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THE
CHURCHMAN

DECEMBER, 1899.

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

THE preliminary remarks in the two former papers appeared to me to be necessary to mark out the lines on which the criticism of the Old Testament documents should and should not proceed. I pass on now to the task which I have proposed to myself, namely, the examination of the methods of the German school in dealing with the documents which contain Hebrew history subsequent to the settlement in Palestine. First of all comes the Book of Joshua. Both parties are agreed that in its present shape it is subsequent to Deuteronomy. The most cursory glance at its contents will serve to establish this. There is the closest possible relation between the contents of the two books. It follows, therefore, that at whatever period Deuteronomy was written, Joshua must have been written not long after. If Deuteronomy, though written some time previously, remained unpublished till the reign of Josiah, the Book of Joshua must have been compiled after the reign of Josiah had come to an end. Accordingly, Professor Driver, to whose "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament" I shall mainly confine myself, as having been written to popularize as far as possible in England the results of German research, gives the following résumé of the conclusions reached in regard to the composition and authorship of Joshua. It "consists, at least in large measure, of a continuation of the documents used in the formation of the Pentateuch." In the first twelve chapters "the *main* narrative consists of a work, *itself also in parts composite*, which appears to be the continuation of JE," though it is doubtful whether J and E are its component

parts, or whether it was the work of the person who combined J and E, but here, "perhaps, permitted himself the use of other independent sources." A rather complicated skein this, one would think, to unravel without risk of failure. In the remaining chapters, "*especially in the topographical descriptions*, the work of P predominates." But this is not all. Before JE was combined with P, the former "seems to have passed through the hands of a writer who expanded it in different ways, and who, being strongly imbued with the spirit of Deuteronomy, may be termed the Deuteronomic editor." "The parts added by this writer" may, as a rule, be "readily recognised by their characteristic style," and their chief aim is to "illustrate and emphasize the zeal shown by Joshua in fulfilling Mosaic ordinances, especially the command to extirpate the native population of Canaan. Now, in the first place, it will not be out of place to ask what proof there is—I go further: I ask what probability there is—that an analysis of a document into such a variety of component parts can possibly be performed with even approximate success. If the task be possible, let its possibility be shown by experiment. Inductive methods of reasoning, however reasonable or probable, are never regarded by men of science as established until they have been applied to a given case, and have been found to succeed. The assertion that so intricate an analysis as this can be carried out without risk of mistake is one which must be admitted to make a very considerable demand upon our faith. Granting—though in my essay in "*Lex Mosaica*" I have given reasons for the belief that it was by no means the invariable rule—that the Hebrew historians, as a rule, were mere compilers, it would be necessary that the documents thus combined should be far more widely removed in date and style than it is contended that they are if the component parts are to be separated with any approach to success. It is only marked divergencies in style and diction which criticism can safely pronounce upon, as every literary critic well knows. The more delicate shades of difference cannot be pointed out with any approach to certainty. Take the first twelve chapters. It is admitted that in these the Book of Joshua, as it stands, is a continuation of the Pentateuch as it stands. But there is a "main narrative" which "in parts is composite." What its component parts are, be it observed, is not quite clearly settled. This "main narrative"—and which *is* the "main narrative" modern critics, however closely agreed, do not appear able to tell us precisely—underwent a revision, either in the reigns of Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, or Zedekiah, or possibly during the Captivity, in which "Deuteronomic" ideas were carefully

worked into it. P, too, the work of the post-exilic scribe, has also been worked into it. And yet, after these repeated revisions of the original story, this continual introduction of foreign matter, some, at least, of the component elements of this "main narrative" can be unerringly detected and precisely pointed out by the modern critic! We invite the attention of historical experts to these marvellous results of modern critical analysis. We ask them whether anything so exact, so perfect, so amazingly complete, has ever been heard of in any other branch of historical or literary research. If it be possible thus accurately to distinguish these entirely unknown and otherwise unheard-of sources of Hebrew history from one another on purely subjective grounds; if we are able to show by this scientific analysis how utterly incorrect and untrustworthy Hebrew history is in its present shape, what surprising results may not be expected if these methods be applied to the history of other countries? We await this application with interest and anxiety. Meanwhile we are content to say that while the general historic and literary grounds on which this analysis rests are such as have just been described, the linguistic criticism which is added can only be adequately characterized by the favourite German word *willkürlich*. It is arbitrary to a degree. There is one other point which must not be passed over. This subjective analysis of the contents of Joshua, added to a few historical difficulties pointed out by the critics, yields results so certain, so entirely beyond question, that they have no hesitation in saying that a good many details of this composite narrative, handed down for so many ages as national history, are utterly untrue. They have been appended to the narrative in order to "illustrate and emphasize" the obedience of Joshua to commands which never had been given! They are, in fact, simply pious frauds. And this statement depends, be it further observed, not on any direct evidence whatever, critical or otherwise, but simply on the conclusions reached in regard to the date of Deuteronomy, which have already been mentioned. But in order to reach these conclusions, we must remember that it has been found necessary to set aside a considerable portion of the history which has come down to us, and which we have no ground for rejecting beyond the fact that it does not square with the views which have been put forward in Germany. When this is removed, as De Wette naïvely says about sundry statements in Chronicles, a great many difficulties in the way of the theory disappear—a very convenient way, truly, of arriving at the facts of a history! Another difficulty, moreover, attends the theory. Deuteronomy was not published till the reign of Josiah. The opposition to Deuteronomic

principles during the succeeding reigns was, as we learn from Jeremiah, one of the chief champions of Deuteronomic views, very bitter. How, then, can we account for the insertion of these daring and unscrupulous fabrications into the history of Joshua's campaigns? The motive, no doubt, was excellent. The moral and religious principles embodied in Deuteronomy are unassailable. Nevertheless, this effort to foist into the Jewish history a number of incidents which had no foundation in fact must surely have exposed the authors to considerable opposition. How is it that in books which teem with accounts of the violent party antagonisms raging in Judah towards the close of the monarchy we have not a single hint that these antagonisms were exacerbated by a policy so likely to create difficulties as that of trying to falsify Jewish history? How did Jeremiah and his supporters contrive to silence their opponents? How was it that these opponents, with Jewish history at their back, were unable to silence the Deuteronomists? Would not such efforts to falsify history have led to dissensions among the Jews of the Captivity analogous to those which arose among the Frankfort refugees in the time of Queen Mary? Again, we are reminded of the controversy with Rome. There is nothing so like the history of this alleged Deuteronomic movement as the history of the Forged Decretals. But Rome, with all her sagacity and all her strength, with all there was to support her in the conditions of the age, did not succeed in her attempt to palm off these forgeries on the Church. We may not unreasonably ask, What were the conditions under which Jeremiah and his coadjutors succeeded where the Roman Pontiffs failed? And as regards the remaining chapters of Joshua, where we are bidden to discover the hand of P, it may not be unreasonable to ask where this writer found the "topographical descriptions" in which his work abounds. In preparing a commentary on Joshua, which I published some years back, I had occasion to go very carefully over those descriptions, and I found them confirmed by modern discovery, in many cases down to the minutest detail. If written before the separation of the ten tribes, when Israel was under one head, this would be intelligible enough. But how could a Jew living in or near the age of Ezra or Nehemiah find the opportunity for a careful topographical survey of Palestine under the political conditions described as then existing? How could anyone do so after Moab had repossessed herself of the territory assigned to the tribes of Reuben and Gad?¹ It is a remarkable feature

¹ Cf. Num. xxxii. 3, 34-37 with Isa. xv., where the territory of Reuben and Gad has become Moabitic. See also Judg. xi., especially vers. 22 and

of the kind of criticism with which we are dealing that when confronted with such difficulties as these, it calmly and loftily ignores them, and proceeds serenely on its way, content to have demonstrated categorically that the persons who suggest them are unfamiliar with Wellhausen and Kuenen, and are absolutely unacquainted with Budde, Kittel, Riehm, and a host of other minor lights of modern criticism. For a time perhaps arguments of this kind may appear to superficial thinkers to be crushing. But sooner or later those who affect to have given us a history of Israel when, in fact, they have only taken it away, will have to face the questions, What was the actual history of Israel on the theories which you have elaborated? What answer have you to the difficulties in which those theories involve you?

We proceed to a more detailed criticism of the critical position. Chap. i., according to Professor Driver, is "in its present form the composition of D²," *i.e.*, the disciple of Deuteronomy, who undertook, for the purposes of his sect or party, to refashion the history of Joshua in accordance with their ideas. That this chapter is in close connection with Deuteronomy is so obvious that it cannot possibly be denied; accordingly it is not denied. But there are not wanting signs that the German view of this chapter, which Professor Driver dutifully accepts, is due to the theory on which Deuteronomy is dealt with, rather than to an impartial analysis of the phenomena the chapter presents. Thus, in ver. 4 the supposed Deuteronomic description of the boundaries of Israel's inheritance has a closer affinity to P's post-Deuteronomic account of those boundaries (Num. xxxiv. 3-12) than it has to the passage in Exod. xxiii., which is generally supposed by the German school to be one of the earliest portions of the Pentateuch, known to them (but to them only) as the "Book of the Covenant."¹ The phrase "the great river, the river Euphrates," is found, it is true, in Gen. xv. 18 (attributed to JE). But the other phrase, "the great sea," occurs only in the account of the border assigned to P (Num. xxxiv. 6, 7). Of the reasons which induced the last redactor to thrust in a passage here which is based on portions of twelve verses from P, when he had a passage more suitable to his purpose ready to hand in JE, we are as usual without information. Moreover, the allusion to the "land of the Hittites" (ver. 4), a race which we now know to have established one of the predominant empires in the neighbourhood of Palestine in early times—an empire overthrown as early as the days of Rameses II.,

26. Was all this history a Chauvinistic tale, invented to claim for Israel a dominion she had never possessed?

¹ See Driver, "Introduction," pp. 28, 33, 115.

the Pharaoh of the oppression—has rather the flavour of high antiquity than of the late period to which this portion of Joshua is assigned; while the phrase “this Lebanon” reminds us of the poetic phrase “this Sinai” in Deborah’s song, and is thus once more characteristic of the very early, rather than of the later Hebrew. There is also in ver. 7, in spite of its obvious Deuteronomist origin, a touch which recalls Num. xxvii. 23 (attributed to P), for there only is recorded the special charge given by Moses to Joshua, though there is a passing allusion to it in Deuteronomy (xxx. 7), where also an independent version of the charge is given, which “knows nothing” of any obedience to the Law such as is spoken of here.¹

Chap. ii. is said to present few traces of the style of Deuteronomy; it is, therefore, we presume, to be attributed to JE. But there is a marked Deuteronomic touch in chap. ii. 11 (*cf.* Deut. iv. 39) which is extremely difficult to explain, unless the passage was originally written by someone equally acquainted with the whole Pentateuch, or, at the very least, by one to whom JE and D were equally familiar. Professor Driver mentions the Deuteronomic character of vers. 10, 11, but he does not attempt to explain it. Yet this is exactly one of the points on which explanation is needed. How can these undeniable references to various parts of the Pentateuch be explained except on the supposition that the whole of it was in existence when Joshua was written? Professor Driver does not notice the repeated use of the striking word “melt” (מָלַךְ), which occurs twice in this chapter in the sense of melting with fear. This phrase scarcely ever occurs in this voice and sense elsewhere in Scripture. But one of those passages is Miriam’s song (Exod. xv. 15), and there it occurs in connection with the word “inhabitants” (יֹשְׁבֵי), just as in Josh. ii. 24. The point is, it may be confessed, a nice one, but it is not more so than many of the points from which far-reaching consequences are drawn by the German school; at least, it is, in common with a good many other facts which that school is inclined to ignore, an indication of a close similarity in style between the Book of Joshua and the Pentateuch as a whole, which tends, so far as it goes, to support the traditional view that the books of Moses and of Joshua are the earliest books in the Hebrew Canon. I cannot undertake a discussion of the linguistic phenomena here; but a careful examination of the passage by a competent critic uncommitted to foregone conclusions will, I venture to assert,

¹ It may be further observed that in Josh. xi. 15 we have Exod. xxxiv. 11, 12 (P), combined with Deut. vii. 2. “Vers. 10-23,” says Professor Driver oracularly, “belong to D²” (“Introduction,” p. 101). Then, how did “D²” interweave a passage from the later P into his history?

yield quite different conclusions to those which Professor Driver has reached.

In dealing with chaps. iii. and iv., we are, if Professor Driver is to be believed, face to face with a more intricate literary phenomenon. The "complex nature" of these chapters "is apparent from the following considerations": (1) That "after it has been stated (3, 17) in express terms that the passage of the Jordan was completed, the language of 4, 4, 5, 10^b implies not less distinctly that the people have not yet crossed—in fact, at 4, 11, the narrative is at precisely the same point which was reached at 3, 17"; (2) that "4, 8, and 4, 9, speak of two different ceremonies, the location of stones, taken from Jordan at *Gilgal*, and the erection of stones *in the bed of the river itself*"; and (3) that "3, 12 is superfluous, if it and 4, 2 belong to the same narrative."¹ We have here a very good illustration of the way in which the German school is wont to erect a pyramid upon its apex. We do not contend that the narrative is not a compilation, but only that the reasons given are not sufficient to show whether the narrative is a compilation or not.

First of all, in regard to (1). It is clear, from an examination of the passage, that when Israel² had passed over (see chap. iv. 1) the twelve men from the various tribes were ordered to *return* to the midst of Jordan (or to the place where the waters reached and the priests stood—iii. 15), and thence, *in the presence of* (לפני) the priests and the ark (chap. iv. 5), they were to take up twelve stones from the river. These stones were eventually deposited at Gilgal. After they had been taken out of the river, the priests and the ark passed over (ver. 11). It may be remarked, as corroborating this view, that the words, "out of every tribe a man," which occur in vers. 2, 4, though they are supposed to be taken from different accounts, are precisely the same in each. In regard to (2), we have to ask, Why *should* there not be two different ceremonies and two different memorials—the one to mark the point of crossing, the other to commemorate the event? It may be further observed that the first set of stones were *not* erected "in the bed of the river," but at the "brim," as ver. 15 shows, *i.e.*, the place to which the waters reached during the overflow.³ In regard to (3) we have only to suppose the course of the narrative to have been interrupted. The *choice* of the men was made before;

¹ "Introduction," p. 98.

² Not the priests, as yet.

³ See my commentary on Joshua, where this question is discussed, and where I have noted the fact that the LXX. and Vulgate render "twelve other stones."

but when the crossing was actually accomplished, the men were ordered to take up the stones from the river, which were to serve as a memorial of the crossing. I do not go so far as to assert that the German view of the passage is altogether impossible and untenable; I only maintain that it affords too slender a basis on which to rest this elaborate theory of compilation at a later date. There is absolutely nothing in the diction of the passage to warrant it; and it is absurd to assume, on the one hand, that Israel up to the time of Solomon was not a literary people, and then to require, on the other, that the Hebrew narratives of a century or two later should attain a perfection of style and composition such as is expected—though not very often attained—even in this age of critics and reviewers. *Anacoloutha* and inelegant repetitions are found in the pages of the best writers of antiquity; but it is not usual to assume this fact as a ground on which to pronounce their writings to be compilations from various authors. Nor is this all. The supposed Deuteronomic narrative in these chapters (for the redactor is supposed only to have picked out, for reasons which are not specified, chap. iv. 13, 19, from P) bears signs of intimate acquaintance with the *whole Pentateuch*, including portions which, if Professor Driver be right, were *not in existence at the time*.

I proceed to establish this assertion. First of all, we find the ark of God treated with the utmost reverence (chap. iii. 4). When we seek for the source of this reverence, which amounts to an almost superstitious dread, we find it in Exod. xix. 12 and Num. x. 3—*i.e.*, in P. It is true that no definite rules are there laid down for the treatment of the ark. But it is obvious from this narrative that certain principles had already been laid down which had produced a profound effect, if not on the Israelites, yet at least on the mind of the writer of this history.¹ If this history be, as we are informed, Deuteronomic, and if P be post-exilic, we are entitled to ask how it is that traces of a feeling which finds expression first in the legislation of P are already present in the Deuteronomic narrative of Josh. iii. It may be that criticism will have to revise its utterances, and tell us that there are distinct traces of P in this chapter. Or we may be loftily informed that, as usual, we have utterly failed to understand the clear and definite statements of the new critics that P is only a “codification of pre-existing usage.” We would only take leave very humbly to suggest, on the one hand, that a criticism which

¹ This reverence for the ark is once more shown in the history in 1 Sam. iv. and v., which, according to Professor Driver, is not particularly late. But the Books of Joshua and 1 Sam. are here shown to postulate the same principles. Whence were these principles derived?

revises its conclusions so frequently—for Wellhausen and Kuenen regard P in an altogether different light, as we have already seen—cannot certainly lay claim to infallibility; and that if this story of the reverence due to the ark were really concocted in post-exilic times, a certain period must be allowed in which P's ideas should have time to take root, which would bring down the publication of this history to a very late date indeed. Or, if the other alternative I have suggested be adopted, we have only to remark that though the assertion enables the critic to evade criticism, it proves him to be utterly unable to come to any definite conclusions. If all that he can tell us is that P was *published* after the exile, we reply that it does not matter in the slightest when P was “published,” if, published or unpublished, its ideas were accepted and its regulations in operation long before the exile. But the whole theory which has elaborated the Priestly Code depends upon the assumption that the principles on which it proceeds were *not* accepted by the Jewish people previous to the exile. If this assumption be exploded, will the critics tell us on what assumptions their theory of the Priestly Code henceforth depends? Then we find the “priests and Levites” bearing the ark, and an allusion to this fact in Deuteronomy (xxxi. 9, 25). But the regulation on which this fact depends is only found in P (Num. iv.).¹ Then, in chap. iv. 7, we have once more a phrase characteristic of P, the word “memorial” (זכרון)—see Exod. xii. 14, Num. xvi. 40.² Another phrase characteristic of P is the “ark of the testimony” (iv. 16; cf. “ark of the Covenant,” iii. 3—a phrase found only in JE in the Pentateuch). The word “testimony” (עדות) is found exclusively in P. The word is generally supposed by the best authorities to mean *precept* or *law*, not *testimony*, though this is not absolutely certain, and Deut. xxxi. 25, 26 would seem rather to point the other way. But unquestionably the phrase ארון עדות is characteristic of P, and it is here found, as well as the phrase which is *not*

¹ It may be said that the *priests* are here and in Deuteronomy said to bear the ark. The reply is obvious. The word כהן cannot be in any way restricted to the duties of the sons of Aaron. The word has no special sacrificial signification; it may refer to any persons specially set apart for special functions. See Gesenius, *Lexicon*, and *Thesaurus*, *in loc.* Just in the same way our words “minister” or “clergyman” may be applied to bishop, priest, or deacon.

² Save in Exod. xiii. 9, where it is found in JE. If this passage be compared with Num. xv. 39 and Deut. vi. 8 and xi. 18, we have another instance of the homogeneity of the Pentateuch in history and phraseology. The word זכרון occurs frequently in the Pentateuch (JE and P), and very seldom elsewhere in the Old Testament.

characteristic of P (chap. iii. 3), in a passage which is supposed to be Deuteronomic.¹ If the redactor altered iv. 16 to agree with P, why did he not also alter iii. 3? What conclusions can we draw from this but that the author of Joshua had the whole Pentateuch before him when he wrote?

Proceeding to chap. v., we find the so-called Deuteronomic narrative built upon JE and P alike, both these authors being equally the foundation of the narrative, though we are asked to believe that the latter was not yet written. For there are, as may easily be seen, references to Exod. xii. 6, Num. ix. 5, xiv. 29, 31, 33, which are assigned to P, as well as to Num. xiv. 23, which is assigned to JE. The author of this chapter clearly had the whole narrative in Num. xiv. before him, though we are asked to believe that a good deal of which he makes use was not yet written. In fact, he must have had the whole Pentateuch before him, for he has also made use of Deuteronomy, *e.g.*, Deut. i. 3, 39, and ii. 7, 14, 16. We should not fail to notice the word "reproach," (חִרְפָּה) which hardly ever occurs in the historical portions of the Old Testament, but is found once in JE (Gen. xxx. 23), once in P (Gen. xxxiv. 14), and the Prophets, the Psalms, and the later Hebrew. It is but a slight matter, but it implies a recognition of an ethical condition, impressed on Israel by patriarchal tradition and the law of Moses, but not fully comprehended between the days of the "elders who overlived Joshua," and those in which the principles of that law had been developed under the influence of the prophets.

Professor Driver, however, does allow that some portions of chap. v. are derived from P.² These are verses 10-12. If we proceed to ask why, we find that it is for no other reason than that reference is undeniably made to Exod. xii. 6, xvi. 35, and Num. ix. 5, which have been assigned to P. The assignment, then, of the passage to P here depends not upon the phenomena presented in this passage, but upon the inclusion of the other passages within the limits of P. There is no interruption of continuity in the narrative here—nothing to suggest, and most certainly nothing to explain, the introduction by the redactor of extraneous matter into it. Nor is this all. There is a good deal—for, under the circumstances it is a good deal—to suggest the contrary. The narrative here is particularly connected and flowing. In fact, it will not bear separation. Ver. 9 first tells us how the place where the reproach of Egypt was rolled off from the Israelites was called

¹ It is singular that Professor Driver, who says that עֲרִיבָה (congregation) is never found in JE or Deuteronomy, does not include עֲרִיבָה in this category, though he might have done so.

² "Introduction," p. 99.

Gilgal, and the next verse carries on the history and relates how the Israelites were encamped there and proceeded to keep a passover. But there is more to follow. Gilgal is described as being "in the plains of Jericho," from which the transition to ver. 13 (JE), which speaks of Joshua as being "by Jericho,"¹ is quite natural. There is thus nothing whatever but the necessities of a theory to support the idea that vers. 10-12 have been taken from another author, and every possible feature in the construction of the narrative to suggest the contrary hypothesis.

J. J. LIAS.



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

I. RICHARD HOOKER.

WHEN the Tractarian movement first began, its leaders had no idea of going beyond the standing ground of the English seventeenth-century divines; but Dr. Newman, who resolutely seized on and held the direction of the movement, had not a mind that was evenly balanced. Full of enthusiasm, he embraced with all his heart certain principles of thought and action, and he carried them out to their extreme limit, regardless of other principles, equally true, which should have qualified them and restrained their application. Pusey followed Newman up to a certain point from personal love of the man, and so for a time did Keble, till he found and acknowledged that he was misled, and drew back. Newman's influence pushed the older Tractarian movement beyond its original aim; and as to the new medievalist party, it looks with as much contempt on the Anglicanism of the seventeenth century as on the Protestantism of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the defenders of medievalists, who, without being disloyal themselves, throw their shield over medievalism, are to a great degree induced to do so from a belief that ritualism, as it exists at present, is historically justified by being a legitimate successor to the Caroline school of divinity. It will be the purpose of the present short series of papers to show that this is a mistake; that the Caroline theology, while fighting Puritanism, was, nevertheless, Protestant to its core, and that, until the present day, there has never been any ecclesiastical party or any recognised theologian that did not firmly and thankfully stand by the

¹ 3 must mean "by" or "near" in this passage.

principles of the Reformation, or hesitated to regard and proclaim the Church of England as a Protestant Church.

Of course, we must understand what the word "Protestant" means. Protestant is in no way opposed to "Catholic" in the proper sense of the latter term, as it is used in our Creed and prayers, but to Popery, which the true Protestant regards as the corruption of genuine Catholicism. Protestantism, as understood in the seventeenth century, was a positive faith, not merely a negation, as some would make it. It meant the Christian faith cleared from the accretions of medievalism. Owing to the growth of other Protestantisms beside those of the Church of England and of the Lutheran Church, the word has now a double meaning; but so also has the word "Catholic," and there is no more reason for our shrinking from one designation than the other owing to ambiguities to which they are both liable.

We shall begin with some proofs drawn from Hooker. Hooker belongs more to the sixteenth than to the seventeenth century; but the seventeenth-century divines, without exception, take their inspiration from him, and, indeed, after Cranmer, Ridley, and Jewell, he is the father of Anglican theology.

Hooker has no hesitation in speaking of "the heresy of the Church of Rome" and "Popish heresy"; and one of his sermons (Sermon II.) has for its object to show that Papists may be saved, just because they do not personally realize the heresy of their Church, or because, in spite of holding some of her heresies, they still cling to Christ as the foundation, and at the bottom trust to Him for salvation. It would be a healthy sign if we recovered this fashion of speech; if we were not afraid of applying the word "heresy" to Romish corruptions of the faith; and if we did not shrink from the terms "Popery" and "Papist," and substitute some gentler appellation for them. After the controversies in the Early Church on the person of Christ, there are none, says Hooker ("E. P.," v. 3), so important as "those questions which are at this day between us and the Church of Rome." Successful war cannot be waged by remaining always on the defensive, nor by an abundant application of rose-water. Dr. Newman has himself told us ("Loss and Gain") that always to "speak gently of our sister's fall" is to lose half the battle before it begins, and to give the attractive an overwhelming advantage over the repulsive power of a mighty institution which attracts by the truths that it still retains, and repels by the false doctrines by which it overthrows those truths.

In the sermon to which we have already referred, Hooker, without professing to enumerate them all, names the following as among the "Popish superstitions":

“In the Church of Rome it is maintained that the same credit and reverence which we give to the Scriptures of God ought also to be given to unwritten verities: that the Pope is supreme head ministerial over the universal Church militant; that the bread in the Eucharist is transubstantiated into Christ; that it is to be adored and to be offered up unto God as a sacrifice, propitiating for quick and dead; that images are to be worshipped, saints to be called upon as intercessors, and such like” (Serin. II. 11).

Here we have mentioned as “Popish superstitions” the Roman doctrines on (1) Holy Scripture and Tradition, (2) the Papal Supremacy, (3) Transubstantiation, (4) Adoration of the Host, (5) the Sacrifice of the Mass, (6) the Worship of Images, (7) the Invocation of Saints. To these elsewhere he adds (8) the Roman doctrines on Justification, (9) on Confession and Absolution, (10) on Satisfaction and Indulgences, (11) on the Immaculateness of St. Mary; and still he does not profess to have enumerated them all, for that was not the object that he had in view. On each of these, and on the right and duty of reformation, we will show what Hooker’s teaching is:

1. *Holy Scripture and Tradition.*

“When the question is whether we be now to seek for any revealed law of God elsewhere than only in the sacred Scripture; whether we do now stand bound in the sight of God to yield to traditions urged by the Church of Rome the same obedience and reverence we do to His written law, honouring equally and adoring both as Divine—our answer is, No. . . . What hazards the truth is in when it passeth through the hands of report, how maimed and deformed it becometh they are not, they cannot be, ignorant!” (“E. P.,” i. 13, 2).

“They are induced either to look for new revelations from heaven, or else dangerously to add to the Word of God uncertain traditions, that so the doctrine of man’s salvation may be complete, which doctrine we constantly hold in all respects, without any such thing added, to be so complete that we utterly refuse as much as even to acquaint ourselves with anything further. Whatsoever, to make up the doctrine of man’s salvation, is added, as in supply of the Scripture’s insufficiency, we reject it. Scripture, purposing this, hath perfectly and fully done it” (“E. P.,” ii. 8, 5).

“Two opinions there are concerning the sufficiency of Holy Scripture, each extremely opposite unto the other, and both repugnant unto truth. The schools of Rome teach Scripture to be so insufficient as if, except traditions were added, it did not contain all revealed and supernatural truth which absolutely is necessary for the children of men in this life to know, that they may in the next be saved” (“E. P.,” ii. 8, 6).

2. *Papal Supremacy.*

"What he (the Bishop of Constantinople) challenged, and was therein, in them, refused by the Bishop of Rome, the same the Bishop of Rome in process of time obtained for himself; and having gotten it by bad means, hath both upheld and augmented it, and upholdeth it by acts and practices much worse" ("E. P.," vii. 8, 9).

"Jesuits and Papists, hear ye me! Ought ye not to know that the Father hath given all power unto the Son, and hath made Him the only Head over His Church, wherein He dwelleth as a husbandman in the midst of His vineyard, manuring it with the sweat of His own brows, not letting it forth to others. . . . Neither will ever any Pope or Papist under the cope of Heaven be able to prove the Romish bishop's usurped supremacy over all Churches by any one word of the covenant of salt, which is the Scriptures. For the children in our streets do now laugh them to scorn when they force 'Thou art Peter' to this purpose. . . . Jesus said not, 'The Pope is universal head of all Churches'; but *Tu es Petrus*"—"Thou art Peter" (Serm. V. 15).

3. *Transubstantiation.*

"It followeth that nothing of Christ which is limited, nothing created, neither the soul nor the body of Christ, and consequently not Christ as man, or Christ according to His human nature, can possibly be everywhere present. . . . The manhood of Christ can neither be everywhere present, nor cause the person of Christ so to be. . . . The substance of the body of Christ hath no presence, neither can have, but only local. . . . If His majestic body have now any such new property by force whereof it may everywhere really even *in substance* present itself, or may at once be in many places, then hath the majesty of His estate extinguished the verity of His nature. . . . We hold it a most infallible truth that Christ as man is not everywhere present" ("E. P.," v. 55, 4-7).

"Nor doth anything remain doubtful but this, whether, when the Sacrament is administered, Christ be whole *within man only*, or else His body and blood be also externally seated in the very consecrated elements themselves; which opinion they that defend are driven either to *consubstantiate* and incorporate Christ with elements sacramental, or to *transubstantiate* and change their substance into His; and so the one to hold Him really but invisibly moulded up with the substances of those elements, the other to hide Him under the only visible show of bread and wine, the substance

whereof, as they imagine, is abolished and His succeeded in the same room. . . . The bread and cup are His body and blood because they are *causes instrumental*, upon receipt whereof the *participation* of His body and blood ensueth. The Real Presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not, therefore, to be sought for in the sacrament" (*i.e.*, the elements) "but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament. As for the sacraments, they *really exhibit*, but for aught we can gather out of that which is written of them, *they are not really*, nor do really contain in themselves, that grace which with them or by them it pleaseth God to bestow" ("E. P.," v. 67, 2-6).

Contrasting the Lutheran, the Popish, and the Protestant or Anglican views, he states the last as follows :

"The last exposition made of 'This is My body,' is 'This hallowed food, through concurrence of Divine power, is in verity and truth, unto faithful receivers, *instrumentally a cause* of that mystical participation whereby, as I make Myself wholly theirs, so I give them in hand an actual possession of all such saving grace as My sacrificed body can yield, and as their souls do presently need ; this is *to them and in them My body*" ("E. P.," v. 67, 12).

4. *Adoration of the Host.* 5. *Sacrifice of the Mass.*

These being the necessary results of the doctrine of the objective presence in the elements which Hooker has (as above) repudiated, he is content with passing them by as "Popish superstitions" (Serm. II. 11).

6. *The Worship of Images.*

This, too, is a "Popish superstition." It does not fall in with Hooker's purpose to dwell any more upon it (*ibid.*).

7. *Invocation of Saints.*

"Against invocation of any other than God alone, if all arguments else should fail, the number whereof is both great and forcible, yet this very bar and single challenge might suffice : that whereas God hath in Scripture delivered us so many patterns for imitation when we pray, yea, framed ready to our hands in a manner all, for suits and supplications, which our condition on earth may at any time need, there is not one—no, not one—to be found directed unto angels, saints, or any saving God alone. So that if in such cases as this we hold it safest to be led by the best examples that have gone before, when we see what Noah, what Abraham, what Moses, what David, what Daniel and the rest did, what form of

prayer Christ Himself likewise taught His Church, and what His blessed Apostles did practise, who can doubt but the way for us to pray so as we may be undoubtedly accepted is by conforming our prayers to theirs, whose supplications we know were acceptable?" (Serm. VII. 1.)

8. *Justification.*

This is the point on which the difference between the doctrine of the Church of Rome and our own is the greatest and widest, excepting, if we do except, the doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass, and not excepting even Mariolatry. Hooker has written a treatise upon it, from which we make a few extracts. It is entitled "A Learned Discourse of Justification, Works, and how the Foundation of Faith is overthrown."

"Wherein do we disagree? We disagree about the nature of the very essence of the medicine whereby Christ cureth our disease. When they are required to show what righteousness is whereby a Christian man is justified, they answer that it is a Divine spiritual *quality*, which quality received into the soul, doth first make it to be one of them that are born of God, and secondly, endue it with power to bring forth such works as they do that are born of Him; that it maketh the soul gracious and amiable in the sight of God, in regard whereof it is termed Grace; that it purgeth, purifieth, washeth out all the stains and pollutions of sins; that by it through the merit of Christ we are delivered, as from sin, so from eternal death, the reward of sin. This grace they will have to be applied *by infusion*, to the end that as the body is warm by the heat which is in the body, so the soul might be righteous *by inherent graces*; which graces they make capable of increase, the augmentation whereof is merited by good works, as good works are made meritorious by it. . . . As grace may be increased by the merit of good works, so it may be diminished by the demerit of sins venial; it may be lost by mortal sin. . . . If they work more and more, grace doth more and more increase, and they are more and more justified. To such as have diminished it by venial sins, it is applied by holy water, *Ave Marias*, crossings, Papal salutations, and such like, which serve for reparation of grace decayed. To such as have lost it through mortal sin, it is applied by the Sacrament (as they term it) of Penance. This is the mystery of the man of sin. This maze the Church of Rome doth cause her followers to tread when they ask her the way of Justification. They make the essence of it a *Divine quality inherent*; they make it righteousness which is *in us*. If it be *in us*,

then is it ours, as our souls are ours though we have them from God. But the righteousness wherein we must be found if we will be justified is *not our own*; therefore we cannot be justified by any *inherent quality*. Christ hath merited righteousness for as many as are found in Him. . . . You see, therefore, that the Church of Rome, in teaching Justification by inherent grace, doth pervert the truth of Christ, and that by the hands of His Apostles we have received otherwise than she teacheth" (Serm. II. 5, 6).

Hooker proceeds to point out the difference between the grace of justification and sanctification, the latter of which is inherent, and admits of increase and diminution, the grace of justification being "perfect but not inherent," that of sanctification "inherent but not perfect" (*ibid.*, 3), "the one without us, which we have by imputation, the other in us, which consisteth of faith, hope, and charity, and other Christian virtues" (*ibid.*, 21). God gives us "the one by accepting us for righteous in Christ; the other by making Christian righteousness in us" (*ibid.*). "Then what is the fault of the Church of Rome? Not that she requireth works at their hands that will be saved; but that she attributes unto works a power of satisfying God for sin, and a virtue to merit both grace here and in heaven glory. . . . If it were not a strong deluding spirit which hath possession of their hearts, were it possible but that they should see how plainly they do herein gainsay the very ground of Apostolic faith?" (*ibid.*, 32, 34).

Readily acknowledging that our forefathers who were led into error by ignorance may be saved (which the Puritans of his day denied), Hooker warns modern Romanists that "their estate is dangerous" (*ibid.*, 38).

9. *Confession and Absolution.*

Hooker devotes almost the whole of the sixth book of the "Ecclesiastical Polity" to the subject of confession and absolution, distinguishing between the public confession of the early Church and the private confession of the later modern Church, and between the judicial absolution which forgives sin and the ministerial absolution which declares its forgiveness by God. "Public confessions . . . being now not held by the Church of Rome to be sacramental, were the only penitential confessions used in the Church for a long time" ("E. P.," vi., 4, 6).

"If they did account any confession sacramental, it was surely public, which is now abolished by the Church of Rome" (*ibid.*, 13).

"That extreme and rigorous necessity of auricular and

private confession which is at this day so mightily upheld by the Church of Rome we find not (in the Fathers). It was not then the faith and doctrine of God's Church, as of the Papacy at present, (1) That the only remedy for sin after baptism is sacramental penitence; (2) that confession in secret is an essential part thereof; (3) that God Himself cannot now forgive sin without the priest; (4) that because forgiveness at the hands of the priest must arise from confession in the offenders, therefore to confess unto him is a matter of such necessity as, being not either in deed or, at the least, in desire performed, excludeth utterly from all pardon, and must consequently in Scripture be commanded wheresoever any promise of forgiveness is made. No, no! these opinions have youth in their countenance; antiquity knew them not; it never thought nor dreamed of them" (*ibid.*).

"We stand chiefly upon the true inward conversion of the heart; they move upon works of external show. We teach, above all things, *that* repentance which is one and the same from the beginning to the world's end; they a sacramental penance of their own devising and shaping. We labour to instruct men in such sort that every soul which is wounded with sin may learn the way how to cure itself; they, clean contrary, would make all sores seem incurable unless the priest have a hand in them" (*ibid.*, 6, 2).

"What is, then, the force of absolution? What is it that the act of absolution worketh in a sinful man? Doth it by any operation derived from itself alter the state of the soul? Does it really take away sin, or but ascertain us of God's most gracious and merciful pardon? *The latter of which two is our assertion, the former theirs*" (*ibid.*, 4).

"The sentence, therefore, of ministerial absolution hath two effects: touching sin, *it only declareth us free from the guiltiness thereof*, and restored into God's favour; but concerning right in sacred and Divine mysteries whereof through sin we were made unworthy, as the power of the Church did before effectually bind and retain us from access unto them, so upon our apparent repentance it truly restoreth our liberty, looseth the chains wherewith we were tied, remitteth all whatsoever is past, and accepteth us no less, returned, than if we had never gone astray. . . . It doth not permit that, in the use of power over voluntary converts, to bind or loose, remit or retain, should signify any other than only to pronounce of sinners according to that which may be gathered by outward signs; because really to effect the removal or continuance of sin in the soul of any offender *is no priestly act, but a work which far exceedeth their ability*" (*ibid.*, 5).

"The careless manner of their absolution hath made discip-

line for the most part among them a bare formality; yea, rather, a means of emboldening unto vicious and wicked life than either any help to prevent future, or medicine to remedy present, evils in the soul of man" (*ibid.*, 7).

10. Satisfaction and Indulgences.

Hooker points out that satisfaction, which is "a work which justice requireth to be done for contentment of persons injured," has to be made (1) to God, and (2) to man. As to the first, he teaches that "satisfaction is made to God by Christ only." For "because God was to be thus satisfied and man not able to make satisfaction in such sort, His unspeakable love and inclination to save mankind from eternal death ordained in our behalf a Mediator to do that which had been for any other impossible" ("E. P.," vi., 2-5). Satisfaction to man is made by restitution and recompense when we have wronged others; and there are cases where the Church must also be satisfied, inasmuch as it has been wronged by the ill-deeds of one of its members. We may pass by the satisfactions made to man, but in respect to those made to God by man, on the Roman theory, the performance of penance is available. "They imagine, beyond all conceit of antiquity, that when God doth remit sin and the punishment *eternal* thereunto belonging, He reserveth the torments of hell fire" (the fire of purgatory being equal in intensity to hell fire), "to be nevertheless endured *for a time*, either shorter or longer according to the quality of man's crime. Yet so that there is between God and man a certain composition, as it were, or contract by virtue whereof works assigned by the priest to be done after absolution shall *satisfy* God as touching the punishment which He otherwise would inflict for sin, pardoned and forgiven. . . . If a penitent depart this life, the debt of satisfaction being either in whole or in part undischarged, they steadfastly hold that the soul must remain in unspeakable torments till all be paid. . . . So that by this postern-gate cometh in the whole mart of Papal indulgences, a gain inestimable to the priest, to others a spoil; a scorn both to God and man. . . . Such facility they have to convert a pretended sacrament into a true revenue" (*ibid.*, s. 9).

"A strange and a strong delusion it is wherewith the man of sin hath bewitched the world; a forcible spirit of error it must needs be which hath brought men to such a senseless and unreasonable persuasion as this is, not only that men clothed with mortality and sin, as we ourselves are, can do God so much service as shall be able to make a full and perfect satisfaction before the tribunal seat of God for their own sins, yea, a great deal more than is sufficient for themselves: but

also that a man at the hands of a Bishop or a Pope, for such and such a price, may buy the overplus of other men's merits, purchase the fruits of other men's labours, and build his soul by another man's faith. Is not this man drowned in the gall of bitterness?" (Serm. VI. 21.)

11. *The Sinlessness of St. Mary.*

"There neither is, nor ever was, any mere natural man absolutely righteous in himself—that is to say, void of all unrighteousness, of all sin. We dare not except, no, not the Blessed Virgin herself. . . . We must answer with Eusebius Emissenus, 'The Mother of the Redeemer herself, otherwise than by redemption, is not loosed from the bond of that ancient sin'" (Serm. II. 2). What would Hooker have said to the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, arrived at in our lifetime?

12. *The Right and Duty of Reform.*

"They ask us where our Church did lurk, in what caves of the earth it slept, for so many hundreds of years together before the birth of Martin Luther, as if we were of opinion that Luther did erect a new Church of Christ. No, the Church of Christ which was from the beginning is and continueth unto the end. Of which Church all parts have not been at all times equally sincere and sound. . . . To reform ourselves is not to sever ourselves from the Church we were before. In the Church we were and we are so still. . . . The indisposition, therefore, of the Church of Rome to reform herself must be no stay unto us from performing our duty to God; even a desire of retaining conformity with them could be no excuse if we did not perform that duty. . . . With Rome we dare not communicate concerning sundry her gross and grievous abominations . . . and our hearty prayer unto God Almighty is that . . . they may at the length (if it be His will) so yield to frame and reform themselves that no distraction remain in anything, but that we 'all may with one heart and one mouth glorify God the Father of our Lord and Saviour,' whose Church we are" ("E. P.," III. 1-10).

Let it be remembered that the purpose of Hooker's Treatise and Sermons is not to counteract Romanist doctrine. The above arguments fell from him, as it were, incidentally. Looked upon in this light, they are a more striking indication of the sound, wholesome Protestantism pervading his mind, which looks for union, if union there is to be, not by our making light of "the gross and grievous abominations" of Rome, but by her "yielding to frame and reform herself" on the Primitive model.

F. MEYRICK.

ART. III.—THE HOME AT NAZARETH.

THE plain of Jezreel intervenes between two low mountain ranges composed of limestone. The mass of hills to the south formed the land of Judæa, that to the north the land of Galilee, which word means "a circle," and was originally applied to the twenty cities which Solomon gave to King Hiram as a return for his having sent timber for the building of the Temple, but which Hiram in disgust termed "Cabul."

This district was early termed "Galilee of the nations." Its population was of a mixed character. There were Phœnicians, Arabs, and Greeks dwelling there, and the Greek language in Christ's time was generally spoken. Although the plain is a very rich tract of land, yet it now lies comparatively idle. It has been for ages the great battlefield of Palestine. Here Philistines, Midianites, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Jews, Crusaders, Turks, and French have fought; here oft has ascended the discordant battle-cry; here warriors have contended in sanguinary conflict; here the clash of weapons and the din of war has been heard for more than 3,000 years, and yet may be heard again.

When the traveller has crossed this historic plain, he arrives at the foot of hills of considerable elevation, then a steep ascent of some 1,000 feet is commenced. The pathway is narrow and rugged; huge boulders cross the road; loose stones of all sizes lie about; sheets of bare, smooth rock are met. Some parts are extremely steep. Grass and flowers of many hues embroider the way. Camels and donkeys with loads toiling slowly upwards are passed. After a while a plateau or tableland is reached, and on the right hand appears a small valley, which opens into an amphitheatre of hills, the appearance presented being that of the crater of an extinct volcano. A little onward to the west appears a pleasant little town, with its white houses clinging to the side of a hill which rises to a height of about 500 feet above it. In spring-time all around looks bright and captivating. The fields about are gay with many-coloured hues. Birds of different species send forth soft notes from amongst the trees, or flit about in constant activity. Above the town the hills are covered with thin pasture, whilst the upper end of the west summit is crowned with the domed tomb-shrine of some Mohammedan saint. In the valley fig-trees appear here and there, and crops of grain are cultivated. The hills encircling are not copiously covered with rich grassy slopes like those in this country. Trees of noble proportions, with umbrageous, outstretching branches, do not present themselves; no dense

forests are seen. There is no colossal scenery or wild romantic beauty. The long, round-topped hills are not indented with deep-cut gorge or impenetrable ravine; but yet all is beautiful, impressive, sobering, picturesque.

And the town, with its flat-roofed, white, straggling houses, which has been likened to "a handful of pearls in a goblet of emerald," is one of the most sacred in the world. Its locality is amongst the most sacred in Palestine. Whilst the sites of other biblical towns and cities are a matter of dispute, whilst some are but conjectural, and others cannot be discovered, concerning this town and its locality there is no doubt whatever. It is Nazareth, where for thirty years of His mortal life lived the Incarnate Deity, the eternal Son of God, whose day the faithful Abraham "saw afar off, and was glad"; "whose goings forth were from of old, even from everlasting"; the Saviour of mankind, who "came to seek and to save that which was lost"; "to give His life a ransom for many." It was His home. THIS town was His native place, where infancy, boyhood, youth, and part of manhood were spent amid the seclusion of the sheltering hills which shut Him out from the busy world beyond. Its name was not held in high esteem: rather ignominy and contempt were associated with it. "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" asked Nathanael of old. He could not think it possible. But Philip put the matter to the test. His reply was, "Come and see." Wiser counsel he could not have given. He asked him to prove the matter for himself. He exhibited his own confidence that it was possible that great good could come out of even despised Nazareth. Thus may we act who believe in Christianity, who know the value of Christ's religion, who have experienced the peace-bestowing benefits of saving religion. We may say to those who know not the true value of and the lasting blessings which flow from that religion, "Come and see"; make proof for yourselves. You cannot possibly know its value till you have tried it. Christianity has nothing to conceal; it courts every inquiry. It is spoken against because it is not understood.

Philip showed wisdom in not arguing with Nathanael. Upon this a learned writer has observed: "Little good comes by disputing. Pride is generally at the bottom of it. Let fall a word in season, and wait in patience till the rain drops on it from heaven." Nathanael did not think it possible that He of "whom Moses in the Law and the Prophets did write" could come from a place so obscure and contemptible as Nazareth; nor did he know of any prophecy that the Messiah should come out of Nazareth. True, St. Matthew tells us that the settlement of the Holy Family in Nazareth was in

order to fulfil what was spoken of by the prophets, "He shall be called a Nazarene." There is no such passage in any prophetic writing. St. Matthew seems to sum up in the expression he employs the teaching of the various prophecies which pointed to the Messiah as "a man of sorrows," as one who would be "despised and rejected." His condescension in living in such a place as Nazareth was clearly revealed when the scornful title was nailed to the cross and the ignominious name of Nazareth appeared, and in contempt the heavenly Sufferer was described as "Jesus of Nazareth." But contemptuous though the title was, He ignored it not; for when in mercy He appeared to the persecuting Saul on the road to Damascus, He described Himself, in answer to the inquiry "Who art Thou, Lord?" as "Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest." And it was here in despised Nazareth the Word who "was made flesh" dwelt for the greater portion of His earthly life. Oft did He wander over those very hills which encircle this town which He made His home. Along the narrow mountain-path by which the place to-day is reached must His sacred feet have trod as He journeyed from the south. Here He prepared Himself for the great work He had come to earth to accomplish—a work which will cause heaven to resound during endless æons with triumphant songs of adoring praise to the Lamb "who redeemed us to God by His blood," and endured agony upon the cross to ransom His saints. That work and sacrifice have been accepted by Divine justice. The sin-offering on Calvary has been a "full, perfect, sufficient satisfaction and oblation for the sins of the world." It is impossible that this perfect sacrifice can be continued, or added unto, for this would imply *imperfection*. We may rest securely and peacefully in what has been done for us by our Surety; and He tells us that "where remission of these (sins) is, there is no more sacrifice for sin." To Him who obtained it be all the glory and the praise.

W. PRESTON, D.D.



ART. IV.—THE ALBIGENSES.

PART IV.

THE murdered legate's work was taken up by Milo,¹ with whom was associated Thedesius. The Count of Toulouse saw what was impending, and resolved to bend before the storm. Cited before a Council at Montélimart, he promised to perform whatever the legate might enjoin, and to give as security seven castles. Standing naked before the door of St. Giles's Church, where his alleged victim lay buried, the Count solemnly swore, in the presence of the legate and more than twenty prelates, upon the body of Christ and the relics of the Saints, "which were exposed before the door with great veneration," to perform all those things,² for the transgression of which he had been and remained at that time excommunicated. He also promised to grant full liberty to all churches and religious houses in Vienne, Arles, Narbonne, Auch, Bordeaux, and Bourges; to give up or destroy the incastellated churches; and to do his utmost to exterminate heresy. Upon his accepting these conditions "sine fraude et ingenio malo," he was absolved, but only provisionally, for some of the conditions would take time to fulfil. Then, vested in a long robe, Milo led him into the church "cum verberibus." The crowd prevented the penitent from retiring by the same door, but compelled him to pass the tomb of the murdered legate.³ The corpse was as fresh as when buried, and gave out a wonderful fragrance!

Meanwhile the Crusaders were assembling at Vallence, the chief of whom were the Archbishop of Sens, the Bishops of Edune, Clairmont and Niverne, Odo, Duke of Burgundy, and Simon, Count de Montfort, with Arnaud of Citeaux, and Raymond of Toulouse. As if to test the sincerity of the last-named, the Crusaders marched first to Beziers, of which his nephew and namesake was Count. The city was soon captured and burnt. Seven thousand were put to the sword,

¹ His relation to Abbot Arnaud is thus stated: "Abbas totum faciet, et tu *organum ejus* eris."

² These were: (a) Refusing to make peace when others were willing; (b) not expelling the heretics; (c) being suspected of heresy; (d) keeping highwaymen and brigands; (e) converting churches into castles; (f) appointing Jews to public offices; (g) detaining unlawfully the revenues of certain churches and monasteries; (h) compelling payment of illegal tolls; (i) deposing the Bishop of Carpentoracte; (j) suspected complicity in the murder of Peter of Castelnau; (k) various acts of violence and robbery.

³ Peter de V. S. exclaims: "O justum Dei inauditum! . . . quem contempserat vivum, ei reverentiam compulsus est exhibere et defuncto."

neither age nor sex being spared.¹ From Beziers the Crusaders advanced to Carcassonne, whither Raymond, the nephew, had fled, the clergy singing with the greatest fervour, "Veni, Creator Spiritus." The outposts were quickly driven in, but not before the defenders had burnt the positions, to prevent them affording cover to the enemy. And so stubborn was the defence, that it was agreed that the citizens should be allowed to leave the city "naked"² except Raymond, who was to remain prisoner. Thus was nearly fulfilled that which was spoken by the Bishop of Carcassonne when the citizens drove him from his see: "You will not hear me now; but, believe me, I will roar so loudly against you, that from the utmost parts of the earth shall come those who shall destroy your town."

Simon de Montfort, whose zeal and courage were most conspicuous in these conquests, was appointed Count of Beziers and Carcassonne. It was this step which was fraught with so much trouble, and which accordingly demands more than passing notice. Upon the deposition of Raymond, Count of Beziers, the fief should have reverted to the suzerain, Pedro, King of Aragon, of whose orthodoxy there was no question. All parties, except the clergy, felt uneasy at this breach of the feudal laws. The post was offered to several,³ but they all refused. Simon himself declined twice, and only yielded when the Abbot forced⁴ the office upon him. This high-handed proceeding disgusted several of the leaders, and some, like the Duke of Burgundy, renounced the Crusade, and went home. From this time Simon became the central military figure, and Peter de V. S. seizes the opportunity of his elevation to indulge in a rhapsody of his virtues, finishing up with the pun that he was "De Monte, immo de Mente oriundus."

The army now numbered about 50,000—an ample force for bringing the war to a speedy conclusion. "But God ruled it otherwise, so as to prolong the time for pardon and repentance to the sinners." Victory continued to smile upon Simon, Fanjeaux (Fons-Jovis), Albi and Lombers falling before him, while Foix, Comminges and Béarn were granted him by the

¹ It was on this occasion that Arnaud is reported to have exclaimed: "Kill all! God will know His own"; but it is unsupported by contemporary evidence. Peter de Vaux-Sarnai observes that the victory took place fitly on the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene, because the heretics had grossly libelled her. The alleged libel is too coarse to reproduce.

² "Carrying nothing but their sins" (Peter de Vaux-Sarnai).

³ Viz., Duke of Burgundy, Count of Nevers, and Count of Saint-Pol. They declared that Raymond was already punished sufficiently without being disinherited, and they had enough land without taking more.

⁴ "Auctoritate suæ legationis utens."

legates.¹ But success creates rivalry and jealousy. The King of France viewed with disfavour the encroachments of Simon under the cloak of religion. The King of Aragon resented the eviction of his vassals. Raymond, Count of Toulouse, went to Rome and complained of the harsh treatment he had received, and was so far successful that Innocent instructed the legates within three months to assemble a Council, and consider the question of granting Raymond of Toulouse full absolution. But during the Count's absence the legates had held a Council on their own account at Avignon, and there renewed the excommunication on the ground that he had not fulfilled his promises. To the Pope they replied that Raymond had attempted to force his hand by soliciting help from Otto, the Emperor, and that if the Pope yielded to the present pressure, "the last error would be worse than the first."²

These attempts at peace failing, the war was renewed. Simon besieged Minerba, and captured it after a spirited defence. The terms of peace were left to Arnaud and Thedesius. The Abbot inclined towards killing *all* the heretics, but "he dared not to condemn them to death, being a monk and a priest." He offered them their lives if they would accept the "Catholic" faith. A certain Robert, however, "sound in the Catholic faith," protested against this leniency, alleging that the Crusaders had come to *destroy* the heretics. "Never fear," answered Arnaud; "very few will turn."³ Another attempt at pacification was made at Narbonne in January, 1211, but was equally fruitless. Then Pedro of Aragon tried matrimony, his eldest son marrying Simon's daughter, and Raymond's son Aimer marrying his (Pedro's) sister. Weddings, however, cannot harmonize principles, and the gulf was too wide to be so bridged. Aimer threw himself into Vaur,⁴ and held it against the Crusaders.

¹ Miracles also attend him. Two heretics, a "perfect" and a "credens," were brought before him; he ("mitissimus hominum!") ordered them to be burnt. The "credens" recanting, it was suggested that some difference should be made in his punishment. But the Count was firm, arguing that, if truly converted, the fire would be an expiation of his past sins; and if he had spoken falsely, he would receive a just reward for his perjury. The sentence was accordingly carried out; but lo! while the "perfect" was consumed at once, the "credens" came forth from the fire with only the tips of his fingers slightly scorched.

² Acting on the Pontiff's order, a Council was held at St. Giles's Church in September of this year (1210), but with no practical result.

³ One hundred and forty refused the offer, and were burnt together, some leaping into the flames of their own accord.

⁴ The people there were "impudentissimi canes, qui emiserunt ululatum et cachinnum." The city was "fons et origo totius hæreseos," although it did not belong to the Count of Toulouse (Peter de Vaux-Sarnai).

The Bishop of Toulouse had formed a guild or confraternity, whose *raison d'être* was the suppression of heresy. He gave the members the cross, and despatched them to Vaur. Raymond made a counter-move. He prohibited the Tolosans from sending the Crusaders victuals or machines, and conversely aided his son with reinforcements under the command of his seneschal. The Count of Foix rendered Aimer good service by routing a body of 1,000 men on their way to join Simon; but in spite of this success, Vaur fell on the night of May 3.¹

Simon now thought himself strong enough to attack Toulouse itself, but he was repulsed, and compelled to fall back upon Castelnau, where he was in turn besieged by Foix. This reverse had serious and immediate results. The Count of Borro, who had lately joined De Montfort, wavered; the neighbouring castles opened their gates to Raymond; William of Carcassonne, godfather to Simon's daughter and his bosom friend, perfidiously transferred to Foix supplies intended for Simon. This sudden revulsion of feeling shows what slender hold the cause of the Church had upon the people, and that it could be maintained only by external support. Soon, however, reinforcements were sent to his relief, and on Foix attempting to intercept them, a battle was fought at St. Martin's, in which Foix was defeated. This victory put the star of Simon again in the ascendant. He held a Council at Pamiers, fixed the limits of the territories conquered for the Roman See, arranged for the collection of revenues, and, in short, acted as if he were the rightful lord of the country. But "where the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together," and others claimed to have interests at stake. The King of France desired a pretext on which to annex these provinces to his kingdom. Raymond and his son (also called Raymond) had voluntarily promised on oath to transfer the possession of the *whole* of their territories, with all rights and privileges of the same, to Pedro, as a security that they would obey the Pope in all things whatsoever he might lay upon them. This oath (dated January 5, 1212) Pedro sent on to Innocent, together with a letter from himself, asking that as Mother Church had "*ubera*" as well as "*verbera*," the prayer of the Raymonds might be granted, the Count making restitution for any excesses he had committed, or that he²

¹ The heretics were condemned to be hanged; but the gallows breaking with the weight of Aimer, Simon ordered them to be killed in cold blood. This carnage the foreigners ("*peregrini*") carried out with the greatest eagerness. "*Innumerabiles etiam hereticos peregrini nostri cum ingenti gaudio combusserunt.*" The châtelaine, sister to Aimer, and "the worst heretic," was thrown into a pit and stoned to death.

² Var. lect. "*pater*" or "*puer.*"

might make satisfaction by serving against the Saracens or in other transmarine parts.¹ The Pope, moved by these promises, wrote to Arnaud (now Archbishop of Narbonne), pointing out that, although Raymond had been rightly excommunicated and his land ravaged, he had not been condemned for actual heresy or murder, but only suspected of the same, and he did not see upon what grounds he could grant his lands to another.²

The Church party became greatly alarmed, for it seemed as if Innocent were veering round to the side of Raymond. The Bishops replied vigorously, likening Toulouse to Sodom and Gomorrah. Another Council was held at Vaux (1213), at which the offers of Raymond and Pedro were rejected and the excommunication of the former retained.³ This decision made Innocent once more the friend of the Crusaders. He wrote to Pedro (June 1, 1213), expressing astonishment that a Catholic prince should have shown so much favour to the heretics, and warned him against opposing the will of the Church. But Pedro had his own views of the duty of a "Catholic" prince. He saw that the object of the Crusaders was not so much the establishment of the faith as the expulsion of Raymond and the appropriation of his land. Rome was playing into the hands of France. This view was confirmed by the fact that about this time Louis, the eldest son of Philip, appeared as a Crusader at the head of an "infinite" number of French knights. Pedro's answer to Pope and Council and King was to lead a large army across the Pyrenees, encountering the Crusaders at Muret, on the Garonne. Simon, having confessed and heard Mass, advanced at the head of a body of French knights, while the infantry remained in camp with the Bishop of Toulouse and Dominic, who helped their comrades at the front by their prayers. At the first shock Pedro was cut down and Simon unhorsed, but the Aragonese were quickly thrown into confusion and fled. Simon did not pursue them, but returned to the camp. This he found engaged with another division of the enemy. The victorious knights threw themselves into the fray with like success. Pedro's body was found at the close of day stripped and bruised.⁴ By this victory the whole country lay at the

¹ Pedro was also willing to accept the homage of Simon for Carcassonne, keep in his own power Toulouse, hold the son of Raymond as a hostage, and instruct him in the "Catholic" faith.

² A similar letter was sent to Simon de Montfort.

³ An account of this Council was sent to the Pope by Hugo the legate (successor to Milo).

⁴ The sight deeply moved the knightly heart of Simon. He mourned over him as David over Saul.

mercy of the Crusaders. With the legate's consent, Louis ordered the "walls of Jericho"¹ to be razed to the ground. Foix and Convenæ submitted, and Causia² became an easy prey.

The heretics seemed now utterly crushed.³ A general desire for peace sprang up. A Council met at Montpellier, but its consultations were cut short and superseded by the great Lateran Council (1215), at which the Albigensian heresy was considered. Many were in favour of Raymond being restored to his country, "but the counsel of Ahitophel did not prevail." It was decided that (i.) Toulouse and certain other places conquered by the Crusaders should be given to De Montfort; (ii.) Provence the Pope should keep for the younger Raymond, provided he showed himself worthy; (iii.) Raymond of Toulouse should receive 400 silver marks per annum, his wife, however, to retain her dowry; (iv.) the King of France was declared suzerain.⁴ Simon subsequently did homage to him in Paris, the people shouting as he entered the city, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

But he did not long enjoy the sweets of conquest. Raymond, indeed, retired to Aragon, but the hearts of the people were with the exile. Like another Napoleon, relying upon this attachment, he collected a large force and suddenly appeared before Bellicor. Simon hastened to the rescue, but want of supplies compelled him to retire to Toulouse. Here the citizens shut the gates against him, and in the battle that ensued Simon was killed by a stone shot from the walls of his capital (1217). Amauri, his son, succeeded him, while Raymond, who was getting old, entrusted the conduct of the war to his son. Amauri, however, was lacking in that strategic skill and indomitable perseverance which distinguished his father. In spite of the "persuasion" of the Dominicans, now formed into a separate Order, and the "force" of a guild of

¹ *I.e.*, of Narbonne, Toulouse, and other castles. They were, however, only partly demolished.

² According to Peter de Vaux-Sarnai, its lord, Bernard, was "homo crudelissimus, et omnium pessimus." His wife is "another Jezebel—nay, far more cruel than Jezebel, the worst of all wicked women. Both utterly vicious, they spoiled and destroyed churches, calumniated widows and the poor, and cut off the limbs of all who were obnoxious to them. In a single monastery of Black Monks our men found 150 men and women with feet and other limbs amputated, eyes gouged out, or otherwise mutilated by this tyrant and his wife."

³ King John of England advanced as far as Agen, 100 miles from Toulouse, to the succour of his nephew, but "usus saniori consilio," he retired without striking a blow.

⁴ The claims of James I., King of Aragon, who had succeeded Pedro, were disregarded.

knights who were to fight against the heretics as the Templars against Saracens, the cause of the Church lost ground, until in 1223 Amauri handed over the country to Louis, who now occupied the throne of France. He had promised Philip on his death-bed that he would support the Church against the Albigenses, but three years elapsed before he took any active measures. Meanwhile, things were moving in a direction favourable to his own supremacy in the disturbed district, for while by the Treaty of Carcassonne (January, 1224), Raymond and Amauri agreed to accept the King of France as arbiter in the dispute, things were going from bad to worse for the Church.

Honorius considered that the country had returned to its former confusion.¹ Louis coveted these provinces in order to annex them to the kingdom of France, and desired to see neither the restoration of Raymond to his ancestral estates, nor the installation of Amauri as the protégé of the Church. Many prelates, fishing in troubled waters, were loath to surrender their ill-gotten gains. In short, an *impasse* had been reached from which there seemed no escape.² More than one Council was held with a view to pacification, but as the legate said at the Council of Bourges: "There could be no concord between Raymond and Amauri which would not violate the honour of the Church." In 1226 Louis, having been granted a tenth of the revenues of the Church for five years, marched southwards with a well-appointed army. After three months' siege Avignon fell, and Carcassonne gave up its keys; but winter drove him back to Paris, and he died the same year. Their formidable opponents thus removed, the heretics took courage, and many places, either by force or free will, came over to the side of Raymond. But both parties were getting very weary of this see-saw. After another three years of skirmishing, a Council was held at Paris (1229), and the following important compromise effected:

1. Raymond to retain Toulouse, with right to appoint to its bishopric.
2. On his death to pass to the Count of Poitiers (brother of Louis), who was to marry Joanna, daughter of Raymond, and after him to his heirs.
3. The walls of Toulouse to be dismantled to the satisfaction of the legate.

¹ Confirmed by a joint letter of legates and Bishops to Louis, complaining of the above treaty, and pointing out that "the serpents of Pharaoh had swallowed the serpent of Moses." Louis replied that he had nothing to do with articles of doctrine, but that he heartily wished the Church would come to some agreement with Raymond "*salve jure nostro et salvis feodis nostris.*"

² Even the spirit of Dominic quailed or despaired; for, fearing lest his Order should be swept away with the returning flood of heresy, he very early removed all his brothers, except one or two, sending detachments to Paris, Bologna, Spain, and Rome. He himself went to Rome.

4. Raymond to pay 20,000 marks in all, of which 10,000 were to go to the Church for the expenses of the war, and 4,000 for the academy at Toulouse.

5. Raymond to retain Agen, and the land covered by the diocese of Albi, but the land on the west side of the Rhone to be forfeited to the King of France.

6. Raymond to cease to be Duke of Narbonne.¹

7. Raymond to go beyond the sea for five years.

The following are the more important statutes of the Council dealing with heresy :

1. Archbishops and Bishops to exact an oath of one priest and two or three laymen of good report in every parish to make diligent, faithful and frequent search for heretics in their respective parishes, by scouring every suspected house, subterranean vault, outbuilding, or other possible hiding-place, and if they found any heretic, "credentes, fautores et receptores seu defensores," to notify the fact with all speed to the Archbishop or Bishop, to the lord of the place or his bailiff.

2. Any owner allowing heretics on his property to lose it for ever, and his person to be dealt with by his lord as the latter should think fit.

3. Houses where heretics were found to be destroyed.

4. Bailiffs protecting heretics to forfeit their goods, and to be deprived of the office and right to exercise the same.

5. Heretics to be punished only by the Bishop or other authorized ecclesiastic.

6. The Inquisition, by whomsoever conducted, need not respect territorial rights.²

7. If a heretic of his own free will revert to the "Catholic" faith, he must leave the town where he lived before his conversion, if such town be suspected of heresy, and reside in some town free from such suspicion. To mark his detestation of his former errors, he must wear two crosses of a colour different to that of his clothes, one on the right and the other on the left. The wearing of such crosses was not to be regarded as sufficient proof of reconciliation apart from letters testimonial from the Bishop. No public offices to be committed to such converts, nor could they take part in any action at law unless they had been restored to full communion by Pope or legate.

8. A heretic returning to Catholic unity, not of his free will, but through fear of death, or for other causes, to be placed in confinement by the Bishop, due precautions being taken against his corrupting others. He was to be maintained by the holders of his forfeited goods, or, if he had none, by the Bishop himself.

9. All males from fourteen and females from twelve years of age to swear to keep the "Catholic" faith. A list of names to be kept in each parish, and all to take the oath before the Bishop or other "good men" twice a year. If anyone was absent on the day appointed, and did not present himself within fifteen days, he was to be held suspected of heresy.

10. All males and females having reached years of discretion to confess and communicate at least three times a year, viz., at Easter, Whitsun, and Christmas.

¹ By this he was reduced from the first to the fourth rank among the six lay peers of the realm.

² Thus, any official could search for heretics in the country of Toulouse without first obtaining the Count's permission ; and the Count could act in a similar way with regard to the territory possessed by the King. The Church was "Regnum in regno."

11. Laity forbidden to have the books of the Old or New Testament. They might have, however, the Psalter, a Breviary of the Divine offices, and the Hours of the Blessed Mary, but were strictly prohibited from having the said books translated into the vulgar tongue.

12. No heretic, when sick, to receive medical attendance. If anyone, being rich, had received the Holy Communion from the hand of his priest (*presbyteri sui*), the greatest care to be taken that he had no communication whatever with a heretic, because from such intercourse had often arisen most horrible and disastrous consequences.

13. All of fourteen years of age and upwards to swear to keep the peace.

14. Widows and heiresses possessed of castles and fortresses not to marry a heretic. Disobedience to be punished with confiscation of their property, which, however, was to be restored to their heirs.

Here, then, was peace, but not peace with honour. The Albigensian leaders, in order to secure something out of the wreck for themselves, threw over the cause of the people and of religious freedom, the original point at issue. The *compromise* touched temporal matters only; in the main event, that of religion, Rome scored all along the line. But princes and prelates were not the people, and the struggle was by no means at an end. Compulsion is not conviction, and Romanus, the legate, soon realized that neither his nor the other Inquisitors' lives were safe,¹ and after two years the former was glad to leave the district. He was succeeded by Gautier, Bishop of Tournay. Fulx, the Bishop of Toulouse, died at this time, and Raymond, Prior of the Preaching Brothers (Dominicans), was appointed to the vacancy. The Inquisition also at Toulouse was entrusted to two members of the same Order, Peter Cellani and William Arnaud. These changes put new strength into the persecuting machine. But every effort on the one side provoked a corresponding resistance on the other. The Tolosans put every imaginable obstacle in their way, until Bishops and Inquisitors were driven out of the city. The people broke open the prison and rescued a man committed there for the faith. The consuls forbade anyone to provide the Preachers with food, and set guards at the college-gates. At Albi three Preachers were killed because one of them had attempted to exhume the body of a man suspected of heresy. In short, the resistance was universal, and if this stone of stumbling was to be removed it would have to be done "*non vi sed sæpe cadendo.*" John, Archbishop of Vienne, the new legate, saw this, and arranged that some of the Minor Brothers (Franciscans) should be associated with some of the Preaching Brothers

¹ Several of the Inquisitors were killed by "those ministers of the devil," the heretics. For these deaths the Bishops blamed the Count of Toulouse, and the latter the Bishops, alleging that they were displeased at his reconciliation.

(Dominicans), that "the rigours of the one might be softened by the gentleness of the other." Under this more subtle policy the cause of the Church flourished. Space forbids us to follow the struggle further. We can only note the chief events. In 1249 Raymond died, the last of the Counts of Toulouse. At his death all his possessions, according to the terms of the Council of Paris, fell to the Count of Poitiers. By that time the preaching of the Dominicans and the poverty of the Franciscans had undermined the stronghold of heresy, and persecutions became much more frequent and bloody. The nobility separated themselves from the people, and attached themselves more closely to the side of the Church. The Albigensian teachers fled to Lombardy, and the people, deserted by their leaders, secular and spiritual, succumbed to superior force, intellectual and brute. It can be proved by the Doat Collection that by the end of the thirteenth century "heresy" was confined to the lower classes, and in less than half a century later was practically extinct.

The above is an attempt to set forth the doctrines of the Albigensian "heresy," with a brief history of its rise and suppression. It was inevitable that opinions upon this extraordinary struggle have been and will continue to be most diverse. To us it appears that it must not be judged from the surface. Beneath may be detected the birth-throes of that Protestantism which witnesses *for* (pro) that "simplicity that is in Christ," and *against* that hierarchical dogmatism which would suppress all individual inquiry, all religious liberty. Here, indeed, are ignorance, superstition, mixed motives. But, "Watchman! what of the night? The morning cometh and also the night." A night of three centuries followed that brief morning light. But that brief morning light men did not forget, for it was the harbinger of "that light which shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

H. J. WARNER.



ART. V.—IN TIME OF WAR.

OUR Lord showed His profound knowledge of human nature, and the course of future events, by refusing to allow His hearers to indulge in any dreams of universal and perpetual peace to be realized in the present system of things. True, He was to be the Prince of Peace, and His Gospel was to be a message of peace to all who received it; but He knew well enough that it would be many long centuries before the Divine

message would spread all over the earth. And He knew also that even where it was heard and recognised there would be large numbers who would not really submit themselves to its power; and so there would be the old passions, the old selfishness, the old unreasoning animosities, the old appeals to the law of the stronger, even amongst peoples who were nominally Christian. There would be wars close at hand; there would be rumours of wars rumbling round the world far off in distant countries.

We have lately been engaged in doing what we could to promote the sacred cause of peace by arbitration and disarmament. The discussions were most interesting and prolonged; and important steps seemed to be gained. Our representative was very justly rewarded with the highest honours of the State for the successful part he played in the memorable conference. Who could have foreseen that within a few short months our own country would receive a declaration of war, and be compelled to take the sword in defence of her distant subjects? Into the cause of the struggle it is not my purpose to enter. I only wish to lay stress on the fact, which is in entire accordance with our Lord's presage, that we, hating war as a nation, and as appreciative as any people under the sun of the blessings of peace, have found ourselves all unwillingly engaged in a struggle at the very ends of the earth with a bold, a long-prepared, and very determined people. We need not be in the least surprised that such an evil thing should happen to us: "*Ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars: see that ye be not troubled, for all these things must come to pass.*"

The fact that it is an unwonted experience for the present generation of the British race suggests important reflections. For the first time since the Crimean struggle, now nearly half a century ago, we are at war with a population which, however partially civilized, is Christian in name, and the rural part of them probably Christian in practice. The slaughter on both sides is horrible to us, but in this case it seems fairly unavoidable. We can agree fully with Channing's celebrated description of war; and yet with the best intention in the world we may be powerless to prevent it. "I look on war," he says, "with a horror which no words can express. . . . The thought of man, God's immortal child, butchered by his brother; the thought of sea and land stained with human blood by human hands—of women and children buried under the ruins of besieged cities—of the resources of empires and the mighty powers of Nature all turned by man's malignity into engines of torture and destruction: this thought gives to earth the semblance of hell. . . . I cannot now, as I once did, talk

lightly, thoughtlessly of fighting this or that nation. That nation is no longer an abstraction to me. It is no longer a vague mass. It spreads out before me into individuals, in a thousand interesting forms and relations. It consists of husbands and wives, parents and children, who love one another as I love my own home. It consists of affectionate women and sweet children. It consists of Christians united with me to the common Saviour, and in whose spirit I reverence the likeness of His Divine virtue." With Channing's estimate of war our bravest and best generals agree: the glory of battle is darkened with blood, and tears, and ruin. And yet, as our Lord foresaw, it is sometimes inevitable. When two peoples cannot agree, and both think the matter in dispute of vital importance—too vital to be submitted to the arbitrament of any tribunal, which perhaps in the particular matter could hardly be expected to be impartial—then it is probable that war will ensue; that is to say, they will fight until one is proved to be so much stronger than the other that the other has to submit and follow the will of the vanquisher. And it is not an absolute necessity that both the struggling peoples in such a case must be considered selfish and headstrong: it may be quite possible that one of them is guarding and upholding the interests of those to whose protection she is in honour indisputably bound.

For, although it is quite impossible to exaggerate the hideousness and hatefulness of war, yet infinitely more far-reaching and disastrous would be the consequences of national disgrace and failure to fulfil engagements—failure to protect those who, putting their entire confidence in us, go forth from this overcrowded country to fulfil God's command of being fruitful and multiplying, and replenishing the earth and cultivating the waste places. Such a country would indeed lose the confidence of its people, its credit with its compeers, the wholesome respect of its competitors. There are things even worse than war. I am not saying anything about the rights or causes of the present struggle. Parliament is the place for the discussion of questions of high policy. I am merely placing before you suggestions of general principles. It is the reviewer's office and prerogative to draw moral and religious lessons from events of national life. For the reviewer, it is enough that the vast and overwhelming majority of the country has made up its mind that, however disagreeable and even odious the necessity might be, the struggle that has been forced upon us was unavoidable. The practical question is, What should be our temper and conduct while this unwonted condition of things continues, before the struggle is brought to an end?

And first, I think we may lay down, with protests strong enough for all other peoples to hear and believe, what I have already stated, that the British race is not one that comes under the Psalmist's ban against those who delight in war. It is true that from the circumstances of the extraordinarily scattered empire which we have inherited we are hardly ever free from some little frontier campaign; but though we revel in bravery, gallantry, daring, and skill, we know too well the real horrid actualities of war, and we abhor both it and them. We are essentially a peace-loving people. And with our throne established with a firmness beyond anything that was ever known in the history of the world, there is no possibility of our rulers seeking to divert the minds of the people from domestic misfortunes by foreign enterprises. She who, after all, wields the sceptre would have none of it. Every war in which we have been engaged in the present century has been forced upon us. By nature we are profoundly lovers of peace: we have absolutely no instincts for conquest. But when we see a duty we have a habit of sticking to it, whatever the cost may be.

And, secondly, I think we have a right to express our conviction that we have no desire to make our empire greater than it is. The present burden is quite as much as we can bear. Here, again, whatever our neighbours may affect to think, it is a case of necessity, not of choice. Empire has been forced upon us. Sometimes we have almost seemed to wish to repudiate it. But its claims have come back with redoubled insistence. When we think of the way in which the Empire of India, the Dominion of Canada, the Protectorate of Egypt, the vast colonies of Australia, Africa, and New Zealand, without any far-sighted or deep-laid scheme have been added to our resources and responsibilities, it would be irreverent and ungrateful not to acknowledge the guiding hand of a Power greater than our own.

When, then, a country is compelled, however reluctantly, to take up the sword, a force, supposed by the authorities to be sufficient, is sent out to represent us in the field, and vicariously to take our part in the danger of the fight. It is on them that we have to fix our attention. Each individual soldier who sails in our transports takes his life in his hand, and is ready to sacrifice it. Each man who leaves our shores is perfectly well aware that a very large proportion of those who start forth will never return. Each man believes, of course, that it will not be he who will fall; but he is quite prepared for cannon-ball and bullet, bayonet and sabre. It is our duty they are performing; it is on behalf of us, who do not go out, that they are ready to die. Therefore, I say that those who

stay behind owe the strongest possible sympathy to those who have left home and country for a serious struggle against a very determined enemy. That enemy may seem small in comparison to the ultimate resources of the empire; but it is large and formidable in comparison to the forces which at that enormous distance from our base we are able as yet to put into the field. It is large enough to cause the loss of scores of splendid lives which might have been saved had we been nearer at hand.

If one member suffer, all the members suffer with it. I ask you to put yourselves in the place of those who are representing you in this matter. As you cannot be there yourself, be present in spirit with those who have gone. That is not a difficult thing to do. We have all of us seen those pathetic partings at the railway-stations: the men of the Reserve coming up from their homes and families with wonderful promptitude at their country's call, bidding what may be a last farewell to mother, wife, and little child with a brave and encouraging alacrity truly touching to behold; the regimental soldiers, married or unmarried, with much the same feelings. Think of yourself arriving for the first time at the front, within reach of the enemy's guns, possibly to meet death the very next day. Imagine how that first night your thoughts would fly back on lightning wings to the humble cottage light in the village street or by the common, and the father with his pipe by the fire, and the mother or wife busy with her wholesome household duties, but all with thoughts intent on him who is away and may never return. Fancy yourself, a young country lad, ordered into action for the first time, almost stunned by the roar of cannon and the whiz of bullets. It is not for yourself perhaps you fear, for no death is so good as that on the battle-field; but as you see friends and mates falling to right and left, I think there would be a quaver in your heart and a lump in your throat. Try and realize that you are ordered to storm heights that seem impossible; that you are climbing from boulder to boulder amidst a storm of well-directed fire, with little shelter, and many losses every instant—then I think you will understand what heroic courage means. Picture yourself in the humiliation of being taken prisoner—for that, too, must sometimes happen—by enemies whom perhaps you had despised, and under circumstances of the greatest discomfort, precluded from taking any further part in the whole campaign, and you will better understand what bitter experiences are covered under the expression, "fortunes of war." Fancy yourself wounded, carried off in exquisite pain to the rough field-hospital, having perhaps to suffer amputation and be maimed for life, lingering on possibly

for weeks in a state of weakness, with no further chance of distinction, until you can be shipped home, and you will be able to sympathize better with the items of those long lists of wounded which we receive day by day, which look so dry and official, but which mean so real a tragedy to many a humble household. Lastly, think of yourself amongst the killed; young lives cut short; high-spirited young boys straight from Sandhurst; those who went out with high hope, buoyed up by the prayers of loving hearts; lives, it may be, with splendid openings before them, or lives of deep obscurity; yet all human in their ties and associations, their loves and affections, their joys and sorrows—and you will understand something of what our soldier lads have to go through when called upon to perform the serious part of their bargain. I am sure I have no further need to ask your sympathy, your prayers for a speedily happy issue, your determination that their chances in the deadly struggle shall not be overweighted, but shall have reasonable and possible prospect of success.

It is hardly necessary that I should urge you to put yourself in the place of the many mourners who have already to lament the ignorance and obstinacy of the Government of the Transvaal. The Queen herself has already summed up the feelings of the whole country when she wrote her touching message that her heart bled for our heavy losses. The funds for them have risen rapidly and high. They are daily continuing to accumulate. Think of them—the young wife, with all her prospects of happiness darkened and closed for ever; the widowed mother, fondly proud of her boy who contributed everything he could spare to her support; the cheerful happy families who thought son or brother was sure to return, and gave him a gay send-off, and now will never see his bright face on earth any more. It is not only money they need; it is sympathy, help, and in many cases careful counsel for the future. There will be many more dear and precious lives lost before peace is restored and justice and equality established. If we pray that God may help the widow, the fatherless, and the bereaved, we must make sacrifices ourselves. And one of our poets has reminded us that it is not only those who have to mourn the dead; there are thousands of wives who will find it hard to struggle on in the absence of the breadwinner; thousands of children of our brave substitutes who must be kept from poverty and destitution.

For we owe unbounded gratitude to all these courageous fellow-subjects, high and low, rich and poor, young and old, general and private, who are maintaining the reputation of the country. They have nothing to do with the quarrel or its

cause. They are called to go and do their best. The heroism and chivalry of living and dead call for our unstinted admiration.

There is another lesson which at such a time we ought to take to heart. However gallant our army may be, it is very small; and it has duties to perform all over the world. Death is now entering many a joyous family, and the light of the eyes is being extinguished. We do not know which home of all the 70,000 involved will next be called upon to suffer. While the struggle lasts—and God grant that it may be short!—does it not befit us to maintain a certain gravity of demeanour and soberness of conduct, suitable to those who are at one with our brave brothers at the front with their lives in their hands? While the struggle lasts—and God grant that it may be short and swift!—should there not be some systematic self-denial, for the benefit of all sufferers, such as would bring home to the heart of each the lamentable nature of the necessity which places us in such a position, the daily tragedy of the situation, the constant practical sympathy which we ought to feel for all concerned? To so mighty an empire as ours the combatant opposed may seem insignificant; but if all the difficulties of concentration be considered, they are strong enough to cause widespread misery, and even temporary disaster. Should not our individual attitude be serious, to correspond with the sadness of the circumstances?

Such, I think, should be the temper of a great people at war. It should be free from all liability to any charge of love of combat. It should not be possible to accuse it of lust of aggrandizement and conquest. It should be full of sympathy for its fighters, its mourners, its separated wives, its broken homes. It should be serious, grave, and resourceful, in fellow-feeling for the risks and sufferings of so many of its bravest and best.

There is yet one more lesson with which we will conclude. Just as the men at the front, who are bearing our burden, are inspired by the gravity of the crisis to be something quite higher than their ordinary selves, quite different from their outward appearance in barrack or mess-room, are stimulated in fact to the highest forms of self-sacrifice, chivalry, and heroism, so ought we, thoughtful and cultured Christian people at home, to be daily elevated by the highest and noblest thoughts of the destiny of man. To the young lads at the front it comes through the critical situation so totally different, so infinitely grander, than anything they have experienced before. To us it should come from the perpetual conviction of Christian principle. Admirably has this transfiguration been touched by the eloquent Primate of Ireland:

Methinks I see how spirits may be tried,
 Transfigured into beauty on war's verge,
 Like flowers, whose tremulous grace is learnt beside
 The trampling of the surge.

And now, not only Englishmen at need
 Have won a fiery and unequal fray—
*No infantry has ever done such deed
 Since Albuera's day!*

Those who live on amidst our homes to dwell
 Have grasped the higher lessons that endure ;
*The gallant ranksman learns to practise well
 His heroism obscure.*

His heart beats high as one for whom is made
 A mighty music solemnly, what time
 The oratorio of the cannonade
 Rolls through the hills sublime.

Yet *his* the dangerous posts that few can mark :
 The crimson death, the dread unerring aim,
 The fatal ball that whizzes through the dark,
 The mere recorded name—

These are the things our commonweal to guard,
 The patient strength that is too proud to press,
 The duty done for duty, not reward,
 The lofty littleness.

And they of greater state, who never turned,
 Taking their path of duty higher and higher,
 What do we deem that they, too, may have learned
 In that baptismal fire ?

Not that the only end beneath the sun
 Is to make every sea a trading lake,
 And all our splendid English history one
 Voluminous mistake.

Those who marched up the bluffs last stormy week,
 Some of them, ere they reached the mountain's crown,
 The wind of battle breathing on their cheek,
 Suddenly laid them down,

Like sleepers—not like those whose race is run,
 Fast, fast asleep amid the cannons' roar,
 Them no reveillée and no morning gun
 Shall ever waken more.

And the boy-beauty passed from off the face
 Of those who lived, and into it instead
 Came proud forgetfulness of dance and race,
 Sweet commune with the dead.

And thoughts beyond their thoughts the Spirit lent,
 And manly tears made mist upon their eyes,
 And to them came a great presentiment
 Of high self-sacrifice.

That is what I want to see amongst ourselves : the nobility engendered by the crisis abroad, produced at home by the recognition of the eternal principles of truth.

The nation needs to look into its faults: drunkenness, inordinate passion for speculation, sordid love of wealth, recognised looseness of living, profuse immorality.

The Church has cause to repent in dust and ashes for the presence of factious divisions, of malignant party spirit, of reckless disregard of truth, of unjust worldliness, of unreality and mere professionalism, the professed insincerity of many of her sons, the avowed unbelief of others, the lack of wisdom, gentleness, and charity.

And each of us is called at such a time to look into the faults of our own hearts, our selfishness, pride, sensuality, and want of faith.

So should a great and united people, not overmuch troubled by difficulties of policy, misadventures in execution, or misrepresentations of jealous neighbours, give itself sincerely the task of putting its house in order, striving to heal all moral disease and decay, and, above all, of individually determining to do justice, and love mercy, and walk humbly with our God.

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.



A CHRISTMAS CAROL.

“Glory to God . . . peace on earth, goodwill to men.”—ST. LUKE ii.

I.

MUSIC and dazzling light o'er Bethlehem's plains,
Ten thousand angels singing holy strains!
Hark—'tis Heaven's echo to Earth's grandest story—
“To God be glory!”

O holy hosts, ye know no sin, no grave,
Yet triumph that a Saviour comes to save;
Hark—Heaven declares our wants and woes shall cease—
“On earth be peace!”

Ye sing Heaven's loftiest hymns, yet tell of love
To all mankind, free, costly, from above!
Hark—God but waits man's empty heart to fill—
“To men, goodwill!”

O heavenly message, how all hearts must thrill
Hearing such words—Peace, Glory, and Goodwill!

II.

The veil is drawn aside, and to our gaze
 The world unknown reveals in dazzling blaze ;
 We hear high strains
 To God who ever reigns—
 “Glory, Glory !”

Yet that pure world forgets not our poor earth,
 And shares our rapture in a Saviour's birth ;
 In wondrous song,
 Sounding so clear and strong—
 “Peace, Peace !”

Lo angels, whose delight is in God's will,
 Love where He loves, so sure He loves us still,
 Love great and free,
 Proclaimed in melody—
 “Goodwill, Goodwill !”

O weary, longing earth, pause and be still—
 God offers man Peace, Glory, and Goodwill !

III.

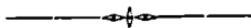
Be ours the angelic aim
 To praise His holy name,
 And by our lives to show Him highest fame—
 “Glory to God !”

Ours to make discord cease,
 Justice and truth increase,
 And spread the kingdom of the Prince of Peace—
 “Peace, peace on earth !”

Ours to set self aside,
 Envy and hate and pride,
 And work for all who need us, far and wide—
 “Goodwill to men !”

Ours Heaven's dearest wishes to fulfil
 Even on earth—Peace, Glory, and Goodwill !

MAY CONSTANCE STONEY.



Reviews.



Church and Faith (Essays on the Teaching of the Church of England). By various writers. With an Introduction by the Bishop of Hereford. Blackwood and Sons. Pp. 485. Price 7s. 6d. net.

UNDER the above title there has just issued from the press of Messrs. Blackwood a volume of very great value, and one that should be in the hands of every faithful clergyman of the Church of England and of every thoughtful layman. It consists of a number of essays by more or less distinguished writers on subjects that are just now very much to the front in what may be termed the present crisis in the Church. It cannot be denied that we have in that communion a considerable body of men, able, compact, and determined, who under the plea—an utterly false one—of catholicity are seeking to undo the work of the Reformation, and assimilate the doctrines and rites and ceremonial of the Church to those which at that great epoch in ecclesiastical history were rejected as at variance with Holy Scripture and the simplicity and purity of the early Church.

The first essay is by Professor Wace, whose name is a guarantee for thoroughness and the absence of any mere party spirit. His subject is, "The First Principles of Protestantism," and he shows most conclusively that the word "Protestant" is no mere negation as some assert, but is a public declaration and attestation of a truth; and he quotes Archbishop Benson, who, in one of the last speeches which he made before his lamented death, declared that the Church of England was one with the Church of Ireland as Catholic, Apostolic, Reformed, and Protestant, and that no one of these titles, certainly not the last, could be spared. Dr. Wace gives a clear, historical account of the word, and states that our own divine Dean Field asserts that the best divines of the Roman Church before the Reformation were in agreement with the reformed doctrines, and were Protestants before us, and that the doctrine to which the Roman Church pledged itself at the Council of Trent represented the triumph of an arrogant modern faction; and, further, that Canon Dixon in his history states that Laud and his friends called themselves Protestants as against the Puritans, to indicate that they were Catholics. Protestantism in the great charter of its foundation thus bound itself up with true Catholicism, and any teaching which is not Catholic is by that fact condemned as not truly Protestant. The whole article is a masterly production, and worthy of Dr. Wace's high reputation as a divine and a scholar.

Other essays are: "Christ's Teaching and the Primitive Church," by Dean Farrar; "The Voice of the Fathers"; "The Catholic Church." An essay by Mr. Drury on "The Lord's Supper," and another on "The Confessional," are of the deepest interest, and will well repay thoughtful

perusal, the latter being by the Rev. Frederick Meyrick. An article by Professor Handley Moule on "Tests of True Religion" is, as are all Dr. Moule's writings, clear and definite in its statements and eminently practical; whilst others on "The Laity of the Church of England," and "Church and Faith as by Law established," invite very careful study. The Right Hon. Sir Richard Temple, Bart., writes with his accustomed clearness on "The Evangelical Movement in the Church of England"; and the final essay is by Mr. E. H. Blakeney, Headmaster of the Sir Roger Manwood Grammar School at Sandwich. Mr. Blakeney, who takes for his subject "The Philosophy of Religion," gives us an essay which is marked by great profundity of thought and clearness of reasoning. It may be among the least read of the collection, but only because it demands a concentration of thought to grasp its argument. If mastered, however, it will be found to well repay the pains taken.

Altogether, the volume as a whole is one of the most valuable on the subject on which it treats that has issued from the press for some time. We should like much to give a lengthened notice of each separate essay, but time and space will not allow of it. We can only urge all thoughtful readers, lay and clerical, to get the book, and read it carefully from cover to cover.

D. BRUCE PAYNE, D.D.

France. By J. E. C. BODLEY. New and revised edition. Macmillan. Price 10s.

This is the one-volumed edition of a work which, on its appearance last year, was everywhere hailed as a uniquely valuable contribution to the scientific study of contemporary France in particular, and of sociology in general. There is no writer who can for one instant compare with Mr. Bodley in his marvellously intimate knowledge of France and the French. He has produced a work—the close labour of many years—which will probably never be superseded. No department of his subject seems to have escaped his knowledge or his notice. The interest of the book lies not merely in its author's historical, or religious, or political, or sociological studies; it is deeper and wider, because it embraces all these departments, and is exhausted by none. One may find food for reflection here on every topic—the grave and the gay. The charm of the style never flags; and one rises from the perusal of the book with an added fund of scientific knowledge to one's credit account, yet without being aware of any special effort having been expended in its acquisition. Truly, then, a work deserving of our gratitude!

At a time like the present, when France is passing through a fierce crisis, it is eminently well that, if we are to study contemporary French history, we should do so under the guidance of a critic who adds to his knowledge justice, to his justice generosity, and to both a clear apprehension of the forces which are moulding the destinies of the Republic.

We commend, therefore, most earnestly, this reissue in a cheaper form of Mr. Bodley's great work, which Frenchmen as well as Englishmen

have agreed to welcome as a masterpiece both of temperate criticism and of constructive ability.

E. H. B.

Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by Rev. J. HASTINGS, D.D. Vol. II. : Feign—Kinsman. T. and T. Clark. Price £1 8s.

With admirable promptitude Messrs. T. and T. Clark have issued the second volume of their great Bible Dictionary within a year of the publication of the first. There are no marks of haste about the present instalment ; there is the same care for detail, the same scholarly precision, the same editorial exactness, the same fulness of information, which we noted in Vol. I. Dr. Hastings has exacted toll from the finest theologians and scholars of the age, pressing their learning into his service, to the gain of every student who consults the Dictionary. Nothing has astonished us more than the "up-to-dateness" (if this barbarism may pass) of the work. Despite the fact that this is a volume of nearly 900 large quarto pages, double-columned, containing not less than 75,000 lines, all closely printed, and some in quite small print, nevertheless, the percentage of errors, even of insignificant errors, is practically a negligible quantity. Yet the task to keep the book clear of errors must have been immense, specially when the enormous number of references is taken into account. Much credit is due to the editor, Dr. Hastings, and we doubt not a large share of praise should devolve on Messrs. Clark's proof-readers.

This Dictionary completely, and finally, supersedes Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," for the simple reason that the major portion of the latter book remains as it was in the early sixties. And how much has accumulated since then in the way of valuable information upon, or illustration of, Biblical problems ! The entire aspect of Old Testament criticism has changed since 1863 : archæology was but in its infancy, the science of comparative religion all but undreamt of. The primary value of the new Bible Dictionary—or, rather, Biblical *Encyclopædia*, for it is not less than this—lies in the fact that nearly all the writers, being specialists in their own subject, have contributed to present the reader with all the materials within reach, so arranged that he may form his own judgment, irrespective of the particular theory that the writer of the article may himself favour. The value of many of the longer articles is enhanced by the extremely useful bibliographical clues that have been appended.

The two most important articles in the present volume are those upon GOD (Dr. Davidson on Old Testament idea of God, Professor Sanday on New Testament idea) and JESUS CHRIST (Professor Sanday). They are really elaborate treatises, and are both of them full of material for earnest attention. Dr. Davidson's work is always so striking, even in those cases where we feel constrained to dissent from his conclusions, that we fully expected something out of the ordinary from his pen. Nor are we disappointed.

Among other articles, we notice specially those dealing with the FLOOD

(F. H. Woods); GALATIANS (Marcus Dods. Note that the *date* of Jowett's edition of the Pauline Epistles is given wrongly in the "Literature"); GENESIS (Ryle. Query: Is not the reference to Westcott, "Faith of the Gospel," a misprint? We do not remember a book by the Bishop of Durham with that title); GOSPELS (Professor Stanton); HEBREWS (by the late A. B. Bruce.—To the "Literature," add "Milligan on Hebrews, 1899"); INCARNATION (by R. L. Ottley—an extremely useful dissertation); JUSTIFICATION (a theological article by Principal D. W. Simon); KINGDOM OF GOD (by Dr. J. Orr, who, however, neglects all reference to the able and exhaustive work on this subject by R. Govett, of Norwich). "Heaven and Hell," by Dr. Salmond, seems somewhat perfunctory. In the article on the "Holy Spirit," by Dr. Swete, Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, we observe that Dr. H. C. G. Moule's "Veni Creator" is not given in the bibliographical lists; nor in the article on "Hosea" do we find mention of the late Prebendary Bassett's separate edition; nor, again, in the article on "Idolatry," is G. S. Faber's "Origins of Pagan Idolatry" (3 vols., 4to., 1816) mentioned.

Turning to the word "Inspiration," we find it only treated from the standpoint of its verbal signification; it is accorded no theological discussion. Surely this is a grave omission. If "Incarnation" could receive treatment in so many sections, why not "Inspiration," especially when, as at this time, the whole Christian controversy is pretty well circling round that great fundamental idea? In the "Literature" appended to the article on "James," the writer, Dr. J. B. Mayor, fails to record the two most important English editions of that Epistle—his own invaluable work, and Prebendary Bassett's edition of 1878. The article "Jerusalem" is overloaded, and therefore most difficult to read; and, generally, it may be said that the topographical articles are not very inviting. Still, they are useful quarries of information for others to dig from. It is curious to notice the enormous length to which the "Literature" of "Isaiah" has run; no book—if we may judge by this fact—of the Old Testament, not even Genesis itself, has attracted such a preponderating amount of attention. Needless to say, the writer of the article in the Dictionary, Dr. G. A. Smith, upholds the theory of the composite authorship of the book as it stands (Duhm has actually postulated three Isaiahs!). The present reviewer cannot but think that a more satisfactory theory in every way would be to assume that those portions attributed to the Deutero-Isaiah are simply the product of the prophet's old age. We do not postulate a Deutero-Milton to explain the phenomenon of "Samson Agonistes"; the creator of that marvellously-constructed tragedy was also the creator of "Comus."

We venture to make three suggestions to Dr. Hastings with a view to improving this most notable cyclopædia of Biblical learning: (1) That there should be a more generous furnishing of maps; (2) that *summaries* should be printed at the end of the longer articles (as in Swete's "Holy Spirit"); (3) that at the beginning of the book there should be appended

to the list of authors there given a statement of their principal contributions to the Dictionary. These suggestions involve but slight alterations, but they would assuredly enhance the value of a work of which we may already truly say, It is indispensable. E. H. B.

Short Notices.

Good Words. Annual Volume for 1899. Pp. 860. Price 7s. 6d. Isbister and Co.

A very exquisite volume. Neil Munro's story, "The Paymaster's Boy," is enough to establish its character, but the illustrations also are even better than ever. Sir Wyke Bayliss's series on Leighton, Millais, Burne-Jones, Watts, and Holman Hunt is of great value; and there are other papers, biographical, literary, scientific, topographical, archæological, etc., by Dr. Maclaren, William Canton, and many other welcome writers. The interest is sustained and varied throughout.

The Sunday Magazine. Annual Volume for 1899. Pp. 856. Price 7s. 6d. Isbister and Co.

This pleasant volume continues its attractive character. There are a number of bright and instructive stories and sketches, religious and practical papers by well-known and popular writers, biographies, Sunday evenings with the children, social and missionary topics, all on a high level of interest, information, and thought.

The Fireside. Annual Volume for 1899. Pp. 762. Price 7s. 6d. "Home Words" Office.

Among the contributors to this excellent volume are Bishop Bickersteth, Bishop Ridley, Bishop Vincent, Prebendary Harry Jones, Professor Moule, Rev. P. B. Power, and Agnes Giberne. "Chats about Authors and Books," "Heart Cheer for Home Sorrow," "Hildebrand and Henry," "Looking Back," "Present Day Topics," "Sunday Readings," and "The History of Common Things" are pleasant serials.

Young England. Annual Volume for 1899. Pp. 475. Price 5s. Sunday-School Union.

This popular volume contains two capital serial tales, "The Big-Horn Treasurer" and "A Northumbrian Rebel." There are also various papers on Cricket, on our Empire-builders (Rajah Brooke, Sir Stamford Raffles, Lord Cromer, Sir George Grey, Sir John Macdonald, Sir Harry Johnston, Sir William McGregor, and Sir John Thurston), on Natural History, Naval Stories, and the Sunday Hour. Boys will find it interesting throughout.

The Church Monthly. Annual Volume for 1899. Pp. 284. Price 2s. "Church Monthly" Office.

The *Church Monthly* is always welcome. The editor has some of the best writers in the Church of England as his contributors. The papers are bright and short. Among "Representative Churchmen" we have this year the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishops of Bombay, Islington, Bangor, Calcutta, Osaka, and London, and the Dean of Norwich. There are papers on Bible Questions, Buried Truths, Homely Cookery, Home Nursing, Missionary Gleanings, Parish Churches, Puzzles, and "What Every Churchman Ought to Know."

The Dawn of Day. Annual Volume for 1899. Pp. 286. Price 2s. S.P.C.K.

This excellent parish magazine contains a great deal of useful information on Church topics, natural history, Biblical matters, and missionary work.

The Church Worker. Annual Volume for 1899. [Pp. 192. Church of England Sunday-School Institute.

The eighteenth volume of the *Church Worker* contains fifty-three Outline Lessons on the Parables and Miracles, Chats with Church Workers, Church Worker Preparation Class, Methods of Work, and Papers on Lay Work. It is full of useful hints and material.

Home Words. Annual Volume for 1899. Pp. 284. Price 2s. "Home Words" Office.

This is another cheap magazine, notable for beautiful illustration. The chief features are "Lent and its Lessons," "Nuts with Kernels," Portrait Sketches, "Outposts of the Church," Sunday-School Bible Questions, "The Story of England's Church," and a series of twenty-three devotional papers by different writers.

Hand and Heart. Annual Volume for 1899. Price 2s. "Home Words" Office.

Hand and Heart is a parish magazine conspicuous for good illustrations and wholesome reading. It has much agreeable information and devotional thought.

The Child's Own Magazine. Annual Volume for 1899. Pp. 192. Price 1s. Sunday-School Union.

The sixty-sixth annual volume has Fairy Stories, Easy Outlines for Young Artists, Picture Puzzles, Prize Awards, Verses, Sketches, and charming pictures.

The Common Lot. BY ADELINE SERGEANT. Pp. 224. Andrew Melrose and Co.

This is a well-drawn illustration of how foolishly ambitious aims in the work of life may be corrected and disciplined by trouble and misfortune, rightly taken, and how ordinary duties well done may be nobler than self-sought tasks which cause neglect of obvious obligations.

The Lips of a Fool. By PHOEBE ALLEN. Pp. 256. S.P.C.K.

A capital story for a Mothers' Meeting of the mischief done by exaggeration and untruthfulness; an unhappy marriage at last brought right by bitter experience.

Stalky and Co. By RUDYARD KIPLING. Pp. 272. Macmillan and Co.

The brilliant author has directed his genius to showing how unutterably mischievous boys can be at an army crammer's. There is a great

deal of fun and photographic minuteness in the book, but it is meant for a comedy, and not as a serious picture of school life. The reference to "Eric" and "St. Winifred's," though only in the mouths of the naughtiest of boys, is hardly worthy of Mr. Kipling.

Wolf's Head. By Rev. E. GILLIAT. Pp. 416. Price 5s. Seeley and Co.

Mr. Gilliat is an Assistant Master at Harrow School, and has given us a capital story of the times of the famous Robin Hood, Earl of Huntingdon, in the disturbed reign of King John.

The Pillar of Fire. By Rev. J. H. INGRAHAM. New edition. Pp. 495. Price 3s. 6d. Ward and Lock.

This is an able historical romance of the Israelitish bondage in Egypt and the days of Moses. The author has woven in a great amount of archæological research, and throws vivid light on that most interesting period.

Tabitha's Weird Vision. By FRANCES H. WOOD. Pp. 224. S.P.C.K.

Eighteen pleasant tales for Mothers' Meetings, which show a sympathetic appreciation of village life.

Isaac Letterman's Daughter. By the Author of "Earth's Many Voices." Pp. 157. S.P.C.K.

A wholesome story of old-fashioned village life, with interesting local colour.

The Children's Plan. By CATHERINE M. MCSORLEY. Pp. 160. S.P.C.K.

A suggestive tale of how some children of wealthy parents schemed to have a series of London children to stay at the cottage of an old woman in the village.

Nancy's Portion. By ANNETTE LYSTER. Pp. 160. S.P.C.K.

A well-written story of honest struggle.

A Brave Girl. By ALICE F. JACKSON. Pp. 127. S.P.C.K.

The time of the Indian Mutiny will always be a thrilling episode in British history. The writer has produced a true incident of those terrible days, and worked it up into an impressive story.

Rosie's Friend. By CATHERINE M. MCSORLEY. Pp. 127. S.P.C.K.

The tale of a troublesome girl improved by music and a wise organist.

Jack Webster. By REDNA SCOTT. Pp. 125. S.P.C.K.

The difficulties of a young man who struggled to live up to Christian principle. Manly and healthy in tone.

The Misadventures of Imp. By EDITH COWPER. Pp. 80. S.P.C.K.

A bright little tale for little girls of adventures among gipsies.

Rainy Days, and How to Enjoy Them. By M. J. HERBERT. Pp. 128. S.P.C.K.

A pleasant little family story with a moral of unselfishness and unity.

Madcap Meg. BY LADY DUNBOYNE. Pp. 94. S.P.C.K.

An account of misunderstandings cleared up through the discipline of trouble.

The Little Lady. By M. E. B. ISHERWOOD. Pp. 96. S.P.C.K.

A glimpse of intercourse between rich and poor; a lonely little child improved by Christian training.

The Scarletts. By E. LOGAN. Pp. 94. S.P.C.K.

A pretty little sketch of regimental children growing up together, with a happy ending.

The Wonderful Talisman. By E. B. MILLER. Pp. 80. S.P.C.K.

A charming little picture of children's village life in the Swiss or Tyrolese mountains.

Malcolm Kirk. By CHARLES M. SHELDON. Pp. 255. Price 1s. Sunday-School Union.

The last of the powerful stories which this truly suggestive writer composed for his congregation to illustrate Christian life.

Richard Bruce. By CHARLES M. SHELDON. Pp. 335. Price 1s. Sunday-School Union.

Another vivid story of how Christian principles, if truly acted on, will affect the life that now is.

The Father's Hand. By Rev. ADAM PHILIP. Pp. 297. Price 3s. 6d. Stockwell and Co.

Thirteen thoughtful and well-written chapters on the work of God in the soul, intended to comfort and strengthen Christian men and women in their daily work for Him.

Who will Win? By ZWINGLIUS JUNIOR. Pp. 379. Price 5s. Hodder and Stoughton.

A story in a dialogue form between Ritualists and Protestants, men and women, setting out in a very clear form the arguments on both sides, with a view to the victory of the principles of the Reformation.

Can We Disarm? By JOSEPH McCABE. Pp. 151. William Heinemann.

A valuable account of the military forces of Europe, with the political factors which keep them at high pressure, and some possible solutions.

Fishers of Men. By Rev. J. E. WATTS-DITCHFIELD. Pp. 148. "Home Words" Office.

Every parish clergyman, curate and incumbent, town and country, ought to possess himself of this book, and see what Mr. Ditchfield has done for men in London in two vast parishes, and how he has done it. It is a most hopeful movement, and the results are most encouraging. At the end of the book is a valuable appendix, giving lists of suggested subjects, hints for a Communicants' Union, Rules for Men's Clubs, etc.

Poems. By ERNEST HARTLEY COLERIDGE. London: John Lane. 1898.

"I sing unheeded, yet am I the son
Of a poetic race."

So says Mr. Coleridge; but inasmuch as he has not been neglectful of the talent which is his by inheritance, he should not fear to be unheeded long. "Mine is a pale and imitative age," he says elsewhere in this book. It is also an age in which a very great number of men attain to quite a high standard as poets, and in which it is more difficult than at any other time to stand apart. Yet if graceful fancy, scholarly style, appreciation of the value of words, and delicate humour count for anything, Mr. Coleridge should be remembered long, if only by a few. This book is one to transfer to the bookcase most convenient to one's hand.

Parson Dash. By ERASMUS HOLIDAY. London: George Redway. 1899.

"A Rap at Ritualism in Hudibrastic Verse" is the sub-title of this book, and a vigorous, though not ill-natured, rap it is. There is some ingenuity and humour in the versification; e.g. :—

"This and the details all must wait,
For suddenly goes creak the gate—
The gate, had metre granted, which
Should have been hyphenated to a lych."

On the whole, this is an amusing, if not particularly brilliant, satire.

A Dream of Paradise. By ROBERT THOMSON. London: Elliot Stock. 1898.

In spite of the genuine piety which underlies every line of Mr. Thomson's poem, there is much that is something more than ineffective in this poem. We are not finding fault with the author for not being another Milton, but we regret to find his power of expression so inadequate to his self-imposed task. We perceive no evidence of inspiration in what is, nevertheless, a devout and conscientious piece of work. Occasionally we find a stanza to which we can give unhesitating approval, as, for example, the following:—

“What though their tribulation was so great!
 Rough winds bear to the harbour's peaceful rest
 The barque which else had met a dismal fate;
 Spices, when crusht, their fragrance manifest;
 Grapes yield their sweetness only when they're press'd;
 The tree when pruned produces richer fruit;
 'Tis when the rain has fall'n upon its breast
 The flower reveals each loveliest attribute;
 And strings unstretcht oft steal the music from the lute.”

In the same direction we would quote a few lines from the preceding stanza, where the thought seems to us to be good:—

“Although they came with harsh and rumbling sound,
 Their sufferings were God's own wagons, sent
 Right to their very door, wherein were found
 Treasures that far outweighed their souls' lament—
 Blessings by Jesus bought, yea, gifts most excellent.”

The Heavenly Bridegroom. By ROBERT THOMSON. London: Elliot Stock. 1899.

We regret that to Mr. Thomson's later poem we have no praise to give. In our opinion, it compares unfavourably with the poem just noticed; and we do not think it nearly comes up to his own standard of merit.

Naturalism and Agnosticism. By JAMES WARD, ScD., LL.D. (Gifford Lectures, 1896-98). In 2 vols. London: A. and C. Black. 1899. Price 18s.

This is a masterly work—as masterly as its distinguished author's famous article on Psychology contributed to the ninth edition of the “*Encyclopædia Britannica*.” These two volumes are so closely packed with information that an adequate notice would far exceed our present limits. We hope, however, shortly to return to the book in order to do it some degree of justice.

What, briefly, is the underlying conception of these Gifford lectures? This—the idea that biology is bound ultimately to have resort to psychology for any just explanation of the unity of the organism. The claims of Mind are insisted upon with a clearness and force which have rarely been surpassed—the claims of Mind, that is, to be regarded as an integral portion of the phenomena to be explained. Dr. Ward insists upon our recognition of these claims because, in his view, it is only thus that a mere mechanical explanation of the world can be averted. In opposition to a prevailing mechanism in the scientific method of regarding things—in which science, overstepping its limits, is playing into the hands of a pseudo-philosophy—Dr. Ward finds in Reason the bond of coherence that ties together the indiscriminate flux of things—Reason, at once the source and satisfaction of man's moral nature and of his highest hopes. As an indictment of Agnosticism, Dr. Ward's volumes are effective indeed; and no student can rise from a perusal of them

without feeling that he has gained a deeper insight into the problem of problems—the place of thought in the cosmos. E. H. B.

Aarbert. By WILLIAM MARSHALL. London : Swan Sonnenschein. 1899.

It was not until we came to the last page of this book that we were quite satisfied of the serious purpose of the author. By what he terms "a Blessing prayed for and wafted after," we are, however, convinced of his earnestness :

"Although of Thee unworthy be this poem,
And though less worth its author than itself have,
Lord God! Thy blessing he beseeches for it."

We confess that the spirit here displayed disarms us, and so we dismiss this book, only recording our regret that the infinite pains evidently bestowed upon it by the author were not devoted to some more profitable pursuit. His own satisfaction will, we fear, be his sole reward in the present instance.

Chenna and his Friends. By EDWIN LEWIS. London : Religious Tract Society.

This was written by the author, a missionary in India, shortly before he died, and is now issued as a memorial of him. Besides serving this purpose, it will prove a welcome addition to a missionary association library.

The History of Protestantism. By the Rev. J. A. WYLIE, LL.D. Vol. I. Cassell and Co. Pp. 624.

This is a very attractive and much-needed work. In a popular style, and aided by 550 illustrations, it presents in a continuous narrative, aspects of ecclesiastical history which are sometimes too much obscured by accounts of the formation of doctrines and institutions, the decisions of Councils, and the lives and writings of eminent Churchmen. The first book gives a fair account of the declension of the Church in the fourth century ; to carry conviction there should have been more detail. The narrative here centres round the development of the Papacy, the rise of the Waldenses, the Paulicians, the Albigenses, and Abelard. The second deals with Wycliffe, and the third with Huss. The fourth gives a very needful account of Christendom at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a subject about which many misapprehensions prevail. The fifth and sixth books are about Luther, the seventh about the Lollards in England, the eighth deals with Switzerland and Zwingli, and the last takes the German Reformation to the Confession of Augsburg in 1530. It is greatly to be hoped that this work, vivid in style and popular in treatment, will be read with attention by all who are interested in present controversies in the Church of England. To many, unfortunately, the history of Protestantism is a sealed book.

Twelve Years in a Monastery. By JOSEPH McCABE. Smith, Elder and Co. Price 7s. 6d. Pp. 290.

The writer was formerly a Professor in Franciscan colleges. He struggled long with doubts as to the truth of the characteristic doctrines of his Church, but finally felt compelled to leave. The book gives a very vivid and impartial account of his experiences : vocation, novitiate, studentship, priesthood, confessional, the University of Louvain, Roman ministry in London, the Roman clergy of London, ministers in the country, monasticism in general, and the Church of Rome as seen from within. It is written without harshness, and is, of course, of great interest. English Churchmen cannot help being struck with the com-

pletteness, and the philosophical and literary character, within certain limits, of the training of the Roman clergy. There are certain details in the book which make it more suited to the reading of men than of young women. The whole account of the seminary system is a valuable contribution to ecclesiastical literature.

Rambles with Nature Students. By MRS. BRIGHTWEN, F.E.S. R. T. S. Pp. 223.

This charming work, written by a Fellow of the Entomological Society, and illustrated profusely by Theo. Carreras, is intended to be a companion for country walks at all times of the year. Many people who live in the country, and who have no opportunity for sporting exercise, complain of the dulness of constitutional walks along roads and lanes. With such a help as this, the tediousness could no longer be felt. The divisions of the book are according to the twelve months of the year, and details are given, after the plan of White's "Natural History of Selborne," of the interesting and fascinating things which may be seen in animate and inanimate Nature at these different times and seasons. The authoress is a keen observer, an experienced naturalist, and has a pleasant style.

Oliver Cromwell, the Hero of Puritan England. By HORACE G. GROSER. Sunday-School Union, 57, Ludgate Hill. Price 1s. Pp. 139.

This is one of the "Splendid Lives" Series. The title will explain the point of view. The chief events of the Protector's momentous life are sketched with vigour, interest, and ability. The panegyric is perhaps too indiscriminating to make a perfect picture, but the space is brief and the incidents many and memorable. The triumph and subsequent fall of Puritanism is a phenomenon in English history which should always be in the mind both of politician and ecclesiastic. It should never be forgotten that ability, common-sense, and success, made tolerable, and even popular, in Cromwell, acts of tyranny which far surpassed anything attempted by Charles I. At the present time, when the memory of the great military autocrat of England is being revived, and a statue erected to his honour in the precincts of the Houses of Parliament, this popular account of his achievements will be specially acceptable.

The Queen of the Home, by LUCY H. YATES (the Religious Tract Society), is an entirely admirable little sermon, the text of which is Proverbs xxxi. 10-31. Every page of this small volume contains sentences pregnant with practical wisdom, and the book has our cordial commendation.



The Month.

THERE is an ominous lull in the war. The whereabouts of Sir Redvers Buller is uncertain, and some anxiety is felt in consequence. The probability is that the General has purposely kept back, so far as possible, any news as to his movements leaking out. The wisdom of such a course is obvious. Meanwhile, it is pretty certain that both sides are preparing for a *coup de guerre*; and it is to be hoped that the blow, when struck, may prove decisive for our arms. It will mitigate the horrors of war; for a check to the British arms, even a serious reverse, could in the nature of things merely prove temporary, and so the war would be prolonged to unhappy issues. The political future of the Transvaal—destined to become the richest and most prosperous of South African States—is of course uncertain; possibly the result of the war will be a confederation of the South African republics into an Imperial dominion, somewhat on the lines of Canada. In this way Mr. Rhodes' policy would be realized in the most striking form.

The following paragraphs from Bishop Stratton's recent charge to his clergy will be read with interest. He says: "I cannot conceal my deliberate opinion that the order of things enunciated in the well-known Collect of our Church wherein we pray that God would first cleanse, and then defend, His Church is the only order in accordance with which the longed-for peace will be re-established. Add to this a recognition of the obligation of the oaths which the clergy have taken, or a retirement on the part of those on whose consciences those oaths, I presume, are pressing, from the offices they have obtained by taking them, and then what we desire will, at last, be realized. These are no extreme or unreasonable suggestions. They are only what all right-minded men expect in any other calling or profession. The mildest kind of discipline—and the Prime Minister has declared we have no discipline at all in the Church of England—instantly demands them, and you can look for what is so much needed, namely, a restoration of peace and confidence, in no other way. Make no mistake. Disestablishment will not secure these things; cleansing will. By disestablishment you might momentarily escape from some of the difficulties which are pressing upon us, but it would only be that they might return in a harder and a harsher shape, accompanied by others the magnitude of which it is hard indeed to gauge. What is needed, first, is a firm and statesmanlike grasp of the situation; next, a determination to keep the Church of England true to herself, by which I mean true to her Articles and Formularies; thirdly, to avoid attempts to make her a kind of Pantheon, such as Mrs. Humphry Ward and others plead for, in which every kind of contradictory doctrine shall find a niche, and its adherents be tolerated, like the members of a happy family, on terms that they abstain from mutual interference; lastly, to admit and prefer only those men who prove themselves loyal to the doctrines and practices of the Book of Common Prayer, as interpreted by the constitutionally appointed tribunals."

We cordially support the reasonable request made by Sir John Kennaway that, now Lord Kitchener has arranged to open the Soudan "to all comers," the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society should no longer be forbidden to initiate their beneficent work of establishing a medical mission among the Soudanese.

The Bishop of Worcester recently opened a large block of new buildings at the Worcester Cathedral King's School, erected at a cost of over £3,000.

The directors of the Ecclesiastical Insurance Office, Ltd. (11, Norfolk Street, Strand) announce that they are prepared to grant loans to enable the clergy to erect or improve any school, mission hall, or other building needed for Church purposes in their parishes. Full information as to this plan can be obtained on application to the secretary of the Company.

The Westminster College Training School at Cambridge for the English Presbyterian Church was formally opened by the Moderator of the English Presbyterian Synod. It accommodates twenty-five students and a staff of five, and cost £40,000.

The Church Association Autumn Conference met at Gloucester in the middle of the month, under the presidency of Mr. A. S. Lamb, Barrister-at-Law.

The Bishop of Bristol has refused to admit to priest's orders the Rev. J. Wharton Hewison, curate of St. Simon's, Bristol, whose Vicar, it is said, will not abandon the use of incense, and who personally declines to promise obedience to the Archbishop's opinion should he be presented to a benefice.

The Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces met at Lambeth, with closed doors, on November 14. The only official communication furnished to the press was the following resolution, which was stated to have been passed unanimously by the assembled prelates: "That the closing year of the century should be observed on the part of the Church of England as a year of special collective prayer for the blessing of God upon the Church and nation."

On November 14 the Cromwell statue, by Mr. Thorneycroft, which has been erected on the lawn before the left front of Westminster Hall, was unveiled. In the evening a crowded meeting was held in the Queen's Hall to celebrate the tercentenary of the birth of the great Protector. Lord Rosebery's speech on this occasion was admirable both in form and matter. Among those who took part in the proceedings were Lord Coleridge, Canon Wilberforce, and Mr. Asquith, M.P.

Mr. A. J. Balfour contributes an article to the November number of the *North American Review* on "How the Ritualists Harm the Church." It reproduces the substance of his recent speech on the subject in the House of Commons.

APPEALS, DONATIONS, AND BEQUESTS.

The following appeal has been issued by Prebendary Webb-Peploe :

"It is with devout thankfulness to God that I am able to announce that the Barbican Mission to the Jews has secured a site in the White-chapel Road for a permanent mission-house as a memorial of its first president, the late Prebendary Gordon Calthrop. We are anxious to build as soon as possible. Will those who honour the memory of our departed brother, and all interested in the spread of the Gospel of Christ among the Jews, kindly assist us with a contribution towards the building fund (£3,000 still needed), for the love of God and the sake of His people Israel ?

"Contributions will be gladly received by me; or they may be sent to the Secretary of the Mission, 262, Commercial Road, E.

"25, Onslow Gardens, S.W."

H. W. WEBB-PEPLOE.

The Duke of Westminster has contributed £1,000 to the fund for enlarging St. Oswald's College, Ellesmere. This college is one of the Woodard Schools.

The Duke of Westminster has given a special donation of £5,000 to the Bishop of London's Fund, and also announced his intention to double the amount of his present annual subscription (£1,000) to the society.

The Bishop of St. Albans' Fund also, for East London over the Border, has received a donation of £5,000 from his Grace, with a promise to double his annual subscription of £500. This fund has received a further donation of £400 from the Marquis of Salisbury towards the spiritual needs of a population increasing at the rate of 43,000 a year.

The sum of £2,500 has been anonymously given towards the £10,000 still required for the Walsham How memorial at Wakefield. According to an appeal just published by Bishop Eden, £17,000 has been already either paid in or promised, and a fund for the endowment of the first stall in the cathedral is anticipated. Two sculptors have been asked to prepare designs for a recumbent effigy of the late Bishop.

Our contemporary, *Church Bells*, is raising subscriptions for the Egyptian Bishopric Fund. Several hundreds have already been given, and one anonymous donor has offered £1,000, provided nineteen others will give the same amount before the end of the year.

LITERARY.

Encyclopædia Biblica. A Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by the Rev. Professor T. K. CHEYNE, D.D., and D. J. SUTHERLAND BLACK. Vol. I. (A—D). Price £1 net. London: A. and C. Black. (A full notice of this important work will shortly appear in our pages.)

Christian Mysticism. (Bampton Lectures for 1899.) By W. R. INGE, M.A. Price 16s. Methuen and Co.

A new book is announced as shortly to be issued by the veteran philosopher, J. H. Stirling, LL.D., first appointed Gifford Lecturer (1888-90), and author of the celebrated work, "The Secret of Hegel." The book in question will deal with the problem of philosophy in its most vital connection.

We hear that some time next month a new edition will be published of the Rev. Dr. Rigg's "High Anglicanism," which claims to be the only book giving an historical account of the Oxford Movement from the Nonconformist standpoint. Dr. Rigg's book first appeared in 1895, and in the new edition he has added two chapters on the latest aspect of the Ritual controversy.

