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THE
CHURCHMAN

MARCH, 1900.

ART. I.—THE WITNESS OF THE HISTORICAL SCRIPTURES TO THE ACCURACY OF THE PENTATEUCH.

No. IV.

WE come now to Joshua vi. This, save vers. 2 and 27, is assigned by Professor Driver to JE. The two verses just mentioned, however, are stated to display the tendencies of the Deuteronomic reviser. One may be allowed to doubt whether any critic, or combination of critics, can show such preternatural acuteness as is involved in criticism so minute as this. As I have frequently said before, one would very much like to see it employed in some case where it was possible to test it. But preternaturally acute as the critics are, they have managed to overlook some very definite traces of P in the narrative assigned to JE. In other words (for this constant acceptance as a basis for argument of assumptions which we do not grant for a moment, must be a little confusing to the ordinary reader) there are *clear signs of a common authorship of the Pentateuch here*—strong reasons for believing that the Pentateuch in its complete form was before the author of this chapter when he wrote. For, whereas Professor Driver assigns this chapter mainly to JE, it contains proofs that the Pentateuch *as a whole* must have been in existence when it was written, and therefore, if Professor Driver's view of the composition of that chapter be true, in "the eighth or ninth century B.C." For, first of all, the priests were to bear and blow the trumpets (ver. 4). Now, the "ordinance for ever" that the blowing of the trumpets was to be the duty of the priests is first given in *the supposed post-exilic writer P* (Num. x. 8; cf. xxxi. 6). Nor is this all. The trumpets were "trumpets of Jubilee," a phrase

entirely characteristic of P, or rather H, the "Law of Holiness," as Klostermann has designated Lev. xvii.-xxvi., because of a "foreign element"¹ contained in these chapters. There is a wise reserve, it is true, about the date assigned to what Wellhausen calls this "peculiar collection" of laws. But at least they are not generally supposed by Wellhausen and his school to be anterior to the "eighth or ninth century B.C.," the time, observe, when, as Professor Driver tells us, what he calls JE was compiled. But these trumpets clearly obtain their name from the great festival with which their use was primarily connected. And this use, we may observe, was well known to the author of Joshua vi., and described by him as already recognised at the siege of Jericho. Do the German school wish us to understand that the appointment of the priests to blow with the trumpet, and the regulations of the year of Jubilee, were already established in the "eighth or ninth century B.C."? What, in that case, becomes of the theory that the priesthood was "among the last to reach a settled state"²? We say nothing about the ark, for our English critics at least do not, like their German colleagues, attempt to represent the story of the ark as unhistoric. But the ark, the priests, and their trumpets are clearly marked in this narrative, although it is assigned by the critics to JE. Why, then, do they assign the regulations to which this narrative bears testimony to a post-exilic writer?

Our next point will be the law of the *חרם* or thing devoted.³ This occurs in Deuteronomy and in P, but *never in JE*. Yet here we find it not only thoroughly accepted in what we are told is JE, but described as having been acted upon at the siege of Jericho. On what grounds does this fabrication on JE's part—for a fabrication it must be if it be not authentic history—rest? It is not a priestly fabrication, for JE, by hypothesis, is not a priestly document. How did this custom arise, and what information have we of the custom of devoting things under prophetic, as distinguished from priestly, influence?⁴ The whole story of Achan, moreover, must be rejected as unhistorical, unless the *חרם* were a custom thoroughly well known to Joshua. Then, the technical term for that which was not destroyed

¹ Driver, "Introduction," p. 44. It, however, is generally supposed to be as much post-exilic as P. The phrase "trumpets of Jubilee" is therefore *ex hypothesi* post-exilic.

² *Ibid.*, p. 146.

³ The word *חרם* appears once in JE, in the sense of "utterly destroy."

⁴ It may be necessary to explain that I do not deal with the question of the historical credibility of the narrative. My point is simply that the author is acquainted with the custom of the *חרם*, though it is declared to have been unknown in his day.

under the **קֹדֶשׁ** was *Holiness to Jehovah* (Josh. vi. 19). But this (see Exod. xxviii. 36, xxxix. 30) we read of for the first time in the Priestly Code, so far as it relates to Hebrew ritual. The words were ordered to be inscribed on the gold plate affixed to the high-priest's mitre. Did the author of the Priestly Code borrow these words from JE's account of the siege of Jericho? Is it not far more reasonable to suppose that the narrative here presupposes P, which could not, therefore, have been written at least five centuries afterwards, and that Joshua desired to make the gold, silver, and brass of Jericho as sacred in the people's eyes as the high-priest's garments were already known to be? Nor does the statement in chap. v. 25, that Rahab's descendants were in Israel at the date of the composition of the book, admit of any other explanation than that the fact, though an extremely surprising one, was yet one well known to the writer. It was a fact of a character not in the least likely to be invented, and if not, then the narrative bears a stamp of verisimilitude not very easy to be effaced. For *David was descended from Rahab*, and therefore the fact was one on which there could be no mistake. Nor was such a statement likely to have been first made in times long subsequent to David. Thus we have here no vague traditions, handed down no one knows how, but history carefully written, and based on genealogies carefully preserved—just what, in fact, we should expect in the records of a civilized country, though not, of course, in the vague reminiscences of an unlettered horde. The argument, too, derived from the silence of the historian as to any fulfilment of Joshua's curse on the rebuilder of Jericho has been ignored or scorned, but has not been answered. The obvious explanation—and it does not seem possible to explain the fact in any other way—was that the prophecy was not fulfilled when the Book of Joshua was published, but was fulfilled *circa* 900 B.C., and its fulfilment carefully noted at the time. The natural inference is that the Book of Joshua, or at least this portion of it, had already been composed and published before the commencement of "the ninth century B.C."¹

The story of Achan and of the taking of Ai do not afford much evidence of date. They are chiefly assigned to JE, but there are "short additions and expansions" in which "the

¹ The solitary use of **קֶרֶן** in ver. 5 for a musical instrument seems to suggest an early date for this narrative, while the fact that **מִאָחַר** is only used in the sense of *rearward* in Num. x. 25 (P) and Isa. lii. 12, here seems to indicate (1) that the writer of this passage was acquainted with the Pentateuch in its present form, and (2) that the passage is of an early date. Another word supplanted **מִאָחַר** in the later literature, save in poetry.

hand of D₂ may be detected, such as, 'Fear not, neither be dismayed.'¹ Why? Simply because the theory requires that the story, as we here have it, should have passed through the hands of a Deuteronomic reviser. Why the Deuteronomic reviser should have taken the trouble to add his characteristic phrases to a narrative already, one would suppose, made graphic enough by the compiler of JE is not immediately apparent. All that can be said is that he *might* have done so. But it is equally possible that he did not. That he *did* do so, even on the hypothesis that there *was* a Deuteronomic revision, is not only not proved, but cannot be proved. Moreover, the whole story involves the existence of a people under a special Divine guidance. The idea of the impossibility of success without the approval of Jehovah is common to this chapter and to Num. xiv. The "sanctifying the people" looks back to Exod. xix. 10. And though these portions have been carefully assigned to JE, we can of course have no certainty that they have any other author than the rest of the Pentateuch. But if the postulate of a people under a Divine supernatural guidance is assumed in the history, is it in the least degree likely that the lawgiver whose successor Joshua was had given no directions to the people thus supernaturally guided, either as regards their relations to God or man? The use of the lot, resorted to here and in 1 Sam. xiv. 38, 39 quite as a matter of course, is explained by its use as an indication of the Divine will in Lev. xvi. 8-10, Num. xxvi. 55, xxxiii. 24, xxxiv. 13, xxxvi. 2. All these passages are said to belong to P. Is it possible, then, that P can have been written during or after the Exile? The provisions in Deut. xiii. 16, xxi. 23, about not allowing bodies to remain hanging all night, are carefully observed here, as in chap. x. 27. And if we are told that these are Deuteronomic insertions, we are entitled to ask why the Deuteronomist took such pains to insert these allusions to precepts of entirely secondary importance, while he neglected to introduce any similar allusions to matters which he regarded as of primary consequence, such as the necessity of the worship at the one sanctuary? Moreover, the whole tone of the history reflects that of the Pentateuch as a whole. It emphasizes the strictness and awfulness of the Divine law, the sternness and severity of the punishment of those who disobeyed it. The fact, which is not denied, that in the "eighth or ninth century B.C." there was already a law in Israel that every "soul that doeth aught presumptuously" shall be "utterly cut off," and that "because he hath despised the word of

¹ Driver, "Introduction," p. 99.

Jehovah and hath broken His commandment,"¹ is sufficient to show that there were already very definite "statutes, commandments, and judgments" in Israel—something rather more than a "certain germ" of ceremonial and moral enactment—otherwise such tremendous penalties could hardly be enjoined for disobedience. It does not look much as if at that time Israel were just emerging, or had just emerged, from polytheism into the worship of Jehovah.

Chapter ix. is supposed to be the work of JE and D₂ save vers. 15*b*, 17-21. "The narrative in 22, 23-26*f* form evidently a narrative *parallel* to that of vers. 17-21, and not the sequel of it, and the style of the latter shows that it belongs to P (notice especially 'the congregation' and 'the princes' who here take the lead rather than Joshua)."² In other words, when the redactor had two plain tales before him, either of which he might have followed, he chose to puzzle his readers by putting them side by side, without any attempt at reconciliation. Have we in reality anything here but the repetition so common in what have hitherto been, and may still reasonably be, regarded as the earliest portions of the Scriptures—a repetition employed for the purpose of giving emphasis, fulness, and picturesqueness to the narrative? It is perhaps a little surprising that the critics have not told us that the "princes and the congregation" were brought into the narrative by P in order to save the credit of Joshua. The truth appears to be that Joshua acted *with* the princes and the congregation, and that they all, as men are often tempted to do now, acted on their own judgment, instead of seeking Divine guidance. It is most improbable that we have here anything but that honest adherence to fact and that high religious tone which marks the whole of the Old and New Testament Scriptures. This adherence to truth compels them to point out the errors and failings, even of the best of men. Such honesty is characteristic alike of JE and P,³ and is altogether incompatible with the idea of a mythical semi-apotheosis, in the course of ages, of ancient heroes whose real deeds are lost in the mists of antiquity. The expression "hewers of wood and drawers of water" is supposed to be characteristic of P. But why should P have gone out of his way to attribute this function to the Gibeonites when, as is well known, they had long since ceased to fulfil it? One other remark may be made before we quit this subject. Ver. 15*b* is supposed to belong to P. But ver. 14*b* is assigned to JE. Yet it refers to

¹ Num. xv. 30, 31. This passage is attributed to JE.

² "Introduction," p. 100.

³ *E.g.*, in Num. xx., supposed to be compounded of all three narratives.

Num. xxvii. 21, in which we first read of the reference to God by Urim and Thummim. See also Exod. xxviii. 30, Lev. viii. 8. All these passages are assigned to P, though P was not in existence when JE was compiled. The practice is further mentioned quite incidentally in Deut. xxxiii. 8, which "was probably handed down independently, and inserted here when DT as a whole was incorporated in the Pent."¹ How did the reference to a custom not known to the Deuteronomist get into JE? Here, it is to be presumed, we have another specimen of "pre-existing Temple usage."

Nor is this all which deserves notice in this chapter. It is a special and particular doctrine of the critics that it is P who emphasizes the doctrine of the One Sanctuary, introduced as a binding ordinance in the first instance by D. Deuteronomy, Professor Driver tells us, must have followed JE "at a considerable interval."² He appears (but it must be confessed he here expresses himself with considerable vagueness³) to adduce the "unambiguous and strict" law of sacrifice as a proof of this. Deuteronomy lays down the rule that such sacrifice must "only" be offered at some central sanctuary; though not JE, but the earlier "Book of the Covenant" (Exod. xx. 24), is cited for a law less "unambiguous and strict." Still, it would seem that in JE the law of the Central Sanctuary had not as yet been defined. To define it finally, and to emphasize it unmistakably, was the province of P. But in Josh. ix. 17-21 it is P (to whom this passage is assigned by Professor Driver) who brings the princes and the congregation into prominence, and makes the Gibeonites hewers of wood and drawers of water unto *them*, while it is JE (to whom ver. 23 is assigned) who declares that they are to be hewers of wood and drawers of water to the "house of my God." Here, then, we have a strange inversion in the functions of these two writers, and of their radical religious conceptions. It is remarkable that we hear no more of this service of the Gibeonites at the temple. In 1 Chron. ix. 2, Ezek. ii. 43 and viii. 20 we read of the Nethinim instead, and in the last cited passage we are told that David and the princes appointed these "for the service of the Levites," *i.e.*, it would seem almost certain for the service once rendered by the Gibeonites. What was the *cause* of this change? Obviously the *slaughter of the Gibeonites by Saul*, recorded in 2 Sam. xxi. 1. They were not all slain, but no doubt there was a considerable massacre, perhaps at the same time with

¹ "Introduction," p. 90.

² "Introduction," p. 80.

³ Yet in p. 131 he seems to commit himself to this proposition when he speaks of the "relative freedom" with which JE treats "the place of sacrifice."

the slaughter of the priests at Nob (1 Sam. xxi.), especially as we are told that Saul committed this cruel act from his "zeal for the children of Israel and Judah." A few Gibeonites evidently escaped, but not enough for the gradually increasing requirements of the Tabernacle service. We are not told the probable date of the "miscellaneous appendix" in 2 Sam. xxi. But the two Books of Samuel are generally supposed, even by the critics, to be in the main trustworthy history. It is singular, to say the least, that they should thus incidentally confirm the story of P if P were published at so late a date as is supposed. This is another of the problems which criticism leaves unexplained.

In chap. x. there is not much that bears on our subject. There is once more (ver. 27) an allusion to the Deuteronomic command not to allow dead bodies to remain hanging all night. Of these prohibitions all that need be said is that if they were introduced for the purpose of supporting the authority of Deuteronomy, they are singularly few and oddly chosen. As to the history of the sun standing still, it is obviously a later insertion. Not only is it declared in the text to be a quotation from a book which has not come down to us, but the marks of quotation are quite clear. The scribe who inserted the quotation has not only interrupted the course of the narrative, but has made his reflections on the quotation, and has inserted ver. 43 in the wrong place. It is instructive to see how, when the critics are confronted with a real insertion of a passage from a later work, they deal with it. "Vers. 12*b*, 13*a* (to 'enemies') is an extract from an ancient collection of national songs, called the 'Book of Jashar,' or 'Of the Upright'; vers. 13*b*, 14*a* is the comment of the narrator (here, perhaps, E) upon it." Ver. 14*b* is given to D₂. The supposition that the Deuteronomist has here striven to magnify Joshua's success will be discussed under Judges i. But there can be no doubt that the history as it stands, without the quotation from the book of Jashar, is probable enough. Similar successes have frequently been achieved. Joshua's celerity, which marks him out as one of the great commanders of the world, as well as the disorganization which alarm and defeat had created among his antagonists, are sufficient to account for the events recorded in the latter part of this chapter. Nor does the historian himself fail to point these causes out.¹

Chap. xi. is said to be from JE and D. But we may remark that ver. 21, taken in connection with the incidental mention of the Anakim in Num. xiii. and Deut. i. 28, looks as little like a vague tradition of the "eighth or ninth century B.C."

¹ Chap. ii. 9; v. 1; x. 2.

as anything can well do. Nor does the corroboration of this passage in chap. xv. 14 make it any more like such a tradition, the more especially when the redactor has tacked the passage on to a chance archæological mention (by P, we are asked to believe) of Hebron as "the city of Arba, the father of Anak." Verily Jewish history must have been extraordinarily concocted. Why these minute archæological details from the pen of the post-exilic author? It is remarkable, moreover, that we only find the "divisions of the tribes" mentioned by "D₂" in ver. 23, in Num. xxvi. assigned to P.

Chap. xii. is a "generalizing review by D₂." If so, it is singular that the language of ver. 7 is *peculiar to the Pentateuch and Joshua*, while as to ver. 6, it re-echoes the language of Num. xxxii. 22, 29, which, though identical in the two verses, is assigned to JE in ver. 22 and to P in ver. 29. There would seem to be no sufficient reason why these two almost identical passages should be assigned to separate authors. Identity of phrase is usually supposed by the critics to involve identity of authorship. But the modern criticism has no fixed rules. They seem to be made, as a physician would say, *pro re nata*.

In chap. xiii. 3 (the earlier part of which is assigned to D₂) we have a note of accuracy somewhat remarkable in a loose and not over-trustworthy tradition, handed down by word of mouth for three or four centuries at least. By the "eighth and ninth century, B.C.," if we are to trust the history, the Philistines had long had kings. They had had kings, too, in the days of Abraham and Isaac. But here we have the expression, "the five lords (סרני) of the Philistines," indicating with accuracy the time when they were governed, not by kings, but by chieftains. This is not a little significant in regard to the date of the narrative. Ver. 21 is assigned to P. But it may be observed that it combines the history contained in Num. xxii.-xxv. (JE) with the words of xxxi. 8 (P) in just the way a later author would cite an earlier homogeneous narrative. Then we have twice, in ver. 14 and in ver. 33 (assigned to D₂), a distinct announcement of the fact that to the tribe of Levi no inheritance is given. Our friends the critics are very fond of the argument *e silentio* when it suits them. We may be permitted to inquire how it suits them here. There is *not a single allusion* throughout the whole Old Testament to Levi as having ever occupied a position similar to the other tribes. Professor Driver is strangely reticent about the probable date of the song of Deborah. But the analogy of other countries¹ would lead any ordinary historical

¹ See my "Commentary on Judges," p. 32. Mr. Rider Haggard gives us exactly similar lyric effusions from among the South African tribes commemorating recent encounters.

critic to the conclusion that it was a lyrical poem composed on the occasion of the victory, like the *piesmas* of the Montenegrins or the pieces of early poetry inserted in the Saxon Chronicle. It may be remarked that while ten of the tribes are mentioned in that poem, Judah, Simeon and Levi are not mentioned. The abstention of the two former of these may be explained by their geographical position or by some other local circumstances which have not come down to us. At all events, it does not seem to have drawn forth the indignation of the songstress. And it is in keeping with the whole contents of the Book of Judges, in which Judah, after chapter i., plays a most singularly insignificant part. The abstention of Levi falls in with the statement here, which has all the appearance of having come from a person well informed on the subjects on which he is writing, that the tribe of Levi had no definite inheritance assigned to it, in consequence of its duties in connection with the sanctuary. The silence of the whole history of Israel concerning the tribe of Levi as performing any other functions confirms this view. The fact of the selection of that particular tribe is thus undesignedly corroborated by the history as it has come down to us. It did not depend on any particular sanctity attached to that tribe from the beginning. That is clearly incompatible with Jacob's song, which, we may remark, would hardly have been handed down by the priestly faction if they had, as is supposed, largely falsified or, if the phrase pleases the critics better, "gone over" the history in the interests of the priestly party. The selection was owing to the fact that Levi was the tribe to which the founder of Israelite institutions, as well as the first high priest, happened to belong.

The remainder of Joshua may be more briefly passed over. The writer of these pages may be permitted to remark that, while following the account of the division of the tribes with the excellent map of the Palestine Exploration Society, he was struck with the extraordinarily minute topographical accuracy of the details given in Joshua of the borders of the various tribes where they admitted of being verified. Wherever we are told of the deflection of a border line, the fact is in exact accordance with the results obtained in the survey. Whence came this accuracy? Will any reader of the Book of Nehemiah, unless that, too, be altogether unhistorical, contend that in the then political condition of Palestine it was possible to carry out a survey so thorough as is involved in the chapters we are considering; or that, even supposing it were possible, it was in the least likely that any Jew of that age would have undertaken it? Even in the "eighth or ninth century B.C." such a survey, bearing in mind the not too cordial relations between the Southern and Northern king-

doms, might possibly have presented some difficulties to the surveyor analogous, perhaps, to those which would have beset Mr. Cecil Rhodes had he, between the period of the Jameson Raid and that of the declaration of war between the Boers and this country, undertaken a careful topographical survey of the Transvaal. The only rational inference is that this part of Joshua is ancient and authentic. Yet Professor Driver, following his authorities, completes *his* survey of the topographical portion of the Book of Joshua, assigning passages at will to "JE" and "P," without having directed us to any sources from which these writers could possibly have obtained their remarkably accurate information. Can this sort of *ex cathedrâ* utterance, without explanation or argument, be dignified with the name of scientific criticism?

J. J. LIAS.

(*To be continued.*)



ART. II.—THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY SINCE THE RESTORATION.

JOHN TILLOTSON.

“**V**ICTRIX causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.” Though this could never be Sancroft’s motto—for till the last hour of his life he prayed God that the cause for which he was a confessor would yet be triumphant—it is the verdict which history has passed upon the Revolution of 1688. That event was almost as important an epoch in English political history as was the Reformation in ecclesiastical. It was the final rejection by the nation of the Tudor and Stuart theory of government—that of an irresponsible monarchy. Both politicians and ecclesiastics had still much to learn, of course; new ideas, however sound and good, always run into excesses and mistakes, but it is the part of our faith to look to the good hand of the living God to correct these, and still to lead us on.

Tillotson was probably as good a representative as could have been found of the new doctrine of government. There is deep pathos in the story of the fall of the Stuarts, even in the eyes of those who believed that it was a necessity. The nation had never lost the sense of penitence for the death of Charles I.; the nobleness of his devotion to the Church was tardily recognised, and the cause for which he died, and the beauty of the English Liturgy, had never been more appreciated than now. And thus it was that, though the people were resolute to defend their faith, they were tender to the king who sought to supplant it, and bent on preserving, as far as was compatible with national rights, the hereditary succession. And

it will be seen that the appointment of Tillotson to the Primacy of the Church was another evidence of the same spirit.

John Tillotson was descended from an old Cheshire county family. The name was originally Tilston, which was changed to Tillotson by Thomas, the Archbishop's great-grandfather, of Carlton-in-Craven. His grandson Robert was the eldest of three sons—the other two being named Joshua and Israel—and he was a prosperous cloth-worker of Sowerby in the parish of Halifax; by his wife Mary, daughter of Thomas Dobson of that place, he had four sons, of whom the future Archbishop was the second. He was baptized in the parish church, October 10, 1630, but his father in 1645 joined a Congregational Church founded by one Henry Root. He had always been attached to Puritan principles, and one of the babe's god-fathers was Henry Witton, afterwards an ejected minister. Robert Tillotson was a religious man, but a zealous Calvinist, and before Root's death appears to have become an Anabaptist. He lived to see his son Dean of Canterbury, and seems to have stuck to his Calvinism, though he had conformed to the Church for some years previously. He gave his son a good education, placing him in his tenth year at a grammar school, and in his seventeenth at Clare Hall, Cambridge. In his fourth year there he fell into a sickness so severe as to endanger his life, and it was followed by an intermittent delirium, from which he recovered but slowly. His mother in her latter days became insane. He took his B.A. degree in 1650, and M.A. in 1654, having been elected Fellow of his college in 1651. His surroundings, and naturally his prejudices at this time, were strongly Puritan. His tutor, David Clarkson, afterwards wrote a book entitled, "No Evidence of Diocesan Episcopacy in the Primitive Times," in answer to Stillingfleet. It was a moderate work, and of considerable learning. He was ejected from the living of Mortlake in 1662. The friendship of tutor and pupil remained steadfast through all changes until Clarkson's death, in 1686. There were two other Non-conformist ministers with whom also Tillotson at this time was in affectionate intercourse. He did not take to the head of his college, Ralph Cudworth, nor to the other Cambridge platonists, until he met with Chillingworth's famous book. That work opened his mind greatly, and did much to clear it from Calvinistic bitterness and narrowness.¹ All this while he was most strict in his religious life. He used to hear four sermons on Sunday and one on Wednesday during his tutorial

¹ "The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation." Published in 1637. See an excellent account of it in Hallam's "Literature of Europe," vol. ii., pp. 421-426.

life, and is said to have shown great gift of extemporary prayer. After reading Chillingworth, he drew nearer than before to the Liturgy of the Church. Chillingworth's opinions as to private judgment would hardly be accepted by English Churchmen now, but it should be remembered that he was the friend of Laud, who never lost confidence in him.

Tillotson was now moving in a Church groove, though he abated nothing of his tenderness for his old companions, and his influence, from his known piety and earnestness, was probably greater than any man's in reconciling the Independents to the use of the Liturgy. There were certainly churches where it was in use in the years immediately preceding the Restoration. But it is impossible to say whether he actually took part in them. It was now, after his Chillingworth reading, that he entered into close friendship with Whichcot and Henry More, the Platonists, and yet more with Dr. John Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester. These two men had great influence over each other for good. Wilkins was a "good all-round" man, and possessed great energy; Tillotson was better read in theology, and of singularly winning, gentle, persuasive manner.¹

At the end of 1656 he left Cambridge, and went to Ford Abbey in Devon as tutor to the son of Mr. Edmund Prideaux, who held the office of Attorney-General to the Commonwealth. He does not seem to have held the post very long. Hickes says that he acted as chaplain to the family, which we may accept as fact, as also the probability that he used the Church of England Liturgy.² He was in London when Cromwell died—September 3, 1658—and a week afterwards went out of curiosity to a fast-day at Whitehall, when the new Protector was present, and some of the most eminent Puritan preachers of the day—Owen, Goodwin, Caryl, Sterry among them. We can imagine the disgust with which their frantic enthusiasm was witnessed by the calm and placid Tillotson. Thus, Dr. Goodwin, who had assured the dying Protector in the

¹ It may be well to note here that as Tillotson became, in the natural course of things, particularly obnoxious to the Nonjurors, multitudes of slanders have been hurled at him. A hot-headed fanatic in Westminster Abbey, sailing as near the wind as he dared, spoke of "so-called Fathers of our Church who are not even her sons," meaning the King and the Archbishop, who (so he intended to insinuate) had never been baptized. Dr. Hickes, one of the most eminent of the Nonjurors, afterwards declared that after the Battle of Worcester Tillotson got the tablet containing the college grace, and after the thanksgiving for benefactors, "*Te laudamus pro benefactoribus nostris,*" added, "*presertim pro nupera victoriâ contra Carolum Stuartum in agro Wigornensi deportatâ.*" This was absolutely disproved.

² Wharton says so in his MS. Collections at Lambeth.

form of a prayer that God would soon restore him to health, now addressed God with the words: "Thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived." And Sterry prayed on behalf of poor Dick Cromwell in his presence: "Make him the brightness of his father's glory, the express image of his person."

He is said to have received Holy Orders from the hands of Dr. Thomas Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway. The registers are not forthcoming, as is the case with very many others, but the validity of his Orders was never questioned when the Church was re-established in England. And no sooner was he at work as a recognised minister of the Church than he began to make his mark as one of the most popular of London preachers. His first printed sermon was preached at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, on Matthew vii. 12, on the theme: "Wherein lies that exact righteousness which is required between man and man." It was one of a series arranged for on "Cases of Conscience," and was preached in 1661.

Tillotson must be pronounced, if not the father, at any rate one of the fathers, of the English pulpit. The few splendid sermons of Hooker, and the earnest and devout discourses of Andrewes, are not sermons according to our modern ideas. They are learned and philosophic essays and doctrinal treatises. So are the works of the eminent Puritan divines of the Commonwealth. Some are certainly learned, full of quotations from all manner of languages, of controversy, of queer conceits, and of rhetoric. In times further back Latimer had been run after, and no wonder, for his sermons are full of point and energy; but their levity and piquant stories would not be tolerated now. They were anything but calm and persuasive religious exhortations. The "Homilies" were intended for addresses suitable to the common people; but a preacher who should try the experiment of reading them to his congregation would soon empty his church. Even Jeremy Taylor, grand as his eloquence is, would not fare much better if read from a pulpit to-day. He is delightful to read, but certainly could not be preached.

Tillotson started on a good foundation. He had been for years a diligent reader of the Scriptures. He also read the Fathers assiduously, especially Chrysostom, and, in conjunction with Dr. Wilkins, spent much time in the study of rhetoric and exactness of language. Young preachers, though they have the advantage of helps and lights from great Biblical students which Tillotson never had, may learn much, very much, from studying his style, so clear and limpid and full. It is not mean and poor, but neither is it ornamental. The sentences are short, and never involved. He knows what he wants to say, and so says it, without any torturing of texts,

or parade of learning. In fact, this may be taken as the first axiom in the composition of a good sermon—total absence of display. One of the most delightful and effective preachers of our time was Dr. C. J. Vaughan, the late Dean of Llandaff. He was senior classic of his year, and continued his learned pursuits all his life. Yet let the student of sermons search diligently through his many volumes—not a word of Greek or Latin, not a quotation from the poets or even allusion to them. It is a positive marvel, the rich use of learning and the total absence of all parade of it. Anyone reading Tillotson's sermons to-day will no doubt feel them somewhat antiquated in style, and possibly not abstruse in thought, but will, I think, pronounce them real, genuine, earnest, impressive. He will shut up the book and feel the better for what he has read. They are all carefully written. He is said to have bungled and hesitated when he attempted extempore preaching.

At the Restoration he became curate at Cheshunt, his vicar being Dr. Thomas Hacket. This was within easy distance of London, and his reputation had the effect of his receiving many invitations to preach in the City. Some of his printed sermons are annotated as having been preached in London churches in 1661 and 1662. After the Act of Uniformity, in 1662, Calamy being deprived of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, the parishioners elected Tillotson, but he declined the offer. However, in June, next year, when he was presented under like circumstances to Ketton, in Suffolk, he accepted the cure on the entreaty of the ejected rector. But he did not starve long, for the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn elected him their preacher in November, 1663. The income for this was £100 a year, with rooms and commons for himself and servant, and allowance of £24 for vacation commons. He was not required under this appointment to give up Ketton, but he did so, feeling that the work of pastoral care called for the sacrifice. Next year he was appointed by the trustees to the Tuesday Lecture at St. Lawrence, Jewry, by Elizabeth, Viscountess Cambden. It became a fashionable resort at once.

It is impossible, within our limits, to follow his sermons in detail, but there is a thread of unity observable. He gave himself much to protesting against the immorality and the atheism of the time, and he believed that much of it arose from the encouragement of Popery. Men were holding, he said, that there was no morality and no certainty unless in an infallible Church, and on this rock souls were being torn to pieces. The superstition of Rome, in his eyes, was the bitter enemy of piety and earnest morality, and its cruelty a contradiction to the meekness and gentleness of Christ. Conse-

quently, whilst he continued to preach the plain and simple Gospel to his congregation, he entered into controversy with Roman propagandists, and published several pamphlets against them. His enemies cried out against him that he was cold-hearted and Laodicean, and that his desire to make friends with the Dissenters was a betrayal of the faith. But, as a matter of fact, he seems to have had a wonderful influence in London in drawing the citizens to a hearty love for the Church.

In 1663 he proposed marriage to Elizabeth French, the daughter of Dr. French, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and Robina, sister of Oliver Cromwell. Dr. French had died, and his widow had married Dr. John Wilkins, then Rector of St. Lawrence, Jewry. The young lady "desired to be excused" from the match, but Wilkins urged it. "Betty," said he, "you must have him; he is the best divine this day in England." And she consented. Five years later, during which interval he was still growing in popularity, he preached the sermon at the consecration of Wilkins as Bishop of Chester. Next year he was presented by Charles II. to a stall in Canterbury Cathedral, and in 1672 to the deanery thereof. To this was added, four years later, a Residential Canonry in St. Paul's. He owed this last preferment to a curious accident. His brother Joshua was a drysalter in London, and had business relations with a Mr. Thomas Sharp, of the same business in Yorkshire. His son happened to meet the Dean at his uncle's house in London, and Tillotson took a liking for young Sharp, and gave him a general invitation to come and visit him. The invitation was accepted, and a close friendship grew up between them. Sharp spoke very highly of his friend to Heneage Finch, Lord High Chancellor, who thereupon gave him the preferment we have named. Sharp became Archbishop of York in 1691.

Charles II. did not like Tillotson, but he respected good men, and was no bad judge of character. He took their advice when it did not interfere with his own viciousness. But his brother was bent on restoring the Roman Catholic faith, and he himself was hesitating between James's pressure and his conviction of the loyalty of his clergy to himself. We have had to do in the preceding life with his attempt to set aside the religious penal laws. The Bishops were alarmed; Humphrey Henchman, Bishop of London, charged his clergy to preach against Popery; the King complained to Archbishop Sheldon of this, and Sheldon called some of the prominent clergy together to advise what answer he should give to the King. Tillotson's advice was that the Archbishop should respectfully reply that since his Majesty pro-

fessed the Protestant religion, it would be a thing without precedent for him to forbid his clergy to preach in defence of it. This seemed unanswerable, and Sheldon was prepared to follow the advice, but Charles gave up his attempt.

But Tillotson was now bent on going further. He looked for a closer union of the various Protestant congregations, and by concessions bringing them into the Church. He joined with Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's, and Hezekiah Burton, in a treaty proposed by Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Lord-Keeper of the Seal, and agreed to by the great and good judge, Sir Matthew Hale; it was a comprehensive scheme, in which Baxter and Manton, on the part of the dissenters, were invited to co-operate. They agreed, on the question of reordination, that men already in Presbyterian Orders should be allowed, after imposition of hands, accompanied with certain words, to minister in the church. But as soon as this treaty became known a clamour was immediately raised, especially by the friends of the Earl of Clarendon, who was now in banishment, and when the Bill which Hale had drawn up was presented to Parliament, a resolution was passed condemning any such attempt.

The same two Deans made another attempt in 1674, and invited some leading Nonconformists to a fresh conference. Baxter met them, and many proposals were made in turn. At length one was agreed to, and Baxter laid it before some leading Nonconformists, who agreed. But the Bishops were not equally complaisant, and again the attempt failed. Baxter asked Tillotson if he might publish the history of the negotiation, and so show how far they were agreed and how anxious they were for a peaceable settlement. Tillotson replied (April 11, 1675) that he had consulted the Bishop of Salisbury (Seth Ward), who had promised, on his part, to confer with the Bishop of Chester (Pearson), but that he foresaw that prejudice was strong against the arrangements proposed, and that the King would make much opposition. And so for the time this good hope came to an end.

Meanwhile other matters of interest came up. In 1672 Bishop Wilkins died at Tillotson's residence in Chancery Lane, and bequeathed to him all his papers, leaving it to his discretion whether to publish them, or any of them. Tillotson at once took in hand the "Principles of Natural Religion." The author had completed the first twelve chapters for the press, his executor finished the work from the Bishop's private papers, and published it in 1675 with a very able and wise preface of his own.

Next year his old friend Sir Matthew Hale died. He had been a judge in the Common Pleas under Cromwell, Chief

Baron of the Exchequer, and Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench after the Restoration. He was a man of high and noble character; resigned the last office, in consequence of failing health, early in the year, and died on Christmas Day, in his sixty-seventh year. He had written a book in defence of Revealed Religion, and sent it to Bishop Wilkins by an unknown hand, merely telling him that the writer was not a clergyman. Wilkins read it and sent it to Tillotson, neither of them having any clue to the authorship; but the latter, after reading it, declared that the calmness, skill, and penetration of the argument, as well as the variety of learning, convinced him that the author must be Hale.

One incident of the year 1677 was important in its consequences, though there is doubt about some of the details. The Duke of York's daughter, Mary, married William, Prince of Orange. The Duke disliked the match very cordially, nor was the King very favourable, though the nation was. They started for the Hague by way of Canterbury and Margate. At Canterbury they attended the Cathedral on Sunday, November 25, and heard Tillotson preach, and, according to Echard ("History of England"), the Corporation churlishly refused them the use of plate and other necessaries, whereupon Tillotson sent them abundance. Next day they went to Margate, and the accommodation which the Dean had so obligingly offered was not forgotten. The same year died an author whose works have secured a greater and more permanent position in our religious literature than those of Wilkins or Hale, namely, Isaac Barrow. He died on May 5, leaving his manuscripts to Tillotson, and in 1680 the latter published the imperishable "Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy," with a preface of his own, in which he observes that whosoever shall carefully peruse it "will find that this point of the Pope's supremacy (upon which Bellarmin hath the confidence to say the whole of Christianity depends) is not only an indefensible, but an impudent, cause as ever was undertaken by mortal man."

Of the "Popish Plot" and the frightful perjuries of Titus Oates we have previously had occasion to speak, and we only note now that when, as Macaulay says, "the whole nation went mad with hatred and fear," Tillotson was called on to preach before the House of Commons, and though he, like the rest of the world, believed in the story, it is characteristic of him that he very earnestly pleaded for moderation and charity, and for care lest the innocent should be confounded with the guilty. There is a very admirable letter written by him to Charles, Earl of Shrewsbury, who, after hesitating awhile between Romanism and Protestantism, was persuaded by

Tillotson to accept the latter, and remained firm in his faith to the end. Tillotson heard that he had given utterance to loose views on morality, which led to the letter we refer to. It ends, after some very unshrinking warnings, with the words: "I have only to beg of your lordship to believe that I have not written this to satisfy the formality of my profession, but that it proceeds from the truest affection and goodwill that one man can possibly bear to another. I pray God every day with the same constancy and fervour as for myself, and do most earnestly beg that this counsel may be acceptable and effectual."

Gilbert Burnet, who had come for a few weeks to London from his native Edinburgh, in his twentieth year, in 1663, made acquaintance with Tillotson, and their affectionate friendship was only ended by death. Burnet had his faults, certainly, but it is impossible to read his very interesting life without the conviction that he was a sincere and earnest man. All through the reign of Charles II. he was constantly endeavouring to promote goodwill and religious moderation, and he did not lose his head over the Popish plot. But his attachment to the principles in which he had been brought up remained the same all his life. His father was always a member of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and he had been obliged to leave the country for refusing the Covenant; but he belonged to the moderate party, and his wife was a Presbyterian. And this was the education of their son. He was an honest believer in Episcopacy, but his heart went forth towards the Dissenters and yearned for union, and he was strongly hostile to Popery. He wrote many pamphlets, but in January, 1678, he showed Tillotson his "History of the Reformation," and in 1679 published the first volume by his friend's advice. It came opportunely, and was welcomed by the nation, though not at Court. But in his enthusiasm, at this juncture, Tillotson preached a sermon before the King which brought him, not unreasonably, under sharp criticism. He was summoned unexpectedly to Whitehall on April 2, 1680, and being full of apprehension at the Duke of York's undisguised schemes of proselytizing, he preached, from Josh. xxiv. 15, a sermon which he entitled "The Protestant Religion vindicated from the Charge of Singularity and Novelty." And this was one of the paragraphs in a sermon which in its argumentative portion is wise and reasonable enough: "I cannot think (until I be better informed, which I am always ready to be) that any pretence of conscience warrants any man, that is not extraordinarily commissioned as the Apostles and first publishers of the Gospel were, and cannot justify that commission by miracles, as they did, to affront the established religion of a nation, though it be false,

and openly to draw men off from the profession of it, in contempt of the magistrate and the law. All that persons of a different religion can in such a case reasonably pretend to, is to enjoy the private liberty and exercise of their own conscience and religion, for which they ought to be very thankful, and to forbear the open making of proselytes to their own religion (though they be never so sure that they are in the right), till they have either an extraordinary commission from God to that purpose, or the providence of God make way for it by the permission of the magistrate."

Here was an assertion of the divine right of the King which Hobbes of Malmesbury could not have stated more uncompromisingly.¹ It might be applied, no doubt, to the Duke of York now, or to the Nonconformists, but it would absolutely condemn the Reformers of Henry VIII.'s days. And it is no wonder that it gave great offence to the Dissenters. Calamy tells a ludicrous story about it. He says that Charles II. was asleep all the sermon-time, and that afterwards a courtier said to him: "'Tis a pity your Majesty slept, for we had the rarest piece of Hobbism I ever heard in my life." "Ods fish!" replied the King, "he shall print it, then"; and immediately sent the Dean, by the Lord Chamberlain, an order to print his sermon. The Dean sent copies, as usual, to some of his Nonconformist friends, among them to Howe, who had been Cromwell's chaplain, who acknowledged it in the severest terms, pointing out to him that "Luther and Calvin, thank God, were of another mind." Calamy continues that Howe himself carried his answer to the Dean, and read it to him, that at length the Dean wept freely, and said that this was the most unhappy thing that had for a long time befallen him, and that he saw that what he had offered could not be maintained; and, further, he excused himself by saying that he was called on unexpectedly to preach, and that the King's commandment took away his power to alter the sermon afterwards. A counter discourse was written and sent to him by Baxter. He replied that he was sorry that he had been misunderstood, that he disclaimed any sympathy with "the odious principles of Spinoza and Hobbes," and that the publication of this discourse would be considered as a personal attack on him. The result was that it was not published. It was not fair of the nonjuror Hickes afterwards, when fiercely attacking Tillotson, to accuse him of truckling to the Dissenters in this matter, and of "crying *peccavi* to Baxter in this letter."

This incident led to the beginning of a long and interesting correspondence, branching off into many subjects, between the

¹ See Hallam's "Literature of Europe," iii. 171.

Dean and the saintly Robert Nelson, whose "Companion to the Fasts and Festivals" is still deservedly held in honour in our religious literature. He was a young man of four-and-twenty when Tillotson's sermon was published, they were already in close friendship, and Tillotson's first letter to him is one of regret that "there should be so much talk and noise" about his sermon. It is followed by another on the death and repentance of the well-known Wilmot, Earl of Rochester. He thanks Nelson for a very affectionate letter which he had written about the Dean's part in his conversion. The friendship of the two men remained, apparently, unbroken to the very end, as we shall see hereafter, though Nelson became a non-juror. It is curious that one of the Dean's letters is in answer to a request of Nelson for a vacant living, in the gift of the Dean and Chapter, for Mr. Richard Kidder, the same who afterwards supplanted Ken at Bath and Wells. Kidder was a divine of much repute, and Tillotson wrote to Nelson that he was very sorry, but that he was already pledged to another man. At another time he writes to reassure Nelson that he is not intending to make any alterations in Canterbury Cathedral, somebody having told Nelson that Tillotson was going to remove some of the old decorations and ornaments. There are also two very interesting letters about Halley's comet, the great astronomer being a common friend of the two men.

Heavy affliction fell on Tillotson in the year that followed. The Exclusion Bill, to which he was favourable, failed, and the failure was followed by the Rye House Plot and the trial and execution of Lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney. Tillotson was called as a witness to character at Russell's trial, and after his condemnation wrote him a letter, intended to be private, in which he exhorted him to retract the opinion he had expressed on the lawfulness of resistance. It is a very tender and wise letter, and the spirit of it was expressed in the expression which he used in his prayer with the dying man when he attended him to the scaffold: "Grant that all we who survive may learn our duty to God and the King." It was a grief to Tillotson that his letter got into the King's hands and was afterwards published.

There were yet two other subjects which kindled Tillotson's zeal against Romanism. One was the perversion of Nelson's wife, Lady Theophila Lucy, to the great grief of her husband, the other was the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Things, in the Dean's opinion, were looking very gloomy as regarded the religion of the nation, when Charles II. was suddenly seized with apoplexy, and died on February 5, 1685.

W. BENHAM.

(To be continued.)

ART. III.—THE PROTESTANTISM OF OUR GREAT ENGLISH DIVINES.

II. BISHOP ANDREWES.

BISHOP ANDREWES and Archbishop Laud are the two divines of the seventeenth century generally selected by medievalists of the present day as their patrons and protectors. They justify their own extravagances by claiming the authority of these learned theologians for them. The reason of this, in the case of Bishop Andrewes, probably is that most of his anti-papal polemics were written in Latin, not in the form of treatises, but unsystematically, in reply to Cardinal Bellarmine, and consequently they have not been studied or reproduced with care. They have never been translated into English, and are chiefly known by a few passages which, taken alone, may appear to bear an ambiguous sense. It will be the purpose of this paper to show, by his own words and teachings, that if the Bishop was profoundly catholic he was as profoundly Protestant, and that, being a man of the gentlest and most loving and devout spirit (as proved by his "Devotions"), he, nevertheless, had no sympathy and no tenderness for the medieval and modern Roman corruptions which were repudiated at the Reformation. Here and there the Bishop's arguments will be abridged, but never in such a way as to make an alteration in his meaning. The only difficulty is to know how to omit or abridge without injury to the cogency of the arguments which in their full form would be too long for these pages. We will begin by showing what was Andrewes' estimate of the Catholic faith, which was recovered by the Church of England at the Reformation, as opposed to Popery; and for the present we shall confine ourselves to extracts from his "Responsio ad Bellarminum."

Whether Papists or Protestants are the better Catholics.

"Right to reject the Catholic faith? The Cardinal would be glad enough to hear us say that; but he will never do so. It may be right, however, to reject the Papal faith. It were a vile thing to reject the Catholic faith unless you add the word 'Roman,' and so corrupt the term 'catholic.' The Catholic faith has suffered sore injury at your hands in Rome, and has contracted grievous defilements. It is no vile thing to reject these in order to cling to the Catholic faith, while repudiating your uncatholic corruptions" ("Responsio ad Bellarminum," p. 159, Oxford, 1856).

"We declare aloud that we are catholic, but not Roman,

the last of which words destroys the meaning of the first. We will never confine a word of so wide an import within the narrow limits of one city or one man's breast. The more that a man refuses to do that, the more catholic is he. What is sound we retain; what is old we restore; what is new, whether it comes from Rome or Trent, we refuse to acknowledge as catholic" (*ibid.*, p. 163).

"There is no part of the Catholic faith that we do not hold: those tenets of yours are patches on the faith, not parts of it" (*ibid.*, p. 485).

"Prayers in a tongue not understood of the people, the refusal of the cup to the laity, the celebration of the Eucharist without any communicants, kneeling to images, the right of the Roman Bishop to free subjects from their fidelity and obedience to their sovereign, and so on, were rejected and condemned by the ancient Church, and are rejected and condemned by us. For the first five hundred years there was no Christian Church or man who believed what you now believe in Rome, or acknowledged and accepted what you acknowledge and accept as your chief doctrines; nay, the greatest part of your dogmas were rejected by the Fathers in the very sense that you attach to them; if there are any that they accepted, it was quite in a different sense from yours. There is no important doctrine on which we are not at one with the Fathers and the Fathers with us. Wherever you differ from us, you differ from the Fathers" (*ibid.*, p. 69).

"We accept without hesitation Vincentius Lirinensis' definition: 'That which has prevailed always and everywhere and among all, that which has been believed always, everywhere, and by all,' let that be catholic. That rule of itself is the death of all your opinions which have crept in surreptitiously. Your transubstantiation is not 'always,' for it did not exist for twelve centuries. Your primacy is not 'everywhere,' for it is not throughout the East. But, says the Cardinal, the very name of Protestant was not heard for 1,500 years. Well, the name of Jesuit is still more modern. Circumstances gave us the name of Protestants. For we protested that we would not any longer endure errors and abuses, but would remove them. If you would allow those things to be reformed in your churches in which you differ from us (and there are very many in which we agree) peace would return to the world. We retort the argument: How can transubstantiation be catholic—that is, always believed? and concomitance? and one kind? I refrain with difficulty from asking this 'how' regarding a number more of your novelties" (*ibid.*, p. 25).

"'The Roman Church,' says the Cardinal, 'has got the

name of "Catholic." What! a part got the name of the whole—an individual got the name of the species? Let him tell that to his own *idiota*! For anyone who has the least smattering of learning recognises this claim at once as having a sound of Donatus, who said that Christ had deserted the rest of the world, and was not to be found anywhere except in Donatus' party. Donatus' assertion, however, is the least objectionable of the two, for he did leave a whole quarter of the globe to Christ, and did not thrust Him into one ruined city. The Cardinal is the worst, in so far as Rome is smaller than Africa" (*ibid.*, p. 163).

"It is contrary to the faith to make 'Roman' equal to 'catholic,' and contrary to reason not to acknowledge that the whole is greater than its part" (*ibid.*, p. 218).

Holy Scripture.

"Our savour is of the Scriptures alone, but everything with you is full of the fabricated opinions of men, out of which your faith is formed; so that what you cry up as a Rock is nothing but a heap of sand; they are only human opinions that you cling to as your Rock" (*ibid.*, p. 452).

"You never dreamed of translating the Holy Bible till we undertook the task. You resisted long; you fought with fire. Wherever you can and dare, you keep back the people from the sacred books. But why, when Moses, Paul, the Fathers, and especially Chrysostom, so earnestly and frequently urged their diligent reading, not only in church, but at home? Ay, let them read, let them understand as much as God enables them to comprehend, and if they are in difficulty let them have recourse to theologians!" (*ibid.*, p. 369).

"Don't accuse us for rejecting the Apocrypha from the canon of Scripture! We have received our canon from the Fathers of the Council of Laodicea. It is the same as that of Melito, Origen, Athanasius, Hilary, Nazianzen, Amphidochius, Epiphanius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Jerome, Ruffinus, Damascene" (*ibid.*, p. 356).

The Sacraments.

"For more than a thousand years the number of Seven Sacraments was never heard of. How, then, can the belief in Seven Sacraments be catholic, which means, always believed?" (*ibid.*, p. 72).

The Eucharist.

"We are willing enough to grant that there is a memory of the Sacrifice in it; but we will never grant that your Christ,

made of bread, is sacrificed in it. The King knows that the Fathers used the word 'sacrifice,' and doesn't count that a novelty, but he ventures so to regard, and does so regard, your 'Sacrifice of the Mass.' Private masses he asserts to have been unknown to the Fathers—ay, and masses not private, in which you worship transubstantiated bread" (*ibid.*, p. 250).

"It would have been better for you, as many think, if you held the same faith that we hold regarding the Sacrament, and had not touched the giddy opinion of transubstantiation. For ever since you introduced it into Christianity so many thorny and knotty questions have been every day occupying you and your school, and their treatment has met with such ill-success, that it would have been very well for Christendom if, as the Fathers (by the acknowledgment of our English Jesuits) knew nothing of it, so their successors had never heard its name. Such are questions about the quantity of Christ when in the bread: 'Whether Christ is there in His own quantity or in the quantity of the bread' (Thomas Aquinas); 'Supposing He is there in His own quantity, whether it be in a manner that is not quantitative' (*ibid.*); 'Whether Christ's substance be there in the accidents without inherence' (*ibid.*), which is contrary to logic; 'Whether the word *frangitur* (is broken) is to be regarded as not in the passive voice, because Christ's body cannot be broken' (*ibid.*), which is contrary to grammar; 'Whether mice can live upon accidents' (*ibid.*); and 'whether worms can be generated from accidents' (*ibid.*), which is contrary to physics; 'Whether Christ is at the same moment resting still in the pyx in one place and is moving on elevation in another place;' and 'whether at the same moment He goes up when elevated by one priest and comes down when another lowers Him' (*ibid.*); and I don't know how many more questions. We may say about the whole matter: God made His Sacrament simple, 'but they have sought out many inventions' (Eccles. vii. 29). All this is, in fact, the Tridentine, not the Christian, faith; Christianity existed long before it was preached or believed" (*ibid.*, p. 14).

One Kind.

"On this point error begets error on error. Christ, says the Cardinal, instituted the Eucharist in so far as it is a sacrifice in both elements—in so far as it is a Sacrament in either of the two. For the essence of a sacrifice, he says, both are required, neither can be absent; if one be absent, the sacrifice is mutilated. For the essence of a Sacrament either of them is enough; which you please of the two is sufficient; either one or the other may be away, and yet the

Sacrament is not mutilated. This is magisterial enough, but it is the arbitrary dictum of the Cardinal. What Father says so? Where is the appeal to the first five hundred years?

“Under the species of bread, says the Cardinal, the Sacrament is entire; under the species of wine the Sacrament is also entire; and yet these two entire Sacraments are *not* two entire Sacraments, but only one entire Sacrament! Nay, more surprising still, under the species of bread there is the Sacrament, and under the species of wine there is the Sacrament, and yet they are *not* two Sacraments, and nevertheless they *are* two Sacraments! They are not two, but one, if haste is used—if a man takes them together at one time; they are not one, but two, if there is delay—if a man takes them at two separate times, or if two people take them at one time! When they are taken together, they are two parts of a whole; neither of them is itself a whole. When they are taken separately, they are two wholes, neither of them is a part—and so a part is equal to the whole! He receives as much who takes either element by itself as he who takes both at the same time! Who can understand this? ‘One not one,’ ‘two not two,’ ‘two wholes taken together are not two,’ ‘two are one if taken together,’ ‘two are not two unless taken separately.’ Why should the Sacrament be affected so much by time, when it is not affected by place?

“Then I have this inquiry to make: Why, on the theory that the blood is always with the body and the body with the blood, should the sacrifice be regarded as mutilated unless both kinds are present, and the Sacrament not? What becomes of the Cardinal’s doctrine of concomitance? In the sacrifice he rejects it; let him reject it, therefore, in the Sacrament! But he will not do so in the Sacrament. ‘*There,*’ he says, ‘either one of the two is sufficient’; just as if concomitance were kept at the door while the Cardinal was offering the sacrifice, and called in as soon as it had been finished. How can these things hold together?

“The Apostle finds the symbol of the body in ‘the bread which we break’; of the blood in ‘the cup which we bless.’ Reception of the bread is partaking of the body; the cup is the communication of the blood. A little below he says, ‘Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils,’ regarding the drinking of the cup with as great solicitude as the eating of the bread.

“But if the Sacrament is perfect, as you say, under the species of bread, why is the priest, when he comes to taking the Sacrament, not contented with that which is perfect? Why should he take more than that which is already perfect?

Why should that not be perfect for him which is perfect for the people? Or, why should he not be contented himself with what he desires them to be contented with?

“There is no analogy between this case and single or trine immersion. There is but one act of immersion in Baptism, but there are two acts in the Eucharist—of eating and drinking; and there are two subjects—bread and wine. Besides, here there is a positive command; there there is none. Christ gave no command about the number of immersions in baptism—whether it should be one or three; but He did give a command about both kinds in the Eucharist. He gave an express command—a command expressly obligatory on all. He said ‘Drink,’ as well as ‘Eat’; and when He said ‘Drink’ He added ‘all of you.’ If the Saviour had used that word ‘all’ after ‘eat,’ it would have been a great help to the Cardinal’s argument. But when Christ gives a command and uses the words of injunction, there is no room for the Church’s legislation, but only in cases where, as in immersion, He leaves it undecided. For if He had said ‘Dip once only,’ or if He had said, ‘Dip three times,’ I suppose the Church could not have changed the rule, nor would the Cardinal maintain that it would have a right to change it. But He did say, ‘Eat,’ and He said also ‘Drink,’ and ‘in like manner’; and He said, ‘Do this’ in regard both to one act and the other. By saying that, Christ closed the question; nor has the Church the right of leaving open that which Christ has closed; nor of ordering that one kind only be received when Christ twice ordered both kinds; nor when Christ enjoined, ‘Do this,’ in respect of both, expunging His Words in respect to one, and forbidding men to ‘do it.’ We may act as we please where no command has been given; but when He gives the command, ‘Drink,’ ‘Drink ye all,’ ‘Do this,’ it is no longer permissible or justifiable to disobey” (*ibid.*, p. 251).

Reservation.

“That carrying about of yours is against Christ’s command, and Scripture nowhere favours it. It is contrary to the purpose of the institution. A sacrifice has to be consumed; a Sacrament to be taken and eaten, not laid up and carried about. Let that be done which Christ desired when He said ‘Do this,’ and there will be nothing left for the priest to expose, or the people to worship, in the pyx” (*ibid.*, p. 267).

Purgatory.

“Let those who believe in purgatory take very good heed that they do not miss their road and find themselves in hell

instead of purgatory. 'For they are places near one another,' if we are to believe the Cardinal. The Pope, with his indulgences, has landed many of you in hell, while duping you with the hope of only getting to purgatory; perhaps if they had had only the fear of hell (and they would have had if they had not been deluded by that hope) they might have escaped hell" (*ibid.*, p. 222).

Supererogation.

"Unless a man has done all that God commands him and has paid the whole debt (and who has ever done that or can do it, when the Apostles themselves pray daily that their trespasses may be forgiven?) he is super-arrogant when he dreams of supererogation" (*ibid.*, p. 268).

Saint-Worship.

"'Come to Me,' says the Saviour—that is, according to Cardinal Bellarmine: 'Stay where you are, and send some go-between to Me; that is all that is wanted, though you don't come yourselves.' So 'Come' means: 'Don't come, let others come.' You make approach to the saints when you pray to them, the saints make approach to Christ, and Christ to God. This would be quite right if Christ had said: 'Go to the saints; let them come in your place; don't yourselves come to Me; it is just as good whether you come yourselves or the saints come for you.' But now, as He has said: 'Come to Me; come all of you, and I will refresh you' (by Myself surely, not by My ministers), why do we not go straight to Him, without a go-between, and ask of Him, but turn off to them and ask of them that they would be good enough to ask? Are there any of the saintly spirits with whom we can converse with greater safety and joy than with our Jesus? Is access to them easier? Have they more indulgent moments for speaking? Do the saints know more of our needs? Are their bowels of mercy more enlarged than Christ's? Is their goodwill towards us greater than His, so that our confidence should be greater when we are with them? Should any grace of theirs be more precious to us than Christ's promise, 'I will refresh you'? Should any nearness to them be dearer to us than Christ's instruction, 'Come to Me'? When you thus invoke the saints, you give them Christ's place; if you go to them, you put them in the place of Christ, for them to refresh you instead of Him. You take them as mediators with God, to obtain His pardon for you by their prayers. Paul and John never made themselves that, and had they done so, faithful Christians would not

have endured it, as St. Augustine (*Contra Parmen.*, ii. 8, 15) teaches" (*ibid.*, p. 242).

Angel-worship.

"Chrysostom points out that there were some who, from a spurious humility, said that we ought not to draw nigh to God by Christ but by angels, for it was too great a thing for us to go straight to Christ without the intervention of the angels; it was too much beneath the majesty of Christ that we should be brought nigh by Himself, and more suitable to our littleness that angels should perform that task for us. It was for this reason, says Chrysostom, that the Apostle occupied himself from beginning to end in the Epistle to the Colossians with Christ, dwelling upon the blood of His Cross, His passion, His love, in order to drive out that vicious humility and show that we might have access to Christ immediately and without angelic intervention" (*ibid.*, p. 245).

Image-worship.

"Both are wrong—to worship the creature either *for* or *with* the Creator. We say plainly that images are not to be worshipped, whether of false gods or of holy men. Why, holy men themselves are not to be worshipped, much less their images! The word 'worship' is taken from the second commandment, and Christ Himself has taught us that God alone may be worshipped. Let the Cardinal explain to us how it is that he gives to his images what the Law confines to God alone. Images become idols if they are worshipped, and the worship of idols is idolatry. The Law says nothing about an 'idol,' but forbids any 'likeness,' which covers both images and idols. Religious worship is due to God only. The Cardinal says that the worshipper does not worship the image, but kneels before the image and worships the saint whose image it is. The Cardinal, being learned in metaphysics, may do so, but what of the people? And, after all, what is this but the excuse of the heathen man in Augustine (in *Psa. cxiii.*) who said that he did not worship the image, but looked at the sign of that which he had to worship? Which of the ancient Christians ever practised image-worship? Which of them has allowed that it ought to be practised? Which of them has said that an image is not a 'likeness'? But God's Law prohibits 'every likeness'; be it an idol, be it an image, if it is a 'likeness' it is forbidden. 'Thou shalt not worship them' is prohibition, and there is no restriction nor distinction about this or that manner. Worship is declared proper to God alone. 'Thou shalt not worship any likeness.' Oh yes, 'thou shalt worship some likeness,' provided that thou

dost not worship it 'as God,' or that thou worshippest it 'as a likeness, not as an idol'—are not these precepts absolutely contrary the one to the other? Gregory I. says, 'Thou shalt not worship,' but what his piety forbade won its way by the devil's deceit, and prevailed two hundred years afterwards" (*ibid.*, p. 274).

"Certainly the images of the saints are not idols, but you make them idols by worshipping them and offering incense to them, as was done of old to the brazen serpent and is being done by you every day" (*ibid.*, p. 392).

Relics.

"The saints themselves are not to be worshipped, much less their relics. Not the saints—'God alone is to be worshipped'; so says Origen in so many words ('Contra Cels.,' viii. 26). 'We have learnt to worship God alone,' says Eusebius ('Præp. Evan.,' iv. 5). 'The nature of the Godhead is singular, and that alone may be worshipped,' says Cyril Alex. ('Thesaur.,' ii. 1). 'None, we read, may be worshipped except God,' says Ambrose ('De Spir.,' iii. 12). 'If it is an object of worship, how is it not God?' says Nazianzen (Orat. XXXVII.). Hardly would these Fathers worship the saints, with the Cardinal; still more hardly would they have worshipped their relics. Jerome says: 'We don't worship or adore, I will not say the relics of saints, but not even the sun or the moon, nor angels nor archangels, nor cherubim nor seraphim' (Ep. cix.). What can the Cardinal say when the old Fathers of the Church cry out, 'We don't worship the relics of the martyrs'? He is caught and held fast so that he cannot escape. Angels and saints stand on the same footing, and relics cannot be in better case than those whose relics they are" (*ibid.*, p. 61).

"The Cardinal will not allow the relics to remain quietly in their coffin; he disturbs them, brings them out, exhibits them, carries them about, pulls them asunder for the profit of the priest and for the cajoling of the people. What Fathers did that for five hundred years?" (*ibid.*, p. 274).

Worship of the Cross.

"Worship of the Cross is a Pagan, not a Christian practice, as stated in Minutius Felix's 'Octavius,' c. xxix." (*ibid.*, p. 270).

Vicar of Christ.

"Our desire is that the Holy Spirit should occupy the post that belongs to Him, and the Pontiffs come down from it and give up their lying title, which fourteen hundred years ago

Tertullian ascribed to the Holy Ghost ('De Præscript.,' xxviii.), and the Pontiff, with a few others, ascribes to himself. Perhaps he won't quarrel with Tertullian if he is granted the title of Vicar of God (which he has long been aiming at) instead of Vicar of Christ, so as to be able to dominate not only Churches, but empires" (*ibid.*, p. 292).

Papal Supremacy.

"The Fathers understand by 'Feed My sheep' 'Receive again from My hands the office of feeding: be one of the shepherds, though you have not deserved to be, after denying Me so often.' But your interpretation is a dream of your own, your gloss, not theirs. You say 'Feed'—that is, 'Be Supreme Pontiff and Ordinary Ruler'—'My sheep'—that is, 'over Apostles.' Or, 'Feed'—that is, 'Be the visible Head in My place'—'My sheep'—that is, 'Over the visible body of the Church.' Christ did not say *that* to Peter; much less to Linus, or Cletus, or Clement did He say: 'Feed My sheep'—that is, 'Let John, My beloved Apostle and Evangelist, be subject to you, Linus, or Cletus, or Clement; you are to be his visible head; he is to recognise you as his superior and pay you reverence; he must yield himself to you to feed him'" (*ibid.*, p. 295).

"Any primacy that Rome has come from the Fathers, not from Christ; and because Rome was the seat of the Emperor, not of Peter" (*ibid.*, p. 231).

"Gregory I. said: 'I confidently declare that whosoever calls himself Universal Bishop is worse (*præcurrit*) in his pride than Antichrist.' Now the name of Universal Bishop belongs to the Pontiff, and that by the gift of Phocas" (*ibid.*, p. 386).

"And who is more covetous and thirsty for gold than your Pontiff, by his indulgences, his jubilees, his tax-book of the apostolic chancery? Who is more elated at being carried, not on the back of an animal, but on the shoulders of men? Who prouder, trampling on emperors and telling them to lick the dust from his feet? Who equals him in pride, allowing himself to be written down, 'Lord God' ('Extrav. Joan,' xxii. 14), and not having the words deleted; admitting the titles 'divine' and 'omnipotent' as his own (Marta, 'In Ded. Tract. ad Paul. V.')" (*ibid.*, p. 453).

"Peter did not try to deprive Nero of his dominions, for it was difficult for him to believe that 'feed' meant 'deprive of his dominions.' Nor did his successors deprive of their dominions Domitian, Trajan, Decius, Diocletian. That is Thomas Aquinas's teaching, and Hildebrand first introduced

the practice. Let who will follow Thomas's teaching and Hildebrand's practice; we follow the teaching of Paul and the practice of Peter, and with them the teaching and practice of the whole primitive Church" (*ibid.*, p. 101).

Regicide.

"Did not the monk who took off Henry III., King of France, inquire of your theologians, and was not he sent away with the answer that it might rightly be done? Is not he praised for his act in your books and letters? And did not the last most monstrous assassin, the murderer of Henry IV., act purely from conscientious motives, his conscience being informed by your books? Why else were Mariana's books publicly burnt? Why else did the Sorbonne condemn them for heresy, and the Paris Court for treason? These things teach us not only that such assassinations take place among you, but that they are committed by your counsel and with your approbation" (*ibid.*, p. 392).

Old and New "Catholics."

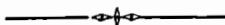
The Cardinal having expressed a hope that James I. would return to the faith of his ancestor Donald I., the Bishop writes:

"It is very well that the Cardinal has named Donald I. For Donald was a Catholic of the old faith, and nothing could be more unlike these new Catholics of yours. Donald never believed that Pope Victor had any supreme right over things temporal; why, he might have heard that Victor was reprov'd by Irenæus, not so far from here, in France, for arrogating to himself more than was right, even in things spiritual, by uttering too hasty a sentence against the Orientals. I will venture to say that Donald never worshipp'd painted or sculptured images of wood or stone. He did not offer his prayers to God in a tongue that he did not understand. He was not robbed of the holy Cup. He would have shuddered at transubstantiation, concomitance, quantitative manner, indulgences, supererogations, as so many spectres. He never heard mention of the fire of Purgatory. He was not fed on accidents. He did not ever see the Sacrament carried about. These things of yours which now make a 'Catholic' (themselves un-catholic) he was totally ignorant of. The King sought back to the footsteps of his ancestors, and therefore especially of Donald; he has returned to them, he is earnestly entreating all others to return with him. He has become altogether like what Donald was, and what the kings his predecessors for many ages after Donald were. It is

certain that what things the King rejects now were then unknown to them, and that if any one had so much as named them, they would at once have been amazed at what they heard. The King believes and confesses everything that made them Catholics. For it is quite certain that the Kings of Scotland, and not the Kings of Scotland only, but all the other Christian kings in succession for some centuries, were Catholics by the singular blessing of God without these modern inventions of yours, introduced so long afterwards. At length, indeed, but after an interval of many years, owing to the sin of Christians, those novelties were superinduced by the craft of the Pontiff, and were sown while men slept in evil times, and so men turned aside from the way of their ancestors. Now the King has returned into that way, and is inviting all the rest to return with him. He hopes that they will take care to have that which was from the beginning preached to them ; for those things were not so from the beginning which have been corrected by the King and the others. And from the piety and charity of his father and grandfather he has a confident presumption that, if they had seen and known what he now sees and knows, they would agree with him, and be of the same mind, and stand in the same steps. And what he assures himself respecting his ancestors, if they were still alive, he does not refuse to hope will be the case with the monarchs and princes his brothers and cousins now existing ; but he desires and longs and prays God that they may take these things into serious consideration, and bring about on the first opportunity what he trusts they are really in their hearts intending ; so that they, too, may go back to the steps of their ancestors, as the King has to his, and standing firmly in them in this life, may come in the future to where they have gone, crowned, together with them, both here and in heaven, and enjoy a blissful reign and everlasting life in heaven in company with those first Christian kings who were truly Catholics" (*ibid.*, p. 461).

Is it possible that the man who penned the above extracts (specimens of numberless others) can be justly appealed to as favouring a modern school of Medievalists that aims at bringing back tenets and practices which it is plain that the Bishop from his soul abhorred ?

F. MEYRICK.



ART. IV.—THE LAWFULNESS OF WAR.

THE lawfulness of war has, from the time Tertullian wrote the "De Coronâ," and perhaps earlier, been a difficulty with Christians. In the "De Coronâ" he answers it in the negative. Some of the reasons he gives would go far to withdraw Christians from the service of the State altogether. He holds, *e.g.*, that the oath of allegiance to Cæsar is incompatible with the oath of allegiance in Baptism to Christ. Other reasons have reference to the accidents of service under a régime steeped in idolatry. But the main position is that we know as the Quakers'. The precepts of the Gospel, the general tone of it, the example of our Lord, are dwelt on.

In his Apology, however, he testifies to the fact that great numbers of Christians were actually serving in the Imperial armies; he mentions, also, that in the regular Church prayers were prayers for the Emperor, and among the prayers for the Emperor were prayers that he might have, among other blessings, "a stout army." At the same time, he insists that Christians were numerous and strong enough to raise a formidable rebellion against the State, if they were not withheld by their principles of non-resistance and of patient endurance. Short of this, they might inflict a deep wound on the State by abandoning her service, which he implies would be non-Christian. Some confusion is evidently visible here. Yet, perhaps, the confusion is not really so great as it seems. The practice of the Church in allowing war is not a mere compromise of common-sense with the Gospel, a taint of worldly leaven, or the result of lacking faith. When Bishop Harold Browne, *e.g.*, argues that on Quaker principles the whole fabric of society would be overthrown, it seems at first sight unanswerable to reply that the care of the fabric of society may be left to God, our business being to believe and obey His command. But what if our Lord were never minded to overthrow the fabric of society at all? if, on the contrary, He were minded to continue it, if He sanctioned the authority of Cæsar, commended it to Christian duty, and expressly endowed it with or allowed in it the use of the sword? Difficulties may occur in the logical reconciliation of this course with Christian precepts of non-resistance, of victory through patience, but the Quaker principle is not without its own inherent contradiction also. *E.g.*, the Quaker lives in and under the protection of the State, he enjoys the advantages of the use of the sword by the State in punishing evil-doers, and in defending its subjects from foreign attacks. He lives, that is, by the service of others; they do for him what he refuses to do for

them; and so far he violates the first rule of Christian behaviour in society.

From St. Paul's time at least Christians appealed to the State for protection. Soldiers rescued him, in fact, from the mob. It is the continual complaint of Christians that this protection was not given them. They had nothing but praise for emperors who gave it and used the sword to enforce it. It is plain that there is absolutely no difference in principle between the use of the sword in punishing evil-doers and in defending its subjects from civil or foreign violence. Cæsar of necessity bears the sword, and bearing it, is false to his duty to God if he bears it in vain.

The same principle is evident in the thought of the State as the checker, the power that holds in restraint the confusion of anarchy and evil. The worst Government does this to a certain extent. It enforces some part at least of the natural moral law, and it supplies the necessary conditions under which the Gospel is to live and work. The Gospel cannot and does not pretend to supply its place, to sweep it away. Even to the worst Government Christ enjoins by precept and example a conditioned and limited obedience and even support.

For, again, the first thought of Christians, the thought of withdrawal, of leaving the State to take care of itself, of regarding the civil magistrate as necessary indeed, but no concern of theirs, of washing their hands of the whole affair, will not work with Christian duty. In the process of conversion, imagine the bulk of the citizens becoming Christian. Is all the authority of the sword, all the management of law and defence and protection, to be surrendered to the worst elements of society? As each officer or soldier or magistrate accepts the Gospel, is he to throw up his civil duties? At last, when an emperor or prince becomes a Christian, is he to resign the throne, to abdicate, or to fulfil as a Christian the original and inherent duties which belong to his stewardship? And if the sovereignty be vested in no monarch, but in the people, is that people, when it becomes a Christian people, to evacuate sovereignty of its content, and remove all restraint of law from the shoulders of those among its number who are un-Christian, or imperfectly Christian, leaving them and itself a prey to disorder within and violence from without?

The whole question of the lawfulness of war turns at last on the recognition of the State as having authority by Nature and of God. That cannot lapse, and very significantly and logically the affirmation of its lawfulness is appended in our Articles of religion to the affirmation and explanation of the royal supremacy. It lies at the root of most of our difficulties in casuistry, and of most of our ecclesiastical quarrels.

A State has, in International Law, been described as a thing, not a person. "It is the relation of things, not persons, which constitutes war; it is the relation of State to State, and not of individual to individual. Between two or more belligerent nations, the private persons of which these nations consist, are enemies only by accident; they are not such as men, they are not even as citizens, they are such solely as soldiers."—*Portalis*.

"The only true and humane principle is that already laid down: that war is waged by State against State, by soldier against soldier. The State resists an effort to obtain justice; the soldier obstructs the way of the armed officer of justice, and must be resisted."—*Woolsey*.

Under this principle the International Law of Christendom has been gradually developing in humanity, confining the sphere of injuries, and setting limits to passions of animosity.

Nevertheless, it is also true that a State is a person, capable of justice and injustice, of honour and shame, of repentance and atonement. We cannot afford to lose grasp of this truth. But we can as little afford to think of a Christian prince or a Christian State as a person to whom the obligations proper to the Prince or State no longer are binding. As a matter of fact they come first. An act of Christian magnanimity or generosity on the part of the State must satisfy the first requisites of justice, of order, of public safety. Such an act *e.g.*, as the peace after Majuba was, to the minds of those members of the English nation who were immediately affected, a desertion and a betrayal. It was misunderstood, as it was bound to be, by the recipients. "It exposed the subjects of the nation on the spot to bear unwillingly the contumely and the shame and the loss." In their eyes the whole plea of justice on which it rested was unfounded. "The annexation of the Transvaal had been effected practically for the salvation and at the request of the Boers themselves. The formal protest of the Boers had been a protest made professedly to satisfy an ignorant and discontented minority. In any case, the English Government had entered into solemn engagements with its own people there, and when the act was done it had become what it was asserted to be, irrevocable. The war began with gross treachery, with the inhuman massacre of unsuspecting and practically unarmed troops."¹ Apart from all this, to surrender after a defeat has long been acknowledged fatal to the security and peace of the Government that makes it.

¹ We give the Transvaal Loyalists' point of view, true or not. They at any rate challenged a vote by ballot, which Mr. Gladstone refused. He took successful rebellion for a plebiscite.

Those sentiments of military honour are not of mere Jingoism. They are among the instincts of preservation. A State that neglects them digs the pit for its burial. A Christian individual may sacrifice his own life, his own fortune, at the bidding of a Christian doctrine of perfection; the life and fortune of others are not his to sacrifice. The Christian Prince, the Christian Government, the Christian State, cannot rid themselves of their duties as Princes, Governments, and States, and although they are persons, they cannot ignore the personalities they include, for whose regimen and safety and well-being their first responsibility is.

The ethics of wars of religion turn upon this distinction of character. Tertullian, we have seen, repudiates the thought of war or rebellion as a remedy to persecution. He repudiates it as alien to Christian faith and principles. So, in fact, it is. And the fact brings before us the truth that the Christian Church as such is not a State or endowed with the authority and arms of a State. The case is different when a prince or a State becomes Christian. If in becoming Christian it is to cast away the power of the sword, it casts away the character of a State with it. Its duty is to prevent wrong being done at least, and in the last resort to use force to prevent it. Nor do either Christian principles or the Church in concrete favour the minimizing theories of the sphere of the State. The withdrawal of religion from that sphere has some practical and some theoretical justification, but so long as it is true that religion influences for good or evil the character and conduct of citizens, it must come within the province of the ruler. A religion may withdraw subjects from their allegiance to their Sovereign, may forbid them to exercise or make them incompetent for their civic duties, may be morally debasing. Religious training and discipline may be justly held essential to the development of the citizen's manhood, and the State may encourage or even enforce it. It may be the duty of the State to protect its religious system from forcible assault. The Christian, as such, may carry out the precepts of non-resistance, but the prince is forbidden by his duty to leave them to oppression; he must as prince resist, and when he calls on them to perform their civic duty it is of their allegiance to perform it. It could never consist with the duty of a Christian Prince to allow Christendom to be destroyed by Turk or infidel.

The Church of England, following the language of the Primitive Church, limits the duty of serving in the wars to cases in which the magistrate—*i.e.*, the Sovereign—commands. There are two cases to be considered—one the case of rebellion; the other the case of where for any cause sovereignty is dormant or

otiose, not developed and effective, or fallen into decay or impotence. It is well known that Anglican divines held almost as an Article of faith the dogma of passive obedience to the Sovereign, and held rebellion unjustifiable in any case. The authority of the Sovereign is not, however, unconditional. He may forfeit it, and the allegiance of his subjects be withdrawn. We see this asserted from two opposite sides, as when, *e.g.*, the Papal Bulls, so far as in them lay, dethroned Elizabeth. Rebellion then became to Papists a religious duty. And again rebellion from the civil side rested on the Sovereign's transgressing his constitutional authority. He ceased so far to be a Sovereign, and Parliament, not without theoretical justification, made war on the King in the name of the King.

Lynch law, like rebellion, rests ultimately on the truth that the force resident in the State is only the concentrated force resident by nature in individuals. When the State collapses the inherent rights and duties of individuals become concrete; they are analogous to that ultimate priesthood of all Christians on which all ecclesiastical organization rests, and which can assert itself against ecclesiastical tyranny or anarchy. We may say, then, that the Article XXXVII. contemplates the normal state, and can lay down no principle for abnormal conditions which it cannot contemplate as possible without in some measure provoking them.

The justification of war rests, then, ultimately on the nature of a State. In nature men cannot live in unity without the regulative control of a force-holding power. They must live under the law, and that is no law which is not upheld, if need be, by force.

But when State wrongs or threatens State, war is the only final remedy. International law is the expression from time to time, for it is always growing, of the sense of what is right in international dealings. To violate it is to fly in the face of public opinion, and ultimately that public opinion may shape itself into a sword-bearing alliance; or it is to violate express treaties which give right and all the strength that right means to the other side.

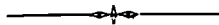
On the principles we have followed, arbitration is a method that may be adopted just so far as it may be adopted between individuals. In civil cases an agreement to arbitrate may be invalid: it may oust the jurisdiction of the courts. And generally arbitration may be said to be limited to specific questions of fact or to points when damages can be ascertained and assessed. Nor can any man be compelled to arbitrate. A compromise of a prosecution or the composition of a felony are illegal. Of course, if the Great Powers agreed to enforce

arbitration on all minor States, that would be in effect to set up a State and a law over them. In private life good feeling or wisdom often lead us to forego rights, and up to a certain point nations will do the same; but always a nation is in the position of a man who has others besides himself to think of—a trustee for children or subjects; and continually a nation is met by the same necessity as an individual of making a stand at a particular point. The sum at issue is not a great one, but the claim is one of many in a long series, and no concessions avail to stop the process of extortion. Thus to arbitrate on the one particular point is not just; while to arbitrate on the whole relations between two States is impossible, for each State has its own conception of its life, of its place in the world, of the necessities of existence. That conception is the main factor in the view of rights that it takes, and no other State is likely to take the same. The fundamental difficulty in our relations with the Boers, for example, is in the different views that we take of the future of South Africa.¹ There are no foreign powers and no impartial individuals before whom we could lay such a difference for arbitration. From our point of view, the very existence in South Africa of a power that can force us into sending an army there to save our dominion is proof that the war is necessary and just. We could scarcely expect men who had no value for our dominion to share our opinion.

We are thus led on to consider the relation of Christian principles to the whole life of States. Are empire-making and empire-holding compatible with Christianity? And this, again, is but a small part of a very wide question, viz., the question of how generally to adapt a life of grace to a life in nature.

W. D. ALLEN.

¹ "Liberty shall rise in Africa, like liberty rose in the United States of North America. Then it will be from the Zambesi to Simon's Bay. Africa for the Afrikanders."—Boer Petition of Rights. Signed by P. Kruger, February 7, 1881.



ART. V.—THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. PAUL.

[ST. PAUL'S Epistles, being written between A.D. 54 and A.D. 66, are of the highest evidential value, and his view of the facts and doctrines of Christianity extraordinarily interesting.]

1. INTRODUCTION.

“ Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called *to be* an apostle, separated unto the gospel of God (which he had promised afore by his prophets in the holy scriptures), concerning his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh ; and declared *to be* the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead.”—Rom. i. 1-4.

2. THE PURPOSE OF THE INCARNATION.

“ Now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets : even the righteousness of God *which is* by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe : for there is no difference : for all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God ; being justified freely by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus : whom God hath sent forth *to be* a propitiation through faith in His blood, to declare His righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God ; to declare, *I say*, at this time His righteousness : that He might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus.”—Rom. iii. 21-26.

3. HUMILITY OF THE INCARNATION.

“ Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus : who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God ; but made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men : and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.”—Phil. ii. 5-8.

4. THE DIVINE NATURE OF CHRIST.

(a) “ Giving thanks unto the Father, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light : who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated *us* into the kingdom of His dear Son : in whom we have redemption through His blood, *even* the forgiveness of sins : who is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of

every creature : for by Him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether *they be* thrones, or dominions, or principalities or powers : all things were created by Him, and for Him : and He is before all things, and by Him all things consist. And He is the head of the body, the church : who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead ; that in all *things* He might have the pre-eminence. For it pleased *the Father* that in Him should all fulness dwell ; and, having made peace through the blood of His cross, by Him to reconcile all things unto Himself ; by Him, *I say*, whether *they be* things in earth, or things in heaven.”—Col. i. 12-20.

(b) “ In Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. And ye are complete in Him, which is the head of all principality and power.”—Col. ii. 9, 10.

(c) “ The love of Christ constraineth us ; because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead : and *that* He died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto Him which died for them, and rose again. Wherefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh : yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we *Him* no more. Therefore if any man *be* in Christ, *he is* a new creature : old things are passed away ; behold, all things are become new. And all things *are* of God, who hath reconciled us to Himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation ; to wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them ; and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation. Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech *you* by us : we pray *you* in Christ’s stead, be ye reconciled to God. For He hath made Him *to be* sin for us, who knew no sin ; that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him.”—2 Cor. v. 14-21.

(d) “ Wherefore God also hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name : that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of *things* in heaven, and *things* in earth, and *things* under the earth ; and *that* every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ *is* Lord, to the glory of God the Father.”—Phil. ii. 9-11.

5. THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

“ But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons.”—Gal. iv. 4, 5.

6. THE CIRCUMCISION OF CHRIST.

“In whom also ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ.”—Col. ii. 11.

7. THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST.

“Buried with Him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with *Him* through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised Him from the dead.”—Col. ii. 12.

8. THE CRUCIFIXION.

“But now in Christ Jesus ye who sometimes were far off are made nigh by the blood of Christ. For He is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition *between us*; having abolished in His flesh the enmity, *even* the law of the commandments *contained* in ordinances; for to make in Himself of twain one new man, *so* making peace; and that He might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross, having slain the enmity thereby: and came and preached peace to you which were afar off, and to them that were nigh. For through Him we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father.”—Eph. ii. 13-18.

9. THE CROSS OF CHRIST.

(a) “And you, being dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath He quickened together with Him, having forgiven you all trespasses; blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross; *and* having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it.”—Col. ii. 13-15.

(b) “But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.”—Gal. vi. 14.

10. DEATH, BURIAL, AND RESURRECTION OF CHRIST.

“For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that He was buried, and that He rose again the third day according to the Scriptures: and that He was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve; after that, He was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep. After that, He was seen of James; then of all the Apostles. And last of all He was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time.”—1 Cor. xv. 3-8.

11. THE RESURRECTION.

(a) "Now if we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with Him: knowing that Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over Him. For in that He died, He died unto sin once; but in that He liveth, he liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord."—Rom. vi. 8-11.

(b) "But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the firstfruits of them that slept. For since by man *came* death, by man *came* also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive."—1 Cor. xv. 20-22.

(c) "*It is* a faithful saying: For if we be dead with *Him*, we shall also live with *Him*: if we suffer, we shall also reign with *Him*: if we deny *Him*, He also will deny us: If we believe not, *yet* He abideth faithful: He cannot deny Himself."—2 Tim. ii. 11-13.

12. THE ASCENSION.

(a) "Who *is* he that condemneth? *It is* Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? *shall* tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, For Thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us. For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."—Rom. viii. 34-39.

(b) "What *is* the exceeding greatness of His power to usward who believe, according to the working of His mighty power, which He wrought in Christ, when He raised Him from the dead, and set *Him* at His own right hand in the heavenly *places*, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come: and hath put all *things* under His feet, and gave Him *to be* the head over all *things* to the Church, which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all."—Eph. i. 19-23.

(c) "Unto every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ. Wherefore he saith, When He ascended up on high, He led captivity captive, and gave gifts

unto men. (Now that He ascended, what is it but that He also descended first into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that He might fill all things.)"—Eph. iv. 7-10.

13. CHRIST IN HEAVEN.

"Every man in his own order: Christ the firstfruits; afterward they that are Christ's at His coming. Then *cometh* the end, when He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when He shall have put down all rule and all authority and power. For He must reign, till He hath put all enemies under His feet. The last enemy *that* shall be destroyed *is* death. For He hath put all things under His feet. But when He saith all things are put under *Him*, *it is* manifest that He is excepted, which did put all things under Him. And when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all."—1 Cor. xv. 23-28.

14. THE SECOND COMING OF CHRIST.

(a) "When Christ, *who* is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory."—Col. iii. 4.

(b) "I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive *and* remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive *and* remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord."—1 Thes. iv. 13-17.

(c) "But of the times and the seasons, brethren, ye have no need that I write unto you. For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night. For when they shall say, Peace and safety; then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child; and they shall not escape."—1 Thes. v. 1-3.

(d) "The grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour

Jesus Christ ; who gave Himself for us, that He might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. These things speak, and exhort, and rebuke with all authority. Let no man despise thee."—Titus ii. 11-15.

15. THE DAY OF JUDGMENT.

"It is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you ; and to you who are troubled rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with His mighty angels, in flaming fire taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ : who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of His power ; when He shall come to be glorified in His saints, and to be admired in all them that believe (because our testimony among you was believed) in that day."—2 Thess. i. 6-10.

16. THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY.

"Some *man* will say, How are the dead raised up ? and with what body do they come ? *Thou* fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die : and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other *grain* : but God giveth it a body as it hath pleased Him, and to every seed his own body. All flesh *is* not the same flesh : but *there is* one kind of flesh of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, and another of birds. *There are* also celestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial : but the glory of the celestial *is* one, and the *glory* of the terrestrial *is* another. *There is* one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars : for *one* star differeth from *another* star in glory. So also *is* the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption ; it is raised in incorruption : it is sown in dishonour ; it is raised in glory : it is sown in weakness ; it is raised in power : it is sown a natural body ; it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body. And so it is written, The first man Adam was made a living soul ; the last Adam *was made* a quickening spirit. Howbeit that *was* not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural ; and afterward that which is spiritual. The first man *is* of the earth, earthy : the second man *is* the Lord from heaven. As *is* the earthy, such *are* they also that are earthy : and as *is* the heavenly, such *are* they also that are heavenly. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly. Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood

cannot inherit the kingdom of God ; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption. Behold, I shew you a mystery : we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump : for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal *must* put on immortality. So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where *is* thy sting? O grave, where *is* thy victory? The sting of death *is* sin : and the strength of sin *is* the law. But thanks *be* to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."—1 Cor. xv. 35-57.

17. CHRIST THE MEDIATOR.

"*There is* one God, and one mediator, between God and men, the man Christ Jesus ; who gave Himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time."—1 Tim. ii. 5, 6.

18. HOLY BAPTISM.

"Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into His death? Therefore we are buried with Him by baptism into death : that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life."—Rom vi. 3, 4.

19. HOLY COMMUNION.

"The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? For we *being* many are one bread, *and* one body : for we are all partakers of that one bread."—1 Cor. x. 16, 17.

20. INSTITUTION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

"I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, That the Lord Jesus the *same* night in which He was betrayed took bread : and when He had given thanks, He brake *it*, and said, Take, eat : this is My body, which is broken for you : this do in remembrance of Me. After the same manner also *He took* the cup, when He had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in My blood ; this do ye, as oft as ye drink *it*, in remembrance of Me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till He come."—1 Cor. xi. 23-26.

21. EVIDENCE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

“From a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All scripture *is* given by inspiration of God, and *is* profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works.”—2 Tim. iii. 15-17.

22. FATHER, SON AND SPIRIT.

“*There is* one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling: one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who *is* above all, and through all, and in you all.”—Eph. iv. 4-6.

23. THE SPIRIT FROM THE FATHER AND THE SON.

(a) “After that the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to His mercy He saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost; which He shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour; that being justified by His grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life.”—Titus iii. 4-7.

(b) “Ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His. And if Christ *be* in you, the body *is* dead because of sin; but the Spirit *is* life because of righteousness. But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth in you.”—Rom. viii. 9-11.

(c) “Ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God: and if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with *Him*, that we may be also glorified together.”—Rom. viii. 15-17.

(d) “The Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought: but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered. And He that searcheth the hearts knoweth what *is* the mind of the Spirit, because He maketh intercession for the saints according to *the will of God*.”—Rom. viii. 26, 27.

24. THE CHURCH.

(a) "Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God: and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner *stone*; in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord: in whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit."—Eph. ii. 19-22.

(b) "Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ; and to make all *men* see what is the fellowship of the mystery, which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ: to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly *places* might be known by the Church the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which He purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord: in whom we have boldness and access with confidence by the faith of Him."—Eph. iii. 8-12.

(c) "And He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ: that we *henceforth* be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, *and* cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive; but speaking the truth in love, may grow up into Him in all things, which is the head, *even* Christ: from whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love."—Eph. iv. 11-16.

25. THE MEANING OF THE GOSPEL.

(a) "Now to Him that is of power to stablish you according to my gospel, and the preaching of Jesus Christ, according to the revelation of the mystery, which was kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest, and by the Scriptures of the prophets, according to the commandment of the everlasting God, made known to all nations for the obedience of faith: to God only wise, *be* glory through Jesus Christ for ever. Amen."—Rom. xvi. 25-27.

(b) "This *is* a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation,

that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief."—1 Tim. i. 15.

(c) "Be not thou therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me His prisoner: but be thou partaker of the affliction of the Gospel according to the power of God; who hath saved us, and called *us* with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to His own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began."—2 Tim. i. 8, 9.

26. SUMMARY OF THE GOSPEL.

"And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory."—1 Tim. iii. 16.



Reviews.



Encyclopædia Biblica. Edited by Professor T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D., and J. S. BLACK, LL.D. Vol. i. (A—D). Price 20s. A. & C. Black.

This great Bible Dictionary was projected several years ago by one of the keenest intellects that were ever brought to bear on the problems of religion and the genesis of man's concept of the idea of God—the late Professor Robertson Smith. As editor of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* Robertson Smith contributed a large number of articles to that vast work, dealing mainly with questions of Old Testament criticism. These papers, amended and enlarged, he fully intended should take their place in the "Dictionary of the Bible" which he himself projected, but never lived to carry beyond the preparatory stages. He took a warm personal and practical interest, we are told, in the book up to the last; and it was at his instance that Dr. Black, in February, 1894, arranged with Professor Cheyne to bring the work to a conclusion under a joint-editorship.

The Dictionary, planned by the Cambridge Professor of Arabic, is now issued, in part, under the title *Encyclopædia Biblica*. It says much for the energy and resolution of the publishers that, not content with having issued at enormous cost their far-famed *Encyclopædia Britannica*, they now undertake to bring out the four large volumes of which the new Bible Dictionary is to consist.

First, a word as to the method followed. The Dictionary is cosmopolitan—that is, it includes among its contributors men of many nationalities. Professors Nöldeke, Tiele, Kamphausen, Gautier, Marti, and

Jülicher write side by side with such representative English scholars as Pinches, L. W. King, Canon Armitage Robinson, Driver, and T. K. Cheyne. Indeed, the last-named scholar contributes about fifty articles to the present instalment of the Dictionary, all marked by that writer's vast learning, shallow censure, and pretentious self-assurance.

The editors claim to have kept the following points steadily in view in the preparation of the work :

1. Exact scientific methods, rigorously and concisely applied to every detail within the scope of a Bible Dictionary.
2. The latest information obtainable.
3. Great fulness of archæological detail.
4. The requirements of the average reader have not been forgotten, though the work is primarily for the student. Different founts of type have been employed for this purpose, the smaller type being used to deal with subtler questions of criticism.
5. Mutual dependence of the various parts of the volume to one another and to the whole.

The editors' policy has never been to "calculate the average opinion in the world of Biblical studies"; they evidently despise the principle of a "golden mediocrity" in such matters. Hence, the Dictionary—as, indeed, one might expect—is (to employ the regular cant phrase) "advanced," which being interpreted means that, in the department of Old and New Testament criticism, only the latest theories are to hold water, and all traditional views are to be relegated to the limbo of forgotten absurdities.

The net result is that this Dictionary, while not only by far the most valuable index extant of the doings and sayings of the higher critics, and also the most brilliant collection of destructive critical principles objectively employed which the modern world has seen, is, in the very nature of the case, less likely to be permanent than a far less able *tour de force* would have been. In a couple of decades the *Encyclopædia Biblica* will be antiquated, for this follows from the *modus concipiendi* employed. The theory which dominates Professor Cheyne's mind seems, in brief, to be this: *Only the new is true*.

We must hasten, however, to express our gratitude to everyone connected with this *magnum opus* for putting students into possession of a perfect armoury of valuable information, all disposed, too, in so perfect and orderly a fashion as to supply the maximum amount of thought-stuff with the minimum of labour necessary to acquire it. Broad margins, admirably clear (though small) type, good paper, together with every device possible to increase legibility and ease of reading, make this Dictionary a model book for purposes of consultation. The summaries, also, and bibliographical clues given at the close of the longer articles are, in their way, perfect; while the maps and plans are executed with consummate care.

We have already more than hinted that this book must be used with

great caution, because it is rather in the nature of a *tendency-writing* than a scholarly *résumé* of ascertained facts and a body of "average opinion," which is what, after all, a Dictionary should be. The exposition of hypotheses, however brilliant, should surely be reserved for the pages of a monograph or a critical journal.

We must except, however, in our criticism certain of the longer historical articles—*e.g.*, Mr. L. W. King's most admirable articles on Babylonia and Assyria, than which nothing could be better devised or carried out; also such discussions as Professor Ridgeway's on "Amber," Professor G. A. Smith's on "Damascus," or Professor Charles's on "Apocalyptic Literature." These articles, having no special theory in view, are historical in the best sense. It is when we come to such contributions as Bossuet's on the Apocalypse, Cheyne's on Abraham and David, or Kamphausen's on Daniel that astonishment and vexation begin to make themselves felt. When, for example, Professor Cheyne states that not one of the 150 Psalms was, or could have been, written by David, we must utter a protest, not at all in the interests of traditionalism, but of *science*. Why should we take Professor Cheyne's word for it? He has certainly never proved his case; and his dictum, therefore, is a purely arbitrary one. So, too, is his effort to cast doubts on the historicity of the Abrahamic narrative in Genesis; for on what *grounds of criticism* he has proceeded we cannot discover; and he, we think, would be at a loss to explain to any candid inquirer.

Enough, however, has been said to show that this *Encyclopædia Biblica* is a work which no historian or theologian can lightly dispense with, despite the perverse ingenuity of much of its criticism.

E. H. B.

Christian Mysticism. By the Rev. W. R. INGE (Bampton Lecturer for 1899). Price 12s. 6d. London: Methuen.

Few words in the language have been more misapplied than "Mystic" and "Mysticism." The prevailing idea among quite a considerable number of people is that these words connote vagueness and mistiness of thinking, or else some irregular attempt on the part of unauthorized individuals to attain the beatific vision, without, or even in spite of, the clear leading of revealed truth. Mysticism, rightly apprehended, implies nothing of the kind. It is true there is a pseudo-mysticism that, through the medium of trance-states or unhealthy activities of a morbid religious consciousness, and by means of large draughts of distorted picture-thinking imported from Oriental sources, seeks to impose upon self-consciousness the idea of a divinity transmuted to a pure transparency; but this is not true mysticism. True mysticism seeks to realize, *within*, the truth of the divine, which we see everywhere, *without*. In that sense it may be termed "the romance of religion," and, so far from being a delusion, is the supreme reality for the soul. The truest "mystics" are those who, like St. John or St. Paul, have the firmest hold on religious

verities, whose faith in the unseen is not founded upon disbelief in the seen, whose intuition of the love of God does not blind them to the sin of the world and of their own hearts, but who, through good and evil report, strive to fashion themselves into conformity with the image of the Incarnate Son of God.

The definitions of mysticism which have been essayed by various writers from the times of Corderius and Gerson to our own day are all but countless; the curious reader will find in 'Appendix A' to Mr. Inge's volume a selection from such definitions which will give him food enough for reflection. Mr. Inge has set himself, within the historical framework of his lectures, to explain the philosophical features of speculative mysticism, adding such commentary on the various systems he brings under review as may serve to "point his moral." In an introductory lecture he deals with the characteristics of mysticism generally; he then passes on to treat of the mystical element in the Bible (Lecture II.), after which (Lectures III., IV.) he deals with Christian Platonism and Speculative Mysticism in the East and the West. Lectures V. and VI. are given up to Practical and Devotional Mysticism, in which the mystics of the Middle Ages are sympathetically, yet wisely, handled; Lecture VII. deals with Nature-Mysticism and Symbolism, in the course of which the main doctrines of that remarkable group of thinkers known as the Cambridge Platonists are carefully explained; and the concluding lecture treats chiefly of later mystics, specially such poet-thinkers as Wordsworth and Browning. Tennyson, curiously enough, is only referred to four times in the course of the book; and this is, perhaps, the only defect we have noted in these lectures as a whole.

We are in cordial sympathy with Mr. Inge when he pleads for a renewal of the study of Christian mysticism, and a more general acquaintance with its characteristic tenets. Such study would surely sweeten the life of the Church of England, especially at a time of tiresome distractions like our own.

Mr. Inge has done a piece of valuable work, and brought to our very doors a mass of well-sifted information upon the endeavours after the spiritual life struggled for by these all-but-forgotten thinkers of old time. His work is enriched with thoughtful remarks and a fine spirit of catholicity. The book is, doubtless, too deep for the chance reader, but it will certainly repay the attention of a serious student. Some of Mr. Inge's *obiter dicta* are singularly pregnant, e.g., "Our consciousness of the beyond is the raw material of all religion" (p. 5); "Love is the true hierophant of the mysteries of God" (p. 8); "Mysticism enjoins a dying life, not a living death" (p. 11)—an admirable criticism of the false asceticism; "Personality is not only the strictest unity of which we have any experience; it is the fact which creates the postulate of unity on which all philosophy is based" (p. 30); "Faith begins with an experiment and ends with an experience" (p. 50). These random quotations from a volume which we have read in its entirety will suffice to

give readers some taste of the lecturer's quality. We can but conclude with an expression of unqualified gratitude to Mr. Inge for his devout and scholarly labours.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

Short Notices.

Ten Shillings a Week per Head for House Books. By Mrs. C. S. PEEL. Archibald Constable and Co. Pp. 252. Price 3s. 6d.

This very practical manual for small households and persons with limited means should be widely useful. Englishwomen are not born cooks; and monotony of diet is bad for digestion, and consequently for temper. From simple materials the experienced writer unfolds unlimited combinations. A popular present from the clergy to their wives.

Driven into the Ranks. By the Rev. RABSON VENNEL. Sunday-School Union. Pp. 224. Price 1s.

Good temperance stories are much needed; and this is a good one. It tells how a young Nonconformist minister, naturally a supporter of non-abstaining principles, was driven by his experiences into the ranks of teetotalers. The tale won the £100 prize of the Union.

Stories of Travel and Adventure. By FRANK MUNDELL. Sunday-School Union. Pp. 159. Price 1s. 6d.

This popular writer, who has already given us three volumes of Balloon, Alpine, and Sea adventures, has added to our debt by this stirring account of Travel. He gives eleven sketches from original sources of the most notable of modern journeys.

Comrades. By the Rev. E. C. DAWSON. London: Andrew Melrose. Pp. 224.

This is a very useful collection of straight talks to boys, and should be in the hands of all schoolmasters, teachers, and managers of boys' clubs and classes. It has twenty addresses on such subjects as Companionship, Brotherliness, Activity, Manliness, Entanglements, Wild Oats, etc.—all thoroughly wholesome and practical.

The Nativity in Art and Song. By W. H. JEWITT. Elliot Stock. Pp. 198.

No more dainty present for Christmas could be contrived than this beautifully printed and bound collection of the results of thought, piety and imagination, devoted to the most exalted and mysterious of subjects

Until the Day declare it. By MARGARET CUNNINGHAM. R.T.S. Pp. 304.

A well-written story to illustrate the present controversy between the ministerial and sacerdotal theories of Christianity. The views of Anglo-Catholics and the maintainers of Reformation principles are set forth with fairness and fulness. It will explain much to those who know little of the subject.

The Vicar of St. Margaret's. By M. G. MURRAY. R.T.S. Pp. 159.

Another story to illustrate the present conflict between Medievalism and Reformation Principles. The tone is temperate and moderate. It is for a simpler class of readers than "Until the Day declare it."

The Month.

THE news from the seat of war has been distinctly encouraging during the past few days. Lord Roberts' advance to Modder River was announced in London on February 10, and less than a week after he was enabled to telegraph that General French had relieved Kimberley after its four months' siege. Now that such a strategist as Lord Roberts is at the front, seconded by Lord Kitchener, we may hope that the advance to Pretoria will be rapid. Meantime, we regret to know that Ladysmith and its brave garrison under Sir George White are still closely beleaguered.

On February 11, in both Houses of Parliament, the Government unfolded their much-looked-for plans for the strengthening of the British military forces. The *Times*, commenting on these, says: "It is not too much to say that the prevailing feeling in the country after hearing the Government proposals for improving our military position is one of disappointment at the omission from Mr. Wyndham's speech of all reference to the steps to be immediately taken for the more vigorous prosecution of the war. It was avowedly an emergency speech, yet the emergency we have primarily to deal with was scarcely so much as referred to."

On Sunday, February 11, the special form of prayer issued by the Archbishops in accordance with a Royal Mandate was used in most of the churches in view of the present war. There has been some talk of observing Ash Wednesday as a general fast, but this is unlikely.

The Lord Mayor's fund for the relief of the famine-stricken districts in India has already reached £70,000. Her Majesty the Queen has sent £1,000 to the fund.

The following members of the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation have been nominated to serve on the Joint Committee on Ecclesiastical Courts: The Prolocutor, the Dean of Christ Church, the Dean of Windsor, the Archdeacon of London, the Archdeacon of Oxford, the Archdeacon of Berks, the Archdeacon of Exeter, the Archdeacon of Taunton, Bishop Barry, Canon Bright, Canon Hutchings, Canon Bristow, Canon Overton, and Canon Tetley.

At a meeting of the Bishops of the Irish Church held recently in Dublin, under the presidency of the Primate, the Very Rev. Henry Stewart O'Hara, D.D., Dean of Belfast, was elected Protestant Bishop of the United Dioceses of Cashel and Emlly, and Waterford and Lismore, in succession to Dr. Daley, resigned.

The Archbishop of Canterbury consecrated the Rev. James Johnson as Suffragan Bishop of the Niger, in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, on Sunday, February 18. Mr. Johnson is a learned and eloquent negro clergyman, who has worked nearly forty years for the Church Missionary Society. He will be the third "coloured" member of the Anglican Episcopate, to which he has been elevated by special request of his fellow-countrymen.

The University Summer Lectures to the Clergy will be given this year at Cambridge, from July 16 to 28. The opening meeting will be on the first-named day at 8.30 p.m. There will be three lectures each morning, and a fourth lecture each afternoon or evening. The courses each week

will be complete in themselves. Amongst the lecturers will be Professor Mason, Professor Ryle ("Social Life Amongst the Israelites"), Dr. Watson ("The Doctrine of the Unity of the Person of our Lord"), the Rev. W. E. Collins ("The Eve of the Reformation in England"), Professor Swete ("The Eucharist in the Ancient Church"), and Professor Moule ("Selections from the 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians"). Amongst those who will give single lectures are Professor Jebb, M.P., and the Rev. the Hon. E. Lytton. Conferences will be held on clerical studies and on Foreign Missions.

The Missionary Breakfast which Canon Christopher gives every year at Oxford was held with the customary success on February 10. The Bishop of Caledonia was the chief speaker, but the interest of the occasion lies not so much in the speeches—though Canon Christopher himself is always particularly happy in his remarks—as in the composition of the gathering, which this year was as representative and as distinguished as ever.

We understand that the Church Association have appointed Mr. Patrick White, LL.B., Protestant Parliamentary Agent for the South of England. Mr. White is a graduate of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, a barrister-at-law, and a member for the Northern Circuit.

CHURCH PASTORAL-AID SOCIETY.—This society's anniversary arrangements are in a forward state. *Church and People* says: "The annual sermon will be preached by the Bishop of Sodor and Man, on Thursday, April 26, at 3.30 p.m., at the Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Charing Cross. In regard to the annual meeting, the committee have resolved upon an interesting and important experiment. For some years past it has been felt that, with the altered conditions of modern life, it was a mistake to continue the afternoon meeting in Exeter Hall. It was always held at the most awkward hour of the day, with the result that the attendance has been far below what might have been expected. The committee have, therefore, decided to have an evening meeting in the large hall of the Church House, Westminster, instead of the afternoon meeting in Exeter Hall." The date agreed upon is Wednesday, May 2, and the time 7 p.m.

The annual service in aid of the London Diocesan branch of the Queen Victoria Clergy Fund was held on the afternoon of February 14, at St. Paul's Cathedral. The Lord Mayor and Mr. Alderman and Sheriff Treloar attended in state, and, with a number of representatives of the City livery companies, the stewards, the Bishop of London, Dean Gregory, the Archdeacon of London, and other members of the cathedral body, walked in procession up the centre of the cathedral to their seats in the choir and under the dome, the processional hymn being, "To the Name of our Salvation." The anthem was "Praise the Lord, O my Soul!" (Goss). Minor Canon Milman read the prayers, and Minor Canon Hall the lessons. There was a large congregation. The Bishop of Ripon being prevented by illness from preaching the sermon, his place was taken by Canon Gore, who preached on the words, "Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel" (1 Cor. ix. 14).

The Rev. Canon Girdlestone has offered to take charge of the translating and editorial department of the British and Foreign Bible Society during the absence of the Rev. J. Gordon Watt, who has been seriously ill for some weeks. For many years Canon Girdlestone was superintendent of this work, previous to the charge of the late Rev. W. Wright.

The Wakefield Cathedral Extension Committee have accepted the tender of £24,373, by a Leeds firm of builders, for the enlargement of the cathedral as a memorial to the late Dr. Walsham How, first Bishop of the diocese.

Sir Thomas Brooke, of Huddersfield, has increased his subscription to the Wakefield Cathedral Extension Scheme from £150 to £500. About £20,000 has been already received or promised, and about £15,000 more is required to complete the work.

The celebrations in connection with the golden wedding of Canon and Mrs. Tristram were commenced at Durham on Saturday, February 3, when a series of Masonic presentations were made. Further presentations were made on the Monday following. At the conclusion of the morning service in the cathedral a presentation was made on behalf of the ten lay clerks. At two o'clock there was a large gathering in the chapter-house in the cloisters, among those present being the Bishops of Durham and Newcastle.

Le Chrétien Français, the organ of the new Evangelical Movement in France, computes that during the past two years as many as 125 French priests have definitely given up their positions in the Roman Church from conscientious conviction.

LITERARY NOTES.

The veteran thinker and writer James Hutchison Stirling, LL.D., author of "The Secret of Hegel," and first Gifford Lecturer (1888-90), has just issued a new work, published by Messrs. T. and T. Clark, under the title, "What is Thought?" To praise Dr. Stirling, in a philosophical regard, is somewhat a work of supererogation; we will only allow ourselves, therefore, to say that this latest work reveals all Dr. Stirling's old powers of profound and acute thought, and of vigorous and incisive language.

The literature of the Roman controversy has recently been augmented by a pamphlet of no small value, by Mr. D. M. Panton, B.A., Warden of the Ipswich Social Settlement. Its clearness and brevity alone ought to commend it; but, in point of fact, it is a sound piece of work throughout. It is published by Holness, Paternoster Row; price sixpence.

A second and revised edition of "Church and Faith" will shortly be issued by Blackwood. The price, we understand, will remain the same. A cheaper edition, however, of the book is a desideratum.

BISHOP RYLE'S FAREWELL.

The Bishop of Liverpool has issued the following farewell address to the clergy and laity of the diocese of Liverpool:

THE PALACE, ABERCROMBY SQUARE,
February 1, 1900.

REV. AND DEAR BRETHREN,

Almost the last words of the great Apostle to the Gentiles are before the eyes of my mind to-day: "I have finished my course; the time of my departure is at hand." After filling unexpectedly the office of

your Bishop for nearly twenty years, I am about to resign a post which years and failing health at the age of eighty-three told me I was no longer able to fill with advantage to the diocese or to the Church of England.

I have resigned my Bishopric with many humbled feelings. As I look back over the years of my episcopate, I am conscious that I have left undone many things which I hoped to have done when I first came to Liverpool. I am equally conscious that the many things I have had to do with—meetings, ordinations, confirmations, and consecrations—have been done very imperfectly. I only ask you to remember that I was sixty-four, and not a young man, when I first came here, and to believe that, amidst many difficulties, I have tried to do my duty. But I am thankful that our God is a merciful God.

I can truly say that my approaching separation from Liverpool will be a heavy wrench to me. I shall never forget you. I had ventured to hope that I might be allowed to end my days near the Mersey, and to die in harness; but God's thoughts are not as our thoughts, and He has gradually taught me, by failing health, that the huge population of this diocese requires a younger and stronger Bishop.

Before I leave you, I ask you to accept a few parting words from an old minister who has had more than fifty-eight years' experience, and during that time has seen and learned many things. It is written, "Days should speak, and multitude of years should teach wisdom" (Job xxxii. 7). Let me, then, charge all the clergy whom I am about to leave behind me never to neglect their preaching. Your districts and population may be comparatively small or large, but the minds of your people are thoroughly awake. They will not be content with dull, tame sermons; they want life, and light, and fire and love in the pulpit, as well as in the parish. Let them have plenty of it. Never forget that a lively, Christ-exalting minister will always have a church-going people.

Last, but not least, cultivate and study the habit of being at peace with all your brother ministers. Beware of divisions. One thing the children of the world can always understand, if they do not understand doctrine: that thing is angry quarrelling and controversy. Be at peace among yourselves.

May God bless you all!

To the many lay Churchmen whom I shall leave behind in this diocese (knowing far less of them than I should have done if I had come among them a younger man) I can only send my best wishes, and add my prayers that this diocese may have God's blessing, both in temporal and spiritual prosperity. Cling to the old Church of England, my lay brethren—cling to its Bible, its Prayer-Book, and its Articles. Let no charitable institution suffer. Consider the many poor and needy. Support missionary work at home and abroad. Help the underpaid clergy. Never forget that the principles of the Protestant Reformation made this country what she is, and let nothing ever tempt you to forsake them.

In a little time we shall all meet again—many I hope on the King's right hand, and few on the left. Till that time comes I commend you to God and the Word of His grace, which is able to build you up and give you an inheritance among them that are sanctified.

I remain,

Your affectionate Bishop and lasting friend,

J. C. LIVERPOOL.

