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THE  
CHURCHMAN

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APRIL, 1900.

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

No. IV. (*continued.*)

WE shall be prepared, of course, knowing the view entertained by Professor Driver and the school to which he belongs concerning the central sanctuary, to find that the account of the setting up of the sanctuary in Shiloh in chap. xviii. 1, and the solemn casting of the lot there in chap. xix. 51, are assigned to P. Historical demonstration becomes extremely easy—*too* easy, some historical inquirers may perhaps have the temerity to think—when we are at liberty to strike out every passage in our authorities which conflicts with our view. And some of us may think the way in which Professor Driver deals with chap. xviii. a trifle summary. “Vers. 1, 11-28 belong to P; vers. 2-6, 8-10 to JE; and ver. 7 to D<sub>2</sub>.”<sup>1</sup> There does not appear to be the slightest ground for this apportionment. The narrative runs quite smoothly and naturally, and it is corroborated by what we find elsewhere. The reason, of course, is that the writer or compiler of Joshua speaks of the central sanctuary. But critics of the German school have come to the conclusion that in those early days there was no central sanctuary. If the narrative says there was, so much the worse for the narrative. It is

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<sup>1</sup> “Introduction,” p. 104. Professor Driver does, it is true, refer the student to Wellhausen’s “On the Composition of the Hexateuch”; Dillmann’s “Commentary”; and Kuenen’s work on the Hexateuch. But it may fairly be questioned whether he has a right on the authority of these scholars to speak of points of this kind to students who have no access to these authors as if the matter were beyond the reach of controversy, without giving the slightest indication of the reasons which have led them to their conclusions, the more so in that the reasons for this treatment of the passage are not linguistic but historical.

therefore clear to the critical mind that ver. 1 must be a post-Exilic interpolation. Chap. xix. 51, it is true, corroborates it. It is therefore obvious that this last verse must be "the final subscription to P's whole account of the division of the land," appended by the redactor to a chapter in which he has taken vers. 9, 47, 49, 50, from JE and the rest from P. It is true that some special sanctity seems to be assigned to Shiloh in the fragment of early history contained in the last chapter of the Book of Judges. And this Professor Driver tells us, and tells us no doubt truly, "wears the appearance of antiquity."<sup>1</sup> We have another corroboration of the history in this chapter in the early chapters of the first Book of Samuel, and the antiquity of these is not denied. The whole of this narrative is once more strongly corroborated in Jer. vii. 12 and xxvi. 6, where God is said to have set His name in Shiloh "at the first," and to have made it desolate and a curse on account of the folly and disobedience there wrought. But all this goes for naught with the disciples of the German school. "Is it not written" in Kuenen and Wellhausen that God put His name nowhere at the first, and that any assertion to the contrary we find in any book of Hebrew history must have been written after the return from the Captivity? Such an authority, such "proofs," who shall dispute?

In the account of the Cities of Refuge, the argument *e silentio*, being found convenient this time, is once more employed. There is no mention of these cities in the after history, so Joshua cannot have appointed them. This chapter is "on the whole, in the style of P, but it exhibits in parts points of contact with D<sub>1</sub>."<sup>2</sup> This would not be surprising if, as we contend, it were written after the Pentateuch was completed. The only question we have to ask here is whether it were more likely that the cities were actually appointed as stated, but that the Hebrew Scriptures, dealing as they do only with the general features of the history, do not happen to mention them, or that the post-exilic historian invented a fable, apparently without any necessity or object whatever, and induced a people ignorant and indifferent about its history—as it must have been if it eagerly swallowed inventions of this kind—to receive it.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Introduction," p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Driver here, it is true, does not say anything for or against the accuracy of the history. But he makes the statement that the appointment by Moses, in Deut. iv. 41-43, of cities of refuge beyond the Jordan, was "disregarded." Can he have read Josh. xx. 8? It is noteworthy that, like Professor Robertson Smith, he elects to follow the Codex Vaticanus of the LXX, where it stands alone (it omits some verses here), when it supports his theory of compilation. He does not even mention

The treatment of chap. xxi., which is dealt with in the same summary fashion (vers. 1-42 belong to P, vers. 43-45 to D<sub>2</sub>), betrays a surprising amount of unfamiliarity with the after-history of Israel. Professor Driver is obviously quite unaware of the fact that some of the cities mentioned in this chapter as assigned to the Levites appear in Isa. xv. and Jer. xlviii. as cities of *Moab*. It is certain, though the fact is nowhere recorded, that in the days of the later kings Moab had repossessed itself of a considerable portion of the territory of Israel beyond Jordan. It appears to have belonged to Moab in earlier times, and to have been captured by Sihon before the Israelite invasion.<sup>1</sup> It is quite impossible, therefore, that any writer of the post-exilic period would have represented cities as belonging to Israel which they had no evidence whatever—for chap. xiii. 15-32 is also assigned to P—had at any time belonged to Israel. We are all by this time pretty well aware that Wellhausen is not the safest of all guides to follow. A little independent research on a point of this kind would not have been out of place. But on the hypothesis that here we have authentic history, that history explains itself naturally enough. Israel beyond Jordan, in the days of the decline of the Northern kingdom, if not even in the days of its prosperity, would lie perilously open to attacks from the neighbouring kingdoms. Ahab was unsuccessful in his attempt to wrest Ramoth-Gilead from the hands of the Syrians. Even with the aid of Jehoshaphat, Jehoram was unable to reduce the King of Moab to his former position as a tributary. And so the whole territory of Reuben, and a good deal of that of Gad, including the Levitical cities, had already been long occupied by Moab by the time of Isaiah.<sup>2</sup> Possibly the apostasy of Israel was largely the cause of this. The Levites,

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the fact that there are variations in the copies of the LXX. Professor Robertson Smith ("Old Testament in the Jewish Church," p. 118) follows the Vatican Codex even in its notoriously corrupt and confused history of Jeroboam, and instead of regarding it as having interpolated later and spurious matter, as it obviously has, describes it as one of "two distinct recensions of the Hebrew text." It would be quite as reasonable to regard the additions of the Apocrypha as recensions of the Hebrew text. Moreover, it does not seem quite consistent with our ordinary notions of fairness that the readings of the LXX., even of their favourite Codex Vaticanus, are kept in the dark when they happen to disagree with their views. What does Professor Driver say to the reading "Shiloh" in Josh. xxiv. 1? Is Shiloh the original and preferable reading there? Or what again of the addition in the LXX. at the end of chap. xxiv., in which the Israelites are said to have "carried about" the tabernacle of the congregation?

<sup>1</sup> See Judg. xi. 12-27.

<sup>2</sup> As may be seen from a comparison of this chapter with Isa. xv. and Jer. xlviii.

as we learn from 2 Chron. xi. 13, 14—and as the late Professor Blunt has acutely observed, the statement derives undesigned support from 1 Kings xv. 16-22—abandoned their cities after the setting-up of the calves by Jeroboam, and thus denuded of their defenders, the trans-Jordanic Levitical cities would fall an easy prey to the King of Moab. But where true historical research finds an interesting confirmation of the narrative, Anglo-German criticism can find nothing but an unintelligible and unintelligent patchwork, a mass of absurdities and contradictions.

J. J. LIAS.



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

### II. BISHOP ANDREWES (*continued*).

THE extracts which we have already made from Bishop Andrewes were all taken from one of his treatises, and it may perhaps be asked whether that one treatise fully represents the mind of the Bishop. Seeing that it is a professedly polemical treatise, drawn up as an answer to an attack made by Cardinal Bellarmine on King James I., may not the Bishop have expressed himself more vigorously than he would have done if he had been writing uncontroversially? and does not this detract from the apparent strength of his anti-papal convictions? To show that that was not the case, we supplement our previous article with extracts from his other works, controversial and non-controversial.

#### *Contrast of England and Rome.*

“Look at our religion in Britain—primitive, pure, purified, such as Zion would acknowledge. What! must we descend into the plain to teach that nowhere does there exist a religion more in accord with the true Zion, that is, with the institutions of the Gospel and of the Apostles, than ours? Look at our Confession contained in the XXXIX. Articles; look at our Catechism: it is short, but in spite of its shortness there is nothing wanting in it. Look at the Apology of our Church—truly a Jewel. Whoso will, may find our doctrines there; it would be too long for me to go through them all here.

“Walk about Zion and go round about her. We have for our rule of religion one Canon given us by God in writing, the two Testaments, the three Creeds, the first four Councils,

five Centuries, three before and two after Constantine, and the Fathers who lived in them. For those who are not satisfied with the old Catholic Faith without the new patches of Rome, those who are not contented unless by draining to the dregs they reach the abuses and errors, not to say fables and figments, which afterwards filled the Church, we leave them to the enjoyment of their choice. Let them betroth themselves to God with a faith that is not written. Zion, certainly, was not so betrothed (Hos. ii. 20). Let them worship they know not what in their relics and in their Host. That comes from the mountain of Samaria, not from Zion. Let them pray in a tongue that they do not understand, and celebrate their rites without understanding, and therefore without fruit, if the Apostle knows anything of the matter (1 Cor. xiv. 15). These were not the prayers or songs of Zion. Let them call on those whom they have not been taught to believe in (Rom. x. 14), and go to the Saints with greater diligence and frequency than to Christ. That was not done in Zion. Let them prostrate themselves and bow before a painted or carved likeness. Zion would rend her garments at such an act. Let them mutilate the Eucharist by one-half; in the upper chamber of Zion it was taken, not in that way, but in its integrity. Let them 'worship the Deity, hiding there under the species' ('Roman Missal') made from the flour-mill. Zion would shudder at this and utterly repudiate it. What! when they adore their Pope placed and sitting upon the altar; when they make a man, to say the very least, encompassed with infirmities, often illiterate, often of bad life, very often a mere canonist, to be the pillar of their faith and religion, unable, forsooth, to err! Would Zion bear that? There is nothing here which has a savour of Zion—nothing at all, or of that primitive and true faith which was once delivered to the saints. These are not the betrothals of a chaste faith. There is too much meretricious colouring. God would not 'rejoice over' these things (Isa. lxii. 5).

"Look, too, at our ecclesiastical Order, which even an Apostle might gladly see, and which I dare to call plainly Apostolic. We have not lay Presbyters and Deacons, nor is our ecclesiastical order without Bishops, whom 'the Holy Ghost has placed to rule the Church of God.' But we have Deacons and Presbyters of the clergy, and above them Bishops, such as all antiquity has recognised and respected" (Sermon on Frederick the Count Palatine's leaving England in 1613).

"You charge us with new opinions? Nay, I tell you, if they are new, they are not ours. We appeal to the ancients, to the furthest antiquity; the newer a thing is, the less we like it; the less new that it is, the more we are pleased with it.

Nor is any saying more agreeable to our ears than that of our Saviour: 'From the beginning it was so.' We have no better definition of heresy than that which is contrary to the three old Creeds or any of the four old General Councils. Is not this to hate new opinions? We innovate in nothing. We restore perhaps what those of ancient time held, which you have innovated upon. Who can bear to hear you complaining of novelty, when you are every day turning out from your workshop new sects, new glosses, new opinions, which you have fabricated? If you retain anything that is old, you have so interpolated it that not one of the ancients would recognise it if he came to life again. Anyone who should look for the old Roman Church in your modern Roman Church would lose his labour. To be subject to Rome and to depend upon her is the sum of your religion" ("Tortura Torti," p. 96).

"Wherever we have changed anything, it has been done because in your ritual you had gone away from the pure and perfect worship of God, and because it 'was not so from the beginning'; for example, in the worship of likenesses contrary to the Second Commandment, of which you were so conscious that you used to expunge the Second Commandment from your books; and in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, which you have halved, contrary to the expressed desire of Christ; and in the Liturgy not understood of the people, contrary to the mind of the Apostle. And then we have changed for the better and reformed, whatever faults crept into the Mass itself through evil times, or through the carelessness or wrongfulness of men. When our predecessors belonged to your communion, they protested against these things, and acting on that protestation, they separated from you until those things were changed for the better. Whatever you have of the primitive faith and religion remains untouched with us. The charge of our being Calvinists is now given up. No one here is bound to swear obedience to Calvin. We rate him according to the value of his reasoning and no more. If you were not more bound to the Pope, you would not be what you are and what you are rightly named—Papists" (*ibid.*, p. 375).

"You inquire about our King, and I about the Pope. Which is the truer Catholic? Which of the two regards the Church as spread throughout the world, for that is the meaning of the word 'catholic'? Which of them counts it as not tied down to any spot? The King recognises it as catholic because it is everywhere disseminated, not tied to any place, nor in any way circumscribed; but your Pope does not dare to use the name 'Catholic' without the addition of 'Roman.' But by adding 'Roman' he overthrows 'catholic,' as if he

should profess his belief in it as confined to no place, and yet confined to one special place. 'Roman Catholic' is just as if he said 'particular universal,' or 'part whole,' or as if he shut up the whole world in one city. A man who thus believes is not a Catholic: he is a Donatist; for in like manner they used to believe in an African Catholic Church. You are just like them in believing in a Roman Catholic Church; and as their Church was not catholic, but the Donatist sect, because it was African, so yours is not catholic, but the Roman Pope's sect, because it is Roman. Besides, why have you such a bad conscience that you don't dare to use the word 'catholic' by itself? Why do you add Roman? What is the use of it if there is no catholic except what is Roman? The only use of the word is to distinguish yours from some other catholic, which is not Roman. That which is nothing but catholic is really catholic, but yours is not, because of that addition; you take away the value of the first word 'catholic' by the second Roman" (*ibid.*, p. 368).

"The meaning of the word 'catholic' may be gathered from the Creed, where it is introduced to distinguish the Church after Christ from that before Him, the Christian from the Jewish Church. The Jewish Church was confined to one nation, the Christian Church is spread as far as the world extends. There is no proper opposition between Catholic and any heresy, except that of the Donatists of old, who confined the Church to their one African Church, and that of the Papists at present, who shut it up in their single Roman Church, and so from catholic make it uncatholic—Papists, I say, and any others who confine the universality of the Church to one spot. 'Universal' and 'a part of Africa'—'universal' and 'what is dependent on Rome,' are properly contrasted with one another. For both these expressions refer to place, in one case every place, and in the other only some place" (*ibid.*, p. 372).

"Well, then, belong you to your Roman Catholic Church, which is not found in the Creed. *We* will belong to that in which we express belief in the Creed; that which is simply catholic and not restricted to Rome, and is likewise orthodox; which does not worship any likeness, nor adore it knows not what; which bids all drink from Christ's cup; which prays with the spirit, and no less with the understanding; which does not call upon those whom it has not been taught to believe in (Rom. x. 14); where Christ is the Head of the Faith, and the Holy Ghost his Vicar. This is the Church to which we belong, and which we profess to be members of; but as you have still among you many remains of the doctrines of the Catholic Faith, although somewhat corrupted, we can

call you members of the Catholic Church, though not sound members" (*ibid.*, p. 4, 9, 6).

"Let us pray God for the Catholic Church, that it may be established and increase; for the Eastern Church, that it may be delivered and made one; for the Western Church, that it may be restored to its primitive estate and cease to be aggressive (*pacifice agat*); for the British Church, that all things lacking may be supplied and all else strengthened" ("Devotions, Second Day").

### *Interpretation of Scripture.*

"The Papist's means are these: Beside prayer, wherein they agree with us, they set down these means also—The Fathers, the Councils, the Pope and the Church. They say all these are true means of interpretation. We say, No. . . . The means for interpretation, as we allege them, are six: 1. The first, wherein they and we agree, is prayer. 2. Conference of places (comparison of texts); the less plain must be referred to the more plain. 3. *Inspectio fontium*, to look to the original, the Greek text or Hebrew. 4. Acquaintance with the dialect. 5. *Oculus ad scopum*, to mark the end (purpose) of the writer. 6. Look to *antecedentia* and *consequentia*, *i.e.*, every circumstance. Both jointly and severally their grounds are false, and ours are the only true means of interpretation. . . . For the Pope—Damasus, a Pope, as Hierome saith, subscribed to heresy; Liberius, an enemy to Arians, subscribed after to that heresy; Honorius was condemned in the sixth General Council in seven canons and seven actions for subverting the faith" ("Catechistical Doctrine," Part I.).

### *Universal Bishop.*

"Baronius reports Phocas' decree as follows: 'That the Roman Pontiff alone is to be called Œcumenical or Universal, and the Bishop of Constantinople not.' John and Cyriacus did no more than use the name which, by Phocas' decree, the Roman Bishop has from that time claimed to himself. Yet in a very short time a great change was made in the character of the title. In the Bishop of Constantinople it was 'foolish, 'proud,' 'wicked,' 'perverse,' 'profane,' 'blasphemous'; but within the space of two years in the Bishop of Rome it was none of these. Strange that Phocas should decree that a title which Gregory declared wicked and blasphemous must not be allowed to the Bishop of Constantinople, because it was proper to the Bishop of Rome; and strange that Boniface should have accepted it!" ("Tortura Torti," p. 405).

*Idolatry.*

“It is easy to see on which side idolatry is, and it is not ours. This is one article among many on account of which papists are accounted by us, who are true Catholics, to be (on this point) heretics. We do not call the images of Christ or of the saints idols. They are not so on their own part, but we say they may become so on yours, just as much as the brazen serpent was on the part of the Jews, namely, if they are worshipped; for they are likenesses of things that are in heaven, before which you ‘bow down to them and worship them,’ which in so many words is forbidden by the Divine Law. What are in themselves only images become idols to the Cardinal as soon as he begins to worship them. By doing which he and all who do the like are idolaters” (“Tortura Torti,” p. 378).

“To take away all images God made sure work by forbidding all manner of *likeness* in heaven, earth, waters.”

The Bishop then proceeds to refute “the papists’ arguments” on the other side: (1) From Fathers and Councils; (2) from the distinction of *προσκυνεῖν* and *λατρεύειν*; (3) from the allegation that worship is given to the object signified, not to the image; (4) from the needs of the ignorant and illiterate (“Catechistical Doctrine,” Part III.).

*Relics.*

“Their worshipping the relics of their saints and martyrs is mere gentilism, the ancient bait of Satan” (“Discourse of Ceremonies,” Part III.).

*Purgatory.*

“The popish Purgatory in scope and being agreeth with the heathen purgatory mentioned in Plato and Virgil” (*ibid.*).

*The School-doctrine of Man’s Merits.*

“‘Enter not into judgment with Thy servant, O Lord.’ And why? ‘For no flesh is righteous in Thy sight’—no flesh, no man, righteous or justified; then surely no true merit. We deserve nothing, but are unprofitable servants, and our best works are imperfect, and fall short of that perfection that law and justice do require. So then, sacrifices of goodness and alms or distribution there must be; they are necessary to salvation in them that have time and opportunity and means. But there can be no trust or confidence placed in them, for they are imperfect and defective, and therefore merit nothing at God’s hands out of justice, but only are accepted out of God’s mercy and the infinite merits of Christ;

and therefore the greatest part of the dignity (worth) of the best works of the best men is to renounce all trust and confidence in ourselves and our best works, and to repose all our hopes in the mercy and merits of Christ" (Bishop Buckeridge's "Funeral Sermon on Bishop Andrewes").

#### *Oaths.*

"The Cardinal proclaims aloud that the Pope may do away with every obligation of laws and oaths, so that no one would be more secure with a man that had taken an oath than with one who had not. In this matter of binding and releasing the Popes act like conjurors. They allow their Bulls to bind at one time and not at another. Gregory XIII. played in this way a little while ago about the Bull of Pius V. It bound the Queen and her heretical subjects, but was not binding on her Catholic subjects. It did not bind the Catholics under present circumstances, but it would bind them when the Bull could be openly executed. A wonderful contriver! By one and the same Bull he binds and he does not bind. He binds heretics, he does not bind Catholics, and though he does not bind Catholics, yet he does bind them! If the Pope has this power of releasing from oaths, it is just the same thing whether Catholics swear or do not swear; the Pope will take care, though they may have taken an oath, that they shall not be guilty of perjury; and such is his power that he will first release them and then hedge them in with his plenary indulgences, so thick and so close one upon another, that perdition itself will not be able to make them perish" ("Tortura Torti," p. 72).

#### *One Kind.*

"I see that we have an acknowledgment of the mutilation of the Eucharist. For the Council of Trent itself says that 'Although Christ our Lord at the Last Supper instituted this venerable Sacrament in both kinds and delivered it to the Apostles; although the use of both kinds was not uncommon from the beginning of the Christian religion, nevertheless . . . it approves of the practice under one kind, which was introduced for grave and just reasons, and decrees that it is to be held as law' (Sess. xxi. 2). That is to desert the law of God, which is of both kinds, and to introduce into its place another law, which is of one kind" (*ibid.*, p. 434).

#### *Attendance without Communicating.*

"It is an Eucharistic sacrifice (peace offering), and the law of that kind of sacrifice is this—that the offerer must partake of it, and he must partake of it by taking and eating, as the

Saviour enjoined; for your 'partaking by praying' is modern and new-fangled, newer even than your private Masses" ("Resp. ad Bell.," p. 250).

"The law of a peace-offering is: he that offers it must take his part of it, eat of it, or it doth him no good" (Sermon IV.: "Of the Resurrection").

"I see not how we can avoid that the flesh of our Peace-offering must be eaten in this feast by us, or else we evacuate the offering utterly and lose the fruit of it" (Sermon VII.: "Of the Resurrection").

#### *Incense and Lights.*

"Their priests to have shaven crowns, to be unmarried, to have frankincense offerings, fasts and feasts, to have candles in them, and to carry them up and down, in every respect is heathenish, and Chemnitius in particular proveth this by variety of authors. The placing of lights in churches at some time is not altogether an heathenish ceremony, although it appear by Seneca the Gentiles had it; but their burning of tapers in their churches at noonday is altogether a pagan custom, as Rhenanus well observes in his comment upon Tertullian" ("Discourse of Ceremonies," Part III.).

#### *The Jesuits.*

"I can see the Jesuits (the golden staves and mattocks of the See of Rome, whose name answereth Heraclitus' Greek name of a bow. 'Thy name,' said Heraclitus, 'βίος (a bow) is life (βίος), but thy work is death') in office resemble the heathen priests of the Indians, called Brachmans, mentioned by Orosius. He saith: 'These heathen clergy-priests also study philosophy and the mathematical arts, insomuch that by their learning and counterfeit holiness they continue all their lifetime the singular contrivers of all fraud and villainy'; for my warrant I appeal to the catastrophe of many houses of nobility of this realm acted by the Jesuits" (*ibid.*)

#### *Babylon.*

"John is a true prophet and your Babylon will fall, and it will fall for expunging the confession of Christ, and in its place branding on its forehead a name of manifold blasphemy, and that in large letters, so that he that runs may read it" ("Tortura Torti," p. 223).

#### *Arrogant Claims of Rome.*

"Tell me this: Are there no Christians groaning under the Turk? Are there no churches of Christians there? Are there

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

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

F. MEYRICK.



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

JOHN TILLOTSON (*continued*).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Bishop of Worcester.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Bishop of Chichester.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Archbishop of York.

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

Tillotson drew up a paper of suggestions for the Commission, of which the following is a summary: Revision of the Liturgy with a view of supplying deficiencies and removing all grounds of objection, leaving out the Apocryphal lessons and correcting the translation of the Psalms; instead of all former declarations by ministers, the subscription to one general promise "that we do submit to the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Church of England, as it shall be established by law, and promise to teach and practise accordingly"; a new body of ecclesiastical canons with a regard to a more effectual provision for the reformation of manners both in ministers and people; men who have already been ordained in foreign reformed Churches to be held capable of ministering here, but for the future none to be capable of holding any ecclesiastical preferment unless ordained by a bishop; those who have been ordained by Presbyters not to be compelled to renounce their ordination, but if they doubt its validity they may receive conditional ordination from the Bishop—"If thou art not already ordained, I ordain thee," etc. This last proposal of Tillotson with respect to Presbyterian ordination was in accordance with the sentiments of Overall, one of the most learned of the Elizabethan divines, who died, Bishop of Norwich, in 1619.<sup>4</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Aug. 1, 1692.

HONOURED MADAM,

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

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

Your most obliged and humble servant,

JO. CANT.

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

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

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

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

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

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

MARIE R.,

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

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

By Her Majestie's Command,

NOTTINGHAM.

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

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

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

LAMBETH HOUSE, Oct. 23rd, 1694.

MY LORD,

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

I am, my Lord,

Yours most affectionately,

JO. CANTUAR.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> "History of England," p. 95.

P.M.

Reverendissimi et Sanctissimi Præsulis

JOHANNIS TILLOTSON,

Archiepiscopi Cantuarensis,

Concionatoris olim hæc in Ecclesiâ

Per annos xxx celeberrimi,

Qui obiit x<sup>o</sup> Kal Dec MDCLXXXIV.

Ætatis suæ LXIII.

Hoc posuit ELIZABETHA

Conjux illius mæstissima.



## ART. IV.—MONTANISM AND THE EARLY CHURCH.

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

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

shall see at once that Montanism came much nearer to the contemporary Christian idea than any of the heresies of its time. It differed alike from the Gnostic heresies which preceded it and from the Trinitarian which followed it, in being rather a moral than a doctrinal movement; and it stood still further aloof from the former in its assertion of orthodoxy and its unhesitating acceptance of the canonical Scriptures. Its actual rise was no doubt encouraged by a spirit of reaction against the prevailing Gnosticism, as well as by a spirit of protest against the bitter severities of the reign of Aurelius. Thanks to the strange irony of fortune, Christianity suffered worse things at the hands of the most Christian of the Roman emperors than it had ever suffered before except from Nero. The character of the times gave acceptableness to any high enthusiasm; and we shall be taking quite a wrong view of Montanus and his teaching if we consider him to be anything more than a centre round which were gathered certain tendencies which outward rather than inward conditions had long been shaping in the development of Christian thought. His personality has the importance only of one who is the mouthpiece of a large movement. A Mysian by birth, slight in ability and weak in character, Montanus is said to have been, before conversion, a priest of Cybele, and, if so, may have been the subject of those savage emotions of which the "Attis" of Catullus has preserved so wild and striking a picture. The prophecies which he uttered, together with those of his companions Maximilla and Priscilla, found a ready hearing among a people already distinguished, as the Phrygians were, for a mystical and ascetic temperament. Persecution only increased the ardour of the new prophets, and the doctrine rapidly gathered strength both in organization and in numbers.

Its entrance into Africa was facilitated by the gloom and severity of the Punic character. In Africa, as the historians have pointed out, Christianity had already acquired vehemence and depth; the very climate seemed to influence the manner of presentation of the Christian idea, and with stern, practical, impetuous natures "disputes maddened into feuds, and feuds grew into obstinate, implacable and irreconcilable factions." Tertullian, in particular, was from the first so nearly a Montanist in all but name, that much ingenuity has been expended on the task of deciding whether certain of his words were composed before or after his adhesion to the new school; and Jerome is undoubtedly mistaken in his judgment that Tertullian's lapse was due to the slights he had received from the clergy of Rome. A passionate moralist, with an ardent and defiant temper diversified by a vein of almost savage sarcasm,

Tertullian accepted at once the creed which harmonized so well with his own disposition and view of Christianity. It was chiefly through him that it assumed enough of philosophic importance to react, no less in Spain than in Africa, on the Catholic Church. He was the only theologian of the movement, for, strangely enough, his great disciple Cyprian makes no mention of Montanism. Nor, indeed, did the doctrine ever meet with more than a very partial and broken support. From its first rise it was assailed by criticism and objections. Charges of immorality, of worldliness, of avarice, are collected in the pages of Eusebius against Montanus and his companions. For the grosser of these accusations there appears to have been little or no foundation; and even Apollinarius (ap. Euseb. v. 16), while comparing Montanus and Maximilla to Judas, shows a wise scepticism about the story of their suicide. Eusebius himself, though he refrains in this instance from the use of his turgid rhetoric, is clearly in agreement with the writers whom he quotes; and the conception of Montanism given in his work—a very insufficient one, it must be confessed, and a very unphilosophical—is hostile throughout. By Epiphanius, misled by the fact that the new prophets used the first person as being the inspired organs of the Paraclete, Montanus was falsely charged with claiming to be himself the Paraclete and the Father.

The Montanist theory of inspiration certainly did not admit of any sharp partition between the human and the divine, but at the same time there can be little doubt that Montanus claimed to be no more than the medium for the wider fulfilment of the promise of the Comforter. Even this claim, however, was rejected by the Church. The Bishops of Asia Minor, with some exceptions, declared these *πνευματικοί* (as they styled themselves) to be inspired by devils. Supernatural their inspiration was, but it was that of a *νόθον πνεῦμα* (Apollinarius); and excommunication showed the mind of a large section of the Eastern Church. In the West, Montanism was at first well received. Victor, influenced by certain commendatory letters (Tertullian's "letters of peace") from the enthusiastic martyrs of Lyons, as well as by the colour of orthodoxy given to the doctrine by its condemnation in Asia (then at variance with the Roman Church on the Paschal question), was about to receive it with a formal acknowledgment, when, at this juncture, messengers arrived from Asia, and Praxeas, who, in Tertullian's words, did "a twofold service to the devil in driving away prophecy and in bringing in heresy," prevailed on the Bishop to excommunicate the Montanists. Thus, Montanism was excommunicated as a heresy both in the East and the West within a few years of its founder's appearance.

Its doctrine of individual inspiration was felt to be antagonistic to the unity and authority of the Church; and its wild proclamations of the downfall of the empire, springing from its millenarian principles, may have been felt dangerous to the welfare and progress of Christianity.

Nevertheless, the idealistic spirit and moral earnestness with which it confronted the rationalism and occasionally lax morality of Gnosticism won for it defenders at Rome for more than a century; and, in spite of the repeated decrees of the post-Constantine emperors, it continued to exist for about four hundred years, undoubtedly exercising some influence on the development of Christianity by infusing into the Church a portion of its own spirit. It may have encouraged the practice of priestly celibacy, the refusal of the Church to admit women to functions, the insistence, against new prophecies, on a closed canon of Scripture; it almost certainly helped to disarm Gnosticism (with which it had in common its distinction of a psychical and pneumatic Church, and its hostile attitude to the present world), by making Christianity consist in life and not in speculation, and by placing the consummation of God's kingdom in an earthly instead of an ideal sphere; and Dr. Newman goes so far as to see in it an anticipation of the medieval system. But, as a whole, Montanism was, and was felt to be, out of harmony with the general feeling of the Church. Had it been tolerated, it would have claimed the supremacy due to its advanced teaching; and had that supremacy been gained, Christian doctrine would unquestionably (as Dr. Salmon suggests) have developed under the superintendence of exaggerated enthusiasm rather than the guidance of quiet and sober thought.

The leading inquiry with regard to Montanism is: Was it a conservative movement? Was it a return—"a very natural return," as Renan calls it—to the teaching of the Apostolic Church? The facts which have been already given concerning the attitude and influence of Montanism, and concerning its treatment by the Church at large, lend a presumptive strength to the belief that its character was much more closely allied with the spirit of revolution than with that of conservatism. Such a belief seems to be confirmed by an examination of its dogmatic and moral teachings. Between these two it is always difficult to draw a parting line, so closely are theory and practice bound up together; but the remembrance of their intimate connection will render it at once an easier and a less dangerous task to treat them separately.

I. On its theoretic side, then, Montanism had for distinguishing features its doctrine of inspiration and of the Paraclete, its millenarianism, and its theory of the Church. Here, as after-

wards, we shall find our best guide in Tertullian, "the patron of Christianity." On all the cardinal facts of the faith there was an essential agreement between Church doctrine and Montanism. The books of the Old and New Testament were equally acknowledged by both; and the Christian belief in the Trinity was by the one, no less than by the other, held unimpaired. Tertullian, whose unquestioned orthodoxy saved him from the excommunication which overtook Montanus, even contributed to "the development of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity by asserting against Patripassianism a personal distinction in God" (Schaff). He was, in fact, the champion of a double cause: of the smaller circle of Montanism against what he conceived to be the less spiritual conception, and of the larger circle of the Church against the attacks of paganism or heresy. In her defence he exhibits an ardour, a zeal, a scornful enthusiasm, the remembrance of which cannot but make us feel that the "Ecclesiastical Polity" falls short of its habitual generosity of sentiment in calling Tertullian "an enemy unto the Church," and in emphasizing, in him, an "ulceration of mind" which "made him apt to take all occasions of contradiction." And yet, when we turn from the large basis of Christian thought to examine the hardly less fundamental doctrines of inspiration and revelation, we shall see that the lines which have been hitherto so parallel now begin to diverge. The primitive doctrine of inspiration in the Christian Church has been set forth at some length by Bishop Westcott, in an appendix to his "Introduction to the Gospels," in which he shows us that the theory prevalent in all the great writers of the early ages was a theory of *rational* inspiration. He points out how Justin's description of inspiration as the playing of the Divine Spirit on just men as the plectrum plays upon the harp—the exact metaphor afterwards employed by Montanus himself—was not, in him, inconsistent with the fact that the tone and quality of a note depend as much on the instrument as on the hand which plays it; how, while Athenagoras, who spoke of the inspired as being "deprived of their natural powers of reason," stood as the solitary predecessor of the Montanist doctrine, Apologists like Theophilus and Irenæus refused to rob the human agent of his individuality or to present him as a mere mechanical organ that cannot co-operate with the Divine influence; and how, finally, the Church of Rome, repeating, in the person of Hippolytus, the same metaphor of the lyre and plectrum, laid stress rather on the inward fitness of the man than on the outward exercise of an arbitrary power. To this universal doctrine of a rational and co-operating influence of the Spirit of God Montanism opposed the Greek theory of an irrational

frenzy in which the human element is wholly lost. On the passive mind the Spirit plays as a harpist on a dead instrument; the man is absorbed in his message; the reason is merged in a frantic enthusiasm, very unlike the quiet reasonableness which the Apostles learnt from their Master. Tertullian, in whom, significantly enough, the emotions were more developed than the intellect, referred to inspiration as an *amentia*; the prophet was said *excidere sensu*, just as Montanus had spoken of "the Lord putting the hearts of men out of themselves"; and the manner in which the African apologist describes the utterance of the new prophecies reminds the modern historian of the phenomena of magnetic clairvoyance (Schaff). Even before his conversion Tertullian had approached the Montanist view of inspiration in speaking of the baptism and inspiration of John; and his distinction between what is human and what is immediately divine in the apostolic writings implies a refusal to acknowledge the co-operation of God and man. After his lapse, he fully adopted the new theory; and though, from a psychological point of view, his assertion of a self-determining principle in human volition is perhaps inconsistent with his position as a representative of the doctrine of irresistible grace, yet on the whole he accepted without qualification both the matter and the manner of the Montanist prophecies, and attached to their new revelations the same authority as to the canonical Scriptures. This theory of inspiration, so alien to the primitive conception, brought Montanism at once into antagonism with the Catholic Church. And after an offer had been unsuccessfully made to exorcise the Montanist prophetesses, the new spirit was pronounced, in Tertullian's bitter phrase, to be a spirit of the Devil.

Closely linked with the Montanist doctrine of inspiration was the doctrine of the Paraclete. There had been, according to Montanus, a regular development of religion, analogous to the growth of the individual life, from Judaism to the new dispensation of the Paraclete, which thus stood to Christ's own teaching in the relation of maturity to youth. Christ, it was thought, had laid down only an incomplete and imperfect rule as a concession to human weakness. Through Montanus had come the full and final revelation of the Paraclete promised by Christ; and after this there was to be "no more prophecy but only the end of the world." Such was the declaration of Maximilla herself. So was the old traditional faith to be kept and confirmed, while discipline alone was to be reformed and purified in the search for a higher perfection. The New Testament was still identified with the sources of Christian doctrine; but, for the practical morality of the Church, an appeal was made to fresh outpourings of the Spirit, thus

offered, "as an abiding criterion of truth," to guide the elect in the dark days of gathering controversy. Tertullian's own view of true religion, strengthened by, if not adopted from, the Montanist doctrine, was that of gradual development through four stages. From the seed of natural religion had sprung the plant of legal religion as set forth in the Old Testament; and this, blossoming in the Gospel preached and heard during the life of Christ, had come to its maturity in the perfect teaching of the Paraclete. Tertullian, therefore, not only declined to separate the apostolic from the succeeding ages, but even maintained that those who rejected the new doctrine were incapable of rightly understanding the old. So great is the importance of this theory of progressiveness in religion—the first which had passed beyond the teaching of the New Testament and the Apostles—that it will call for further consideration shortly, and, on examination, will be found to furnish a strong argument against the conservative character of Montanism. For the present, it is enough to notice that the whole doctrine of the Paraclete, if not felt to be "a manifest perversion" (Liddon) of St. John's treatise on the subject, was at least recognised as an unauthorized addition to the contents of the Catholic faith; and as such the Church rejected it. One only of the new prophecies she showed herself willing to accept—the prophecy of Maximilla: "Do not hear me, but hear Christ!"

The Montanist theory of the Church was the natural outcome of its doctrines of revelation and inspiration. If individual inspiration is to be received on the same footing as the faith of the Gospel, then the barriers of authority are thrown down. To Tertullian the Church means not the whole body of true believers, but those alone who accept the teaching of the Paraclete: its mark is rather the spiritual fact than the outward organization. His idea that baptism may be administered not only by the bishop (*summus sacerdos*), but also by all Christians, shows how fully he admitted the conception of a universal priesthood. *Non ecclesia numerus episcoporum* is the watchword of a revolutionary reaction against the fixity and exclusiveness of an ordained hierarchy. The seal of ordination is no longer the outward imposition of hands: it is the possession of certain inward characteristics. Hence, religion being resolved into emotion, even women, if duly qualified, shared the universal priesthood; and the episcopal order, shorn of much of its dignity and power, was placed third among the orders of the Montanist Church. Insisting on the continuance of miraculous gifts, and, in particular, of prophecy, the Montanist appealed, in his own defence, to scriptural examples—to Agabus or Miriam or the

four daughters of Philip. According to Renan, who thinks that Montanism arose out of the concessions made by the Church to the world owing to the delay of the Second Advent, it was this theory of a universal priesthood which induced the Church to become more Catholic by placing Christianity in obedience to ecclesiastical authority much more than in spiritual gifts. One could now, he observes, be a Christian without being a saint; schism was held to be the worst of crimes; and in rejecting Montanism the Church rejected the refinements of holiness. The conflict is thus, to Renan, the conflict of poetry with prose, of common-sense with a dream of perfection. How much of unfairness there is in such a view is shown by the fact, on the one hand, that at this very time the Church, far from allowing that mere outward observances could constitute the essence of religion, was demanding a more and more careful preparation and training from all candidates for baptism; and, on the other, that the Montanists, by claiming "for their prophets what they denied to Christian bishops" (Schaff), were themselves only establishing a new kind of aristocracy, and indulging in a spiritual pride which is significantly revealed by their distinction of a carnal and pneumatic Church. Their lofty contempt for those who were not like themselves is akin to a pharisaical egotism than which nothing can be more truly un-Christian.

In subject-matter, the Montanist prophecies were chiefly concerned with statements about the millennium and the approach of wars and persecutions, and with new teaching about penance, fasting and the general conduct of the moral life. Millenarianism, founded on the Apocalypse, was a very prominent feature of Montanist teaching. The Montanist, looking forward to the immediate return of Christ, was so filled with the sense of the impending judgment that he despised the world and devoted all his energies to spiritual exercise. While Gnosticism looked towards the beginning of things, Montanism was absorbed in their end (Baur); and thus the belief in the manner of the Second Advent (long since regarded by the Catholic Church as a misdrawn inference) forms for the student the best point of transition from the doctrinal to the ethical teaching of the movement, just as in actual fact it was the most instrumental of the combined causes from which the new morality took its rise.

II. The form of words "new morality" is something more than a mere turn of expression. Of the extreme, and even fanatical, asceticism introduced by Montanism we shall find no trace either in the Gospel teaching or in the simple, human life of Christ. Inspired by the idea of the speedy establishment on earth of the kingdom of God, the Montanists

demanding a severer system than had ever been maintained, in theory or practice, by the Catholic Church. They instituted new and rigorous fasts. They denounced second marriages as almost adulterous. They proscribed secularity of every kind. They declaimed against dress, amusements, art. Virgins were ordered to be veiled. Flight in persecution was condemned as a denial of Christ; and martyrdom was encouraged and sought for with the blind eagerness of those who are reckless of life. To the sombre enthusiasm of Tertullian, darkly brooding over Hell and Judgment, such asceticism could not fail to be acceptable; it did but deepen in him the shadows already existing. A comparison of the *Ad Uxorem* with the *De Monogamia* shows that his objection to second marriages was almost as strong before his conversion as after it; and, as soon as the new impulse was given, his ethical code grew so rigid and narrow as almost to justify Hooker in calling him "a sponge steeped in wormwood and gall," a "merciless" man, "neither able to endure nor to be endured of any." A second marriage appeared to Tertullian nothing less than bigamy, and meant hopeless exclusion from the Church. Married though he was, matrimony itself became displeasing to him, as it had been to Montanus (*ὁ διδάξας λύσεις γάμων*); and though he dared not forbid it altogether, he did not hesitate to remark that children are "a most bitter pleasure." Military services and attendance at public games were alike condemned by him for their close connection with heathen observances. A natural death aroused his contempt. Martyrdom alone satisfied him. Martyrdom, he thought, was not only to be cheerfully accepted, but even to be provoked. With regard to fasting we find Tertullian reiterating with unqualified emphasis the teaching of Montanism. The opposition which he met on this point drove him, in his "Treatise on Fasting," into such open defiance that, to adopt the words of the great theologian just quoted, he occupied himself "in making invective declamations with a pale and withered countenance against the Church"; and, if we are to believe the statement of the early historians, the Montanists were in the habit of fasting on Sundays and feasting before Easter out of a mere spirit of contrariety. Certain it is that Tertullian goes so far as to call the Church a den of robbers and adulterers. Its remissness in the matter of fasts is, in his view, only equalled by its laxity in granting absolution; and he turns round with unhesitating courage to attack his own former arguments on penance and sin. The Church, according to the Montanist doctrine, cannot remit "deadly sins" after baptism—a main reason why Tertullian objects to the baptizing of infants

Shrinking from the license which follows the abandonment of fear, the Montanists declared that, while for grave faults a second repentance is impossible, the greater transgressions are altogether beyond the reach of human forgiveness: the sinner, though he may be pardoned hereafter, is for ever excluded in this world from communion with the Church. If the Prophets and Apostles remitted such sins, it was only, Tertullian explains, by the exercise of an extraordinary power and not in the ordinary course of discipline. St. Peter himself did not remit the grosser offences if committed after baptism, and would have contemplated with no approving eye the growing indulgences of Rome.

Neither in theory nor in practice did the Catholic Church demand such a standard of asceticism. While allowing reconciliation once only to the baptized after the gravest errors, it never shut the door against the soul that was sorry for a first sin. While discountenancing attendance at theatres and games because of the frequent indecencies of the stage, the waste of time involved, and the connection of the drama with pagan religion, it neither laid down a rigid law of conduct nor attached to asceticism more than a relative value. Virginity might be deemed the best and purest state; but there was no disparagement of the holiness of marriage. For the clergy celibacy had long been thought desirable; but no obligation was laid upon them to lead single lives. That many of them were even twice married is proved by the violence of Tertullian's denunciations. And thus we see that the moral system of Montanism was a reaction, not to the early spirit of Christianity, but to the legalism of the Jew. The Ebionite is the real forerunner of Montanus. Tertullian tells us that the teaching of the new Paraclete tends especially to the establishment or (as he afterwards corrects himself) the restitution of a severe discipline; but he does not notice the twofold error which that teaching involves. In the first place, it attempts, in defiance of the evangelical freedom of the Church, to lay down precise formulæ where the Gospel was content with a general rule. Blind to the alienation of all legal asceticism from the spirit of Christ and regardless of the truth that development, to use the language of philosophy, ought to be in the subject and not in the object, it wished to establish as law things which were considered open: it insisted, for example, on fixing and extending, by express rules, the fasts, hitherto held voluntary, on the *dies stationum*. The extreme asceticism which the Church permitted as an exception, Montanism tried (and necessarily without success) to force upon all; thus presenting, in opposition to the width of Catholicism, the exclusiveness of a narrow sect. The claims

of the Church on the individual life were great without being impossible: the claims of Montanus were impossible because unnatural. For—and in this lies their second error—the Montanists made a perpetual opposition between the supernatural and the natural. They did not aim, like the Church, at harmonising them. To Tertullian the earth was “a prison.” The sharp irony of the *De Spectaculis* lends its sting to the lamentation that “Satan and his angels have filled the whole world.” Though he would not, even as a Montanist, renounce all pleasures, because he felt that “all substances are pure as creatures of God,” yet he demanded that they should be put only to a “natural” use; and his definition of natural is most arbitrary. Flowers, he remarks, are only meant for sight and smell: to make them into festive garlands appears to him a perversion of nature. It is here, as in his contempt for natural death, that we perceive, with Neander, “the contraction of the ethical temper which would narrow Christian freedom by arbitrary maxims.” He could not recognise that Christianity is intended, not to effect any violent revolutions in the external conditions of society, but to sanctify, from within, all forms of human life by the transfiguring touch of a new spirit. He had never learned the great lesson that Christianity is always turning the water into wine.

Thus are we obliged to judge that Montanism was an aberration from, rather than a return to, the teaching of the primitive Church. Nor, in conclusion, will a general view of the movement, especially in relation to its doctrine of development, dispose us to a reversal of our verdict. It might appear, from Tertullian's comparison of the progressiveness of religion with the growth of man, that Montanism was at any rate conservative in the sense that it was only the development, in the slow unfolding of the kingdom of God, of something already given. Such a description, however, would hardly express the full characteristics of the movement. On the one hand, Tertullian is constantly inclining to the theory of a continuous *succession* of revelations rather than to that of a progressive enlargement; and, on the other, Montanism certainly assumes, to an impartial observer, the tone and quality of a new doctrine. The Montanists themselves recognised “the novel character of their gifts,” and that in spite of Tertullian's earnest struggle to impart to his teaching an orthodox and conservative colour. He tells us, indeed, that the outpouring of the Spirit was made only to illustrate, define, purify, and not to alter or remove (“*Nihil novi Paracletus inducit*”); and yet we read (pseud. T., *de Pres.*, 52) that “the Paraclete has introduced greater things by Montanus

than Christ by the Gospel." He speaks of a growing illumination from within, and yet, by making the development depend on the authority of a new order of prophets, he adds a fresh revelation from without. He requires the close correspondence of Christian doctrine with the traditional *regula fidei* ("immobilis et irreformabilis"), and yet he gives the Montanist prophecies an importance which interferes with the sufficiency of the New Testament, besides over-passing the limits of Scriptural teaching by holding that the Paraclete carries forward the life of the Church beyond its first foundations. He claims for Montanism an intimate "agreement with the rule of orthodoxy," and yet he does not really succeed in harmonizing it with the idea of Christ. On questions of conduct he is less careful about appearing orthodox. Charged with making arbitrary innovations in the appointment of fasts, his defence is not a denial but a justification—a justification strengthened by perverted passages of Scripture, and based on the false theory that acts of self-renunciation are connected with fear, not with love, in the religious consciousness. If only the rule of faith (of the essential articles of which he gives a list) be preserved, he will welcome, rather than disallow, any fresh code of morals. "Only let this law of faith remain," he says, "and other things relating to discipline and Christian conduct will permit the novelty of correction, the grace of God continuing to work even to the end. For what would this be, if, while Satan works continually and adds daily to the inventions of evil, the grace of God were to cease or leave off to advance? On this account the Lord has sent the Paraclete, that, since human mediocrity cannot receive all things at once, it may little by little be directed and led to perfection, by that substitute of the Lord, the Holy Spirit."

In matters of discipline we may almost say that "*novitas* was his watchword" (Gore). Montanism may have been to him a *restitutio*, but it was a *restitutio* only of the Divine intention, and therefore not the less "an advance on apostolic Christianity." That it was felt to be so by the Church has already been shown. Didymus thought it his duty to prove that Montanus could not be greater than the Apostles; and Tertullian is obliged to defend the new laws against the repeated objection that they can be deduced neither from Holy Writ nor from Church tradition. Indeed, every fresh study of Tertullian reveals more and more clearly his essentially liberal disposition, his strongly individualistic temper. His very writing itself—its strange phraseology, its new style, its acceptance of Latin as an ecclesiastical language—is significant of his feeling for originality. He was a man who could stand alone. Even in matters of faith he was never satisfied

with simple tradition. Hooker remarks that he objected to "a perverse following of antiquity." Maurice goes so far as to say that "what he craved for all along was a new religion." Always, together with a tradition, he demanded also the *ratio* of it; and if a fresh revelation gave a rational account of itself, it was to him equally acceptable with the old; for no rule, he thought, could be valid against what was right or good, and the purity and perfection of a theory were amply justified by its inward meaning, and proved by its agreement with the original scheme of doctrine. Thus did Tertullian and Montanism, within the limits of an authoritative creed, establish subjective opinion as the ultimate test of truth.

HISTORICUS.



#### ART. V.—THE SUFFERINGS OF THE CLERGY.

##### A PLEA FOR THE QUEEN VICTORIA CLERGY SUSTENTATION FUND (LONDON BRANCH).

ST. PAUL asks the question whether the Christian ministry have not the power to eat and to drink. At home, the answer must certainly be, No; a large part of the clergy of the Church of England are improperly fed, and almost on the verge of starvation. It is no exaggeration to say so. "It's not my turn for dinner to-day!" was the confession of a growing boy, one of the family of the vicar in an agricultural East Anglican parish. His father had sent him to the Hall with a message immediately after the morning service, and the Squire had kindly told him to run home quick, or he would be late for dinner. But, alas! it was not his turn for dinner that Sunday. In every agricultural labourer's cottage the whole family would be gathered round their substantial mid-day meal; but the parson could only afford to give his children a dinner on alternate Sundays.<sup>1</sup>

This is, unhappily, an illustration of an enormous number of cases. Tithes, as we know, have been sinking in value for years, and now only bring in £66 a year instead of £100. Ordinary agricultural land has been growing more and more difficult to cultivate profitably, and on this many of the country clergy depended. Some of it has gone out of cultivation altogether. There were always about 2,600 benefices in the Church of England with an income below £200 a year;

<sup>1</sup> The story is given by Mr. P. Vernon Smith.

but now that number has gone up in consequence of this state of things to the proportion of more than half.

There are at present 13,890 incumbents in England and Wales, and more than half of them are now in receipt of an income of less than £180 a year.

It is quite true that the greater number of these men and their families have not enough to eat and drink.

It is quite true that many of them, in extremely cold weather in the winter, have no fuel to keep themselves warm, and if they are at all delicate have to remain in bed merely to prevent attacks of illness.

It is quite true that most of them are obliged to bring up their sons and daughters to quite humble trades, because they cannot be educated for employments becoming to the position of a clergyman. Some are lady's-maids, some are footmen, some grocers' and drapers' assistants, and the like. Respectable as these callings in life are, we had hitherto hoped that the families of the clergy might have a more intellectual outlook.

It is quite true, again, that several hundreds of the clergy and their families have to be clothed with second-hand garments sent to a charitable society.

I am interested in most of the societies for the relief of the sufferings of the clergy, and the facts that are disclosed are very pitiable. Here is a letter from one: "My income is reduced to about £140. Even on that I think I could have managed, but nearly two years ago my wife had an attack of paralysis, and has since continued quite helpless. The consequent heavy medical and nursing expenses have reduced my finances to a very low ebb, so that my difficulties at the present time are many."

Or think of this: An incumbent, fifty-two years of age, twenty-one years in Holy Orders, with an income of £85 a year. His Archdeacon wrote to one of the societies that he really did not know how any words of his could emphasize the appeal which the figures themselves made to the generosity of the society. Apart from the wretched pittance he received from his benefice, his health was almost continually ailing in the winter.

Or this: An incumbent of eighty-four, with two children still dependent on him, and his benefice only £104 net. What is he to do?

Or this: An incumbent of forty-seven, whose children's education cost £65 a year, and whose net income is only £107. How can he live?

Or this: A vicar of fifty-five, with three children dependent

on him; a son in Earlswood Lunatic Asylum, his wife ill, and a net income of £193. What accumulated misery!

Or this: A vicar of seventy-eight, with four children dependent, and a net income of £95.

These examples of dire poverty, taken at random from the records of the charitable societies, must be multiplied by scores every month, and by thousands every year. This is the kind of thing that is meant when you are told that more than 7,000 of the benefices of the Church of England are in receipt of an income of less than £180 a year.

Listen to some of the letters of thanks which these poor men write when some little measure of help is sent them. It is very pathetic to see what small sums excite so much rejoicing:

“I beg most gratefully to thank you for your extreme kindness to me, having voted me a gift of £15 in money, and also clothes. Words fail to express my gratitude sufficiently, or to say what brightness you have brought into my life. I can now, through your kindness, pay small bills owing for the necessaries of my household, and have money in hand to go on with. I am suffering much pain, both in my hands and feet, from rheumatic gout, and the tumour in my side; but your goodness has brought ease to my mind, and that will help me to get well sooner than anything: for to lie awake at night through pain, and then to wonder how things will fare for others and yourself when you cannot work at all, makes you feel very troubled.”

Here is another: “I have this morning duly received your cheque for £25. Words quite fail to express the deep gratitude I feel to the society for so kindly helping my case. I can assure you my wife and I have never had such a kindness and help bestowed on us in our lives. I am so very thankful and grateful; it has in a moment seemed to make all things new again, and lifted an anxiety from our hearts. The clothing, I assure you, will be an immense help to us. To live without having a tailor’s or hosier’s bill means wearing clothes until they are very ‘shiny’ and very ‘thin.’”

Here is another: “I thank you more than words can do for your timely help. It does much to lift a burden from me which has weighed me down unduly these last few weeks.”

Here is another: “I try to keep up appearances for the sake of the parish. Nobody knows what we suffered last winter, being without a servant, as we had to do. The lack of nourishment has weakened my wife so much. Not a house in this parish has suffered more than mine from poverty and sickness, yet I have had some begging at my door, and I have known what it is to give the last sixpence out of my pocket.”

Here is another: "Will you kindly convey to the committee my most grateful and heartfelt thanks for so kindly giving me a grant of £10? Oh, what a relief! I wish I could say all that is in my heart, but it is too full. I am brimming over with thankfulness, and so excited I can scarcely hold the pen; and I feel so grateful, too, for not being kept in suspense. I can arrange in comfort for my little child's holidays. 'God bless you all' is my heartfelt prayer."

Here is another: "I am profoundly thankful for the very generous grant your corporation have made me, and I beg you to convey my deep sense of gratitude. By this kind aid my little sick daughter will be able to have another stay at the seaside, and my insurance premium will be paid."

Yet again: "Words can never express what we feel, or what you have been to us. We could not have come through our troubles but for what we have had from your society. God bless both it and you!"

Yet again: "I scarcely know how to express my feelings of thankfulness and gratitude for your kind letter enclosing a cheque for £15. I never for a moment expected such a handsome gift, and upon seeing the cheque both my wife and I were overwhelmed with joyful gratitude. Will you please accept and convey our most heartfelt thanks for this truly kind assistance, which has, I need hardly say, relieved our worried minds of a heavy burden. I thank you also exceedingly for what you say about a grant of clothing. It will be most acceptable and helpful. We are truly grateful for this valuable help."

Yet once more: "'Believed not for joy' was the first impression at the sight of your magnificent £15 cheque. Thank God, and thank your committee, one and all, and those kind hearts who have learned the lesson, and will have the promised reward, 'Blessed are they who consider the poor and needy.' What a boon this £15 will be only such sufferers as myself can experience. All last week I was unable to open my lips, either to eat or talk, owing to neuralgic gout. Here is my lot—helpless and hopeless—when amidst the deepening gloom a bonnie bit of bright brotherly burst of sunshine floods my path; so, amidst my tears of delight, I shall try to be brave again, and hope by a good and healthy change to grow strong enough to work again by God's blessing."

Such are the facts laid week by week before the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, the Poor Clergy Relief Corporation, and other societies. Think of it. Leaving aside all the necessitous curates for the moment, we find more than half of the incumbents of the Church of England—that is, more than 7,000—bringing up families on less than £180 a year; and a

very large number of them indeed have insufficient food, insufficient clothing, insufficient warmth; their lives are one perpetual struggle to keep themselves alive and to avoid debt.

And remember that they do not complain. All this information, all these facts, come from societies and Church authorities; the suffering clergy themselves have formed no union or committee, and uttered no murmur of despondency. Their high calling and their principles as preachers of the Gospel and stewards of the mysteries of Christ prevent them from making their troubles known. There is a dignity of self-respect in their lives that amounts to heroism, and is a very noble example to us all. Few are aware of the sorrows, the privations, the perpetual fastings, the dismay when sickness comes, which are to be found inside the quiet, decent-looking parsonages of half the parishes in the Church of England.

Remember also that they cannot earn money for themselves. It is against the law of the Church and realm that they trade. St. Paul supported himself by making sail-cloth, and some of the Bishops of the early Church were shepherds and artisans; but working for profit is, for various reasons, forbidden to our clergy now. They have chosen a lofty profession for life, but it is one of deep poverty and unceasing hardship, and they must abide by their choice and its rules. Indeed, they have no other wish.

It is a pitiable state of things which I have described to you, and it is not exaggerated. It has come about, as I said, largely from the extraordinary depreciation of tithe, and from the failure of the little glebe-lands, often attached in the country to the benefice for its support. It has also come because upwards of £700,000 a year of tithe is in the hands of the laity. The amount of the tithe belonged to the monasteries, besides vast estates in land. All this was confiscated by Henry VIII. at the Reformation, and, instead of being given back to the poor parishes, was squandered on his courtiers and their dependents. The landed gentry of England, who hold this enormous property in their hands, which was once used for the purpose of religion, owe a vast debt of obligation to the Church to whom it once belonged. One other reason I may mention, and that is, that the population has in the present century increased with prodigious speed in the towns; and a huge number of churches have had to be provided for it, for which very insufficient provision could be made.

And I wish to recall the fact that the clergy who are better off have themselves made great sacrifices. What is meant, for instance, by the Ecclesiastical Commission, with its income

of £1,000,000 a year? It represents the estates of the bishoprics and cathedral chapters, which have been taken away for the endowment of new parishes, and for the improvement of those that are very poor. On that object all that income is spent, and it is all now allocated. The other great sacrifice made by the clergy of the Church is in the payment of the 8,000 or 9,000 curates. Some of them, of course, are paid for by societies, some by rich congregations, but the greater number by the clergy themselves. Many of the incumbents of large parishes, where several assistant clergy are needed, draw nothing at all from their benefices, when they have paid their curates, but live entirely on their own private means. One London rector told me that during the course of his ministry he had paid £10,000 to curates out of his own purse; another told me he had paid £15,000.

Why do we allow all this grinding poverty which I have sketched to you, to continue? England is the richest country in the world in proportion to its population. The riches of the City of London alone are beyond the reach of imagination. Why do not rich men, who hardly know what to do with their money, take pity on the sufferings of so large a section of their fellow-countrymen, who are precluded by their very profession from doing anything whatever to help themselves? Englishmen are always generous when their hearts are touched by real distress. Here are hardships and privations on a very large scale scattered all over the country. Why is it that they are not relieved with liberal and grateful hand?

It is mainly because the facts are not known. The thing is not understood. It is very difficult to make a statement of the facts reach the minds of the wealthy. There is a sort of hazy idea that the Church is endowed, and that this is enough. Many people make the extraordinary mistake that the clergy are paid, wherever they are wanted, like army, navy, policemen, and inspectors, from the rates and taxes. They forget that the little endowments of old days have gone down to nearly half their value, and that even at their best they were intended for a population not one-tenth the size at which it now stands. They do not understand that the Church of England, in proportion to the requirements of the enormous increase of population and the extraordinary depreciation of tithe and glebe, in reality needs endowing over again.

“Have we not power to eat and drink?” That is the mute appeal that comes from hundreds, and even thousands, of rectories, vicarages, and parsonages, in town and country this day. I wish I could bring home to the country what we all owe as Christians to these men. They have devoted

their lives to preaching the Gospel of Christ, to administering the Sacraments to sick and whole, to training children, to comforting sorrow, to advising those in doubt and difficulty, to encouraging and solacing the dying, to assuaging the grief of the mourners. Even sceptical persons would allow that the high ideals and principles where Christianity prevails are a part of our civilization which is of incalculable value. As sincere believers in Christ's Gospel, you hold that the influence of the clergy is far higher than civilizing, for it is the saving of souls, the bringing of sinners into the knowledge of life and light and immortality. They may not all be endowed with the highest gifts of wisdom and eloquence, but the vast majority of them are loyal servants of their Master, sacrificing their lives in His service, preaching His Divine message of truth, showing His example in their lives, giving constant encouragement by their presence to the godly, righteous, and sober life, waging perpetual warfare against ignorance and sin. And who shall say what the country does not owe to their wives, whose one pleasure it is to work for others, and in countless gracious ministrations to alleviate the sorrows of those poorer than themselves, and enlisting their daughters to follow the same bright example of mercy and sympathy? Have not the clergy and their families power even to eat and drink? Shall we not see to this?

The Queen Victoria Clergy Sustentation Fund, which I had the honour to propose to Convocation and to our own Diocesan Conference as the most fitting memorial from the Church, of the completion of sixty years of Her Majesty's happy reign, and which was unanimously adopted, was founded in order to cure in some degree this scandal and evil. We remembered how Queen Anne had given up her right to certain extra charges on clerical property, and had inaugurated a fund known as Queen Anne's Bounty, which has been of great use in building parsonages and in such-like ways. We thought that a fund for raising the incomes of the poorest of the poor clergy from subscriptions voluntarily given, in honour of our beloved Queen, would be our best thank-offering for the great mercies and blessings of her reign. We could not hope to raise all the poor benefices to £200 a year, for that would require every year a million of money in subscriptions, but the poorest we hoped to improve. And that we have done, and are doing. In some cases by endowments, in some cases by annual allowances, we are relieving the pressure of acute distress. In London we have increased all the benefices to £200 a year, because living in London is expensive, and because the claims of a large London parish of 10,000 people are quite different from those of a little parish

in the country of a few hundred souls. But for all this we depend on annual subscriptions and collections. If at any time the interest that has been aroused should be checked, we should have to lower our allowances again, and bring bitterness and disappointment to the hearts of those whom we had encouraged to hope. But we trust to God that this fund will continually grow, and enable us to counteract a still larger area of suffering and distress, to distribute a still more adequate amount of comfort. It would be no great thing even if we could raise the income of all benefices alike to the modest level of £200 a year, even though we should have to raise a million annually. By bringing this cause, a cause of humanity and justice and gratitude, home to the hearts of the whole Church, high and low, rich and poor; by asking for large sums from the rich and small sums from the poor, we hope to make the effort general, if not universal. I appeal to all members of the Church to become annual subscribers—large or small—to the fund. I believe that we are all thankful for the mercies and victories of the past weeks, and rejoice that the honour of the Queen and the integrity of her Empire have been vindicated. I believe we shall all pay with cheerfulness the necessary imposts, which, as they are widely distributed, will fall heavily on none. I believe, also, that the sacred cause of charity, far from suffering, will benefit by the loyalty, the enthusiasm, the deep and heartfelt thankfulness, of Churchpeople. And amongst all the appeals united in that sacred cause I know of none that comes to us with greater force than that of those who are spending their lives and energies, their time and talents, for the good of others, and who are unable, from the very circumstances of their holy calling, to plead, like others, for themselves.

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

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## Reviews.

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*The Life of Edward White Benson, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury.*  
By his son, ARTHUR CHRISTOPHER BENSON, of Eton College. In two volumes. London: Macmillan and Co., 1900. Price 36s. net.

IT was, of course, inevitable that the life of Archbishop Benson would be written by someone, and we are glad that the Bishop of Durham laid it as "a sacred charge" upon Mr. A. C. Benson to fulfil the task, which he has faithfully and lovingly done in the two full and handsome volumes now before us—volumes the aspect of which do the printers

and publishers much credit. The illustrations, of which there are many, are very good. Mr. Benson has wisely recognised the limitations which an early publication involved, and, in addition to giving a lifelike picture of the Archbishop as a man, has been content with only sketching the main and salient outlines of the later life spent in the archbishopate. For a full and critical estimate of the work done by Dr. Benson, and for a complete survey of the complex problems with which at Lambeth he had to deal, we must wait until the lapse of time has given things their due proportion and perspective, and has allowed for the fuller working out of tendencies which were in his time but tendencies, as well as for the possibility of the publication of much more of the fourteen volumes of the Lambeth Diary, which at present would be obviously unwise, as well as possibly injurious to living persons. There is here none of the amazing indiscretion of the Wilberforce Life, though, by the way, but very few know how much more amazing that Life would have been if the blue pencil of another son had not been freely used upon the proofs. We imagine that to the majority of readers the picture given of the Archbishop as a man will come as a great surprise. His son has not spared him very much. He does ample justice to his father as a scholar, a statesman, an author, a poet, a schoolmaster, a husband, a father, a saint. But he shows us the human side of these in their failures as well as in their successes. The little failings and foibles, the tricks and habits, are all delineated, and with a light hand. We read of his "table-drawers always filled with little boxes, hanks of string, the gummed paper off the edge of stamps (generally put in a little box and labelled 'strips')—things that had come to him by post, and which he could not destroy or use"; of his spending a long time trying to find a place in which to stow away some obsolete and useless almanacs sent by the Stationers' Company; of his jumping up incessantly from his writing to rearrange pictures or to adjust wry books on shelves; of his fearful glory in out-of-the-way bits of ritual; of his almost inveterate unpunctuality; of his passionate temper; of his aloofness from those with whom he could not work; of the sometimes extraordinary ignorance he showed of persons and things well known to most, as, *e.g.*, of Christina Rossetti. And we imagine that there is much more of some phases of this not revealed. A vivid chapter could be written on the early and later relations of Benson and Hatch (alumni of the same school), especially in regard to the Oriel Professorship, and on his treatment of Broad Churchmen generally; but it will probably be never written now.

The two volumes, of slightly varying length (647 and 782 pp. respectively), are divided by the appointment to Lambeth. The first volume tells the story of his life up to the close of the episcopate at Truro. Very beautiful are the opening chapters recording the school-life in Birmingham under Prince Lee; the boyish and youthful friendship with Lightfoot and Westcott, which grew deeper and stronger as years

rolled on (incidentally we have much told us of these two prelates that is valuable, and since, probably, a Life of Lightfoot may not now be written, much that must serve in its place); the struggle with early poverty at Cambridge (he went through his first year at Trinity on something over £90); the work at Wellington; the congenial Chancellorship at Lincoln, where he founded the Cancellarii Scholæ, restored a chapel in which he said daily early matins, gave lectures on Church history in the Chapter-house, made many friends among the working men, and gained the experience which afterwards found shape in the book on "The Cathedral." All this is exquisitely penned, and though it is very long, yet it is not too long. Each phase of his life was a stage in the development of the man and of his character, and the second volume, which is more concisely written, would not be so intelligible had we not had the preparation for it patiently and minutely evolved in the first. For he did grow, and grow enormously, as the years went on. The changes in his face marked by the successive portraits show this (though why, some would ask, need we be told of the deliberate growth of the hair on the appointment to Canterbury?). He rose with each new responsibility that came to him, and though he learned to recognise his own limitations, yet the knowledge did not paralyze him, as it sometimes does lesser men. It was at Truro, perhaps, that he first felt his real power. The history of that wonderful six years is but briefly told, but perhaps all that could be said without wearying detail has been said. He created a church life, founded the first cathedral since Wren's time, if not since the Conquest (p. 455), and set an undying example to his successors. In some ways he was never so great as he was at Truro.

The second volume is entirely occupied with the work he did as Archbishop—*i.e.*, from 1883 till his death in 1896. Here, too, he had a good deal of pioneer work to do. The mission to the Assyrian Christians, the Lambeth Judgment, the attempt on the part of Lord Halifax to discover a *rapprochement* with Rome, were all practically new problems. What he thought of Lord Halifax comes out in a letter to Canon Mason (one of very many intimate communications to "Agapit"). He says: "I thought I had long since made it sufficiently clear that I would not approach the Pope. But, 'Is not the hand of Joab with thee in all this?'" "Joab" is good. The history of the Lincoln Trial from the inside of Lambeth is interesting, and disposes also of the various legends that arose as to the composite authorship of the Judgment. Interesting, too, are the values he attached to his work in Parliament and in Convocation. He did not care for Parliament, and he thought that Parliament did not care for him. He waxes wrathful against the House of Lords for its apparent contempt for Temple; in fact, his championship of Temple is one of the most striking things in the whole of his life. He writes (1891): "It is painful, very painful, to see the Lords always so unappreciative of the Bishop of London—the strongest man nearly in the House, the clearest, the highest-toned, the most deeply sympa-

thetic, the clearest in principle—yet because his voice is a little harsh, and his accent a little provincial (though of what province it is hard to say), and his figure square, and his hair a little rough, and because all this sets off the idea of his independence, he is not listened to at all by these cold, kindly, worldly-wise, gallant land-owners. Some day his force and goodness *must* carry them." This is only one of many contemporary pictures and judgments, all of which are shrewd, some almost uncanny, but there was a mystical, unworldly vein in Benson that explains much. Convocation was more congenial, though he can write sometimes, as in 1893, of an "awfully dull Convocation." He lamented the new type of Bishop introduced by Bishop Wilberforce (though he says that Wilberforce had too much sense to be himself the "new type"), and writes in 1889: "The Bishops of England will soon be a name without a meaning. They are Bishops of dioceses, good diocesan Bishops, but Bishops of England, no! They take no share in public functions or public business, even when it most concerns them." This reproach is passing away, but we have quoted the dictum because it explains Archbishop Benson's conception of his own work. I remember his once addressing the Junior Clergy Society at Lambeth, and speaking first of the necessity of the historical sense as giving proportion and faith: "When I am tired and desponding I come into this library, take a few turns up and down, think of the men who have been here, and I soon grow strong again." Then he spoke of the ideal of the clerical life, and quoted his favourite Cyprian: "Our mission is *ad gentes*, and to them *qua gentes*." He was an Imperialist in Church affairs, and endeavoured to make the Primacy of Canterbury a living thing. He was, so far as he could be, the *Alterius orbis Papa*. Hence his varied and widespread interests. We might apply to him the variation of the famous saying of Terence, attributed to Westcott; "Theologus sum; nihil humani aut divini a me alienum puto."

FREDERIC RELTON.

*Naturalism and Agnosticism.* By JAMES WARD, Sc.D. Two volumes. London: A. and C. Black.

This production of Professor Ward's has been eagerly looked for by students of philosophy and religion, and the expectation that they would contain much that would be of real value in both departments has not been disappointed. It would be no exaggeration to say that these volumes constitute the most notable contribution to religious apologetics which has been made for many years past, and as such ought to be especially valuable to the clergy in these days.

It would be impossible in a short notice to point out where in particular the book lends its support to purely religious positions; but a brief statement of its main positions will sufficiently indicate what its value in this direction is. Negatively, it is a criticism of the present scientific attitude, the dominant method of regarding "the whole

diversity of natural things"—the attitude which is taken up in this country by Herbert Spencer and Professor Huxley. Positively, it contends that it is only in terms of mind that we can understand the unity, activity, and regularity of Nature. It is a defence, on this side, of Theism. Nature in the concrete can only be interpreted spiritually. Nature is spirit. By Naturalism the author understands "the doctrine that separates Nature from God, subordinates spirit to matter, and sets up unchangeable law as supreme." It means, in the words of Huxley, "the extension of the province of what we call matter and causation, and the concomitant . . . banishment from all regions of human thought of what we call spirit and spontaneity . . . till the realm of matter and law is coextensive with knowledge, with feeling, with action."

This view, which can hardly be distinguished from Materialism save that it takes refuge in Agnosticism when pressed for an explanation of its materialistic language, is based upon three theories :

1. The theory that Nature is ultimately resolvable into a single vast mechanism. This is shown to be utterly hopeless as an explanation of Nature. It is based on a confusion between abstraction and analysis. Its supporters abstract when they are reducing the world to a mechanism—that is to say, they leave out of consideration many elements to get at the laws of this mechanism ; but the effort to get back to Nature from the basis arrived at fails, and their truths are not descriptions or applicable in any way to the concrete facts of experience.

2. The theory of Evolution as the working of this mechanism. Under this head the author examines the fundamental postulates of Herbert Spencer's philosophy. Spencer sought to account for the celestial, organic, social, and other phenomena which make up the universe from one principle—viz., the law of the conservation of energy. Besides showing that this principle is unable to account for any one of the phenomena, because it is only a *quantitative* principle, and cannot, therefore, explain *qualitative* differences, he asks the pertinent question : "How do we know that the universe was ever evolved at all ?" We may be able to trace signs of evolution in particular objects—say, a nation, a sidereal system—of which we have experience ; but of the totality of things, of the universe, we have no experience. In short, a careful perusal of this masterly criticism will lead to the conclusion that the "Synthetic Philosophy," the life-work of this great Agnostic, is severely shaken—we think shattered altogether ; and our belief is strengthened by the poverty and weakness of the only answer (published in the *Fortnightly Review* of December) which Mr. Spencer has as yet vouchsafed to this book.

3. The third theory is that which attempts to explain mind. It is already familiar to most in the writings of Huxley, and will be found in the first volume of his collected essays in the Eversley Series. The doctrine of Conscious Automatism teaches that mental phenomena are simply accompaniments of the physical phenomena of the body, and do not affect them in any way ; the mental series do not affect or control the physical series (*i.e.*, mind does not in reality cause bodily movements) ; they simply accompany them as the shadows, say, of a train follow the train's movements. It is asserted, then, that there is no causation or causal connection between these two series, and yet the accompaniment is invariable ; but invariable concomitance without causal connection is plainly impossible ; and the upholders of this theory contradict themselves when they say that mental phenomena are "collateral products" of physical phenomena. And in addition to this, Naturalism is at variance with itself, inasmuch as elsewhere it assumes that mind is an efficient factor in biological evolution. In fact, this

philosophy undertakes to do what in reality all sound physicists declare to be impossible—to explain life from laws of matter.

Our space will not permit us to say anything of the constructive part of this timely book ; but we trust enough has been said to induce many, especially of the clergy, to obtain these two volumes and to acquaint themselves with its methods and results. We can assure them that neither their time nor money will be wasted.

W. H. THOMPSON.

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## Short Notices.

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### OXFORD CHURCH TEXT-BOOKS.

General Editor : Rev. LEIGHTON PULLAN, M.A.

Price 1s. each volume.

- (1) *History of the Book of Common Prayer.* By Rev. J. H. MAUDE, M.A.
- (2) *Early Christian Doctrine.* By the GENERAL EDITOR.
- (3) *The Thirty-Nine Articles.* By Rev. B. J. KIDD, B.D. Vol. I., Articles I.-VIII. ; Vol. II., Articles IX.-XXXIX.

THE idea of the editor of this series is to provide a comprehensive series of cheap scholarly manuals dealing with all the more important branches of religious knowledge. The general editor himself is most favourably known to students by his admirable work of two years ago, entitled "A History of Early Christianity," The fact that he is to guide the destinies of the series is of itself a recommendation. The volumes, if studiously brief, will be complete as far as they go ; they will be written in an interesting way ; they will be scholarly. They will also, as we judge directly from an examination of the first four volumes, be written from the (so-called) Anglo-Catholic standpoint. We shall not be disappointed, therefore, if we find they reveal a definite bias ; indeed, we should expect this. The doctrine of the Real Presence is distinctly affirmed as being that of the Church of England ; the theory is laid down that the Church of England has studiously refrained from condemning the doctrine of Saint-invocation ; and many other questionable statements are made of a similar kind. Thus, these little books cannot be regarded as free from misrepresentation—or, at least, from misinterpretation. At the same time, they are not without a positive value ; only they require cautious handling. Mr. Kidd's volumes are valuable to students, inasmuch as they give the two Latin versions of the Articles, dated 1553 and 1563 respectively, arranged in parallel columns, to facilitate reference. Mr. Pullan's volume is a really brilliant sketch, in the briefest space, of Christian doctrine as it exhibited itself from earliest times until the Council of Chalcedon. A few more references, in the form of footnotes, would have been acceptable ; but the writer promises us a larger volume shortly, in which will be incorporated such aids to understanding the history of the times. In Mr. Maude's book notice may be directed to the four additional notes, two of which deal with the Sacred Canon of the Mass and the Eucharistic doctrine ; they furnish material for reflection, though not for agreement.

*Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations.* By the Rev. A. H. SAYCE. Service and Paton, 1899. Price 6s.

Professor Sayce's new book fills a gap in our rapidly growing Old Testament literature. In seven chapters he sketches in bold and rapid

outline the story of the history of the Israelites—Canaan, the Nations of the South-east, the Nations of the North-east, Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria—and in the Introduction and Conclusion shows their influence upon each other and upon God's ancient people. These chapters are written with all the wealth of expert knowledge and illustration which we have learned to expect from the author. There are also valuable appendices giving translations of some of the more important original documents, such as the Moabite Stone, the Babylonian Creation and Deluge tablets, etc. We recommend the work to the attention of Old Testament students as being reliable and fair. The only doubtful point we have noted is the precarious identification of Chedorlaomer.

*Religion of Israel to the Exile.* By KARL BUDDE, D.D., Professor of Theology in Strassburg. London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899. Price 6s.

The fourth of the series known as the "American Lectures on the History of Religions," it forms practically an introduction to Professor Cheyne's "Jewish Religious Life after the Exile." Dr. Budde is an advanced critic, but one who feels that the time for a new departure has come, in which account will be taken of tradition as well as of history. It is a pity that history for Professor Budde does not begin a little earlier than Joseph, and although on page 16 we are promised in Chapter III. a treatment of the question of how the stories of the patriarchs arose, yet Chapter III. is innocent of any such topic, as is also the index. There is a good deal that is luminous and helpful in the way in which he works out the evolution of the religious ideas of the Israelites, but he does not appear to have grasped all that his initial position demands. If Jehovah (or Yahweh) were known to the Kenites, and was their war-god, and through Jethro became known to Moses (though this will require a great deal more proof than the Strassburg Professor has given), it does not follow that this involved a national conversion. The Israelites still worshipped El-Shaddai, though they added another name to that known to the patriarchs. They did not forsake El-Shaddai. Their conception of God was enlarged, no doubt, on any hypothesis, but He was one and the same God all through. The parallel in the New Testament is absolute. The Christians worshipped, and still worship, the "God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," and their conception of God was thereby enormously extended in its content and in its bearing upon life. But He is always acknowledged (1) as Jehovah and (2) as the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob—*i.e.*, as El-Shaddai. There are many signs in the volume of the dawning of a brighter day in Old Testament criticism of the extreme kind, and we are thankful to welcome it as an instalment of better things to come.

*The Apocalypse.* An Introductory Study of the Revelation of St. John the Divine; being a Presentment of the Structure of the Book and of the Fundamental Principles of its Interpretation. By EDWARD WHITE BENSON, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. London: Macmillan and Co., 1900. Price 8s. 6d. net.

Next to his work on St. Cyprian, Archbishop Benson had made the Apocalypse a matter of life-study. It was his share in the great Cambridge scheme which has given us the commentaries of Lightfoot and Westcott and Hort. Left unfinished, it has been lovingly edited by Miss Margaret Benson, and represents the major part of the Archbishop's final thoughts as to treatment. It must suffer from two fundamental objections: first, that the author was not a Hebrew scholar, and, secondly, that he appears not to have known of (or, if he knew, to

have deliberately set aside) the newer method of the comparative study of literature of this kind. In other words, there is here no account taken of the work of Professor R. H. Charles and other labourers in the same fruitful field. The questions of authorship and of unity are alike taken for granted. So far negatively. What, then, have we of a positive kind? The Archbishop himself seemed to anticipate a good deal of criticism when he wrote: "Many will think it a very odd book." It is fantastic and weird in places, and has a certain aloofness which is curious, and which, too, explains some things in the author's life. He treats the Apocalypse as he would a Greek play, and writes of the persons, the hierophant, the scene, the voices, the choric songs, the four cardinal points of introduction; he illustrates it from Auberlen; gives a new and vigorous translation; comments on the meaning of "Apocalypse" at great length and with helpful suggestion; defends the odd constructions, in an essay on the "Grammar of Ungrammar" (unhappily only a torso); endeavours to overthrow the almost universal identification of the wild beast of the abyss with Nero; in a word, looks at the book with new and unprejudiced eyes, and makes us do the same. So that although in some minor details it may stand in need of revision, and although it ignores the comparative method, yet if the view that Dr. Benson took be the true one, the comparative method is needless here, and the unity of authorship is established by the inner unity of design. No one can read the study without being the better for it, while the care of printers and publishers has made the reading of it a delight.

*Pilate's Gift*, and other Sermons. By the Right Rev. G. A. CHADWICK, D.D., Bishop of Derry. Religious Tract Society. Pp. 286. Price 5s.

This volume does not attempt to gain popularity with its readers by presenting them with a temporary Gospel or reciting controversial catchwords. The delicate, firm rhetoric of the Bishop's sermons is more congenially employed in showing "that not 'behind' Christianity and the Church and the State and social reform, but above and in front of them, is the living personal Captain of our salvation—salvation from all ills and in all relations." The sermon from which the book takes its title is a striking discourse upon defective appreciation of sacred things, particularly of the more quiet and gentle opportunities and duties. The poor regard which Pilate, the priests and the disciples showed for the crucified body of our Lord furnishes the ground-plan of a very solid exhortation.

*Tombs or Temples?* Addresses to Men and Women. By the Ven. Archdeacon MADDEN. Elliot Stock. Crown 8vo., cloth. Pp. 150. Price 3s. 6d.

These shrewd, wholesome and straightforward addresses are good to read, and were, no doubt, still better to hear. Among the themes dealt with are: "The Rights of Women," "The Rights of Children"—an excellent defence of Church schools—"The Heart of the Home"—an address to the Liverpool Mothers' Union; several earnest spiritual appeals, with such titles as "Searching Candles," "Sin," "The Power of Christ's Resurrection," "The Metamorphic Power of Prayer"; and some useful popular Evidential lectures. The book is sure to do good to the classes for whom it is intended, and may be read with profit by many who work as teachers or preachers among them.

*Father Fox.* A Story of the Present Day. By DOROTHY MARTIN. Elliot Stock. 8vo. Pp. 186.

This is a well-written warning against the system of Neo-Anglican Sisterhoods. It hardly strikes one as having been written by one who

knows the system from the inside, but the broad facts are put clearly enough, in contrast with a Kingsleian character; and the story, though sensible of its mission, is a story.

*The Harvest of a Quiet Eye.* By the Rev. J. R. VERNON, M.A. Religious Tract Society. 8vo. Pp. 285.

The public has known this book for a long time, but it has not done with it yet. The still-maintained rush of modern life makes this new edition quite as desirable as was the first edition of years ago. Its affectionate outlook on Nature; its peaceful, satisfying meditation; and its gentle upward gaze and aspiration, will continue to win friends for it among keen and tired people.

*Some Worthies of the Irish Church.* By Professor G. T. STOKES, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Those who are interested in the history of the Church of Ireland will appreciate the lectures contained in this posthumous publication. Professor Stokes' name is well known in connection with two valuable contributions to that history—"Ireland and the Celtic Church," and "Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church." The history in this volume is presented in the form of narratives of prominent divines, chiefly Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Cashel, and William King, Archbishop of Dublin—names almost forgotten now; yet they were men who made history, as the author shows. There are also two lectures on St. Colman of Lindisfarne, the Yorkshire missionary. While we have not history in the shape of a connected account in this book, we have what may prove useful materials for that purpose; and perhaps in this form it will be more readable and interesting to the majority, and may, we hope, arouse greater interest in a neighbouring Church which has done so much in the past for Christianity in our own country.

*Words of Exhortation.* By Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, Canon of St. Paul's. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

Canon Newbolt's power seems to lie in his deep knowledge of human life and human nature, and this naturally lends force to his applications of Christian principles and Biblical incidents to the manifold aspects of that life. This gift, combined with intense spirituality, makes his writings both practical and helpful—not to any one section of the Church, but to all sections. The first eight sermons contain needful warnings, as much to those who think with their author as to those who differ from him on present difficulties in the Church. But we prefer those other sermons which treat of larger themes, with their plain enforcements of duty and responsibility, reverence in worship—subjects which are needful to the clergy and laity alike. We commend them for their deep earnestness and spirituality, as also for their simple and apt application of old Biblical scenes and principles to present everyday life.

*Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity.* By Professor JAMES ORR, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

This volume contains three lectures delivered in the Theological Seminary of Auburn, New York, in October, 1897. They deal with a view of early Church history which the author believes to have been much neglected in the new critical methods of study. Much attention has been paid to the influence of the moral, political and religious environment on Christianity; but the reverse action—*i.e.*, that of Christianity on its pagan surroundings—has not been sufficiently emphasized. The lectures in this book seek to supply this deficiency. The first shows that the number of Christians in the Roman Empire at any period during the first three cen-

turies was much greater than has been usually admitted ; the second points out that Christianity penetrated very much further into the middle and upper classes of society than has been generally allowed ; while the third deals with its influence on pagan thought and culture. On the whole, the volume is useful and full of interesting details, though the arguments would not be fully acceptable by all students.

*The Atonement.* By Rev. A. E. SIMMS, B.D. London : Elliot Stock.

Four addresses delivered during Holy Week last year. They present what might be called the orthodox view of the subject—that the death of Christ removed an objective hindrance to the forgiveness of sins. Perhaps they give too much attention to the removal of the penalty, and not enough to the removal of the guilt, of sin. However, they will be found useful at this season.

*Clement of Alexandria.* By Rev. F. R. HITCHCOCK, B.D. London : Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

This little book is one of a series on the Fathers, for English readers. The publication will be a useful one, especially for those who have not the time or the knowledge to read larger works. The present volume is happily conceived, well written, and gives an excellent account of its subject. We can very heartily recommend it to our readers.

*Lessons on Christian Doctrine and Christian Practice.* By Rev. M. STEVENSON. Church of England Sunday-School Institute.

The lessons follow the teaching of the Church's year, and will no doubt prove valuable aids to Sunday-school teachers. They are bright and full of information. They should be widely used in our schools.

*The Book of Psalms.* University Press, Cambridge.

Contains in parallel columns the Prayer-Book, Revised and Authorized Versions of the Psalms, so arranged that comparison can be made at a glance. Will be found useful for students as a book of reference.

*In Tune with the Infinite.* By RALPH WALDO TRINE. London : George Bell and Sons.

The title indicates the nature of the book. It contains two principles—that all human life is from the Divine source and of the same kind, and that the mind has complete power over the body. By keeping our connection with the Divine source open and free we may acquire much of its strength and power and wisdom ; and by concentrating the mind upon all that is good and beautiful and true we may thus shape our own bodily life. Much of the book is unquestionably true, but it is doubtful if the mind has so much power over material things as is imagined. The book seems to be well received in America.

*The Mystery of the Ages.* By Rev. B. N. SWITZER, M.A. London : Elliot Stock.

Professes to set forth the scheme of the Divine dealings in the world, based on a literal interpretation of the Scriptures. The writer lays no claim to scholarship, but seems to have an intimate knowledge of the Bible itself. He teaches that everything was absolutely perfect when created ; that there was a race of sentient beings prior to Adam, existing in those unnumbered ages which lay between the first two verses of the first chapter of Genesis ; that prophecy is history written before. We fear that such statements as these will not commend the work. The truth is, the writer puts his own ideas into the Bible, as to a certain extent everyone must do. It is not so literal an interpretation as he imagines.

## The Month.

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SINCE we went to press last month the situation in the Transvaal has been changed almost beyond recognition. The brilliant strategy of Lord Roberts has resulted in a complete alteration in the military situation. Kimberley has been relieved, Bloemfontein occupied by the British forces, the siege of Ladysmith has been raised, Cronje and his army have been captured, and everything (so far) points to a speedy termination of the war. Yet much has still to be done. The Transvaalers will not probably yield as easily as the Free-Staters have done, and it is pretty certain that the march to Pretoria will not be the *promenade militaire* that some people imagine. The final result of the campaign is morally certain: the subsequent independence of the belligerent States is no longer even thinkable, and this Lord Salisbury has clearly indicated in his statesman-like reply to President Krüger's appeal for "cease fire." Blood and treasure have been spilt without stint in this war, and it is not the intention of the English people to leave the work half done. It is war to the finish this time. We do not propose to repeat the experiment of twenty years ago, and, by an ill-timed show of clemency, invite future disaster. We are fighting for honour, for Empire, and for the liberty of the subject; and, with God's help, the honour, Empire, and liberty of England will be established on a basis that will prove even more enduring than ever. The glory of the war will finally be seen to have its roots in our resolution to secure justice between man and man; and justice we mean to abide by come evil report or good report.

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Lord Roberts' despatch to the War Office, after his victorious entry into Bloemfontein, was noteworthy. It began with the words "By the help of God." The recognition of a Divine hand shaping Imperial destinies is too often forgotten in our official life. Lord Roberts is not one of those who,

"Calling, call not God to guard."

He is the lineal successor of the heroes of the Indian Mutiny—men like Outram, Havelock, and Lawrence. And such men were not ashamed to acknowledge God in all their ways, knowing that He would indeed direct their paths.

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The Queen has received an ovation within the past month, during her brief stay in London, which was, in its enthusiasm, extraordinary—even in *her* case. Her drives through the Metropolis were in the nature of a triumphal progress, the people realizing the significant nature of her presence in the capital of the Empire, and delighting in the hundred and one evidences of her queenly dignity and womanly tact.

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Next month the Queen will visit Ireland. It is just fifty years ago since she was there. Here, again, as well as in the creation of Shamrock Day, she showed her rare skill in knowing when to seize the psychological moment.

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In a lecture delivered at the Chapter House, St. Paul's, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, the new surveyor of Westminster Abbey, stated that the old stonework of the Abbey was fast crumbling to pieces, owing to the fumes of the works on the other side of the river. He illustrated by

slides the damage done, showing the white patches on the exterior and interior of the Abbey; and these patches, he asserted, were the direct result of the fumes causing pieces to fall away.

**NEW BISHOP OF LIVERPOOL.**—Principal Chavasse, of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, has been appointed Bishop of Liverpool. Mr. Chavasse graduated from Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he took a First Class in Law in 1869. He was ordained in 1870. In 1873 he was appointed to the vicarage of St. Paul's, Upper Holloway, and in 1878 he returned to Oxford as Rector of St. Peter-le-Bailey. He has been Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Exeter since 1885, and in 1898 he was selected to give the annual course of lectures on pastoral theology at Cambridge. Mr. Chavasse has been Principal of Wycliffe Hall since 1889, when he succeeded Canon Girdlestone. Mr. Chavasse has been a strong supporter of all sound home and foreign missionary work, and has been specially and intimately associated with the C.M.S. and C.P.A.S. When told of the appointment, Bishop Ryle expressed himself in terms of unmixed gratitude. Speaking at the annual meeting of the Southport Auxiliary of the C.P.A.S., Canon Honeyburne read a letter from Bishop Ryle, who said: "I must write you a line to tell you how deeply thankful I am for the appointment the Crown has made in the case of Chavasse. It is just the best that could have been made, and will be a blessing for the Church in years to come. I trust that you and all Southport friends will give him your very best support in everything."

**PRESENTATION TO BISHOP RYLE.**—Bishop Ryle, at Liverpool, was recently presented with an illuminated address and a piece of plate from the clergy and laity of the diocese. The presentation took place in the library of the palace, Abercromby Square, and was made by Archdeacon Taylor; only the Bishop and Miss Ryle were present besides. The plate was a solid silver waiter weighing 140 ounces, bearing the symbols of the four Evangelists and the following inscriptions: "Presented (with an address) by clergy and laity of the diocese to John Charles Ryle, D.D., first Bishop of Liverpool. Consecrated June 11th, 1880. Resigned March 1st, 1900. February 28th, 1900." A few hundred pounds remaining will be added to the fund for providing suitable accommodation in the new Church House for the theological library of 3,000 volumes which the Bishop has given to the diocese.

The new Rector of Devizes is the Rev. James G. Watson, who for the past fifteen years has been one of the Association secretaries of the Church Missionary Society.

In their fifty-second annual report the Ecclesiastical Commissioners state that the income derived from their estates has, in general, been steadily maintained, while some items of revenue show a material increase. The common fund account received during last year a net balance of £1,179,000 from rentals, and a further £192,000 from dividends and interest, making a total of £1,371,000. The principal disbursements are: Payments to clergy, £879,000; to Bishops, £125,000; to chapters, vicars choral, and others, £159,000. A sum of £186,000 has been appropriated to the further augmentation of benefices, and £85,000 out of mineral receipts has been added to the reserve in respect of annual grants charged upon the common fund previously to 1887. The Commissioners are of opinion that, having regard to the improvement in certain items of their revenue, they will, as we mentioned recently, be justified in making an appropriation of £200,000 for the augmentation and endowment of benefices for the current year.

The War Fund at the Mansion House has reached about £800,000, and the Indian Famine Fund to upwards of £150,000.

Last month it was announced that the income of the Church Pastoral-Aid Society was less by £4,000 than it was twelve months ago. We are now pleased to state that two legacies have been reported to the committee—one of £2,000 and another of £5,000. The former has already been received, and the second will be paid to the treasurer before the close of the society's financial year.

Archdeacon Prescott, D.D., has been appointed by the Bishop of Carlisle as Chancellor of the diocese, in succession to the late Chancellor Ferguson.

The annual sermons on behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society will be preached in St. Paul's Cathedral on Tuesday afternoon, May 1, by the Bishop of Marlborough, who exchanges with Prebendary Snowden; in Westminster Abbey on Sunday afternoon, April 29, by Canon Gore; and in City Road Wesleyan Chapel on Monday evening, April 9, by the Rev. J. H. Goodman.

The new Vicar of St. Mary's, Charing Cross Road, is appealing for £5,000 to rebuild the nave of his church, lately destroyed by the London County Council as a "dangerous structure."

The London City Mission has recently received payment of a legacy of £40,000, which will enable the committee to largely increase their staff of missionaries.

#### LITERARY NOTES.

The second volume of *Encyclopædia Biblica* will probably be issued by A. and C. Black some time in May.

The last volume of the great *Dictionary of National Biography* (edited by Sidney Lee) will be published during the present year by Smith and Elder.

#### NEW BOOKS.

*Church and Faith; being Essays on the Teaching of the Church of England.* By DR. WACE, Dean FARRAR, DR. WRIGHT, Rev. R. E. BARTLETT, Principal DRURY, Canon MEYRICK, Professor MOULE, Chancellor SMITH, MONTAGUE BARLOW, Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart., E. H. BLAKENEY, J. T. TOMLINSON. With Introduction by the BISHOP of HEREFORD. *Second edition, revised.* Pages xxii, 485. Price 7s. 6d. net. London and Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1900.

*The Spirit of the Incarnation.* By the Rev. W. L. WALKER. Price 9s. T. and T. Clark.

*The Hebrew Tragedy.* By Lieut.-Colonel CONDER, R.E., D.C.L. Price 3s. 6d. Blackwood.

*St. Luke's Gospel.* By Rev. A. WRIGHT. Price 7s. 6d. Macmillan.

*Evolution.* By F. B. JEVONS, Litt.D. Price 3s. 6d. Methuen.