of the sacrament for eleven years in that place.

In a short time he copied and arranged the statutes and freed them from ambiguity. One now declared that the Junior Fellows had no voice in the election of Provost or in College business.

Having got so far, Bedell went back to England, and remained there for the next nine months (to June, 1628). He was very unsettled, and showed nothing of the persevering determination which he later displayed as a Bishop.

The College, in truth, was far from attractive. Strife was frequent, and the Vice-Provost, a restless Welshman, made trouble. The new Provost made various attempts to resign, for he felt he was unwelcome, and had been too long away from academic life to slip easily into it again. In a letter to a friend he spoke regretfully of his memories of Emmanuel College under good Dr. Chaderton. He also made enquiries about the statutes of Cambridge which was in many respects the model for our University.

Letters of this period display Bedell's anxiety about his fitness. He told Usher that he had been offered the Treasurership of St. Patrick's Cathedral (Dublin's second Cathedral) to increase his income. He petitioned the Viceroy for the £40 lectureship promised to him in Christ Church, but found that this was being shared out among certain of the Fellows. He heard of fresh broils in the College, and offered his resignation to the Vice-Chancellor, saying, " I shall account your freeing me from the burden the greatest favour you can do me, under which, had it not been for fear of offending God, I had never put my shoulder so far as I have done ". He also sought a dispensation to hold his English parish so that he would have a home and a stipend if any mischance befel him in Dublin. He complained of the lack of faculties of law and medicine in the College. Even the grace for the degree of Doctor of Divinity did not comfort him.

The Vice-Chancellor would not let him go, and demanded that he should return to Dublin.

This wavering uncertain attitude shows the man at his weakest, and it was rumoured that he had not the strength of character for the task. Yet while in England he did not neglect doing service for the College, but sought from the Crown letters to modify the Charter so as to give the Fellows longer tenure of their office than the seven years then customary (they are now for life), and also to establish the schools of law and medicine.

VII.

To prepare for his return to residence, the Chancellor, Archbishop Abbott wrote to the Fellows—" Mr. Bedell is a man of great worth, and one who hath spent some time in parts beyond the seas, and so cometh among you better experienced than an ordinary person. Yield him all reverence that having left his country and friends he may find a quiet harbour to rest in". The Fellows, thus admonished, then wrote to the Provost, " You are the man whom God hath designed for this charge. He by His providence having frustrated all other devices and designs to the contrary". Persuaded at last, Bedell wrote to Primate Usher, " Since it hath pleased God to embark me in the affairs of that country, I take myself bound to further the voyage: not only for mine own safety, and the rest of the passengers, but for the honour of yourself that are the pilot, and for the glory of God" . . . . " I suppose it hath been an error all this while to neglect the faculty of law and of physic, and to attend only to the ordering of one poor College of divines, whereas with a little more labour, and

a few privileges, a great many more good wits might have been allured to study, and seasoned with piety, and made instruments for the bringing in learning and civility and religion into the country". Yet again he adverts to his incapacity, " The arts of dutiful obedience and fit ruling I did, for seventeen years, learn under that good father Dr. Chaderton in a well-tempered society: the cunning tricks of packing, siding, bandying, and skirmishing with and between great men, I confess myself ignorant in, and am now too old to be taught".

The Fellows again wrote that they knew of no man so worthy of the government of the College as himself. So encouraged Bedell came back and applied himself manfully to the reformation of the College.

VIII.

As a linguist, Bedell was extremely interested in the Irish tongue, " a learned and exact language" as he described it. He began to study it, and brought an Irish student to live with him so that he might make himself proficient. His ambition was to provide the Church with Irish speaking clergymen, and so he began a regular Irish lecture, and employed a Mr. King to teach it so that accurate pronunciation might be acquired. For text-books he sought out Irish prayer-books and catechisms published long before, but neglected, and prescribed exercises in translating the Psalms.

Irish prayers were held in the chapel, and a chapter of the Irish New Testament was ordered to be read each day at dinner. These pursuits laid the foundation of the translation

of the Old Testament into Irish which he undertook with Murtagh King's help when he became Bishop of Kilmore.

College discipline was extremely lax. Philosophical exercises took place in the chapel, and divinity was relegated to the hall. This practice Bedell reversed. Both Fellows and students were negligent in attending prayers, but the Provost altered all that. By fines, suspensions, and penances, he strove to enforce better conduct, coming down heavily on card-playing, drunkenness, visiting town without gowns, rowdiness in chapel, and depredations on the College money. He had also to defeat attempts to lure the scholars to Spain to join the Irish Roman Catholic forces or colleges there.

He found the College estates and finances mismanaged and no proper accounts kept. He promptly stopped the practice of giving "viaticums," or sums of money from the College chest, to outgoing Fellows. Little wonder that he wrote in his diary "I have not had one hour devoid of pains, trouble, or thought. In Ireland I have little hope ever to have a comfortable day."

In spite of this diligence one gathers from letters between Earl Strafford (Lord Deputy) and Archbishop Laud (Chancellor) a few years later that Bedell's reforms brought about only a temporary improvement. It is, however, noteworthy that his efforts to foster the study of Irish had the warm approval of King Charles I. Laud wrote to Usher "His Majesty likes wondrous well the Irish lecture begun by Mr. Bedell".

IX.

Unfortunately for the College, Bedell was promoted, in 1629, to the united Bishoprics of Kilmore and Ardagh. His friends in England, aware of his discontent, used their influence at Court, to have him made a bishop. Sir Thomas Jermyn, his English patron, and Sir Henry Wotton appear to have influenced Archbishop Laud in the matter. At any rate Laud claimed the credit, for some years later he wrote to Bedell to reprimand him for some opposition he had offered to the Viceroy's policy (Earl Strafford), and said, "I was, under God, the man that put your name to His Majesty for preferment, and therefore must needs suffer for anything that shall be deemed a miscarriage in you". It is something to Laud's credit that he assisted in the promotion of a staunch Calvinist. That Bedell had not sought the appointment may be learnt from a letter to Dr. Ward, "God hath provided for me without my seeking or knowledge, the Bishoprics of Kilmore and Ardagh". The Royal Letters Patent confirming the Sees upon him spoke of the great reformation he had wrought in Trinity College. So then in his fifty-ninth year, he became a Bishop.

He was consecrated at Drogheda (the residence of the Primate) on 13th September, 1629, by Archbishop Usher, assisted by the Bishops of Down, Dromore, and Clogher.

X.

Seventeen years beneath the godly roof of Emmanuel; the cultured life of Venice; an English parish; the poor College of Divines in

Dublin: what preparation were they for the work of a Protestant Bishop in the wild lands of the O'Reillys and Sheridans? Bedell's only fitness lay in purity of heart and apostolic love for his fellow-men. He was called to be a Bishop in a Church long plundered by greedy Scots and avaricious Englishmen. He could but try, as his memorial in Emmanuel College says "to rebuild the old waste places".

Bedell began in Kilmore with a policy: not a policy to enrich his family, but to reduce his diocese to order, to rebuild churches, to abolish pluralities, to compel the clergy to reside in their parishes, and to reconcile the native recusants to the Church. Kilmore, he found fertile and pleasant, but the plantation of English settlers (begun in the time of James I) saw, the churches ruined, and the cathedral without steeple, bell, or font. A Roman Catholic Bishop lived near him, and he felt disposed to write "to offer him some intercourse as I see the African bishops did to the Donatists!"

He found the people almost all obstinate recusants. The Roman Catholic clergy were more numerous by far than those of the Church of Ireland, and were exercising church jurisdiction. The people were paying tithes to both churches, and were, in addition, heavily oppressed by the officials of the Established Church Courts presided over by the diocesan Chancellor, Dr. Alan Cooke, who had been appointed for life by Bedell's predecessor.

Less than a dozen clergymen in Kilmore and in Ardagh were of ability. They were mostly

Englishmen who knew no Irish, and so could make no impression on their Irish-speaking parishioners.

Having surveyed his diocese, the new Bishop began a lawsuit against his predecessor's widow to recover Church lands which her husband (Dr. Moigne) had thoughtfully alienated. This was, as we have seen, no new experience for Bedell (he had sustained a suit in England for ten years). He sought the help of Earl Strafford, the Viceroy, a good friend of the material interests of the Church, and he said that if he won the case, he would devote the proceeds to the publication of the Bible in Irish.

Reforming zeal naturally makes enemies, and enemies so made are not particular as to the weapons they employ. In Bedell's case their absurdity was manifest. They called him an Arminian, which demonstrates their theoretical Calvinism at least, an equivocator, a politician, a traveller into Italy: it was said that he bowed at the name of Jesus; that he pulled down the late Bishop's throne because it was too near the altar (it was probably an obstruction in the little church); that he preached in a surplice (which was according to the rubric); that he was niggardly, and a usurer. Thus were his good intentions appreciated.

Bedell found that his Chancellor, Dr. Cooke, was extremely rapacious, and so he tried to remove him from office. This led to a long legal action which went to the highest courts. It ended in a verdict for the Chancellor, and the Bishop was ordered to pay him £100 in compensation. Dr. Cooke, however, would not

claim the money, saying that he had only held out in the interests of the Church lawyers, for if Bedell had won it would have overthrown the whole system of Chancellor's Courts in Ireland. Bedell then appealed to Laud, who answered that "sometimes a good Chancellor mitigated a bad bishop, but to imagine that all bishops will agree to rectify abuses of patents for life is but building in the air". With Primate Usher he fared no better. The Primate, with some little sarcasm wrote, "all bishops are not like my Lord of Kilmore. I know a bishop in this land who exercises his jurisdiction himself, and I dare boldly say, that there is more injustice and oppression to be found in him than in all the Chancellors in the whole Kingdom put together". However, Chancellor Cooke, though as Archbishop Laud said "he knew how to lick his own fingers", made no objection to Bedell presiding in Court, and so he was often able to suspend numerous fees and charges.

In 1633, in order to set a good example in his campaign against pluralities, Bedell resigned the See of Ardagh. He had the reward of seeing his clergy follow him in this. Only his Dean persisted in greedy and unscrupulous coveting of parishes which ought to have had Irish-speaking incumbents.

With his clergy, Bedell lived on most friendly terms, delighting to address them as "fellow-presbyters," and consulting them over ordinations, and encouraging them to take part in the examination of candidates. In 1638, he held a synod which adopted various canons for the

better government of the diocese. His Archdeacon, who was in later years Archbishop of Cashel, held similar synods. Unlike the diocesan synods of the present days, they had no lay members. The novel proceeding of a synod in 1638 caused some alarm, and it was thought that the bishop had infringed upon the Royal prerogative. Apparently he should have had a commission under the Broad Seal. No ill-consequences however, followed, for he could have defended himself by the practice of primitive times. He always strove to mould his procedure on ancient church practice with a noble indifference to the Erastian rules of his own age.

XI.

At one period the bishop's relations with the Irish Government were uneasy. He had signed a petition of the Gentlemen of Co. Cavan, protesting against an increase in the levy upon the county for the upkeep of the army. This infuriated Earl Strafford, whose policy was to maintain a strong force under the King's orders in Ireland. In explaining his act to Dr. Ward, Bedell said he joined the county in the petition because he was levying upon it a charge of £1,000 for building churches, and had thus hoped to secure support for his plan. Here we have signs of a worldly wisdom he often lacked. His friends were much concerned about his action, and some thought the imperious Viceroy might have him deprived or imprisoned. Laud and others pacified Strafford, and good relations were resumed, though he was excluded from some commissions for a time.

XII.

One of the Bishop's chief labours was the conversion of his Irish Roman Catholic neighbours. This he did with some success, several Roman Catholic clergymen conforming to the Church, as well as many laymen. This zeal had little encouragement from his colleagues, who thought such conversions were not an advantage to the English settlers. The Common Prayer was said in Irish in the Cathedral, and Irish catechisms and homilies were circulated.

The Irish scholar, Murtagh King, whom Bedell ordained, was employed to translate the Old Testament into Irish, thus finishing the work of Archishop Daniel, who a generation before, had translated the New Testament. Bedell compared the translation from the Authorised Version with the Hebrew and Greek (LXX), and steady progress was made. Unfortunately here also Bedell met with misunderstanding. Even Archbishop Usher, who had denounced the lack of vernacular versions in other lands as an example of Roman Catholic error, disapproved, and charged the Bishop with undoing what others had long laboured to build, *i.e.*, the Anglicisation of Ireland. It does not lack the element of paradox that Usher, an Irishman, should object to Bedell, an Englishman, giving Ireland an Irish Bible. That was a task it would have been befitting for Usher to have sponsored.

A particularly mean policy was pursued against this project. Murtagh King was described as a silly and incompetent old man,

whose translations would be ridiculed. It may be well to give modern opinion on Bedell's Irish Bible. The late Reverend John Quigley, a sound scholar, published some years ago an account of the history of the Irish Bible. He says " far from having been incompetent, King's work stands well the test of modern criticism. Mr. Quigley's brother, the Reverend Paul Quigley, has told me that the criticisms made of King's work were baseless. " Preserved in it," he says, " are many of the truly choice and expressive words of the language." Bedell, being an excellent Biblical scholar, and possessed of a fair knowledge of Irish, was not likely to sponsor an imperfect or slovenly work. That Bible remained a great though neglected legacy to Ireland.

XIII.

We must bring our survey of the life of this illustrious Bishop to a close. When the rebellion or Civil War of 1641 began, Bedell, though he had been offered translation to England in better days would not leave his flock, but remained to shelter as far as he could his now persecuted people. The rebel leaders of his county, treating him with every consideration possible, kept him a prisoner for a short time, presumably to protect him from the first furies of the rising. They then allowed him to go to live in the house of a friend, where he died of typhus on 7th February, 1642, and was buried on the 9th in a remote corner of Kilmore churchyard. The O'Reillys, gentry of the district, and commanders of the rebel army saw to it that there was no disturbance. The

Bishop's son has told us of the closing scene that winter day, three hundred years ago— "O'Reilly and those with him applied themselves in most courteous and condoling language to the Bishop's sons, speaking respectfully and honourably of the dead, and comfortably to the living, and so commanding their drum to beat as the manner is when a soldier is buried, and placing the musketeers before the corpse, they thus conveyed the Bishop to the grave. A volley was then fired, and so they departed." Some cried "so perish the last of the English", but a priest standing near exclaimed, "May my soul be with Bedell's."

As a churchman, Bedell kept to the ways of the Elizabethan days. He was a strict observer of rubrics, and said that the Laudian ritualists were nonconformists in that "he that adds an inch to a measure disowns it for a rule as much as he that cuts an inch from it." He disliked choirs and instrumental music and in doctrine, as his letters show, symbolised with Augustine and Calvin.

In person, tall and athletic, and a lover of gardening, he was a man of simple, modest tastes, going in Dublin on foot when his colleagues went in coaches. An alleged portrait shows him with smooth face, but all his life he wore a full brown beard. He made little provision for his family, and no Bedells were numbered among the gentry of the country. One son had a small parish; the other a farm worth about £60.

He was not talkative, though a friend (Usher) said once of him, "Broach him and you will find good liquor in him".

We can picture him then as a humble man of prayer, faithful in all things. His studies were mainly biblical, and he corresponded often with some of the leading theologians of Europe.

He showed in that age that prelacy and episcopacy were not synonomous; he showed also that his authority in office and his example could have transformed the Church had he had imitators among his brethren.

In much that he did he laboured in vain. Venice, Trinity, Kilmore were disappointments in many ways; yet of all men of his day he is now in the highest esteem. This is the earthly reward of a life of faith, love and sincerity.

Sir Henry Wotton might have been describing his old chaplain when he wrote—

"How happy is he born and taught
That serveth not another's will,
Whose armour is his honest thought
And simple truth his utmost skill."

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