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## PREFACE TO VOL. VII.

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I HAVE to thank the contributors and supporters of the CHURCHMAN for their continued help during the months which almost complete the first year of my editorship. The Review has met with a very kind reception from friends and opponents. Opponents within the Church can only be opponents in part, for by far the larger ground of our beliefs is common to us all alike. It cannot be doubted that even those whose ecclesiastical view is determined by the crusade of Dr. Newman do not desire to see the interpretation of the position of the Church, as formulated and understood before his day, either obliterated or extinguished. The maintenance of that position it is the great privilege of the CHURCHMAN to endeavour to uphold. It does not desire to be polemical or bitterly controversial, but by sound learning, temperate argument, and accurate and fearless delineation, to define the standpoint and to preserve the independence of those of the clergy who believe the Reformation to express as nearly as possible the mind of the Apostolic, sub-Apostolic, and Primitive Church, and who genuinely prefer the Prayer-book of Queen Elizabeth, which, with its subsequent minor alterations, they have sworn at their ordination exclusively to follow, to either the first Prayer-book of Edward VI., or the use of Sarum, or any unreformed or foreign doctrine or practice whatsoever. So many ecclesiastical and Biblical questions have within these few months been pressing that perhaps there has been less room for articles of a purely literary, social, historical, or biographical character. A very large number of papers of every kind are waiting for an honoured and welcome insertion.

If the circulation of the Review should increase there might be room for more. I have to express my regret to those to whom the delay is unexpectedly long. I may add that I should be glad to receive suggestions from the friends of the Review as to any possible improvement which may occur to them as to its characteristics and arrangements. I earnestly ask for the abundant blessing of the Holy Spirit alike on writers and readers.

WILLIAM SINCLAIR,  
Archdeacon of London, Editor.

THE  
CHURCHMAN

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OCTOBER, 1892.

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ART. I.—THE LINCOLN JUDGMENT.

THE long expected judgment has been pronounced, and amongst thinking Churchmen it will be received with quiet satisfaction, if not with exulting gratitude. No sooner was it whispered that all the court but one were desirous to go behind the previous judgments of the Privy Council, than most men were prepared to know that in some points, at any rate, those judgments would not be upheld. Fresh light had unquestionably been thrown upon the recondite questions in the dispute. It was not in vain that the present masters of ecclesiastical learning on either side had searched further than their predecessors, that they had examined conclusions which were confessedly weak, and that they had lived in a later year when the fire of party fierceness was burning low, and the human judgment was permitted to assert its prerogative and to readjust its balance. No one perhaps has contributed more to this than the Archbishop of Canterbury. When the trial was going on, he showed himself familiar with every turn of argument and the minutest details of evidence. Old points—forgotten of all the world—old books, old extracts, he had drawn from their hiding-places, and laid open before the sun. No man in England is more completely vindicated to-day than he. It was necessary, indeed, that appeal should be made, because there were grave doubts as to the validity of his court. But the Church Association has proved to the whole country his high ability and quiet independence, whilst it has conferred upon the Church at large the hope of a permanent and well-established peace.

For the judgment is a promise of peace. The two great parties of the Church have been struggling, after their own fashions, for what they believe to be truth. They represent two types of mind that have been always prominent in the

history of human thought; and, strange to say, the more aggressive members of the one were sprung from the families and born in the homes of the other. The old home influences, indeed, have never been completely lost. They have shown themselves in the evangelical unction of the Wilberforces and the startling contradictions of Newman. Both parties have been intensely in earnest. Both looked back to the past. One of them made survey of the Church at the beginning of the century, and felt satisfied with the vision. It was a Church ennobled by the fervour and hallowed by the piety of men who had watched the revival of the Wesleys and had learned to preach as they had done. It was a Church associated by the most intimate relations with the Hanoverian succession and the Protestantism of the State and the throne. It had not forgotten the Forty-five when two-thirds of Scotland and one-third of England were Jacobite, and when both kingdoms were threatened with a popish king and with statesmen willing to undo the work of Queen Elizabeth. It felt how little would have turned the scale when Charles Edward was at Derby, and how soon the Mass and the Legate would have reappeared at the court of St. James's. It was a Church of individualism. Personal religion was its watchword and its goal. To make each man by himself holy was the end of all its energy. It entrenched itself within the defences of the spiritual life. It admitted no gate across the avenues which led to the eternal throne, and it acknowledged no channel so direct for the grace of God as the trackless path by which the Holy Spirit sped of His own will towards the soul of man. All this had its necessary effect upon the outward life of the Church. The sacred buildings of the country, unsurpassed for their modest dignity, their appeal to those senses which win the heart heavenward, and their beautiful situation by wood and stream, fell silently into decay. They were forgotten throughout the week. They were unswept, untidy, stuffy, and damp, bald and colourless, the bappy home of mouse and rat, of spider and owl. The chancels bore the marks of early violence. The holy table fulfilled the ode of Horace, and was obtrusively *simplex munditiis*. The sacrament, of which it was the shrine, was so jealously guarded that it came to be considered the profession of the rich and the saints, rather than the comfort and strength of the sinners and the poor. The robes of the minister kept pace with the neglect of the sanctuary. His university gown was of higher importance than his ministerial surplice, his sermon took precedence of the prayers. The sacrifice of praise was a forgotten mystery. While men talked loudly of the priesthood of the laity, they revolted against the laity taking any active part

in the service. They objected that the congregation should be represented at the altar by a priest; they had no objection that they should be represented in the desk by a clerk. There was splendid material for music in the village orchestra, but the orchestra, like the ringers, had fallen upon evil times. It was not yet the age of hymns, and the psalmody of the Prayer Book was reduced to the uninspiring rhymes of Tate and Brady and half a dozen common measure and long measure tunes. With all this it seemed strange how the serious and earnest religion of our fathers lasted as it did.

But there came a rude awakening. It was so sudden, so rough, and it was attended with such disastrous events, that the whole Church rose as at an alarum bell. The party of 1833 was, perhaps, unwise in policy, and rash and precipitate in action. But it was marked by a piety as deep and as personal and individual as that which has distinguished Simeon or Wilberforce. No one nowadays will venture to impugn the holiness of the author of the "Christian Year," or of the author of the "Minor Prophets." These men, and all who were associated with them, came to the conclusion that the prevailing notions respecting the Church were not the teaching of Christ and His Apostles. They, too, were looking to the past. They knew that whilst the Church of England was Protestant, it was also Catholic; and they emphasised its unbroken continuity from the time of the Britons to the age of William and Victoria. They looked below the outward ordinances to their inward significance, and they boldly re-proclaimed that Christ was no formalist, that it was He who gave us the Church itself, and that every ordinance and all its ministry was a means of grace as definite and as certain as private prayer and public discourse. Thus they elevated the conception of the Church as a Divine society, like the heavenly Jerusalem, let down into the world; the ministry of the Church as a Divine institution, whose authority was received from above; and the Sacraments as direct channels for conveying the highest spiritual blessings to the world.

It was inevitable that these ideas should, like their predecessors, take outward shape. They assumed, therefore, the form of reverence towards the house of God, and they instantly assailed the squalor, decay, and neglect of the churches as vigorously as Cromwell's soldiers had torn down the images of saints, or scattered the pipes of organs. They invested the ministry with robes which marked its priesthood, and the holy table with coverings which proved the honour they paid to its great service. The Holy Communion itself became gradually more and more important. It grew to be more frequently celebrated, and to be surrounded with more

dignified environment ; whilst music and the murmurous voice of the people were heard in many a quiet corner where clerk and squire and people had been accustomed to sleep.

But along with this came practices and doctrines which had for many a year been identified with Rome, as Rome had been identified by prelate and preacher with the Harlot of the Seven Hills. Auricular confession came to be faintly whispered, and the presence of our Lord in the Eucharist to be taught in phrases that savoured of popery, rank and foul. Newman had been playing, men thought, with Roman tools, and had finally plunged into the Roman workshop. Manning, too—equally prominent, and higher in rank—went over. One who bore the honoured name of Wilberforce was lost to us, and Rome began to exult, whilst England wept and grew angry in her sorrow.

No one looking back upon these last fifty years can fail to see that conflict was unavoidable. The old order was still vigorous : the new was hostile and determined. England is not quickly moved, nor easily convinced. It was to no purpose that the great Divines of a century before were quoted, that editions of the Fathers in English were published, that proof after proof was culled from the Bible, that the plain commands of the Prayer Book were produced. The hard Saxon head remained obdurate. It had one argument—that these doctrines and these practices had led many to Rome, and that, therefore, it rejected both.

Hence the Law Courts were opened. For all the while Convocation remained under her enforced silence. If a rubric was ambiguous, a Convocation with some automatic power might have written a new one. There were no Conferences in the dioceses, and many of the dioceses were unwieldy, and their diocesans bewildered. So English Churchmen formed, as they have so often done, their voluntary associations to fight the matter out. Suit after suit was entered ; decision after decision was pronounced. But an unhappy fate hung upon the appeal to law. There was much ignorance of Church history, of the principles of the Reformation, and of public worship. When the law was declared, men, able and learned and resolute, broke it at once. Nay, the disease spread faster than the attempt at sanitation. Ritualism had become a fact, and mere curiosity, if nothing else, filled the ritualistic Church. No one came to London without visiting St. Alban's in Holborn, just as he went to the Tabernacle in Newington Butts.

The Bishops grew uneasy, and it was hard to find any escape from their embarrassment. One of them lectured a clergyman of his diocese in terms which he had practised as

headmaster of a great public school, and was met with the reminder that it was many years since the clergyman had left the fifth form. Another endeavoured to dispossess a ritualistic vicar of his living, and found himself involved in costs to the amount of a thousand pounds.

The decisions of the courts, too, were not harmonious. There were contradictions here and there, and what was declared illegal this year became afterwards a matter of permission, if not of necessity. It was difficult, also, to move the courts, and for these two reasons a new Bill was introduced into Parliament, and a ready method to repress the ritualist was discovered in the Public Worship Regulation Act. Alas! for human hope. The aggrieved parishioner and the un-vetoing Bishop had a short day. Maconochie and Purchas, and Ridsdale and Green became names to conjure with. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was as dissonant with itself as the inferior courts. Moreover, every judgment and every act of harshness was followed by an increase in the membership of the English Church Union, and by an increase in the practices which were assailed.

The Church Association has thus produced an abundant harvest of the fruit it sought to destroy. It has been the unintentional but persistent ally of the cause which seemed the cause of Rome; it looks upon a far higher and more widely extended ritual in England to-day than there would have been had it never existed; and so keen in this land is our sympathy for the persecuted, that we have come to regard with favour the heroes of the opposing host.

The fact lies, however, deeper than this. Both sides have discovered not alone the personal virtue of the other, but the truths which the others sought to advance. The evangelicism of Simeon and Venn has impregnated the Church; the Churchism of Jebb and Pusey has shaped and disciplined the loose and unorganized forces that made for personal religion. If you seek a disciple of Newton or Cecil in the pulpit, you will often ask for men whose names tell that they belong to a different party. We are hardly going too far when we say that the fervour, the unction, the appeals to the heart and the conscience, the preaching of conversion, the upholding of the Atonement, the passionate declaration of free grace, which used to be characteristic of the Low Church party are now to be found with almost equal power amongst those who are styled of the High Church. The evangelical revival has done more than it ever expected. Its truth has been and is invincible.

But, on the other hand, loyal Churchmanship, which recognises the Church of England as the one Church of the land, which teaches the evil of dissent and schism, which upholds the

Church as the society ordained by Christ and filled by His Spirit, within which man's salvation begins, within which it is fostered and fed, and within which it is committed in peace to the great and dread eternity ; all this is heard everywhere, by whatever names men may call themselves. The one party and the other have broadened out in the knowledge of the truth, and have found themselves to be essentially one.

These forces have been operating whilst the trial of the Bishop of Lincoln proceeded. Indeed, it may be boldly asserted that the trial hastened the recognition of this welcome fact. For as soon as we knew that a Bishop was to be tried, that it was possible he might be condemned as a breaker of the law, that he might refuse to obey what was thus declared to be the law of the Church in England because of a previous law derived from the Church universal, that he might possibly be imprisoned, that a schism might be effected in our land, cutting off from the Church men as noble as the non-jurors and more valuable than they, and that the only power to gain any advantage would be the Church of Rome, earnest men began to draw breath heavily, and to stand aghast. Meetings of moderate Churchmen were held again and again, to consider what ought to be done. Even members of the Islington Annual Meeting, which the Ritualists considered outside the range of hope, began to yearn after unity with their brethren. Questions which were looked upon with dislike before came to be calmly and judicially considered. Men sought out arguments and facts in favour of and against practices which were so zealously contested, and the learning which has so often sweetened the acerbities of men, stood us once more in good stead.

There was a sigh of relief that, at any rate, a holy Bishop was not condemned in any important particular, that he was not admonished, that there was no possibility of shutting him up in prison. And the sigh has been repeated now by those upon whom the Church will most depend, both for work, for spirituality and for defence.

Let us see how the matter stands, and what the practices are which the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has not condemned—

1. The first in order is the administration of the mixed chalice. The mixing of the chalice during the service has not been under the consideration of the committee. It was condemned by the Archbishop, and there it rests. But it was an entirely different question whether, if the wine was mixed with water in private, and the wine thus diluted were carried into the church and consecrated and administered, such acts were illegal. The origin of the mixing of the chalice is the practice

of the Jews, which was probably followed by our Lord at the Last Supper. No doctrine, therefore, is involved in the practice. It is neither High Church nor Low Church. And, as the Lord Chancellor pointed out, all wine contains and has received a certain quantity of water, and no rubric, canon or Act of Parliament specifies the necessary alcoholic strength of the wine to be used in the Sacrament. It is to be real wine, that is all. And the vicar who dilutes the wine in the vestry is merely doing what the merchants had done already in Xeres or Oporto.

2. The act of consuming the bread and wine which may remain after the celebration is one of the most Protestant in the whole services of the Church. The rubric which commands it is in direct condemnation of the Roman practice of the Reserved Sacrament. It was framed in 1661, to make such reservation impossible. No bread, no wine may be carried out of the church, not even into the vestry. There can be no doubt that this law has been violated in thousands of churches. Sometimes the consecrated wine has been sent to the sick, and the consecrated bread irreverently eaten by the sexton whilst he folded up the fair linen cloth. We know of one instance in which a new rector consecrated too much wine, and when he asked his churchwarden to assist him in consuming it, the warden drank it to the rector's health, and remarked that it was good for a cold morning. The Church Association never proceeded against practices like these. But a reaction against such irreverence was to be expected. Hence the ceremonious act of Ablution. It aims at gathering up every atom of bread, every drop and fraction of a drop of wine. It pours pure water upon the paten and into the chalice, and it drinks the water. The court determined that the ritual which the Bishop used was intended for the obeying of the rubric, and that he did not add another ceremony to those prescribed. Even excessive care and scruple cannot be construed into an ecclesiastical offence. Every celebrant, therefore, is left to his own judgment in this matter, and such liberty will be the chief security against excess.

3. More important than these is the singing of the *Agnus Dei*. The hymn itself is not only harmless but excellent. It is a prayer to the Lamb of God for mercy, and we say it in the Litany at least three times a week. But it involves the question of the legality of all hymns excepting those which are specially printed in the Prayer Book for any service, and it suggests a belief in transubstantiation. It was for this latter reason that the hymn has been so strenuously opposed, and the promoters of the late suit must be upheld in their desire to make the teaching of that sensuous and materialistic doctrine

impossible. But does the singing of this hymn assist the doctrine? It has been urged that it is addressed to the Lamb of God, that according to the Roman doctrine the Lamb of God is then upon the Holy Table, and that therefore the hymn is addressed to the newly consecrated elements. But, first, we must ascertain whether any hymn at all in that place would be objectionable. Suppose that Toplady's "Rock of Ages" had been selected. This would be equally addressed to our crucified Lord; but does anyone imagine that a suit to test its legality would have gone before the Privy Council? In the words of the judgment, the singing of the hymn would not be "abused to any kind of idolatrous adoration, except by those who would make for themselves other opportunities for it."

The objection, therefore, resolves itself into this: whether a hymn may be introduced between the prayer of consecration and the Lord's Prayer. Here we have the old custom of James I. to help us, "that during the time of administering the blessed sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there is some psalm or hymn sung;" and we have the monition of the statute of the 2nd and 3rd year of Edward VI., that "in using openly any psalms or prayer taken out of the Bible at any due time" no part of the service shall be "let" or omitted. There is no contention that the hymn hinders the service, that any portion of the service is omitted, that the occasion is out of due time, or that its words are not derived from the Bible. Is, therefore, the singing of any hymn at any point where neither canticle, psalm, or anthem is prescribed, an illegal act?

This opens a serious question in the face of customs which are equally popular and commendable. Are we prepared to denounce our six or seven hymns each Sunday as illegal acts, and are we ready, if they are pronounced illegal, to abandon them? Yet the argument holds good against every hymn which was urged against the *Agnus Dei*. One of the strongest Bishops upon the bench is said to object strongly to any hymn whatever during the communion service, because that hitherto the *Agnus Dei* has been considered illegal. But he is a clear-headed man and he is consistent. For the rule which opposed the *Agnus Dei* opposes the most evangelical hymn that Watts or Wesley ever composed. The permission, if we may so style it, to use the *Agnus Dei* opens a broad and agreeable margin of liberty for ordinary metrical hymns, concerning which John Wesley exclaimed at an early celebration one day in the North country: "How beautiful it was! I wonder we never thought of having a hymn before."

4. The eastward position at the prayer of consecration was pronounced legal in the Ridsdale judgment, and it is no wonder

that neither the Committee nor even the *Record* could understand why the promoters of the appeal should assail that position in the earlier part of the service. In the former it might have some meaning, in the latter it has absolutely none. If it is right to face towards the east in the act of consecrating the elements, it must be equally right to do so in saying the prayer for purity. True, the rubrics show countenance to two positions—the “north side” and “before the table”; but this distinction, if it grants the eastward position at the consecration, removes the controversy from the region of broad-minded theology to that of trifles and quibbles, and these are at all times unworthy of serious consideration or of earnest dispute in the Church. The promoters, indeed, were near to an unexpected and fatal blow, for the argument of the Committee was so much in favour of the west side of the holy table that they had specially to guard themselves against declaring the north end to be utterly and completely outside the permission of the law. It certainly is a satisfaction to High Churchmen as well as to Low that the Judgment did not go so far as this, and that we may still consider the north end perfectly legal.

5. It is a pity that the last matter in dispute was not settled upon its merits. The Committee's opinion upon lighted candles would have been valuable and possibly conclusive. But they shielded themselves behind the responsibility of the incumbent and they refused to hold the Bishop bound by all the accessories to worship in any church he might visit. The refusal to condemn candles, however, is at least suggestive, and we need not be startled if the suggestion develops into acts.

We turn, then, from specific points to consider the Judgment in other and fresher lights.

For many years an association of able, wealthy, and earnest men have appealed to the courts of law for decisions upon matters of dispute in the ritual of the Church. The tide bore them awhile upon the very crest of the wave; now they find themselves deserted even by the ebb, and stranded upon the mud banks of a lone and forsaken estuary. Thousands and tens of thousands of pounds have enriched ecclesiastical lawyers at the expense of the mighty undertakings which the Church has in hand. Bitterness and hatred have too often supplanted confidence and charity, and co-operation between the two great parties has been equally unwished for and impossible. Party spirit and party action invaded every region of Church work. They divided our missionary societies, they split up dioceses, they tainted our

highest synods. We could not elect members for a ruri-decanal conference, nor appoint a diocesan committee without consulting their uncanny and unhallowed ghosts. No man could peaceably become the vicar of a parish unless he belonged to the party which was dominant there; and it has been hinted that even some Bishops had a bad time amongst those of their clergy who belonged to the opposite faction.

Nothing has from time to time paralysed the Church so much as this. It has thieved its heart, its energy, its very soul. It has left it impotent to contend, at the very moments when contest meant victory, with the persistent and encouraged forces of ignorance, unbelief and sin. And yet we fought vigorously on, and thanked God when we had gained something against our brother.

The Church, and all the best and noblest spirits within it, has longed for peace with a longing and yearning that no words can express or explain. In the light of peace these men have, perhaps, overlooked some of the difficulties of narrow-minded brethren; but they have seen the vision before them of wrong done to their Master by divisions and disputes, and they have looked beyond these to the magnificent fields of action, of holiness, and of sacrifice which were awaiting our occupation. It is not too much to hope that we shall now have peace. The judgment of the Judicial Committee sounds as we read it like a satire upon our quarrels. Let us understand one another, discover the good, and learn to love even when we also—like the angels in old time—are unable to agree.

The Judgment also makes towards a greater liberty. For many and many a year this has been desired. No men sought it more eagerly than low Churchmen, and in many cases at the beginning of this century they found it by flagrantly violating the directions of the Prayer Book. The Amendment to the Act of Uniformity was passed to create it, and all have been thankful that we are able to do many things which our fathers could not do. We can preach a sermon in the church now without holding a long service before it; and we can separate the three great services which used to constitute the Sunday's morning prayer. That liberty in matters purely ritual would be demanded most could foresee. Such a demand was included within the research of every liturgiologist who turned to the Prayer Books of other Churches, and who mastered the worship of any period in Church History. It lay within the new and vigorous life of the clergy and the people, and the new England which the steam-engine, the loom and the railway were creating. On both sides, therefore, a liberty is granted which the Church has not enjoyed since Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity. It

remains for men on either flank to use their liberty with consideration for the weakness and prejudice of others, and to remember that whilst they have liberty to act they have also liberty to refrain. We can hardly doubt that such liberty, when it is recognised on all sides, will prevent extravagance. It is the old story of the Florentine over again. He was condemned to death, but he was set free on the condition that he would always remain within the city, and he was told that if he passed through any of its gates his life would be instantly forfeited. The fascination was stronger than love of life: he went out only to return to the block.

Restrict men too much, fill the air with the din of proclaimed restraint, and fancy and wish will make laws for themselves. We look, therefore, to this wider liberty for closer co-operation. We shall not find ourselves withdrawn from holy men because they do not conform entirely to our canons of taste. It will be enough that they hold as dearly as we the faith delivered once for all, the creeds, the discipline, the Divine authority, the due and constituted order of the Church. We shall feel encouraged by the knowledge that all are as anxious to guard the independence of the English Church from Roman intrusion as they are anxious to preserve its doctrine from Roman error. Spiritual union is that which most of all the Church wants now. It has been preaching the return of Non-conformity to its ancestral home; it must prepare that home in such beauty and peace that it will be a constant attraction to every wanderer. It is confronted by an infidelity which, though it is shallow, is far extended over the low-lying marshlands of intellect. It must drain this by its energy and enterprise, and gather up the meagre current into the deep river of reasonable faith and holy life. It must throw its full heart-love and fervent zeal into the apathy and ignorance which mark whole classes and whole neighbourhoods. It must not be deterred by the incapacity of some of its agents, or the unfitness of parts of its system. The one end for which it was created must be kept steadily in view, until in truth and peace and liberty the whole of the land is won for Christ.

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Since this paper was finished I have read the able and interesting article by Mr. Philip Vernon Smith in last month's *CHURCHMAN*. With the greatest part of that article I thoroughly agree, and I am particularly happy to find that so acute a thinker as Mr. Smith has likewise emphasised the advantage of the liberty granted, and of the far wider liberty suggested by the recent Judgment. It is remarkable that

he perceives in that liberty the hope of solving the great problem of Nonconformity. Mr. Smith has already done good service to the Church by advocating in this magazine a Declaratory Act as the means for reforming our Convocation. I hope he will add to that service by following into detail his modification of the parochial system. This portion of his paper will startle many; for few, perhaps, have discovered that the Act of Uniformity was a blunder when it was passed, and has been a hindrance to the Church ever since. It is now growing rapidly into old age, but it is dying hard.

WILLIAM MURDOCH JOHNSTON.



## ART. II.—HILDEBRAND, LANFRANC, AND BERENGARIUS.

IN the history of the Western Church, as it passed from the darkness and confusion of the Middle Ages to the clearer atmosphere of the twelfth century, the three greatest characters that present themselves to the eye are those of Berengarius, Hildebrand, and Lanfranc—oftener seen in conflict than in union, and originating conflicting influences on the Church of every later age. In Hildebrand we see the great master-builder of that pontifical system whose finished structure (if the developing powers of the papacy can ever enable it to give a finishing stroke to the already over-weighted building) we see existing still among us. In Berengarius we recognise the apostle of that freedom of thought and critical investigation of fact and doctrine which has even a more active development in the present Church; while Lanfranc as faithfully represents the severe conservatism and the devotion to the mere literal sense of Scripture which have still so many votaries even among those who most strenuously resist the doctrines to which it led him, and which gave fatal proof in the deaths of thousands of martyrs in later ages, that “the letter killeth,” while the “spirit” alone “giveth life.”

In the storm of religious controversy which burst over Europe at the time of the Reformation the true features and characters of these remarkable men were so entirely misrepresented, and even distorted, that until our own age they may be said to have been seen “as through a glass darkly.” For every advocate either of the papacy or of the Reformation has accepted the traditional view of them adopted in the heat of the controversy from the earlier combatants, and the historical picture in the hands of controversialists speedily became rather a caricature than a truthful delineation of character and real

life. Thus Hildebrand, the great Church reformer of the Middle Ages, whose theory of an absolute spiritual monarchy, however impracticable, showed a grandeur of conception worthy of a better age, and whose zeal against the simony which reigned everywhere saved the Church from the greatest danger which had arisen in it since the age of the Apostles, has been turned into a monster of cruelty and tyranny. Berengarius, the greatest divine and philosopher, has been represented, on the other side, as an arch-heretic and a resister of every lawful authority; while Lanfranc has been extolled as the defender of the faith and the victor in the cause of orthodoxy in an argument which (even had the reply of his adversary been yet undiscovered) would appear to have failed most signally, and to be on the very face of it a mere *petitio principii*.

The great controversy on the Corporal Presence, in which all three were so deeply involved, had been very imperfectly understood, and has been greatly misrepresented ever since it was reopened at the period of the Reformation. Nor was it until the discovery by Lessing in the Ducal Library of Wolfenbüttel of the final reply of Berengarius to Lanfranc that the doctrine of the former was clearly defined, and the relations in which he stood in regard to Lanfranc and to Hildebrand, both before and after his accession to the papacy, were fully seen.

In this remarkable history and vindication of his entire course we see the three disputants, no longer in that distant position from each other in which they previously stood, but in the closest connection, and the relations they held to one another become not only visible, but conspicuous. We see Hildebrand as the friend and advocate of the philosophical divine, whom he is generally supposed to have regarded from the first as a confirmed and irreconcilable heretic. We see Lanfranc no longer as the triumphant refuter of the heretic, whom he is vainly supposed by Romanist authorities to have crushed altogether by the weight of his arguments; and, lastly, we see Berengarius giving his adversary an overwhelming defeat, and proving from the Canon of the Mass and the prayers of the Church, as well as from the words of Scripture, how absolutely untenable was the doctrine of the Corporal Presence and the destruction of the natural substance of the elements in order to replace them by another. Up to the time of the great Mabillon it was almost universally assumed that the doctrine of Berengarius involved the denial not only of the corporal, but of the real, or spiritual, presence of our Lord in His last institution. He was regarded as the apostle of Zwinglianism and its kindred Calvinism, and supposed to have reduced the Eucharist to a mere lifeless memorial of the

parted Saviour, instead of a living and life-giving application to the faithful recipient of the fruits of His passion and the power of His resurrection. Far from holding so debased a doctrine, Berengarius maintained the reality of the presence, though he insisted on its spirituality. From much documentary evidence, which included that of a MS. in the library of the Abbey of Gemblours, since destroyed by fire, Mabillon proved that Berengarius held the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, but denied transubstantiation.<sup>1</sup> This fact appears incontestably in his final reply to Lanfranc, to which we shall have frequent occasion to refer.

This being premised, we are able to enter upon the history of the controversy with a clear view of the parts which were filled in it by the three principal actors.

The animosity of Lanfranc against Berengarius, according to his own statement, arose in the following manner. Berengarius had been denounced as holding heretical opinions on the Eucharist to Pope Leo and a Council he was holding at Rome. These opinions were set forth in a letter addressed to Lanfranc, then residing at the Abbey of Bec, in Normandy, and appeared to involve him also in the suspicion of holding the same doctrine. "Itaque factum est, ut non deterior de te quam de me fuerit orta suspicio, ad quem videlicet tales literas destinaveris." The ambitious Italian, looking onward towards the English Primacy, was evidently alarmed at the association of his own name with that of the heretic who was condemned unheard by the Council, and from this time his personal animosity was manifested towards him in the bitterest and most implacable form. Pascasius had recently written his work in defence of a corporal presence in the Eucharist, and in opposition to the doctrine of Scotus, of which Berengarius was the vigorous defender. A careful examination of this treatise indicates that the nature of the presence was by no means clearly defined, and that the spiritual doctrine was still (as it were) struggling for life under the scholastic subtleties which were being woven around it. In the seventeenth chapter (*De Corp. et Sang. Dom.*) Pascasius qualifies the carnal view he had given of the Sacrament in the fifteenth, in these memorable words: "It is not the visible quantity which is to be estimated in this mystery, but the spiritual virtue of the Sacrament. . . . For the woman in the gospel who touched the hem of Christ's garment derived more therefrom than the crowd which pressed upon His whole body, because she conceived Him more in the mind and believed in Him

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<sup>1</sup> Mabillon in *Præf. ad Sæc. VI.*, *Bened.*, tom. II., p. 107 (v. Lessing, "Berengarius," *Turon.*, Pt. III., pp. 16, 17.

through faith. Therefore we ought to think not how much is pressed by the teeth, but how much is received through faith and love. . . . Wherefore it is necessary that he who eats the body of Christ should receive by faith of the fulness of His divinity; whence the Apostle saith, 'Of His fulness we have all received.' " This passage, among many others, clearly shows that Pascasius believed that the presence in the Sacrament was relative, and not absolute, and that only those who received by faith received the reality of the body and blood of Christ.

So spiritual in many important passages is the doctrine laid down by Pascasius in his celebrated treatise that its Roman editors in the "Bibliotheca Patrum" are frequently obliged to admonish its readers to read it carefully and understand it rightly. By which they mean, to read it in a non-natural sense, and to understand it in an opposite meaning to that which the writer has expressed. His work, however, was the signal for the opening of that controversy which seems doomed to last as long as Christianity itself, and fills the darkest page in its history.

The discovery of the final reply of Berengarius to Lanfranc has cast a deep shadow over the veracity and integrity of the great English primate. It shows us, moreover, the violence and intimidation which forced from the alleged heretic at the peril of his life the recantation of a doctrine which there can be no question that he held until his death, though unable to propagate it in his later course. When Berengarius began to spread his doctrine "the hypocrisy of Lanfranc" (writes Lessing in his learned discourse) "became darker and more odious than before" (p. 79). A refreshing contrast was presented to the bitterness and implacability of his attack upon his adversary, in the conduct and course of Hildebrand towards the subject of this virulent persecution. During the pontificate of Leo, Hildebrand was sent as a legate of the Pope to the Church of Tours on special ecclesiastical business. Instead of meeting Berengarius, as he had been met before, with threats and even personal outrage and violence, the papal representative met him with a gentleness and kindness worthy of the better ages of Christianity. "He came to me," writes Berengarius, "not with swords and staves, but with Christian tenderness in the name of the Lord. Having clearly learned the truth, he persuaded me to go to Pope Leo, whose authority might repress the envy of the proud and the tumult of the foolish; but as regarded the present circumstances, if the Bishops who had assembled desired to speak at once on the Eucharist, there might be given into their hands the works of many different writers with the special passages marked, which Hildebrand

had caused to be brought together. . . . When the assembly was over I might go with Hildebrand to the Pope, as was mentioned before."<sup>1</sup>

The death of Leo, which happened soon after, prevented this journey from being accomplished. In the meantime the Bishops at Tours carried on a process of interrogation in order to extract from Berengarius a confession of the corporal presence, alleging that he believed in his heart a doctrine he would not confess with his lips. Yielding at last to their importunities, he confessed upon oath this doctrine: "The bread and wine of the altar are, after their consecration, the body and blood of Christ." "Hildebrand," he repeats, "the legate of the Roman Church, had gathered together books from all parts in order to settle the question on the Eucharist," an evident proof that it was still an open question so far as the mode of the presence was concerned, and that the famous passages which so clearly disprove transubstantiation in the writings of the fathers, and in the canon of the mass itself, were not yet held to be of no authority in the determination of this important question. To these, as well as to the Scriptures, Berengarius carries up his appeal with singular force and argumentative skill. Hildebrand appears to have had a decided leaning to the Berengarian doctrine, and was accused by his adversaries of so far holding it as to be involved in the same alleged heresy. The life of the Pope, by his bitter enemy, Cardinal Benno, though it charges him with a series of outrages and cruelties which find no corroboration in any other of his biographers or contemporaries, contains one charge which, taken in connection with the acts of the Council which deposed him, cannot be altogether without foundation. "The same presumptuous man enjoined a fast on the cardinals in order that God might determine which was the right faith concerning the body of the Lord, that of the Roman Church or Berengarius. And he sought for the sign which was shown to St. Gregory in order to confirm the faith of a certain woman, when the bread received the form of a finger. And he sent two cardinals, Atto and Cuno, to the church of St. Anastasia in order that they might in company with Suppo, the arch-priest of the same church, observe a three days' fast, and that each of them during the period should sing psalms and masses in order that Christ might show them the aforesaid sign, which never happened at all."<sup>2</sup> Wibertus, the anti-pope, and his council at Rome treated him on account of his Berengarian

<sup>1</sup> Lessing, "Berengarius," p. 143 (Carlsruhe, 1824).

<sup>2</sup> "Vita et Gesta Hildebrandi" (published with the first edition of the Commentaries of Pius II. on the Council of Basle, without place or date), pp. 89—100.

tendency as a declared hæresiarch. After the second retraction of Berengarius, he indicated his friendly feeling towards his former *protégé* by issuing a bull of anathema against "all who injure Berengarius," that "son of the Roman Church," "or who call him a heretic." Probably this was directed against Lanfranc and his followers, whose hatred against Berengarius seemed to survive to the very last. It is notable that there never appears to have been any cordiality between Hildebrand and Lanfranc, and, indeed, at one period the relations between them, on the ground of the disinclination of the Archbishop to visit Rome, became seriously strained. It is very probable that the different parts they had taken in the Berengarian controversy contributed to this estrangement. It is equally remarkable that while Berengarius speaks of the conduct of Pope Nicholas to him as barbarous and unchristian, "casting him as to wild beasts; to cruel and pitiless minds which would not listen to the spiritual refreshment from the body of Christ, and even closed their ears at the very word spiritual," he always speaks with respect and gratitude of Hildebrand, who was evidently desirous rather to settle the question by an appeal to the great men of a better age than to trust its solution to councils or bodies of men who decided the doctrine by violent and tumultuous methods, and retractations enforced by mere terrorism. The insults and reproaches which Lanfranc heaps upon his adversary on the ground that he had broken the oath which was thus under the threat of death imposed upon him, shows the character of the English primate in an aspect from which we cannot but regard it with the greatest aversion. "Would it not have been better," he exclaims, "if you thought you had the true faith to have closed an honest life in death, than to have perjured yourself?" And then he breaks forth into the cruel words ("grausam und böhnisch," as Lessing well describes them): "O! infelix homo; O! miserrima anima, cur te credere jurabas quae tantopere inter se dissidere intelligebas?" "Why?" retorts Berengarius; "why from fear—from a weakness I could not control. But if on this account I am an unhappy man, a lost soul, so would Aaron and Peter be also. Aaron, when from fear of the murmuring of the people he made an idol; Peter, when through fear of a maid he denied the Master whom so short a time before he had so supernaturally witnessed" (p. 165).

It would take too long a space were we to attempt to follow Berengarius in his refutation of the errors and falsehoods of Lanfranc in his work on the sacrament. Every fact is so distorted in that violent polemic, that it would be almost as easy to convict it from the testimony of contemporary historians as from the rejoinder of Berengarius himself. We

are less, however, interested in the history of the controversy than in the clear understanding of the conflicting doctrines out of which it arose. The doctrine of transubstantiation had not at the time of Berengarius been brought into connection with the conflicting systems of the nominalists and realists, and with the philosophy (falsely so called) of the schools. It had a ruder and coarser form, and there was no attempt made by its advocates to shelter themselves under the subtle distinctions of substance, accident, extension, and similar terms. The change effected by consecration involved in their conception of it a destruction of the natural element by "absumption," corruption, or annihilation, and the production of a new creation, by some mysterious process of generation. Berengarius defines the popular view which Pascasius and Lanfranc advocated in these words: "Panem et vinum per corruptionem vel absumptionem sui, in particulam Carnis Christi sensualiter transire et sanguinis."<sup>1</sup>

The advocates of the material change, among whom was Humbertus, hesitated not to maintain the blasphemous proposition that the body of Christ was still liable to corruption; and it was this same Humbertus who forced Berengarius into that recantation before Nicholas II., which he confessed afterwards was made with his hands, and not his conscience, in the imminent danger of death. The form of this confession is given in the third part of the *Decretum* (or *Concordantia*) of Gratian, and runs thus: "I agree with the holy Roman Apostolic See," etc., and profess that "after the consecration there is not only the sacrament, but also the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that it is sensually" (*sensualiter*) "not only sacramentally, but in truth handled and broken in the hands of the priests, and bruised" (or masticated, *atteri*) "by the teeth of the faithful."<sup>2</sup> This revolting confession, which, even the Roman advocates admit, brings in a more dreadful heresy than that which it condemns,<sup>3</sup> was altered to the following form under Gregory VII., when he succeeded to the Papacy, and runs thus:

"I, Berengarius, believe and confess that the bread and wine are, by the mystery of consecration and the words of our Redeemer, substantially changed into the true and proper and quickening flesh and blood of Jesus Christ our Lord, and that after the consecration it is the true body of Christ which was

<sup>1</sup> Lessing, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> The "Glossa Ordinaria," the popular commentary of the pre-reformation times, admits, "quod oportet confessionem Berengarii sanè intelligi quia aliter foret novissimus error peior priore ab ecclesiâ damnata tanquam hæretico."—Wiclif, *De Euchar.*, c. II.

<sup>3</sup> *De Consecr. Dist. II.*, c. 142.

born of the Virgin, and which, offered for the salvation of the world, did hang on the cross, and which sits at the right hand of the Father—and the true blood of Christ, which was poured out from His side, not only by a sign and virtue of the Sacrament, but in its proper nature and truth of substance.”

This was subscribed at the close of Berengarius' life when he was eighty years of age; but it is alleged by contemporary historians that, to his latest breath, he continued in the belief and propagation of his true doctrine. And its popularity was proved by the fact that it spread through every part of Europe until the period when Wiclif (in 1380) attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation in his work “*De Eucharistiâ*,” a work of solid learning and great argumentative skill.

The apparent desertion of Berengarius, whom he had protected through evil report and good report, by Gregory VII., is easily explained by the extreme difficulty in which the schism in the Papacy had placed the Pope, and the charge of heresy which the Council, under the Anti-Pope Wipertus (or Guibertus), had brought against him. It would seem that it was rather to clear himself from the suspicion of heresy than to renew the charge against his ancient friend that this confession, born, as it was, out of due season, and altogether ignoring the former one, was exacted from the aged friend of the Pontiff—and probably in order to enable him to throw over him the shield of his protection, which he did immediately after in the bull already alluded to. It is indeed difficult to believe that Hildebrand had any sympathy with Lanfranc in his controversy with Berengarius, and doubtless he was well acquainted with the crushing reply which the Archbishop had received from the victim of this long persecution. No intelligent person, reading the attack and the rejoinder with impartiality, could for a moment fail to see that, both on scriptural, patristic, and ritual grounds, the triumph of Berengarius was complete.

The foundation of his argument is laid in the obvious truth that wherever any person or material object is blessed or consecrated, it is elevated to a higher state, which could not be affected by the corruption, destruction, or annihilation of it, which would rather debase than dignify it. Grace does not destroy nature, but adds to it a gift which it did not possess before—in the words of Theodoret: *οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προστεθεικώς* (Dial. I.). St. Ambrose (or the early writer of the treatise which goes by his name) compares the sacramental change to the conversion of a wicked servant into a son of God. “Denique” (he addresses him), “*tu ipse eras, sed eras vetus creatura; postquam consecratus*

es, nova creatura esse cœpisti." From this, as a first principle, he concludes that, "as Christ, when made flesh, took that which He was not before, not losing that which He was, so the consecrated bread on the altar loses its vileness, loses its uselessness, but does not lose its natural properties, to which, as their seat and foundation, dignity and efficacy have been Divinely added."<sup>1</sup>

The argument of Berengarius, which, though full of strong points, is destitute of the strict order and regularity which characterize the writings of a later period, closes with an appeal to the Canon of the Mass, and the prayers of the Roman Ordinal, which, at every period of this prolonged controversy, have formed one of the strongholds of those who maintain the ancient doctrine of the Church against its mediæval corruptions. That venerable ritual contains in itself the most irrefragable proofs of the modern character of the Romanism of to-day, and of the spiritual truths which its materialism has so fatally obscured. Its venerable antiquity and sacred character have prevented it from being tampered with in order to bring it into correspondence with the later theology of Rome, and the advocates of these innovations have only been able, like Bossuet, to explain away, as far as they could, the evidence it brings against their new dogmas.<sup>2</sup>

We may here present to the reader the words of Berengarius himself: "Even if every other argument were taken away, the doctrine of Lanfranc is brought to nought by that one prayer alone which is put forth in the Missal by every priest after the Roman order in silence: 'Thee therefore most merciful Father, through Jesus Christ Thy Son our Lord, we suppliantly beseech and pray that Thou wilt accept and bless these gifts,'—which words, 'accept and bless,' how can Lanfranc fail to see, cannot signify the removal, overthrow or destruction, but the exaltation to a higher state? Whence Augustine writes on the Psalms, 'When God blesses us, He makes us holier, makes us happier.' With what absurdity does Lanfranc interpret the words that follow, 'receive graciously,' as though they meant, 'graciously consume, destroy, overthrow'! What madness could conceive that the words which follow—'This oblation do Thou O God in everything deign to make blessed, accepted, ratified, and a rational service'—ought to be interpreted, 'that Thou wouldst deign to consume, overthrow and destroy the oblation by the corruption of the substance,' which must necessarily refer to the bread

<sup>1</sup> Berengarii de Sacra Cœnâ, p. 98 (Berol.), 1834.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Bossuet, "Explication de quelques difficultez sur les prières de la Messe, à un nouveau catholique" (Paris, 1689).

and wine, as though in no manner Thou hadst blessed it, in nothing hadst made it more effectual, in nothing hadst advanced it to a greater dignity; above all, when the author of the prayer proceeds, 'that this oblation may be made (or become) to us the body and blood of Thy beloved Son. . . .' For it is not to be conceived that one who has just prayed 'that Thou wouldst accept and bless,' and then 'that it may be made to us the body and blood,' could hold it to be so made otherwise than by accepting and blessing it. The words which follow, 'He took the bread and blessed it,' must be interpreted, 'He advanced it to a higher privilege than it had before. He brake it, gave it, and said, Take, eat, this (that is, this thing, this bread) is My body, which words could in nowise consist with the truth if you take away the bread from the Sacrifice of Christ. . . .' The words which follow, 'We offer unto Thy divine Majesty of Thine own blessings and gifts,' must necessarily mean of Thy creatures of bread and wine, which must as necessarily refer to the actual bread in its natural sense. For this alone was capable of being sanctified by the prayers of the priest, which the mystical bread which came down from heaven could by no means be, for this would rather sanctify the priests themselves. After he has distinguished the holy bread from common and not hallowed bread, lest the distinction should not be sufficient, he adds, 'the bread of eternal life,'—that is, conferring or promoting eternal life. For before the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ, ordinary and visible bread was enough to support our failing life. But that He might restore to the soul eternal life, He instituted His Supper, calling the things that are not as those that are, the small things the things that are great. What follows—'On which vouchsafe to look with propitious and serene eye,'—leads me to ask, How can it possibly appear . . . that the Church can think it necessary or becoming to entreat God the Father to 'look with propitious and serene countenance' on the whole body of Christ, or a part of it, which, as it is advanced to a state of incorruption and impassibility, has no place remaining for propitiation? In the sentence which follows—'And accept it as Thou deignedst to accept the gifts of Thy righteous son Abel and the sacrifice of the patriarch Abraham, and that which Thy high-priest Melchisedec offered unto Thee'—how truly does the light shine out of darkness, while the doctrine of Lanfranc comprehendeth it not? For who can be so insane, so besotted, as to listen to anyone who should compare the body of Christ with the lambs of Abel or the bread and wine of Melchisedec, so as to make it probable or worthy of God for every priest to supplicate the Father that He might accept the incomparably

higher offering no otherwise than He has accepted the incomparably lower one? In the following words, 'Command these things to be carried by the hands of Thy angel to Thine altar on high,' I ask, What other things could the Church have in mind but that the bread and wine should be borne to the sublime altar of God? . . . In the words which follow—'through whom always Thou Lord dost create all these good things, sanctify, vivify and bless them'—what can 'these good things' mean, unless it be the creatures of bread and wine, which the divine power ever sets forth for human sight, and sanctifies and gives life to, by the spiritual efficacy of religion?—sanctifies, gives life to and blesses, although they are corruptible and visible, invisibly making them capable of blessing, sanctifying and enlivening the children of light in the churches. The prayer that the sacrifice of the people of God may be carried into the presence of the Divine Majesty, means that the very angels, who are the temples of God, in whom the Deity dwells, rejoice worthily in the acts of the Christian people, the Divine Majesty beholding their joy in His temple, wherein He is ever present with them."

The conviction that thousands in every age of the Church's history have interpreted and used the prayers of the mass in this spiritual meaning cannot but be a source of consolation to those who have succeeded them in the open profession of the same evangelical belief. To these prayers the earlier Reformers turned in defence of their eucharistic doctrine, and Luther himself is said to have derived from the commendation of the body of Christ to the ministry of angels the earliest perception of the true nature of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, whose glorified body could need no such angelic intervention.

The ancient commentators on the "Canon of the Mass"—Alcuinus, Walafridus, Rupertus, Amalarius, and all the mediæval ritualists—confirm the view which Berengarius expressed on the nature of the presence which is implied in all its prayers; and we may well entertain the hope that this ancient and beautiful ritual may be the means of extricating the Church of Rome from the labyrinth of human subtlety in which the simple and beneficent institution of the Last Supper has been hidden for centuries from its faith.<sup>1</sup>

The doctrine of Berengarius gained life and strength in every subsequent age, and by its vigorous advocacy in the great treatise of Wiclif has become the inalienable inheritance

<sup>1</sup> The writer offered once to prove to his late friend, Canon Rock, the greatest ritualist of the Roman Church in England, the absolute incompatibility of the Canon of the Mass and the doctrine of the ancient ritualists with the modern doctrines of his church.

of our Church. It found an eloquent expression in the writings even of the famous Puritan Dr. Owen who held against the Zwinglian debased interpretation of the words of our Lord—the doctrine of the reality of His presence in this His last gift to the Church. He shows with his usual beauty of illustration that it represents to us the threefold office of Christ as our prophet, priest, and king: “For the institution of this ordinance was in the close of His ministry, or prophetic office, on the earth, and in the entrance of the exercise of His priestly office, in offering Himself a sacrifice unto God for the sins of the Church. Between them both, and to render them both effectual unto us, He interposed an act of His kingly office in the institution of this ordinance.”<sup>1</sup> How greatly this threefold view of Christ in His last gift to mankind is darkened by the doctrine of a corporal presence, in which the visible priest is substituted for the invisible and a carnal for a spiritual communion must be obvious to every one who thinks seriously on the end and design of the institution and the reason for its perpetual obligation. Nor can we be too grateful to those who from the darkness and gloom of mediæval superstition kept the light of truth burning, and have handed down to us their testimony, often sealed with their martyrdom; among whom none has been more influential than Berengarius, whose name will ever find a place among the noblest of those who in every age have laboured “to vindicate truth from an ignominious bondage,” and like the prophets of the former Church, were as “a light that shineth in a dark place,” heralding the dawn of a brighter day.

ROBERT C. JENKINS.

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### ART. III.—THE SERVANT OF CHRIST.

#### X. LOYALTY.

THE warm-hearted, vigorous, and practical old Apostle who told us to “Honour the king,”<sup>2</sup> lived under one of the very worst and wickedest rulers who ever disgraced mankind. Nero was already stained with every kind of vice and infamy. Even the heathen world was ashamed of his enormous immorality. He had already poisoned his brother-in-law, the heir of the Roman empire. He had already murdered his mother. He had already had his wife put to death on a false charge of adultery. The year after St. Peter wrote these words, when the great fire took place which destroyed two-

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<sup>1</sup> Sermons, fol. edit., 1721, p. 510.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Pet. ii. 17.

thirds of the city of Rome, he persecuted the Christians with extraordinary cruelty, lighting up his gardens with their burning bodies, which he had made inflammable in enveloping columns of tar and pitch. He pillaged the nobles and wealthy men right and left, and put anyone to death as the whim of the moment suggested. The next year he killed his second wife by a brutal kick given in a fit of passion. At length, after three years more, every day of which was darkened by cruelty, robbery, and every abomination, rebellion broke out in several parts of the Roman Empire. Nero was deserted by his paid guards, and died miserably by his own hand, in his thirty-first year only, five years after the probable date of St. Peter's Epistle. This is the monstrous tyrant of whom the Apostle, in giving a list of certain Christian duties, writes: "Honour the king."

It would be absurd to suppose that St. Peter, who in the later years of his life, when he had been driven from Jerusalem, was necessarily somewhat cosmopolitan—was one of those people who think that everything in their own country is so perfect that it must have been settled by the direct authority and plan of Almighty God Himself. If they live under a king or queen, these persons hold that no other form of government can compare with monarchy. If their ruler is an emperor, then they would say that every other nation was to be pitied if it was content with less. If they are governed by a republic with a president, then they believe that God meant them to have that model of constitution, and none else. But the fact is that not one of these ideals has God's sanction rather than another. The system to which He showed most favour was that when His people were willing to be governed by Him through His lawgivers, prophets, and judges, Moses and Joshua and Samuel, without any sign of authority which could be seen, but by the inward power of truth, justice, and the messages of His own mind and will. It was because men were not good enough and had not faith enough for this best of all systems that He allowed the different nations to establish their own laws and their own governments, and granted them His sanction so far as they were in accordance with the eternal principles of righteousness. He allowed Israel to have Saul for their king, governing with the advice of prophets and priests. He allowed the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians to have absolute monarchs. He allowed the Greeks and Romans to have republics. He has allowed the Swiss to flourish under a republic without a president. France and the United States of America prosper in different degrees under that kind of government, with the addition of a chief ruler. He has not yet interfered with the personal despotism

of Russia, though doubtless when the iniquities of a blind and helpless tyranny have become flagrant and intolerable there have come unmistakable warnings from the throne of His eternal justice. Austria and Germany He has allowed to have emperors who inquire the opinions of their subjects through national assemblies, but whose authority rests really on military strength. Our own country He has allowed to develop through many centuries of action and reaction, struggle and tranquillity, a limited constitutional monarchy, represented by a Sovereign governing through ministers whose influence depends on the goodwill of a Parliament partly hereditary, partly chosen by the mass of the people; and this form He has allowed to be imitated by Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Italy, and Greece. All these different systems are equally allowed by Almighty God on man's responsibility. Otherwise they would not exist at all. All the powers that be are alike ordained by God. All that we can be sure of is that those are more fully ordained of Him, those have a greater share of His sanction and blessing, those are most to be honoured by men, which secure to all classes of the people alike the greatest share of liberty, security, peace, prosperity, justice, and independence. All that we can be sure of is that no authority exists for its own sake, but only for the sake of the people to be governed. And it is the height of folly to condemn one form of government, such as an empire or a republic, because we do not like it ourselves or because to our needs it does not seem suited. It would be absurd, for example, for us to be so conceited and so steeped in prejudices as to have a feeling of condolence for the unhappy Germans and Austrians because they have not received the crowning mercy of a dominant popular assembly. It would be absurd pedantry for us to insist on forcing on all the dependencies of our ever-growing empire, with its infinite variety of conditions, our own representative institutions. What suits one country will assuredly not suit all; and that form is most likely to be favoured by God which is best adapted to the people concerned. To turn back to the Romans in the time of St. Peter. They needed the strong hands of a military empire to hold them together and keep their factions in check; and so, though Nero might be everything that was most hateful, St. Peter could sit down and write to his friends, "Honour the king."

We are ourselves so accustomed to the immense blessings of an authority that is settled not by the arbitrary and whimsical choice of each successive generation, but by the accumulated prestige of long and glorious centuries, of a law that is respected, and of a security which places every subject

of the realm in a position of equality before the magistrate and which ensures him the full right to enjoy the fruit of his own labours, that we do not consider how Divine a gift it is that we should have inherited so perfect a tranquillity, in which the Church of Christ can indeed serve Him in all godly quietness. But, when we remember what passions there are in men, what fiery ambitions, what bitter and fiendish jealousies, what overbearing pride, what unreasoning and vindictive spite, what overweening vanity and self-confidence, what abominable lusts, what tornadoes of mere brutal selfishness, what tempestuous violence, what monstrous untruthfulness, what stupendous infatuations, what heartless cruelty; when we imagine all these forces let loose without any strong hand of control; when we think what it would be to go in fear of our lives or of our property whenever we should leave our own doors, to have no safety for the virtue of our families or for the profits of our business; when we picture to ourselves what would be our state of mind if we did not dare to think, write, or say what we feel; if we fancy, in short, the strongest having their own way always, and the weakest always going in a frenzy of unavailing bitterness to the wall; then we are forced to confess with relief and gratitude how prodigiously we are indebted to any authority which saves us from these disasters. And when we remember that it was only a limited number of people at Rome whom the cruelties and wickedness of Nero affected, and that the great mass of the nations under the sway of his empire were living peacefully beneath the sanction of that great system of law, which, gradually developed, has become the model for all people of all ages, then, when St. Peter, writing at the very worst time of Nero's debaucheries, says "Honour the king," from our heart of hearts, and with unfeigned sincerity, we can answer, Amen!

Loyalty is in all cases a duty and a virtue. It is the application to institutions and to persons, to whom we are greatly indebted, of that spirit of generous and grateful devotion which the human heart is the more eager to pay in proportion to its own nobility. "The loyalty of a wise man to his country," said St. Augustine, "is in truth his greatest liberty." "Nothing is more noble, nothing more venerable than loyalty," wrote the Roman moralist, Cicero. "There is always safety," said St. Bernard, "in obedience to God, and loyalty to a ruler; to the one as our Creator, and to the other as our superior." "The most inviolable attachment to the laws of our country," wrote the sagacious Hume, "is everywhere acknowledged as a capital virtue; and where the people are not so happy to have any legislature but a single person, the strictest loyalty is in that case the truest patriotism." And Kossuth, the Hungarian

leader, said in the same way : " There are certain duties and loyalties toward our native country common to every citizen ; and education must have such a direction as to enable every citizen to do his duty towards his fatherland." There are times when simplicity of thought, directness of ideal, and warmth of poetical and romantic feeling are the natural fibres of a people's heart ; in such times the virtue of loyalty will be spontaneous and need no fostering or reflection. In an age of cynicism and criticism, such as the present, we need more than ever to remind our fellow-countrymen of the manifold loving-kindness of the Lord. They have to learn what treasures have been handed down to them by the wisdom of the past. They have to be warned how easily this heritage may be injured by light, wanton, and heedless hands. They greatly need our patient and attentive help in the removal of those vast fabrics of falsehood in which they are frequently enveloped by interested misrepresentation. Well would it be if amongst our vast masses of population even the limited authority of the Privy Council had always been followed, and the service for the accession of the sovereign made, after the example of primitive times, the opportunity for instruction in the memory and history of national blessings. That service was, indeed, initiated in its present form by a very foolish ruler, King James I. ; it has its force only by proclamation, and not by either the Parliament or the Church ; many of the expressions from the Psalms are mistaken in their application, and can literally be appropriated to no earthly monarch. But, nevertheless, the service, even such as it is, is a standing witness to the beautiful virtue of loyalty. Every true Christian Englishman, says a liturgical writer, who has a real sense of the dignity, greatness, and responsibility of the sovereign set over him by God, and a real interest in the welfare of the nation, must desire that the day which annually commemorates the perpetuity of our constitution should be marked with a special offering of praise and prayer ; praise for the great mercies vouchsafed to our land, and prayer that princes and people alike, from the consideration of those mercies, may continually learn and practise better their own mutual duties. Greatly, therefore, is it to be wished that with the consent of the Crown a form were prepared by the assemblies of the Church and duly sanctioned by Parliament in which all could gladly and without scruple take part ; a form which would be indeed at once the annual solemn confession by the Church on behalf of the people that by God alone kings reign and princes decree justice, and the annual witness to the old loyalty which jealously guards alike the Church and the throne.

There is a sense in which kings have a peculiar claim on

the sympathy of Christian people. I said just now that no authority exists for its own sake, but only for the sake of the people governed. The truth, indeed, is that, as far as the Christian character is concerned, a sovereign is in no enviable position. "All that is in the world," wrote St. John, "the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father but of the world. Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." Where does the world find its centre so vividly as in the ordinary court of a sovereign? Where else is it so necessary to reckon people by rank, power, wealth, and worldly advantages? Many ignorant and thoughtless persons even go so far in their worldliness as to maintain that the chief business of a sovereign is to encourage trade by bringing the splendour, magnificence, and attractions of the court to this or that great city of the kingdom. As if trade were the object of life! As if trade, looked at from this point of view, were anything else but that very worldliness so solemnly condemned by St. John! As if the sovereign had no greater, higher, and holier functions than to enrich trade by fostering the spirit of vulgar display! Where, again, but in the ordinary court or round the most usual type of sovereign is flattery so busy, or candour and truth so difficult? Where, unless the sovereign be of the very noblest type of character, are vice and loose manners so easy, and virtue so commendable? Where else are pomps and processions, and the vanity of flashing diamonds, and store of gold and silver so natural? How few there are whose hearts would not be lifted up with an unchristian pride and conceit in such a lofty and dazzling position as a throne; who would not console themselves by thinking that for the conduct of a king excuses might always be found! How few there are who would not become selfish and egotistical, thinking only of themselves, their own glory and greatness, their own pleasures and splendours, and regarding everything through the medium of their own interests! How vastly, in such circumstances, is increased the difficulty of leading the godly, righteous, and sober life of Christian humility!

A king is a person placed in a very trying place, with very distinct objects to fulfil. He has by his very existence to prevent the general scramble for power. He has to insure respect for the laws. He has, in his conduct and appearance, to represent the dignity and majesty of the nation. He is the one person in the kingdom who is above the sordid struggles for place and office, the malice, the jealousy, the passion, the prejudice, the lies which are inseparable from

party warfare. He is the one thread which carries on our history when one party and ministry are overturned, and the others have grasped the reins of power. He is the only person who can check the impulse of one set of politicians, and rouse the backwardness of another. He is the best channel for receiving the confidences of other nations, for understanding their objects and ambitions, for remembering their past policy and chicanery, and in the ever-shifting kaleidoscope of Government officials, to see that there is no misconception or avoidable error. He it is who, from his independent survey, can best understand the will and temper of the nation, put a curb on hasty impressions, and from time to time, as occasion arises, summon to his side the most influential and the most responsible counsellor. He it is who, from his illustrious authority, can make the proper beginnings and take the proper lead in plans for the welfare of the people, can give his sanction to schemes of improvement in art and science, and literature and education, in architecture, in every other useful branch of life and progress. He it is who, without bias on one side or the other, can give effect and distinction to the national appreciation of wise and good men in every part of the public service. Under him, and not without him, all can be free, all can move for whatever they wish, all can do whatever they think right, provided it does not interfere with the liberty of their fellow-subjects.

And when, in addition to all these qualities of a prudent constitutional monarch, the sovereign shows in person and family an example of the highest and purest domestic virtues; when, far from any reproach having ever been alleged against the sovereign's character, a long reign has, through fifty-six years of storm and sunshine, and through the various changes and chances of modern political and international life, borne unceasing and accumulated evidence to every excellence, to courage and wisdom, to calmness and prudence, to purity and simplicity, to family devotion and tender sympathy for others; when, far from the pomps and vanities of regal life being loved for their own sake, they are positively distasteful to the sovereign in comparison of quiet and retirement and less worldly habits; when, after the paralysing wrench of a life-long separation from the wise and blameless partner of every joy and every sorrow, the illustrious ruler whose armies have for half a century maintained the laws of God and the principles of freedom and justice in every quarter of the earth, feels display more irksome than ever, and, while every public duty is less punctually and loyally fulfilled, follows in private life with no less loyalty the spirit which St. Paul urges on those who are widows indeed; when religion is not a state ceremonial or a

respectable name, but a daily practice and an earnest reality; when, by the touching records of a family life full of sweetness, dignity, grace, purity, beauty, and light, we are let into the secrets of the sovereign's heart, and a motherly appeal is made to us to share the sovereign's happiness and sorrows: then the feeling of gratitude which might, with perfect justice, have been called out by the sway even of a Nero, is deepened into a warm sense of personal affection, and it is with no feigned devotion that we sink our individual pride, and let our cold reserve for once thaw, and cry, "God save the Queen!"

It was an anxious time for patriotic statesmen fifty-six years ago.<sup>1</sup> The blind passions excited by the French Revolution had not yet exhausted themselves. English institutions seemed by no means secure. King George III., however good-natured and domestic, had brought great troubles upon the country by his interference with parties and by his obstinacy and self-will; and in his old age he had roamed through his palace helplessly distraught by family sorrows. King George IV. was despised as a profligate sensualist. King William IV., notwithstanding his bluff good-humour, had shaken the reverence for the Crown by his undignified eccentricities. When, after the long struggle of the great Reform Bill, the sceptre of the empire of Great Britain came to the hand of a young, solitary, inexperienced girl of eighteen, men wondered how she would be able to weather the dark storms which were lowering about her country. Such was then the state of the world that, ten years after she had ascended the throne, not a capital of Europe, except our own, was without its revolution; not a crown but seemed to be falling from the head of its owner. He who died lately the mighty Emperor of Germany was himself a refugee in London. And there were grave elements of disturbance amongst ourselves. The populace of that day were still less educated than that of our own, and appeared to be ripe for every violence. The long wars which this country had to its eternal honour so nobly undertaken for the independence of Europe, had left us impoverished and overtaxed. The introduction of machinery had disturbed the balance of capital and labour, just as in these days it has been disturbed by the excess of population. The Chartists seemed ready to imitate the excesses of the French Revolution, and to destroy the whole time-honoured fabric of society in the wild hope that something better might emerge. How was it that amidst all these contending forces of disorder English institutions and the English throne only grew in stability, and became more and more firmly planted in the affections of the people as the years went by? It was because there

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<sup>1</sup> Compare an article in the *Times*, June, 1887.

gradually came to be a feeling of calm certainty that, come what might, whatever might be the changing fortune of fluctuating party majorities and the fate of this or that minister, there was, at the helm of the State, at the central spring of the mighty machine of imperial government, a quiet and inexhaustible fund of good sense and high principle and unselfish devotion to duty, under the benign influence of which things would always come right. It gradually came to be known that the Queen, with unerring instinct, would always do what had to be done in the best way and at the best time, and would act with perfect good faith as a loyal constitutional Sovereign, who from her position must always have unrivalled and unbounded opportunities at hand for information and instruction in all the manifold intricacies of State and policy—unrivalled and unbounded materials for forming her judgment. And there grew up at the same time a conviction that the slight girlish maiden who had been called to so tremendous an exaltation was indeed a very noble woman, leading a pure, blameless, and unselfish life, growing into the most devoted of wives, the most careful of mothers, in the happiest of homes. This is how the whole tone of the people about the throne and the Crown came to be altered; and, in serene security as to their constitutional freedom, the British nation was able, as no other nation was able, to expand its hereditary energies and activities in every variety of progress, national, social, moral, and religious. And it was because it was brought home to them five years ago that it was to the modest and solid qualities of her who had for half a century given up her life with unswerving devotion to the public good, that the whole nation, usually so apathetic, was filled with an undying gratitude, and foreign peoples were sincere in their unanimous tribute of homage and admiration.

How does our loyalty show itself? It is in the power of each of us to make this reign still more happy and prosperous by increased devotion to the service of God and of His poor. "To be loyal to our country," it has been well said, "is the duty of every man; to be loyal to ourselves is the first trust of manhood; but the most essential of all loyalty is to be loyal to Him who created us." If we think of it, the whole kingdom is made up of plain and unimportant people like ourselves. If all could only do their duty more vigorously and cheerfully in God's sight the condition of all would be improved in a marvellous degree.

Further, it is our business as Christian subjects to do all that we possibly can to help forward and encourage the spirit of obedience to the laws. Christians, as such, know no politics in the poorer and more modern sense of the word; in whatever

form the supreme authority presents itself to us, we shall do our utmost that it may be respected, and advantageous to the good of the people. There is an infinite number of wise and good regulations passed; they only become dead letters by the ignorance and laziness of those whose duty it is to see them enforced. We ought all of us to take a more enlightened interest in public affairs, to study and understand the statutes, and to have the spirit, the courage and loyalty to follow them out. And however sorely we may be tempted by the evil spirits of individualism and disunion, we shall resolutely set our faces against its allurements in the strength of God and of His holy Word, and strive only for unity, peace, and concord. It is Christians, and Christians only, who by their self-denial and their spirit of love and brotherhood, bind classes together in mutual dependence and goodwill.

The last lesson is one of considerate sympathy with the Queen herself. Standing as she does, permanently at the centre of government, and passing on from minister to minister the traditions of public life, the more the empire grows the heavier become her responsibilities and cares. Her days are very laborious; she works from morning till night in reading despatches, writing letters of business, in giving audiences, and in informing herself of what is being done and thought in the world about her. Her health has had many trials; her sorrows have been more than fall to the lot of most; and at her age every year brings its own increasing burden. Think of the overwhelming weight of responsibility borne alone for nearly thirty years; the unutterable loneliness of the position where none must speak to her unless she speaks first; the wearing vexation and disappointment when party spirit sends things awry; the tragic deaths; the loss, one by one, of generation after generation of those who have been her wisest and best advisers; her own clear faith and courage in bearing all her burdens unshaken, and in labouring daily and hourly with increasing zeal and sympathy for the public good. It is right that we should have some sense of gratitude and love to the quiet, reserved, much-tried, much-enduring lady, great in heart, homely in her tastes, with her firm and strong sense of duty, her tender woman's sympathies, her strong determination, her keen sense of what is right, her lofty and self-denying character, her deep love of her people and her country, her plain good sense, her power of seeing the right thing at the right time and her capacity for doing it, her blameless life and her great example. After fifty-five years of zealous attention to their welfare, it would be only the thoughtless who could suppose that she will not of her own good will do all that her health and strength permit her to gratify their affectionate

loyalty. The single wish that is in all our hearts is surely this: that one so true and good may continue for long years to come to occupy that place which for more than half a century she has, to the great content of us all, so worthily filled; that unclouded happiness may be hers; and that the Almighty will reward her single-hearted consecration to the good of her people, by causing them even yet to sink all their party spirit, factions, and jealousies in united, unselfish labour for the peace and prosperity of every class of their fellow-subjects.

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

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ART. IV.—GALATIANS ii. 4.

διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους, κ. τ. λ.

I THINK the logical connection of this passage has been completely mistaken by commentators, neither has it been successfully disentangled even by the late Bishop Lightfoot. The question of the circumcision of Titus is generally treated as a leading factor in it, whereas I think I see indications that it never came on the tapis at all, but was prevented from doing so by Paul's policy.

Dr. Lightfoot writes: "But to satisfy, to disarm the false brethren, the traitorous spies of the Gospel.—At this point the connection of the sentence is snapped, and we are left to conjecture as to the conclusion. It seems as if St. Paul intended to add, 'the leading Apostles urged me to yield.' But instead of this a long parenthesis intervenes, in the course of which the main proposition of the sentence is lost sight of. It is again resumed in a different form: 'from those then that were held in repute,' verse 6. Then again it disappears in another parenthesis. Once more it is taken up and completed, transformed by this time into a general statement: 'well, they of reputation added nothing to me in conference.' The counsels of the Apostles of the circumcision are the hidden rock on which the grammar of the sentence is wrecked."

But suppose it can be shown, by a different method of taking the sentence, that there is no reason for thinking that St. Paul had any idea of "satisfying" or "disarming" the false brethren, that the connection of the sentence is not "snapped off," that he wrote all that he intended to write and exhibits no sign of having been counselled by the leading Apostles to yield, that the main subject of the sentence is not "lost sight of through a long parenthesis," and that the counsels of the Apostles of the circumcision are not the "hidden rock on which

the grammar of the sentence is wrecked," since the grammar of the sentence is not wrecked at all.

Let us take the whole passage over again under the hypothesis that Paul is either explaining, or possibly justifying, his politic conduct in making sure of his ground with the Apostles of the circumcision before the false brethren had an opportunity of attacking him or sowing dissension, and that it was his knowledge of their readiness to attack him that caused him to act as he did. I hope to be able to show that, by proceeding in this way, taking διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους as the pivot of the passage, and supplying the copula, which has been omitted in eager haste, just as it has been in a speech of the same Paul in Acts xxiv. 17, 18, hereafter to be cited and commented on, there will be no difficulty, either grammatical or logical, remaining that need cause the slightest trouble. In fact, the difficulty has arisen from a preconceived opinion, not contained in the text, but read into it from without, that there was a serious discrepancy between the views of Paul on the one hand and the Apostles of the circumcision on the other.

The Apostle's words run : " Then after an interval of fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking with me Titus also. And I went up by revelation, and related to them [in consultation] the Gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, but *privately to those who were eminent*, lest any how I should be running or should have run in vain ; but [it was] because of the surreptitiously introduced pseudo-brethren, who made their way in to make espial of our liberty, which we possess in Christ Jesus, in order to enslave us [that I did so], to whom we did not yield even temporarily by way of submission, in order that the truth of the Gospel might remain with you. Now from those who were eminent—whatever they once were, it makes no difference to me, God does not accept a man's person—for those who were eminent gave me no additional instruction, but on the contrary, seeing that I have been entrusted with the Gospel of the uncircumcision, as Peter with that of the circumcision (for he who wrought in Peter unto apostleship of the circumcision, wrought in me also with regard to the Gentiles), and perceiving the grace which was given to me, James and Cephas and John, who were considered to be pillars, gave me and Barnabas right hands of fellowship, that we [should go] to the Gentiles and they to the circumcision."

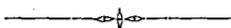
If we take the passage in this way, we find no hint in it of a serious difference of opinion, either theoretical or practical, between Paul and the Apostles of the circumcision. We only find that, in order to prevent annoyance or attack from the pseudo-

brethren, and possibly a serious disturbance in the grand assembly of the Church, Paul made himself sure of his ground with Cephas, James and John, ascertained fully that his and their Gospel was to all intents and purposes the same, and came, as it were, into court on terms of perfect friendship with them. Whereas, if he had not thus carefully prepared his ground, the pseudo-brethren might have been able to put pressure upon him, and perhaps even have obtained a declaration from the Apostles of the circumcision, that it was desirable in the interests of peace that Titus should be circumcised. All this possible conspiracy was nipped in the bud by Paul's politic course in taking time by the forelock, and coming to a perfect understanding with the other Apostles before those who wished to make a breach between him and them had the opportunity of sowing the smallest seed of dissension.

This is extremely simple and easy, and everything runs on naturally without the introduction of propositions not in the text, which is surely much better than to complicate both logic and grammar, as Lightfoot and others have done. There has been a kind of conspiracy among certain German theologians to set the Pauline, Petrine, Jacobæan and Johannine Gospels by the ears, just in the way that the pseudo-brethren had at heart. But if the words of Paul are taken simply as they stand, I am confident that there is no reason for any such thing. In fact, the politic conduct of Paul in securing a private interview, before coming into the mixed assembly, precluded any such occurrence.

For the grammatical construction of *διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους*, without any verb expressed, I would compare a similar sentence in a speech of the same Paul in Acts xxiv. 17, 18: "Now after many years I came to bring alms to my nation and offerings, engaged in which they found me purified in the temple, with no crowd nor yet with tumult; but [*it was*]" (the R.V. gives "*there were*") certain Jews from Asia [that caused the disturbance], who ought to have been here before thee, and to be making accusation if they had aught against me." The "*there were*" of the R.V. completes the grammar, but does not exhibit the absence of the copula and effect of the clause so plainly as the words "*it was*," which I have inserted in brackets, as I have also done in my translation of *διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους* in Gal. ii. 4 above.

A. H. WRATISLAW.



## ART. V.—THE LIMITATION OF CHRIST'S KNOWLEDGE.

CONSIDERABLE attention has been directed during the last few years to the question as to whether there was or was not any limitation of our Blessed Lord's knowledge during His humiliation, and owing to His incarnation. The question has naturally—indeed, inevitably—come into prominence in connection with what is called the “higher criticism” of the Old Testament Scriptures, on which the seal of our Lord's authority is so plainly and so frequently set. For when “Christus Comprobator” is appealed to against the decisions of the “higher criticism,” too many of the “higher critics” have shown themselves prepared to make light of His authority on the ground that, “in the days of His flesh,” at any rate, He was not omniscient, therefore did not know everything; and, therefore—they go on to say—may have been mistaken in His statements concerning, and His allusions to, the Scriptures. This is, of course, resented indignantly by those who hold that our Lord was as omniscient during “the days of His flesh” as He was before His incarnation, and from all eternity; still more so by those who maintain that it was, and is, impossible for Him to lay aside His omniscience without at the same time laying aside His essential Godhead—which all who believe in His Godhead at all must hold to be absolutely impossible. Such indignation and resentment, however, are of little force with those against whom they are directed. For some of them, alas! are quite ready to let the Godhead of the Incarnate Word go by the board along with His omniscience while on earth; and still more of them are quite ready with the reply: “You are simply wrong in thus arguing from our Lord's Godhead, or from His omniscience before His incarnation, to His omniscience during ‘the days of His flesh.’ And, besides, your argument to that effect comes too late in the day to have any weight. You must settle that question with those pillars of the Church and standard-bearers of orthodoxy who in all ages of the Christian Church have held with us and differed with you upon it.”

The fact is that the question as to our Lord's omniscience while on earth is one that can only be debated with any propriety between those who are firm believers in His essential Godhead and in His omniscience before He came into the world. That orthodox Christians are committed to His omniscience by their creeds and by the Scriptures as interpreted and understood by them has, indeed, been often maintained by Unitarian controversialists; but it has been as often denied, and with good effect, by their orthodox opponents. It

is only by an unfortunate accident that it has been mixed up with the "higher criticism" discussions of late years. It is as if, with regard to New Testament criticism, some had maintained the omniscience of its writers or the infallibility of the Council of Carthage, and had argued from these premises to the certain truth of every New Testament statement. Such might have considered the cause of the New Testament endangered or betrayed by the abandonment of those premises by its defenders. Still, its best defenders would have been found among those who most unhesitatingly did abandon them, or, rather, who never adopted them. So with regard to Old Testament criticism, the admission that our Lord was not omniscient in the days of His flesh may be deplored by some as a betrayal of the cause of Old Testament truth; but we believe that cause is safer in the hands of those who make that admission than in the hands of those who hamper themselves and their cause with the maintenance of an unnecessary and untenable opinion—with the brandishing of a controversial weapon that is utterly useless, as we have shown, against the "higher criticism." Some of the strongest statements against our Lord's omniscience while on earth—such as we shall presently put before our readers—have been made by the staunchest defenders of His authority and of Holy Scripture as under the sanction of His authority, and while defending the Old Testament from rationalistic attacks on its veracity; while, at the same time, what such have thus maintained in the arena of controversy has been held and taught by them and others as what they have learned from the Scriptures to be, indeed, an important and precious part of the great truth of the incarnation of the Son of God.

For instance, it was when writing his essay in "Aids to Faith" on "Scripture and its Interpretation," against the rationalism of the once notorious "Essays and Reviews," that Bishop Ellicott, the learned and venerated Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, wrote as follows in reference to our Lord's words in Mark xiii. 32 :

What we instinctively surmise as we read the passage, the analogy of Scripture and Faith assures us of—that when the Lord thus spake to His four chosen Apostles He does virtually assure us that He was so truly man, that when He assumed that nature He assumed it with all its limitations, and that in that nature He vouchsafed to know not what as God He had known from everlasting. Why are we to be deterred from this ancient interpretation? why are we to obelize the words with Ambrose, or regard them as a conventional statement with Augustine, when they admit of an explanation so simple, and so consonant with all that we are told of Him who vouchsafed, not only to be incarnate, but to increase in wisdom, and to be a veritable sharer in all the sinless imperfections of humanity? ("Aids to Faith," p. 445).

So also the learned Bishop Harold Browne, in "Pentateuch and Elohistic Psalms," p. 13, while opposing the rationalistic error that would impute error to our Lord because of His non-omniscience, says as follows :

Ignorance does not of necessity involve error. Of course in *our* present state of being, and with our propensity to lean on our wisdom, ignorance is extremely likely to lead to error. But ignorance is not error ; and there is not one word in the Bible which could lead us to suppose that our Blessed Lord was liable to error in any sense of the word or in any department of knowledge. I do not say that we have any distinct statements to the contrary, but there is nothing like a hint that there was any such liability, whereas His other human infirmities—weakness, weariness, sorrow, fear, suffering, temptation, ignorance—all these are put forward prominently, and many of them frequently.

These words, we may remark, are quoted by the late Canon Liddon in support of his assertion that "plainly enough, a limitation of knowledge is one thing, and infallibility is another." "Infallibility does not imply omniscience, any more than limited knowledge implies error" ("Lectures on our Lord's Divinity," pp. 701, 702). Canon Liddon, in the eighth of his valuable lectures, while he opposes the notion that there was ever any limitation of our Lord's knowledge, honestly supplies his readers with much help against his own contention.

Once more, it was in a charge delivered in 1863, in which he deals with the heterodoxy of Bishop Colenso, and especially with his denial of our Lord's infallibility, that the great and eminent Dr. O'Brien, Bishop of Ossory—"clarum et venerabile nomen"—wrote as follows about the Incarnate Son, and in reference to His words in Mark xiii. 32 :

Not only was all His heavenly glory laid by when He tabernacled in the flesh, but all His infinite attributes and powers seem for the time to have been in abeyance, so to speak. And by this is meant something more than that the manifestation and exercise of them were suspended. That is undoubtedly true, but it seems to fall far short of the whole truth. It appears that there was not merely a voluntary suspension of the exercise of them, but a voluntary renunciation of the capacity of exercising them, for the time. This involves no change of His essence or nature ; and no destruction of His Divine powers, as if they had ceased to exist, or loss of them, so that they could not be resumed. Finite beings often undergo such a suspension involuntarily, without its leading to any such consequences.

Here the Bishop gives, in a note, a quotation from Butler's "Analogy," Part I., ch. i., about the "suspension of our living powers." In the text he goes on to say :

And it can make no difference in this respect, that in the Infinite Being it is undergone by an act of His own will.

Nor are the wonderful works which were then wrought by Him at all at variance with this view of the state of the Incarnate Word. Infinitely as they transcended the natural powers of man, they did not go beyond the

powers which may be supernaturally bestowed upon man. For He Himself declares that the Apostles should not only do such works as He had done, but *greater works*. There is nothing, therefore, in their nature or their degree, to determine whether they were wrought by the proper power of the Divine Word, or by power bestowed upon the Incarnate Word. But we are not left without ample means of deciding the question.

It is not surprising that it should be generally thought that the miraculous power which was displayed by the Redeemer was possessed and exercised by Him as an essential property of the Divine element in His constitution. This, indeed, would be the conclusion to which probably everyone would come who ventured to speculate on this great mystery apart from Scripture. But Scripture gives a very different view of the nature and effects of the Incarnation. It seems distinctly to teach us that when the everlasting Son condescended to take our nature upon Him, He came, not outwardly only, but in truth, into a new relation to the Father, in which He was really His *messenger* and His *servant*—dependent upon the Father for everything, and deriving from Him directly everything that He needed for His work. All this, indeed, seems to be most distinctly declared by Himself.

Then follow quotations of the following texts, all from St. John's Gospel—John v. 19, 30; vii. 16; viii. 26, 28; xiv. 10, 24; and some remarks upon them, including the following:

They testify as directly to the fact that the state of the Son in the flesh was one of absolute and entire dependence upon the Father, both for Divine knowledge and Divine power. . . . All these passages bear witness, directly and indirectly, to the reality and depth of the humiliation of the Blessed Lord when actually in the form of man.

But there is another (Phil. ii. 6, 7), which seems to unveil to us what was done in the unseen world to prepare Him for the state to which He was about to descend. In it He seems to be shown to us when in the form of God, divesting Himself of all that was incompatible with the state of humiliation to which He was about to descend, not holding tenaciously the equality with God which He enjoyed, but letting it go, *emptying Himself*. It is one of the results of this wonderful process which the text that I have been reviewing (Mark xiii. 32) presents to us. And wonderful as the process is, and not forgetting even the intense energy of the expression *ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε* ("emptied Himself"), do not the results accord with it? Do not the passages to which I have before referred exhibit Him as actually *emptied*—emptied of His Divine glory, of His Divine power, and of His Divine omniscience, and receiving back from His Heavenly Father what He had laid by, in such measure as was needed for His work while it was going on—only doing what He was commanded and enabled to do, and only teaching what He was taught and commanded to teach?

Twelve years before these well-weighed and weighty words were spoken, the Bishop had said, in preaching the annual sermon at St. Bride's before the Church Missionary Society, in 1851:

That the Son emptied Himself of all that was incompatible with humiliation: that He laid His glory and His power by, becoming the messenger and servant of His Father.

No apology will surely be needed for the length of our quotation from this great divine. What we have quoted from

his charge so fully and so exactly expresses our own belief on the subject that it will supersede the necessity of any further statement of what we hold.

The distinction which is insisted on above by Bishop Browne and Canon Liddon between ignorance and error, between omniscience and infallibility, is not only very obvious, but most important. It is specially so when "higher critics" and others argue from our Lord's ignorance to His fallibility, and forthwith ascribe error in teaching to Him. But, further, not only is it true that "ignorance does not of necessity involve error," it is also true that error on the part of our Lord is excluded, and His infallibility guaranteed to us, by the conditions under which He acted as our Teacher. As the Father's servant and messenger He taught only "what He was taught and commanded to teach." As the Great Prophet of God that was to come into the world, with the Holy Spirit given Him without measure, He was infallible in all He taught. That is obviously all that is needed for opposition to the contentions of the "higher critics," so far as His authority as a teacher is concerned. Omniscience is not needed, except as the source in God from which "He was taught and commanded to teach." His infallibility can be maintained abundantly. His omniscience during the days of His flesh cannot. It has been given up past recall by too many of our standard-bearers, and, according to them, by our Lord Himself and His Apostles. On what ground do we receive and believe the teachings of Isaiah, of Matthew, John, Peter and Paul? Not because we believe they were omniscient, but because we believe they were inspired, and so taught of God. So we sit at the feet of Jesus as the great Prophet of God, and believe what He taught as the teaching of God Himself by His Son. Whatsoever He heard from the Father He made known to His disciples. Whatsoever He made known to His disciples He had heard from the Father. Some things—one thing at any rate, the day and hour of His second coming—He had not heard from the Father, and so did not make known unto us.

Two articles dealing with this subject from the pen of the Rev. F. Tilney Bassett have appeared in the course of this year in the *CHURCHMAN*: one on "Christ's Knowledge," in January; the other on "Mark xiii. 32," in August. They are both directed against the "limitation theory." The author states (p. 171) that our Lord "remained all that He was before His incarnation, in essence, in attributes, and powers, otherwise He would have ceased to be Divine—to be God." We do not wonder that he elsewhere brands the theory itself as a "strange heresy" (p. 170); for a "heresy" it would be indeed, of the strangest kind, and of the deepest dye, if what Mr. Bassett says of it, and

against it, were true. It is some relief to our minds, however, when we find ourselves so judged by Mr. Bassett, to find Bishops Ellicott, Browne and O'Brien, as we have shown, and Richard Hooker, Bishop Bull, Bishop Lightfoot and Canon Girdlestone, as we shall show later on—to say nothing of Drs. Dorner and Pressensé, Dean Alford and Dean Plumptre, and a host of other thoughtful divines hitherto considered strictly orthodox—in the same condemnation with ourselves. We venture to think it more probable that Mr. Bassett is mistaken in his estimate of the "limitation theory" and of those who hold it, than that those we have mentioned and alluded to have held, along with the limitation theory, the "strange heresy" that our Lord "ceased to be Divine—to be God," "was no longer God, but only a man," when He became man.

It is remarkable that in all Mr. Bassett's treatment of "Christ's knowledge" in his two CHURCHMAN articles he never once alludes to any enlightenment of Him by the Holy Spirit or by the Father during His earthly ministry. He never once alludes to Him as "that Prophet that should come into the world," or as a Prophet at all. Indeed, his conviction that "perfect and eternal knowledge, being a Divine attribute, was His in all its fulness" (p. 171), from the cradle to the grave, seems to us to leave no room for any such enlightenment, or for His having ever been a Prophet of God at all. Why should the Holy Spirit have come upon Him at His baptism, and anointed Him "with power" to do and to teach, as He did, if He had all that the Holy Spirit could possibly have conferred upon Him before, as well as after, His baptism? In accordance with this omission on the part of Mr. Bassett, he naturally, but most illogically, makes every instance of "supernatural knowledge" in our Lord a proof that He was there and then omniscient by virtue of His Godhead. It was so, as Mr. Bassett thinks, when He was in the midst of the doctors in the Temple at twelve years of age, "both hearing them and asking them questions," and when "all that heard Him were amazed at His understanding and answers." So that instead of our having here an instance of the proficiency of His perfect boyhood, especially in His Father's law, it was only an exhibition of the same omniscience as he possessed, according to Mr. Bassett, when He was a babe at His mother's breast. So, too, the fact that "He did certainly possess and exercise on this occasion supernatural knowledge, and that of a most minute and accurate kind" is put at seeming "variance" and as requiring "reconciliation" with His declaration (Matt. xxiv. 36 and Mark. xiii. 32) that He knew neither the day nor the hour of His second coming. "He must of necessity have known the day and hour, the exact particulars of which he had already

disclosed and defined, and so given proof of His omniscience" (p. 179). By the same rule Elisha, as a prophet, knowing and disclosing the circumstances of Gehazi's covetous dealing with Naaman, "gave proof of *his* omniscience"; and so with all the prophets and their "supernatural knowledge."

Of "Christ's knowledge" and the source of it, while He was on earth, Hooker's account is this: that "as the parts, degrees, and offices of that mystical administration did require which he voluntarily undertook, the beams of Deity did in operation always accordingly either restrain or enlarge themselves" (Eccles. Pol., v. 54, 6). "The parts," etc., "of that mystical administration did" not "require" the knowledge of the day and hour of His second advent, "accordingly" the beams of Deity did not "enlarge themselves" to embrace it. In the next section (7) he accounts for the illumination of the powers of Christ's soul by its "inwardness unto God," so that it must "of necessity be endued with knowledge so far forth universal" (as to "be privy unto all things which God worketh") "though *not with infinite knowledge peculiar to Deity itself.*" In these last words Hooker expressly denies omniscience to Christ while on earth.

Bishop Bull's account of the same matter is this: "That, forsooth, the Divine Wisdom impressed its effects on the human mind of Christ in the degree required by particular occasions or emergencies (*pro temporu ratione*), and that Christ, inasmuch as He was Man (*quod Homo fuit*), increased in wisdom (Luke ii. 52), and thus *for the time of His ministry* (*ἀποστολῆς*), *in which he had no need of that knowledge*, could be ignorant of the day of the general judgment, will seem absurd to no sane man." Canon Liddon seems to think that the words we have put in italics are rather strong, and "seem to hint at more than what the text of the New Testament warrants." (See the passage quoted from Bull—Dif. Fid. Nic., ii. 5, 8—by Liddon, Bampton Lectures, p. 700.) This exactly agrees with Hooker as above, and we fear that both Bull and Hooker must take their place among those whom Mr. Bassett condemns so strongly. They seem to be quite with us, unless, indeed, it be an exception that what we prefer to speak of, with Bishop O'Brien and others, as the operation of the Holy Spirit, they speak of as the operation of "the beams of Deity" and "the Divine Wisdom impressing its effects." In either case, it was knowledge communicated by God to the mind or soul of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. C. H. Davis, writing in the *Record* of November 28, 1892, after alluding to a view "of the union of the Divine and Human Nature" in Christ taken by Dean McNeile, goes on to say: "In the 'Discourses on the Humanity and Deity of the Lord Jesus Christ,' by the Rev. C. D.

As to Mark xiii. 32 (and Matt. xxiv. 36), Mr. Bassett once and again insists that it stands alone as "a solitary text" seemingly "at variance with the rest of Scripture testimony" (p. 137), that it is "a text which appears to contradict other texts, many other texts, perhaps all other texts," that it "is certainly isolated," while "the one which affords anything like a parallel only increases the difficulty." "This exceptional utterance, to say the least, seems to be in perfect opposition not only to other texts, but to the whole doctrine of the Christology" (p. 599). All this is an honest and instructive admission of great weakness in Mr. Bassett's position. From our point of view it is simply a mistake. Our Lord's words in Mark xiii. 32 are, to our mind, inconsistent with no other word of His, and with no other word of God about Him. If, to the great relief of Mr. Bassett and others, they were proved to be an interpolation in the Gospels, and never spoken by our Lord, we would miss, indeed, a great and decisive support to our opinion; but our opinion would still stand firm on many other texts of Scripture. There is for us no seeming variance between Mark xiii. 32 and any other text in the whole Bible, or between it and any part of revealed Christology. The only thing at all unique in it is that it answers, just as we would have expected, a question that, however natural on the part of the disciples, went beyond what the Father had seen fit to reveal to the Son, to angels or to men. But if they had asked to be told the exact number of the elect, or the number of people then living on the earth, they would doubtless have met with a very similar answer. What Mr. Bassett considers seemingly "at variance with the rest of Scripture testimony," and "in perfect opposition not only to other texts, but to the whole doctrine of the Christology," is just what Bishop Ellicott considers "the analogy of Scripture and Faith assures us of," and "consonant with all that we are told of Him." It is what Bishop O'Brien considers only "one of the results of the wonderful process" of self-emptying revealed to us in Phil. ii. 6, 7; while all who hold with him as to the meaning of that *κένωσις* of course agree with him here.

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Maitland, of Brighton, this view is worked out. And Mr. Maitland agreed that the human nature of our Lord was neither strengthened nor instructed by the in-dwelling Godhead beyond any other prophet of the Lord, and that in all His works and teachings He was instructed by the Holy Spirit exactly as any other prophet of the Lord would be. So that upon that view ignorance of the day of His own second coming would be no more extraordinary than St. Paul's ignorance as to whom he had baptized, or of the events that awaited him at Jerusalem (see Mark xiii. 32; 1 Cor. i. 16; Acts xx. 22)." That such was Dean McNeile's view of the matter is the impression of the present writer, who worked with him and under him as curate for four years.

What account does Mr. Bassett give us of Mark xiii. 32, where our Lord expressly declares that He knew not the day and hour of His second coming? We have noticed above how in one place he asserts that "He must of necessity have known the day and hour" which He says He did not know. But we would be sorry to impute to Mr. Bassett the irreverence which *seems*, at any rate, to be involved in this apparently flat contradiction of our Blessed Lord. The question is, then, How does Mr. Bassett understand our Lord's words so as to feel at liberty to speak of them as he does? It is not very easy to answer this question. He seems to give two alternative explanations. One is, so far as we can gather, that the ignorance avowed by the Lord belonged to Him as the Son from all eternity. The Father never revealed the matter in question to the Son, and so the Son never knew it. Mr. Bassett naturally enough anticipates the objection that thus "the omniscience of the Son is invaded." So he amends his statement and materially alters his ground by saying: "The attribute"—of omniscience, we suppose—"is not here limited, but authority is not delegated to disclose a certain event." "If not 'said' by the Father, it is not formulated by the Son, and consequently finds no divulgence among angels in heaven or mankind upon earth. In any case, the mystery pertains to the Divine Person, and not to the humanity" (pp. 597, 598). But we submit that the question is about knowing a thing or not knowing it, and that not knowing a thing is clearly an invasion—or, rather, a negation—of omniscience; that not knowing an event is one thing, liberty not being given to disclose or divulge that event is another thing. It is the former, not the latter, that our Lord asserts of Himself. In case, however, of this "explanation appearing unsatisfactory or involved in too dense a cloud of mystery"—and we confess it appears all that, and even worse, to us—Mr. Bassett provides us with another: "The interpretation which meets the wants of the general reader seems to be that this secret was not in the commission intrusted to our Lord to impart, though," he admits, "the phrase used may be thought to go beyond this," etc. (p. 599).

Besides this, Mr. Bassett suggests, as "not to be set aside without deep consideration," the theory "that our Lord was speaking economically, not with reference to Himself or His own knowledge, but what was suitable to His own disciples and their converts afterwards." We cannot see much difference between these three explanations, except, indeed, that the "economy" employed on earth in the last seems in the first to have been practised from all eternity in heaven. In all three our Blessed Lord is made to say what is not simply and

obviously true, though what He is supposed to have meant by His words could perfectly well have been said by Him or any other teacher in almost as few words. Besides, we cannot help thinking that Mr. Bassett misrepresents some, at least, of the Fathers in imputing to them the *economy* theory which he suggests. Some of them may have used it as he does, making our Lord say what was not really true, but what was "according to the necessities of the case,"—as if there were the slightest conceivable necessity for Him to say what was not, or to refrain from saying what was, strictly and simply true in the matter. To "economize the truth" is used in the present day, as we have sometimes heard, as a somewhat jocose euphemism for what is the very opposite to speaking "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." It makes a very little truth go a very long way. We consider it simply blasphemous to ascribe any such "economy" as that to our Lord; and yet it is hard to distinguish it from what Mr. Bassett—very hesitatingly, we must admit—suggests as a possible and an ancient explanation of our Lord's words. We suspect that where the word "economy" is used in this connection by the Fathers it is used for the most part, if not always, as Canon Liddon shows it was used by Cyril of Alexandria, who, he says, "argues that our Lord's ignorance as man is in keeping with the whole *economy* of the Incarnation. As God, Christ did know the day of judgment; but it were consistent with the law of self-humiliation prescribed by His infinite love that He should assume all the conditions of real humanity, and therefore, with the rest, a limitation of knowledge. There would be no reasonable ground for offence at that which was only a consequence of the Divine Incarnation. You will remark, my brethren, the significance of such a judgment when advanced by this great father, the uncompromising opponent of Nestorian error, the strenuous assertor of the Hypostatic Union, the chief inheritor of all that is most characteristic in the theological mind of St. Athanasius. It is, of course, true that a different belief was already widely received within the Church; it is enough to point to the 'retractation' of Leporius, to which St. Augustine was one of the subscribing bishops. But although a contrary judgment subsequently predominated in the West, it is certain that the leading opponents of Arianism did not shrink from recognising a limitation of knowledge in Christ's human soul, and that they appealed to His own words as a warrant for doing so."

In a note to this Liddon, after quoting Cyril as referring to the *οικονομία*, and as speaking of "Christ's saying that He did not know on our account," and of His professing not to know

"humanly," goes on to say: "But this language does not amount to saying that Christ really did know, as man, while for reasons of His own, which were connected with His love and *φιλαυθροπία*, He said He knew not [which is just what Mr. Bassett means by the "economy"]. St. Cyril's mind appears to be that our Lord did know as God, but in His love He assumed all that belongs to real manhood, and therefore actual limitation of knowledge. The word *οικονομία* does not seem to mean here simply a gracious or wise arrangement, but the Incarnation, considered as involving Christ's submission to human limitations. The Latin translator renders it 'administrationi sive Incarnationi.'<sup>1</sup> In this sense we adopt the "economical" explanation of Mark xiii. 32. If only we could think that Cyril meant by "as God" before the Incarnation, and by "as man" "in the days of His flesh," and so kept clear of the Nestorianism of saying that He knew as God and did not know as man at one and the same time, we would claim him as perfectly agreeing with us, as, in any case, he comes very near to doing.

There is one point on which we are quite of one mind with Mr. Bassett. In his August article he has set himself to prove that "*the Son* is always equivalent to the *Son of God*, and not to the *Son of man* as such; that "*ὁ υἱός*, the Son, when found absolutely and alone, without any qualifying adjunct, is never predicated of the human nature of our Lord as such, but always of the original Divine personality." We do not quite like the way it is put in this last sentence. Still we say: Be it so. Let the ground be thus cut for ever from under their feet on which nine-tenths of those who agree with Mr. Bassett take their stand, in denying that there was any real limitation of our Lord's knowledge, and maintaining that He was omniscient, and so knew everything, including what He said He did not know. Liddon maintains that if there was any real ignorance of anything in our Lord it must have been in His human soul. He asserts that this was the belief of Athanasius, of Cyril of Alexandria, and of Irenæus.<sup>2</sup> Certainly we have heard it again and again in these days from Mr. Bassett's side

<sup>1</sup> The word "economy" is used by Hooker in much the same sense when speaking of "the exigence of that *economy* or service for which it pleased Him in love and mercy to be made man" (Ecl. Pol., v. 54, 6).

<sup>2</sup> He quotes Irenæus as rebuking "the intellectual self-assertion of his own Gnostic contemporaries" by reminding them how "the Lord, the very Son of God," confessed His ignorance of that day and hour. "The Son was not ashamed to refer the knowledge of that day and hour to the Father, but said what is true." But his proof that Irenæus at the same time "attributes omniscience to the Divine Nature of Christ in the

of this controversy, that He knew as God and knew not as man. Men are warned off this ground as distinctly Nestorian; but unless they are prepared to resort to the *economy* theory in its worst form, they must either remain on it or else come over to us. To believe that the one Person—even the God-man Himself—could really know a thing and not know it at one and the same time is, we can well believe, a tremendous difficulty. To us it is an impossibility. To divide the knowing it and the not knowing it between the two natures of the God-man is the common refuge from the difficulty. Mr. Bassett drives men out of it in the most relentless manner. We cannot but say he is right in so doing. But then, curiously enough, he says: "If this is proved," as we believe it is, "the whole argument for the limitation theory, as based upon this passage (Mark xiii. 32), crumbles to pieces." We cannot see it. We refer him to those theologians whom we have quoted—to Bishop O'Brien, for instance, as fullest and clearest—as to what the limitation theory is, how clear it stands of the Nestorianism which he implicitly condemns, and how far it keeps from that refuge from which he has expelled his friends, as well as from any of those equally objectionable resorts which he recommends to them instead. What Mr. Bassett has proved about  $\delta \nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$  in Mark xiii. 32 and elsewhere, as meaning the Son of God rather than the Son of man, is altogether on our side, and we thank him for the trouble he has taken in the matter.

We ought to notice what Mr. Bassett urges (p. 179) on the subject of Phil. ii. 7, 8, and the *κενώσις* there spoken of. He tells us that it was of "the *form* (*μορφή*) of God" that "Christ divested Himself;" which expression he naturally prefers to "emptied Himself," which is certainly the more exact and literal rendering of  $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\sigma\epsilon$ . Then he explains that "*μορφή* (*form*) is the *recognisable* side of essential or intrinsic reality—that which makes it knowable to us. It must, therefore, be the external and intelligible tokens of the Deity of which the Lord divested Himself." Now, Bishop Lightfoot in his "Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians" gives us an exhaustive and interesting discussion on the meaning of *μορφή* in this passage as compared with *σχῆμα*, and the result he leads us to is the very opposite of Mr. Bassett's *dictum* on the subject. He says: "*μορφή* implies not the external accidents, but the essential attributes" (p. 108). "It remains,

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clearest terms," consists in his "appeal to His example"—therefore to Him as man, not as God—and in his saying elsewhere: "The Spirit of the Saviour which is in Him searcheth all things, even the deep things of God." But is it not the Holy Ghost that he speaks of there?

then, that *μορφῆ* must apply to the attributes of the God-head." "In the passage under consideration the *μορφῆ* is contrasted with the *σχήμα*, as that which is intrinsic and essential with that which is accidental and outward" (pp. 131, 132). So that if we put Mr. Bassett's assertion that our Lord divested Himself of the *μορφῆ* along with Bishop Lightfoot's explanation of what the *μορφῆ* is, we are landed in just what Mr. Bassett (wrongly, of course) affirms to be the real meaning of the "limitation theory," that Christ at His Incarnation ceased to be God. We object to this, as going far beyond the truth in our direction, and, preferring the Bishop's explanation of the *μορφῆ* to Mr. Bassett's, we reject Mr. Bassett's *dictum* that the *κενώσις* refers to the *μορφῆ*. As to what He emptied Himself of, we refer our readers to Bishop O'Brien, as above quoted, and to Bishop Lightfoot's briefer statement: "He divested Himself, not of His Divine nature, for this was impossible, but of the glories, the prerogatives of Deity," among which, surely, omniscience and omnipotence are chief. Canon Girdlestone, though hesitating as to the "omniscience," for reasons very different from Mr. Bassett's, and which we confess seem to us to have little weight, agrees with us as to the "omnipotence," and thereby really gives up the whole point. "His *might* and majesty," he says, "were laid aside" (*Record*, January 22, 1892, p. 117). Unless "might" is no "prerogative" of "Almighty God," Canon Girdlestone must take his place with Bishop O'Brien and Bishop Ellicott and others whom Mr. Bassett condemns as guilty of the "heresy" of making Christ cease to be God when He became man.

In drawing this article to a close we must notice very briefly one argument against our position which has been used by Mr. Bassett and others. We hold that whatever our Lord "emptied Himself" of at His Incarnation was restored to Him again and for ever at His glorification; and that His glorification began at His resurrection. But His words after His resurrection in Acts i. 7, "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in His own power" — "set within [or "appointed by," *marg.*] His own authority" (R.V.)—are quoted against this part of our position as being "the same reply, to all intents and purposes, as" (*CHURCHMAN*, p. 592) He made in Mark xiii. 32 before His resurrection. "So we may conclude that neither before nor after His resurrection . . . did our Lord know the day or the hour of the second advent" (pp. 592, 593). Mr. Bassett seems to conclude that this is the Scripture account of the matter as given in Mark xiii. 32 and Acts i. 7. But he is very far from accepting it as true, whatever our Lord says in either passage or in both. We, for our part, believe our Lord's words in both

passages, but we deny the identity of meaning which Mr. Bassett would force upon them. We adopt what is said on both passages by the late Dean Alford. Under the former he says: "All attempts to soften or explain away this weighty truth must be resisted; it will not do to say with some commentators" (the *economists*) "'nescit ea nobis,' which is a mere evasion: in the course of humiliation undertaken by the Son, in which He increased in wisdom (Luke ii. 52), learned obedience (Heb. v. 8), uttered desires in prayer (Luke vi. 12, etc.), *this matter was hidden from Him,*" etc. Under Acts i. 7, after quoting Mark xiii. 32, with its "neither the Son, but the Father," he goes on to say: "It may be observed, however, that the same assertion is not made here. . . . *The knowledge of the Son is not in question; only that of the disciples.*"

Again, we would not be understood by our silence to endorse what Mr. Bassett gives as his exposition of Luke ii. 52; viz., that He did not really "increase in wisdom" and "in favour with God," but that, "to men's appreciation, in His mental powers He appeared to grow in wisdom as He gave evidence of His abilities." "The thought is impossible," that "Jesus could really increase in God's favour"; but "the fruits of God's grace and wisdom were ever increasingly manifested," etc. All we will say in reference to this is that what Christ's inspired prophet, St. Luke, says is one thing, and what Mr. Bassett says is another, and that we believe St. Luke. We are not hampered or restrained from believing the full, plain testimony of Scripture about our Blessed Lord by any belief that He was omniscient as He lay in His cradle, and as He was taught at His mother's knee, or possibly at school with His contemporaries; or that He was omnipotent when He prayed for power to do His mighty works, and when "He was crucified in weakness." To our mind, His *κενώσις ἑαυτοῦ*, with all the limitations which it implies, is an important part of the truth of His Incarnation, and is also the key to unlock the manifold difficulties which are obviously felt by many in their endeavours to understand and explain the Scripture record which God hath given us of His Son.

W. T. HOBSON.

St. Barnabas' Vicarage, Douglas,  
August 31, 1892.



## ART. VI.—THE CHURCH IN WALES.

## A Call to Arms.

**D**ISESTABLISHMENT—so far, at least, as the Church in the four Welsh dioceses is concerned—is once more in the air, and we are threatened with what will probably prove to be the most determined attempt to disendow and disestablish that portion of the National Church which happens to be in Wales, that we have yet witnessed.

It appears to us, therefore, that the time has arrived when we should seriously try to realize the exact position of affairs as regards this important matter, and endeavour to suggest the best means of counteracting the mischievous designs of those who are so anxious to cripple, if, indeed, not altogether to destroy, a very important portion of our national inheritance.

Since the date of the General Election we have been reminded almost daily, that, because a considerable number of members of the Legislature, representing Welsh constituencies, have been returned professedly pledged to Welsh Disestablishment, therefore, in justice to the people of Wales, a measure for Disestablishment ought to be proceeded with immediately, and some there may be who think that further resistance in the matter is almost useless.

It must be admitted that such an inference is, on the surface, plausible enough, and we do not wonder that those who are hostile to the Church should do their very best to hasten a measure which for many a long year they have tried in vain to persuade the Legislature to pass.

But when we dive a little below the surface, when we come to think about the matter a little more deeply than the casual observer is wont to do, we confess that we see no reason for despair, but, on the contrary, much to encourage and nerve us to renewed exertions on behalf of that portion of our Church which is the object of such bitter and relentless attack.

It is true, indeed, that there are more members representing Wales, pledged to Disestablishment to-day, than there were in the late Parliament. But what then? A careful analysis of the voting strength of Wales reveals the fact that, after all the tall talk we have been forced to listen to of late, notwithstanding the chapel interest (the Welsh political Dissenting preacher is perhaps the most powerful factor in the promotion of Disestablishment), notwithstanding the noise and bluster—to say nothing of the malice—of the Welsh Dissenting press, few Radical candidates polled more votes, proportionately, than in 1885; whilst, on the other hand, that which so largely con-

tributed to the defeat of the "Church" candidates in Wales, was the notable abstention of Churchmen from the polls. In many of the Welsh constituencies the "Church" candidates showed a remarkably good record when contrasted with the number of votes given to their opponents; but the strength of the Church vote has yet to be given in Wales, as given it will assuredly be, when the question above all others before the country is Disestablishment for Wales. If proof of this assertion is needed, we have only to cite the case of Sir John Llewelyn, who stepped forward at the last moment to contest Swansea, a stronghold of political Dissent, and whose gallant fight caused so great terror in the camp of his opponents that almost superhuman efforts had to be made by the Welsh preachers—one in particular—to secure the seat to the Radical party. And yet in that constituency it is well known that the "Church vote," had it been seriously employed, would have placed Sir John—as it assuredly will place him at the next vacancy—at the head of the poll. Notwithstanding all we have lately read, we are not amongst those who believe that Welsh Disestablishment will be seriously taken in hand in the new Parliament. It is true that in their haste to secure—what they know perfectly well they will never get if their demand is much longer delayed—the spoils of the Welsh Church, Liberationists are injudiciously, and, as we think, indecently, pressing the new leader of the House to grant them all they ask and desire. It may indeed be that, for party political purposes, Mr. Gladstone will be compelled to make some movement, however slight, in the direction of satisfying this grasping section of his party, perhaps by introducing some measure directed to the end they have in view; but such measure, even if introduced in the next session will never, we venture to think, be seriously proceeded with in the face of Parliamentary difficulties which those who are best informed believe will effectually block any legislation in this direction.

Any measure for Welsh Disestablishment, in fact, must inevitably stand on one side so long as Home Rule blocks the way. That means, to our thinking at least, so long—and perhaps no longer—than Mr. Gladstone's life is spared. Whether, therefore, any measure is introduced in the new Parliament for the spoliation of the Church in the four Welsh dioceses or not, one thing, it appears to us at least, is quite certain, and that is that it will not become law in the present Parliament, however much ardent Liberationist members may desire to see their cherished hopes gratified, before they may be finally dashed to pieces by the growing influence of the Church in Wales.

But, it may be asked, what about the next General Elec-

tion? Assuming, for the sake of argument, that the rallying battle-cry of the Radical section at the next General Election is Welsh Disestablishment, our firm impression is that if the Church candidates in Wales will but place the Church in the forefront, and consent to stand or fall on that question alone, the Principality will be aroused from one end to the other, and thousands of voters who abstained from taking any part in the late elections will, at the proper time, rally round the champions of the Church.

Much may be done—nay, if our national recognition of Christianity is to be preserved, *must* be done—before the next election comes on; and here our remarks apply directly to English constituencies, though they are intended to include Welsh constituencies also.

It is a fact that up to the present English Churchmen, as a rule, have not sufficiently realized what Welsh Disestablishment means or what it involves. They have yet to understand two important facts. The first is that the Church in Wales and the Church in England is absolutely and identically one and the same thing. We ourselves constantly come across people who are possessed of the idea that, in some unexplained way or another, the Church in Wales differs from the English Church, and this idea must at once be got rid of. The second fact is that the Church in Wales grows day by day in strength and influence, and by its splendid work is fast gaining the affections of the Welsh people in every part of the Principality. English Churchmen ought to make themselves intimately acquainted with the history and progress of the Church in Wales. They have only to do this to become the most ardent defenders of that much misrepresented and misjudged portion of the National Church.

The question we have to consider now is, How can we make Disestablishment an impossibility? Careful observers have noticed, with no small satisfaction, that the best results in Welsh constituencies have followed where the work of Church defence has been continuously and systematically carried out. What, it may be asked, then, is Church defence work? In a word, it consists in Wales, as elsewhere, of spreading abroad a true knowledge of the Church's history, position, and work. Districts are carved out, and living agents, chosen and appointed for the purpose, visit the parishioners and impart true information about the Church, irrespective of politics, to every town and village. In Wales this often means the diffusion of information in two languages, the holding of innumerable meetings, the giving away of thousands of leaflets, books, and papers containing information which every voter ought to make himself acquainted with. If it be asked, Why has the organization

not been productive of better results? the answer is that the work has only been partially done; but wherever it has been thoroughly well accomplished it has told in a remarkable degree.

Now, our suggestion to render Disestablishment impossible is that first and foremost we must dispel the crass ignorance displayed concerning the Church, not only in Wales, but in every corner of our land. Very few regular Church-goers know anything at all of the magnificent history of the Church in which they worship. It is not too much to say that some of the clergy appear to know less even about the subject than their flocks. It may be said that the task of imparting information necessary to create an enthusiastic public opinion in favour of the National Church is gigantic. Granted, but not impossible. Given the necessary time—and, oh, how precious are the few short months which may separate us from the next General Election!—we affirm that it can be done. But one thing is needful, First and foremost, the clergy *must* awake to the impending danger. They *must* encourage their people to inquire about and learn for themselves what a glorious heritage they possess; impress upon them that the Church is the one great national institution which has stood from time immemorial as a witness to God's truth in this land, and that the gravest consequences to the nation must be looked for on the day when, if it should ever happen, for purely political purposes England turns its back upon its most precious possession, and in forsaking its national religion, dishonours Almighty God. If it be argued that Church defence is a layman's question, our answer is that the clergy, as the natural leaders of the laity, must lead the way.

2. The work must be done systematically. We believe we have in the Church Defence Institution the organization necessary for the purpose. The whole country should be parcelled out into districts. In every district a living agent should be found to carry out detailed instructions. Every house should be visited. Meetings should be held. Church history lectures should be given wherever and whenever possible (these last by the aid, in large halls, of dissolving views, in small rooms with oil-lanterns). Not a vote ought to be given for a "Dis-establisher" aspirant for Parliamentary honours, until the voter has been made aware of the gravity of his action.

3. Wherever possible Church reading-classes should be formed. These might be made both valuable and interesting. Parishioners, without distinction, should be invited to join these classes, and popular books on Church history and doctrine, should be read and discussed, and at the close of the season a small prize (say a good book, or five shillings), might

with advantage be awarded to the one who answers most intelligently questions suggested by the readings. This last suggestion seems to us very important, because the offer of a prize would lead many to pursue the subject in their own homes, whereby other members of the family would be led to take more or less interest in the proceedings.

Our unshaken belief is that the Disestablishment of the National Church of England rests, not with outsiders, but with Churchmen themselves, and this view is shared by Mr. Chamberlain, M.P. (*vide* letter in *The Standard*, September 1). No outside combination of forces alone, we believe, is able to accomplish so stupendous, so national a catastrophe. Let us, then, unite during the ensuing winter in this great work, first by learning ourselves all that we can about the grand old Church of our forefathers, and then by imparting such knowledge to others. Once the people fully realize that they are asked to give over to the would-be spoilers, not a political or state-paid institution, but *their own Church*, that Church which their forefathers built with their own substance, that Church, which these same forefathers dedicated in all humility to the glory of God and the use of man in the ages which should follow them—once they realize all this, and much else beside, concerning the Church of England, and we are bold to say that Disestablishment and Disendowment will vanish as a dream, as a nightmare, and the nation will know it no more.

G. H. F. NYE.

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### Short Notices.

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*The Expository Times*, Vol. III. Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark.

AS usual, this vigorous periodical is marked by a wide catholicity both of subject and treatment. Some of its contents are almost too scrappy and superficial to be of permanent use, perhaps, but there are very few students and preachers who would not find much that was useful.

*Hill-a-hoy-o.* By a Country Cousin. London : Alex. Gardner.

A singularly fresh and pleasant volume of verse. The author to a great extent touches ground that has been little trodden of late, and has entirely avoided that fatal characteristic of most modern poetasters—the spirit of commonplace. The impression that is left on one's mind after reading these poems is similar to that which would be left by a peep into the Lowland country—clear air, ringing burns, heathery hills, and all the honest homely signs of an old-fashioned agricultural district. Some of

this may be due to the quaint Scottish doric in which many of the poems are couched, but far more to their own merit. Evidences of wide reading and careful thought are very manifest. The old advice, "Polissez, et repolissez sans cesse," advice that dates back to Horace, has plainly been followed here—indeed, in parts the thought is so compressed as to be a trifle intricate, but even this is always preferable to mere word-spinning. We shall look with interest for another volume from the same pen.

*Witnesses of these Things.* By A. B. Tucker. London: Griffith and Farran.

This little book contains a preface by the Bishop of Durham, expressing a wish that the reading of its pages may increase the attention that is paid to missionary work. We quote from his remarks: "Missionary work is not an addition to our normal activity, or an offering of overflowing energy, or a peculiar form of personal zeal. It is of the essence of the life itself." The same spirit breathes through the author's unpretending pages.

*The Church in Relation to Sceptics.* By the Rev. A. J. Harrison. Longmans and Green.

This is a conversational guide to evidential work, consisting, according to the author, of answers he has from time to time given to evidential questions put to him by the clergy. It has both the advantages and defects of the conversational method in a marked degree. Yet on the whole it ought to be of extreme value to the parish priest. Mr. Harrison's books are now well known and appreciated, and his habit of never under-estimating a difficulty or over-estimating the reply to it makes all that he writes sound and useful. Mr. Harrison's personal experiences, with which he closes this volume, would prove interesting to even a casual reader. The book is dedicated to Dean Pigou.

*Messages from the Cross to the World.* By the Rev. E. H. Taylor. London: Griffith and Farran.

A manual of addresses on the Seven Sayings; spiritual, though here and there somewhat visionary and mystic.

*England's Greatest National Sin.* By the Rev. H. H. T. Cleiffe. London: Elliot Stock.

In the author's opinion this is the Asiatic opium traffic. Whether or no, he certainly recapitulates in a very telling form the arguments against what is undeniably a blot on our fame.

In *Notes on the History of the Early Church*, Archdeacon John Pryce has reprinted some valuable lectures. (S.P.C.K.)

We are glad to call attention to a second edition of the Rev. R. W. Kennion's *Unity and Order*. (London: Seeley and Co.)

In *Work for the Blind in China* (Gilbert and Rivington), Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming has collected a great deal of interesting information. The number of blind in China is estimated at half a million.

*Blackwood* is as good as usual. An "Experiment in Holidays" and "Titles" are very readable articles; "Love and Crime in India" is a clever sketch.

*Cornhill* is hardly up to the mark. Neither of the two serial stories seems to us to pay the debt which the *Cornhill's* reputation owes. The account of the English salt country is very useful.

## THE MONTH.

THE holidays have caused a cessation in Parliamentary politics. Outside Parliament, though, it is interesting, and possibly important, to notice Mr. Gladstone's remarks on Welsh Disestablishment. He promises it—but with reservations. As the *Guardian* says: "The main difficulty of disestablishing the Welsh Church is that there is no Welsh Church to disestablish. There are simply four dioceses of the Church of England in which Welsh is largely spoken. In no other respect is there any dividing-line between these dioceses and the remaining thirty; and when Mr. Gladstone sets to work to invent one, we suspect that he will find the task harder than he says—though not, it may be, than he thinks." He has, however, promised to make an early introduction of an "earnest"—whatever that may mean—of his intention.

Mr. Chamberlain expresses the opinion that the question is one for Churchmen themselves.

Much correspondence has been going on in the *Guardian* and *Record* with regard to the Lincoln Judgment. It is refreshing to note that though great thoroughness appears on both sides, there is an absence of acrimony. Only one case of secession has so far occurred.

The Grindelwald Conference has evoked, as was natural, much of both sympathy and exasperation. The Bishop of Worcester made a speech, important in so far as it expresses his own opinion.

At the St. Asaph Diocesan Conference the Bishop spoke vigorously and well on the Church of Wales. He had previously been made a "Druid."

Arrangements for the Church Congress are almost completed, and there is evidence of a successful meeting, even though the price of tickets has been raised. At Armagh a Conference of the Church of Ireland, modelled somewhat on the lines of the English Church Congress, was held early in September. The Archbishop of Armagh presided, and the experiment proved both interesting and successful.

Bishop Medley, of Fredericton, metropolitan of Canada, has been lost to the Church which he served so zealously. His successor is the Right Rev. H. T. Kingdon, formerly Bishop-coadjutor in the same see.

Matters in Uganda show no prospect of immediate improvement. The general committee of the Church Missionary Society resolved to send a deputation to point out to the Government the danger in which the society's missionaries will be placed by the approaching evacuation of the country by the British East Africa Company. Steps ought to be taken at once, in their opinion, to send out a properly-accredited British representative.