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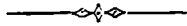
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no Christians in Greece, Russia, Armenia, Ethiopia? He wipes them all out. And as he has fabricated the Roman Catholic Church, so he now proposes a Roman Christian religion; so that whoever is not a Roman does not belong to the Church, has no religion, is not a Catholic, no, nor a Christian. It is folly for a man to proscribe with one stroke so many kingdoms and nations, all massed together, which do not follow the religion of the Roman Pontiff, and to say that they are Pagans, and to declare that they are not Christians. Then the far greatest part of Europe is in heathendom! But why are they not to be called Christians? What is their so grave sin against the faith or law of Christ that they are to be deprived of this name of Christian? Is it because they would serve God with the understanding no less than with the spirit, and not mutter their holy rites in an unknown tongue? Is it because they all drink of the Cup and do not take only half the Sacrament, or because they do not 'make to themselves any likeness to adore and worship'? Or because they believe in the Holy Catholic Church, according to the old Creed, and not in the Roman Church, according to the new one? Or is it that they attribute too much to Christ, and do not make the suffrages of the saints necessary adjuncts in His office of Intercession, nor human merits in His work of man's justification, nor Papal Indulgences in His office of satisfying God's justice? In that case it would seem that they err on the side of excess and are too much Christians" (*ibid.*, p. 370).

If Bishop Andrewes is a representative of the Caroline divines, is it not plain that a yawning abyss, which nothing can span, lies between them and any school of men that looks back longingly to pre-Reformation doctrines and practices, and secretly or openly prefers them to the Protestantism of the Church of England?

F. MEYRICK.



ART. III.—THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY SINCE THE RESTORATION.—No. IV.

JOHN TILLOTSON (*continued*).

WE must pass lightly over the reign of James II., on which we have had to dwell in the life of Sancroft, and in which Tillotson took only a minor part, as Dean of Canterbury. He preached against the Church of Rome and some of his writings were afterwards republished in Gibson's "Preserva-

tive against Popery." Some letters to intimate friends indicate how anxious he was to preserve the independence of the Church as well as its purity of doctrine. A heavy affliction fell upon him in November, 1687, namely, the death of his last surviving child, Mary Chadwick, who left two sons and a daughter. The sorrow, he wrote to Robert Nelson, deeply pierced his heart, "but," he added, "I endeavour to do as becomes me, and as I know I ought." This sorrow may have been the cause of a sudden illness, "of an apoplectic kind" which kept him away from London a good while; he retired first to Canterbury, then for complete recovery he stayed at Tunbridge Wells during the season of 1688. The Princess Anne was there, and Tillotson had frequent conversations with her, in which he took the opportunity of exhorting her against her father's religion. In a sermon on the parable of the ten virgins preached before her in September that year, he dwelt on the critical condition of things, and entreated his hearers not to extinguish their lamps by letting go their holy religion on any temptation of advantage, as fear of loss or suffering. "The occasion," said he, "calls for all our faith and patience, all our courage and constancy:—

"Nunc animis opus, Ænea, nunc pectore firmo."

When the Prince of Orange landed, it will be remembered that Prince George of Denmark, Queen Anne's husband, who had been sent against him, after some hesitation went over to the side of William, and left James at Andover when the latter turned back from Salisbury. There is a tradition, and it is a very probable one, though there is no evidence, that Tillotson drew up the letter of justification which he addressed to his father-in-law. The style is like Tillotson's. Take, for instance, the following passage: "I am not ignorant of the frequent mischiefs wrought in the world by factious pretensions of religion. But were not religion the most justifiable cause, it would not be made the most specious pretence. And your Majesty has already shown too uninterested sense of religion to doubt the just effects of it in one whose practices have, I hope, never given the world cause to censure his real conviction of it, or his backwardness to perform what his honour and conscience prompt him to."

The crisis was at its height, the Prince of Orange was at St. James's, when Dean Tillotson was desired to preach before him January 6, 1688-89. The Convention Parliament appointed the 31st of this month for a day of thanksgiving to God, "for having made his Highness the Prince of Orange the glorious instrument of the great deliverance of this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power," and Tillotson preached, in

Lincoln's Inn Chapel, a characteristic sermon which he published, on the one hand strongly insisting on the Divine character of the deliverance, and on the other exhorting to moderation and tenderness towards the adherents of the deposed King. The Parliament having settled the Government upon William and Mary, they were proclaimed on Ash Wednesday, February 13, and crowned on April 11 following. Birch, in his "Life of Tillotson," gives proofs that the Dean was indefatigable in procuring good terms for those who, like Bishop Crew of Durham and others, had given their help to James in his illegal attempts against the nation's liberty. Tillotson was also able to make another contribution to the preservation of order when there was so much explosive material lying about. It was he and the widowed Lady Russell who persuaded the Princess Anne to agree to the Act of Settlement, when the Jacobite party were urging her to oppose it, as prejudicial to her own rights.

All this brought him more and more into favour with the Court. He preached frequently at Whitehall, and on April 27, was appointed Clerk of the Closet. He was pressed to accept one of the vacant bishoprics, but refused, on the ground of his age and his recent sickness, as well as of his recent bereavement. "That little good," he wrote, "which I have been able to do has been in the city of London, which I foresee will be stript of its ablest men; and if I can be serviceable anywhere, it is there." This was the reason why, when Stillingfleet was made Bishop of Worcester, Tillotson accepted his vacant deanery of St. Paul's. He had just before been called upon by his Cathedral Chapter to exercise the archiepiscopal jurisdiction of Canterbury, which the suspension of Sancroft required. But we have to go back a little, to speak of a matter which was not only important then, but has a considerable importance still and will probably have more yet. A conviction had steadily grown up and increased in the mind of Sancroft, even in the latter days of Charles II., that enough had not been granted at the Savoy Conference to the consciences of dissenters, and that a great opportunity of union had been lost. The same conviction was strongly expressed by other bishops, when the crisis was forced upon them. It was to be expected therefore that the matter would be now raised again. The Act of Toleration which received the royal assent May 24, 1689, entitled "An Act for exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of Certain Laws," excused them from prosecution for not going to church, and for going to separate meetings. It should, however, be noted, that the Socinians were excepted; the Quakers were allowed to make

a declaration in lieu of an oath. Other matters were brought rapidly forward. The question was raised in Parliament of "the indifferency of the posture at receiving of the Sacrament," a Commission was proposed for its consideration, to be named by the King, of some Bishops and other clergy, to which some laymen should be added. This was negatived in the Lords by one vote only, and a strong protest was made by the minority. They protested that the laity had always a voice in Church matters, both in ancient and in recent days, and that to exclude them was to declare them unworthy of confidence and lacking in zeal for their Church.

The times were undoubtedly critical. The Jacobites professed great zeal for the Church, and were eager to alienate it from the Government. The rank and file of the clergy were strongly attached to the High Church opinions which prevailed at the Savoy Conference, and therefore out of accord with the new Bishops who were taking the place of those deposed. Burnet, for example, though he was anxious to conciliate his diocese of Salisbury and in the interest of the clergy opposed the admission of the lay element into the Commission, was hotly condemned for his willingness to dispense with the kneeling posture in the Sacrament. The House of Commons, led by a party which, though it had acquiesced in the Settlement of the Monarchy, had done so with hesitation, and was strongly opposed to any further concessions to the dissenters, passed, jointly with the Lords, an address to the King (April 20), desiring him to continue his care for the preservation of the Church of England, and to call a Convocation of the Clergy to be advised with in ecclesiastical matters. Tillotson was now at the King's right hand. He recommended him to call the Convocation, for that measure passed by it would not only be more acceptable to the clergy, but would be religiously observed by the laity. But he added that it would be wise, and in accordance with precedent, that the King should also issue a select commission to prepare matters to be considered by Convocation. William followed the advice. He issued the writs and also selected his commissioners. They were (1) *ten bishops*, Lamplugh (York), Compton (London), Mew (Winchester), Lloyd (St. Asaph), Spratt (Rochester), Smith (Carlisle), Trelawney (Exeter), Burnet (Salisbury), Humpbreys (Bangor), Stratford (Chester). (2) *Deans*: Stillingfleet¹ (St. Paul's), Patrick² Tillotson (Canterbury, afterwards of London), Meggot (Winchester), Sharp (Norwich),³ Aldrich (Christ Church, Oxford),

¹ Afterwards Bishop of Worcester.

² Afterwards Bishop of Chichester.

³ Afterwards Archbishop of York.

Kidder (Peterborough).¹ (3) Jane and Beaumont (Regius Professors of Divinity at Cambridge and Oxford), Hall (Margaret Professor, Oxford). (4) *Archdeacons*: Goodman (Middlesex), Beveridge (Colchester),² Battely (Canterbury), Alston (Essex), Tenison³ (London). (5) Montagu (Master of Trinity, Cambridge) Scott, Grove, Williams (Prebendaries of St. Paul's), and Fowler (Prebendary of Gloucester).

Tillotson drew up a paper of suggestions for the Commission, of which the following is a summary: Revision of the Liturgy with a view of supplying deficiencies and removing all grounds of objection, leaving out the Apocryphal lessons and correcting the translation of the Psalms; instead of all former declarations by ministers, the subscription to one general promise "that we do submit to the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Church of England, as it shall be established by law, and promise to teach and practise accordingly"; a new body of ecclesiastical canons with a regard to a more effectual provision for the reformation of manners both in ministers and people; men who have already been ordained in foreign reformed Churches to be held capable of ministering here, but for the future none to be capable of holding any ecclesiastical preferment unless ordained by a bishop; those who have been ordained by Presbyters not to be compelled to renounce their ordination, but if they doubt its validity they may receive conditional ordination from the Bishop—"If thou art not already ordained, I ordain thee," etc. This last proposal of Tillotson with respect to Presbyterian ordination was in accordance with the sentiments of Overall, one of the most learned of the Elizabethan divines, who died, Bishop of Norwich, in 1619.⁴

The Commission was opened in the Jerusalem Chamber, October 10, 1689, but did not move smoothly. The Bishops of Winchester and Rochester, as well as Aldrich and Jane, almost immediately withdrew. Birch says that Jane was turned hostile because he asked the King for the vacant bishopric of Exeter, and was refused. For several weeks the Committee patiently laboured. "They began with reviewing the Liturgy; and first they examined the calendar, in which in the room of the Apocryphal lessons they ordered certain chapters of canonical Scripture to be read that were more for the people's edification. The Athanasian Creed being disliked by many persons on account of the damnatory clause, it was left to the minister's choice to use or change it for the Apostles' Creed.

¹ Afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells.

² Afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph.

³ Afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

⁴ There is a very interesting account in Birch's "Life of Tillotson" which shows that the learned Cosin, Bishop of Durham, took the same view.

New collects were drawn up more agreeable to the Epistles and Gospels for the whole course of the year, and with a force and beauty of expression capable of affecting and raising the mind in the strongest manner. The first draft of them was composed by Dr. Patrick, who was esteemed to have a peculiar talent for composing prayers. Dr. Burnet added to them yet further force and spirit. Dr. Stillingfleet then examined every word in them with the exactest judgment; and Dr. Tillotson gave them the last hand by the free and masterly touches of his natural and flowing eloquence. Dr. Kidder, who was well versed in the Oriental languages, made a new version of the Psalms more conformable to the original. Dr. Tenison, having collected the words and expressions throughout the Liturgy which had been excepted against, proposed others in their room which were more clear and plain, and less liable to objection." Other things were proposed, which were left to be determined by the Convocation; as, particularly, that the cross in baptism might be either used or omitted at the choice of the parents; and that a Non-conformist minister going over to the Church should not be ordained according to the common form, but rather conditionally, in the same manner as infants are baptized when there is no evidence of their being baptized before, with the addition of the Episcopal benediction, as was customary in the ancient Church when clergymen were admitted who had been ordained by heretics, of which manner of ordination Dr. Bramhall, Archbishop of Armagh, had given a precedent when he received some Scots Presbyters into the Church.

This was the scheme which was prepared for the consideration of Convocation, but it was made clear at once that it would be fiercely opposed. The Jacobite party and those inclined to them raised the cry that the Church was going to be demolished and Presbyterianism set up. The Universities joined in. The King, it was said, was hostile to the Church. Consequently a most unwonted amount of canvassing was set on foot to elect opposing members for Convocation. It met November 21, 1689, and its temper was shown at once by the fact that Tillotson, on being proposed as Prolocutor of the Lower House, was beaten by two to one in favour of Dr. Jane. The Earls of Clarendon and Rochester, who were the Queen's nephews, are said to have been most active in intriguing against Tillotson, in consequence of their disappointment at being slighted. Another opponent of Tillotson was Compton, Bishop of London, who had learned that King William intended to pass him over for the primacy which he had expected, and to place Tillotson in Sancroft's chair. It is said that Tillotson had opposed Compton's aspiration for it,

and begged the King to appoint Stillingfleet. The hope of approximation with the Nonconformists was thus hopeless from the first. A speech was made on the first day in favour of the nonjuring Bishops; next day the Lower House sent up to the bishops to complain that injurious things had been said about the Athanasian Creed in a recent pamphlet. The Bishops, who, it must be remembered, were but a small body owing to the suspension of their nonjuring brethren, proposed a joint committee of both Houses to sit during the recess, which the Lower House negatived. The result was that Convocation was prorogued to the following 24th of January, then prorogued again, and at last dissolved with the Parliament. After all, Burnet has reason when he says that this was all to the advantage of the clergy; for they had never met for business since 1662, but had been summoned to town to meet and join in a Latin Litany. Convocation was rendered very unpopular in the country by this obstruction, yet it was probably to the advantage of the Church that the revision was shelved. The Jacobite clergy who were under suspension were looking out for a "cry"; they wanted to lead a schism in the Church, and if the alterations had been passed they would have had their opportunity, and declared that themselves were the ancient Church of England. The revision was thus put aside, and lay unnoticed for very many years. The notes from which the foregoing account has been taken are from Calamy, some parts of which were afterwards disputed, as if he had been misinformed. The history of the original document is very interesting. A copy was given to Calamy, and he lost it through lending it. The original book, consisting of an interleaved copy of the Prayer-Book, in which the alterations were made, remained in the hands of Tenison, afterwards Archbishop. By his will it went with his other papers to Gibson, Bishop of London, who gave it to Lambeth Library. There it lay for years, unknown in the long night, and was supposed to be lost. It was discovered at length by some chance reader, and in return to an address of the House of Commons, was made public by being reprinted in a Blue Book, June, 1854. A copy of it lies before me. It ends with the Commination Service. Kidder's revision of the Psalms is very probably slumbering unknown in some old library. But this reprint is well worth study, and many readers will lay it down with regret that some of the alterations at least were not made.

The time at length came, as we have already told, when Sancroft's suspension passed into deprivation. The King had a few months before appointed Tillotson Dean of St. Paul's, and when the latter kissed hands on the appointment (April 16),

William told him that he intended him for the Primacy. Some of Tillotson's letters show how genuine was his reluctance to this. "God," he says in one of them, "hath been pleased, by very severe ways, but in great goodness to me, to wean me perfectly from the love of this world; so that worldly greatness is now not only undesirable, but distasteful to me. And I do verily believe that I shall be able to do as much or more good in my present station than in a higher, and shall not have one jot less interest or influence upon any others to any good purpose; for the people naturally love a man who will take great pains and little preferment. But, on the other hand, if I could force my inclinations to take this great place, foresee that I should shrink under it, and grow melancholy I and good for nothing, and after a little while die as a fool dies."

He preached a sermon before the Queen just at this time, "On the Eternity of Hell Torments," which calls for notice here because when he published it, which he did soon after, it was immediately made the target of any amount of virulent abuse. It is No. XXXIII. of his collected sermons, and certainly no one in our days would call it, what Hickes does, "a wretched sermon," which "Convocation ought at once to censure, seeing that it is a matter of triumph to Atheists, Deists, and Socinians." I am quite sure after reading it that the preacher would have fully adopted these words of John Henry Newman: "I have given a full inward assent and belief to the doctrine of eternal punishment, as delivered by our Lord Himself, in as true a sense as I hold that of eternal happiness; though I have tried in various ways to make that truth less terrible to the reason" ("Apologia," p. 62, 1st edit.).

The King, as the time of the vacancy at Canterbury drew near, continued to insist that Tillotson should fill it, and the sincerity of his expressed reluctance cannot be doubted. Burnet continued to urge him on the King, and Lady Russell was incessant in her entreaties to Tillotson to yield. The final acceptance is somewhat quaintly told in one of his letters to her. The King had once more sent for him and pressed the Primacy upon him. "I said I would not presume to argue the matter any further, but I hoped he would give me leave to be his earnest petitioner to spare me in that thing. He answered that he would do so if he could, but he knew not what to do if I refused it. Upon that I told him that I tendered my life to him, and did humbly devote it to be disposed of as he thought fit. He was graciously pleased to say it was the best news had come to him for this great while. . . . I craved leave of him to mention one thing more, which in justice to my wife I ought to do, that I should be more

than undone by the great and necessary charge of coming into this place, and must therefore be a humble petitioner to His Majesty that if it should please God to take me out of the world, that I must unavoidably leave my wife a beggar, he would not suffer her to be so; and that he would be graciously pleased to consider that a widow of an Archbishop of Canterbury, which would be an odd figure in England, could not be decently supported by so little as would have contented her very well if I had died a Dean. To this he gave a very gracious answer, 'I promise you to take care of her.' With regard to this latter request, it may be noted that there had only been two Archbishops of Canterbury hitherto who had been married—Cranmer, whose wife survived him and ended her days in a house in Nottinghamshire, which Henry VIII. had bequeathed him, and Parker, whose wife died before him, and to whom Queen Elizabeth had spoken certain well-remembered rude words.

One may just notice here that during his short tenure of the Deanery of St. Paul's he and his successor at Canterbury, Dr. Sharp, were the executors of the will of Alderman Robert Aske, whose noble foundations at Hoxton, providing for poor men belonging to the Haberdashers' Company, and also for the education of boys, is still one of the most admirable charities in London. The wisdom with which they arranged matters has procured for them well-deserved praise.

The *congé d'élire* was sent to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury on May 1, 1689, and on the 16th Tillotson was elected. Having spent Saturday the 30th in fasting and prayer, he was consecrated in the Church of St. Mary-le-Bow the next day, being Whitsunday, by Mews, Bishop of Winchester, and Lloyd, Burnet, Stillingfleet, Ironside and Hough, Bishops respectively of St. Asaph, Salisbury, Worcester, Bristol and Oxford. The consecration sermon was preached by Dr. Barker, afterwards his chaplain, from John xxi. 17. Tillotson stipulated beforehand that there should be no personal reference to himself. Along with the congratulations which poured in upon him, he had to bear not only angry private letters, but virulent attacks in print, and his meek calmness and patience will not be considered by those who read his letters to his friends as the least touching part of his life. His successor at St. Paul's was Sherlock, who was even more obnoxious to the Nonjurors than Tillotson, for Sherlock had for a long time refused to take the oaths; he was therefore called now a double-dyed apostate. One of the first letters of Tillotson, after his consecration, was an appeal to Burnet, at the request of Queen Mary, to write his "Pastoral Care," designed "to correct what was amiss in the Church and

religion, and to improve everything that wanted finishing."¹ The book was finished in March, 1692, was carefully read and amended by Tillotson in manuscript, and was published in the course of the year. King James the same year issued a "declaration" calling upon the people of England to return to their allegiance to him, and excluding Tillotson and a few others from the offer of pardon. It proved a *brutum fulmen*, and perhaps hardly deserves mention here.

The following letter is not only characteristic of Tillotson, but it shows how thoroughly he held the Queen's confidence. She had consented to stand godmother to the infant son of the Marquis of Winchester, and she stipulated that Tillotson should be one of the godfathers. Whereupon he writes this letter to Lady Russell, one of his most constant correspondents:

Aug. 1, 1692.

HONOURED MADAM,

On Sunday morning I gave yours to the Queen, telling her that I was afraid it came too late. She said, "Perhaps not." Yesterday, meeting the Queen at a christening, she gave me the enclosed to give to your Ladyship. And if I could but obtain of your severe judgment to wink a little at my vanity, I would tell you how this happened. My Lady Marchioness of Winchester being lately delivered of a son, spake to the Queen to stand godmother; and the Queen asking whom she had thought of for godfathers, she said, only the Earl of Bath, and whom else Her Majesty would please to name. They agreed upon me, which was a great surprise to me; but I doubt not a gracious contrivance of Her Majesty to let the world know that I have her countenance and support. If it please God to preserve my good master, and to grant him success, I have nothing more to wish in this world, but that God would grant children to this excellent Prince; and that I, who am said not to have been baptized myself, may have the honour to baptize a Prince of Wales. With God, to whose wisdom and goodness we must submit everything, this is not impossible. To His protection and blessing I commend your Ladyship and your hopeful children.

Reading over what I have written puts me in mind of one who, when he was in his drink, always went and showed himself to his best friends. But your Ladyship knows how to forgive a little folly to one so entirely devoted to your service, as is, honoured Madam,

Your most obliged and humble servant,

JO. CANT.

The disestablishment of the Church of Scotland and the setting up of Presbyterianism in its place is a painful chapter in history to English Churchmen. It would hardly find place in the present biography but that Tillotson was charged by his

¹ Burnet was a good nominee for such a work. Canon Molesworth says of him: "Very few Bishops have ever discharged their episcopal duties more zealously than Burnet. In his diligence in visiting his diocese, in preaching, in catechizing the children, in relieving the poor, consoling the afflicted, ministering to the sick, showing courtesy and hospitality to men of all classes and opinions, no English prelate has ever surpassed him" ("History of the Church of England," p. 226).

enemies with having advised and contrived it. Birch, in his Life, shows that King William himself was anxious to preserve the Scottish Episcopal Church, but that it was its own enemy, inasmuch as the Bishops having first issued a manifesto against the Prince of Orange on his invasion, and then having promised allegiance to him after his success, were persuaded by Dundee to change once more, on the ground that the restoration of James II. was at hand. Thereupon the friends of King William in Scotland declared it impossible to preserve the Episcopal form of government. Tillotson succeeded by his personal influence with the King in modifying some of the harsher features of the Act; it was all that he could do.

But he remained a bitter object of animosity to the Non-jurors, and at this, of course, we cannot wonder. When Sancroft died (November, 1693) a pamphlet was issued broadcast contrasting the two Prelates, in the course of which Tillotson was called a stepfather, a thief, a robber, a truckler to Socinians. It was with reference to this last charge that he republished this year four sermons "On the Divinity and Incarnation of our Blessed Saviour." They were answered by an Arian named Firmin, and the fact that he did it courteously was made a ground of a repetition of the slander by the Archbishop's traducers. A gentleman happened to be in his room one day at Lambeth, when a packet was brought in, directed to his Grace. The Archbishop opened it; it contained nothing but a mask. The visitor expressed his indignation at this insult, but Tillotson smiled; it was a gentle rebuke, he said, compared to some which lay there, pointing to a heap of papers on the table.

A more congenial subject to him than all was that of reformation of manners and the religious education of children, and with a view to the promotion of practical religion among the people he published a set of six sermons in 1694, in the preface to which he expressed the hope that he should for the remainder of his life be released from "that irksome and unpleasant work of controversy and wrangling about religion." "I knew very well," he adds, "before I entered upon this great and weighty charge my own manifold defects, and how unequal my best abilities were for the due discharge of it; but I did not feel this so sensibly as I now do every day more and more. And therefore, that I might make some small amends for my great failings, I knew not how better to place the broken hours I had to spare from almost perpetual business of one kind or other than in the preparing something for the public that might be of use to recover the decayed piety and virtue of the present age, in which iniquity doth so much abound, and the love of God and religion is grown so cold."

Whilst the King was absent at the war in the Netherlands, and the sole government devolved on Queen Mary, the Archbishop drew up a letter for her signature, addressed to the justices of the peace for Middlesex "for the suppressing of profaneness and debauchery."

MARIE R.,

Trusty and Well-Beloved, We Greet you well. Considering the great and indispensable Duty incumbent upon Us to promote and encourage a Reformation of the Manners of all our Subjects, that so the Service of God may be Advanced and those Blessings be procured to those Nations which always attend a Conscientious Discharge of our respective Duties, according to our several Relations, We think it necessary, in order to the obtaining of this Publick Good, to recommend to you the putting in Execution, with all Fidelity and Impartiality, those Laws which have been made, and are still in Force, against the Prophanation of the Lord's Day, Drunkenness, Prophane Swearing and Cursing, and all other Lewd, Enormous, and Disorderly Practices, which, by a long-continued neglect, and connivance of the Magistrates and Officers concerned, have universally spread themselves, to the dishonour of God and scandal of our Holy Religion, whereby it is now become the more necessary for all Persons in Authority to apply themselves with all possible Care and Diligence to the Suppressing of the same. We do therefore hereby charge and require You, to take the most effectual Methods for putting the Laws in Execution against the Crimes above-mentioned, particularly those which are most prevailing in this Realm, and that especially in such Cases where any Officer of Justice shall be guilty of any of those Offences, or refuse or neglect to discharge the Duty of his Place for the Suppressing them, that so such Officer, by his Punishment, may serve for an Example to others. And to this end, We would have you careful and diligent in encouraging all Constables, Church-Wardens, Headboroughs, and all other Officers and Persons whatsoever, to do their part in their several Stations, by timely and impartial Informations, and Prosecutions against such Offenders, for preventing of such Judgments which are solemnly denounced against the Sins above-mentioned. We cannot doubt of your Performance hereof, since it is a Duty to which you are obliged by Oath, and are likewise engaged to the discharge of it as you tender the Honour of Almighty God, the flourishing Condition of His Church in this Kingdom, the Continuance of His Holy Religion among Us, and the Prosperity of your Country; and so We bid you Farewell.

Given at our Court of Whitehall the Ninth Day of July, One Thousand Six Hundred Ninety-one, in the Third Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majestie's Command,

NOTTINGHAM.

To our Trusty and Well-Beloved, the Justices of the
Peace for Our County of Middlesex at Hicks's Hall.

There is one other incident in his life to be mentioned, which produced an *obiter dictum* not likely to be forgotten. He urged his friend Bishop Burnet to write an Exposition of the XXXIX. Articles; this, as was the case with the previous "Pastoral Care," was, apparently, by the wish of Queen Mary. Burnet undertook the work, wrote it within a year and sent

the manuscript to the Archbishop, who, after revising and altering it in several places, returned it with the following letter :

LAMBETH HOUSE, Oct. 23rd, 1694.

MY LORD,

I have with great pleasure and satisfaction read over the great volume you sent me, and am astonished to see so vast a work begun and finished in so short a time. In the article of the Trinity you have said all that I think can be said upon so obscure and difficult an argument. The Socinians have just now published an answer to us all ; but I have not had a sight of it. The negative articles against the Church of Rome you have very fully explained, and with great learning and judgment. Concerning these you will meet with no opposition among ourselves. The greatest danger was to be apprehended from the points in difference between the Calvinists and Remonstrants, in which you have shown not only great skill and moderation, but great prudence, in contenting yourself to represent both sides impartially, without any positive declaration of your own judgment. The account given of Athanasius's Creed seems to me no wise satisfactory. I wish we were well rid of it. I pray God long to preserve your Lordship to do more such services to the Church.

I am, my Lord,

Yours most affectionately,

JO. CANTUAR.

How many times that wish about the Athanasian Creed has been quoted within my recollection with approval and with displeasure I should be sorry to have to guess.

A few days after writing it he died. He was seized with a fit like the previous one during Divine Service in Whitehall Chapel on Sunday, November 18, 1694, and had the courage not to betray his suffering until the service was ended. He lay four days, speaking with great difficulty, but calm and serene, and clear of understanding. He thanked God, he said, and waited on His goodwill. His friend Robert Nelson, who, Nonjuror as he was, had never abated in his love for his old friend, attended him the last two days of his illness, and in his arms Archbishop Tillotson died "on Thursday, November 22, at five in the afternoon." He was in his sixty-fifth year. The sorrow for his death was wide and unmistakable, "more universal," says Birch, "than was ever known for a subject." He lies buried in the church that was always so dear to him, St. Lawrence Jewry, Gresham Street, on the north side of the Sacarium. His funeral sermon was preached by Burnet, in the course of which, says Oldmixon,¹ the whole audience gave a groan of sympathy as the preacher burst into tears. The following inscription may be read on the monument over his grave, beneath a bust of him :

¹ "History of England," p. 95.

P.M.

Reverendissimi et Sanctissimi Præsulis

JOHANNIS TILLOTSON,

Archiepiscopi Cantuarensis,

Concionatoris olim hæc in Ecclesiâ

Per annos xxx celeberrimi,

Qui obiit x^o Kal Dec MDCLXXXIV.

Ætatis suæ LXIII.

Hoc posuit ELIZABETHA

Conjux illius mæstissima.



ART. IV.—MONTANISM AND THE EARLY CHURCH.

TO the student of ecclesiastical doctrines in their manifold inter-relations, and of the diversified currents of theological thought, the rise of Montanism in the second century of our era must always remain a most interesting phenomenon. On the one hand, it supplies him with an example, hardly paralleled for its suggestiveness elsewhere, of the half-imitative and yet half-antagonistic manner in which a heresy springs up beside the orthodox creed; and, on the other, it possesses, both in scope and source, so special an individuality that its relations with the Catholic Church become clothed with almost the fascination of a problem. For Montanus, unlike the Ebionite or the Gnostic, started, not from Judaism or heathenism, but from Christianity itself; and his doctrine, although in some respects it certainly outran the Catholic belief, was yet so closely allied with it in all its fundamental conceptions as scarcely to deserve the name of heresy, in spite of much that was exaggerated or morbid. And, in addition to all its other claims to careful study, it enjoys the unique advantage of having come down to us in the pages of an enthusiastic advocate—an advocate whose powers of pleading were but increased by the very impetuosity of character which robbed him of logical precision, of unbiassed discrimination, and of the deep repose of spirit that accompanies so often a persuasive voice. While other heresies are known to us only under the light, too frequently false or partial or misleading, of adverse criticism, our knowledge of the doctrines of Montanism is drawn from the writings of one who spent the latter part of his life in illustrating and defending them.

For a clear understanding of those doctrines in their relation to Catholic teaching, it will be necessary first to glance very briefly at the leading facts of their external history, and next, to compare them in their dogmatic and moral aspects with the doctrines accepted by the Church at large. In doing so, we