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THE
CHURCHMAN

SEPTEMBER, 1900.

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

V. BISHOP JEREMY TAYLOR.

BISHOP TAYLOR is the most rhetorical of our English divines—the Chrysostom or Golden-Mouth of the seventeenth century. In consequence of this characteristic an eloquent clause here or a rhetorical flourish there lends itself to a misrepresentation of the general views of the writer, and this peculiarity is taken advantage of by men of disloyal sentiments to present Bishop Taylor as a supporter of opinions which he was energetically combating. We have seen an instance of this treatment of the Bishop lately. A Declaration of Doctrine, professing to be Catholic, but really Roman, was issued. This Declaration was supported and justified by a number of quotations, the majority, if not all, of which were at once shown to misrepresent the authors quoted. Among them the most striking was a passage from Jeremy Taylor, the fallacious character of which was immediately demonstrated by the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, the Bishop of Edinburgh, and others. The props on which the Declaration was supported were struck away, and not one effort has been made by those who issued the Declaration to show either that they were honestly though mistakenly trusted to at the first, or that other props can be supplied in their places.

The following passages will show what were Jeremy Taylor's real sentiments on points at issue between the Roman Church and ourselves.

Holy Scripture.

“If we inquire upon what grounds the primitive Church did rely for their whole religion, we shall find they knew none

else but the Scriptures. *Ubi Scriptum?* was their first inquiry. 'Do the prophets and the Apostles, the Evangelists or the Epistles, say so?' Read it there, and then teach it, else reject it; they call upon their charges in the words of Christ—'Search the Scriptures.' They affirm that the Scriptures are full, that they are a perfect rule, that they contain all things necessary to salvation, and from hence they confuted all heresies. This I shall clearly prove by abundant testimonies" ("Dissuasive," Part II., I., ii. 7).

The Bishop then quotes Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Cyril of Jerusalem, Basil, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine. "By the concurrence of these testimonies of so many learned, orthodox, and ancient Fathers we are abundantly confirmed in that rule and principle upon which the whole Protestant and Christian religion is established. From hence we learn all things, and by these we prove all things, and by these we confute heresies and prove every article of our faith. According to this we live, and on these we ground our hope, and whatsoever is not in these we reject from our canon" (*ibid.*).

"That the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament do contain the whole will and law of God is affirmed by the primitive Fathers and by all the reformed Churches. That the Scriptures are not a perfect rule of faith and manners, but that tradition is to be added to make it a full repository of the Divine Will is affirmed by the Church of Rome" ("Ductor Dubitantium," ii. 3, 14).

Interpretation of Scripture.

"God hath made the Scriptures plain and easy to all people that are willing and obedient. The Fathers say that in things in which our salvation is concerned the Scriptures need no interpreter, but a man may find them out for himself. The way of the ancient and primitive Church was to expound the Scriptures by the Scriptures. In pursuance of this, the ancient Fathers took this way, and taught us to do so too, to expound difficult places by the plain. . . . If you inquire where or which is the Church, from human teachings you can never find her; she is only demonstrated in the divine oracles" (*ibid.*, ii., 3, 14).

Traditions.

Having stated that tradition is "any way of communicating the notice of a thing to us," the Bishop points out that there may be a tradition or handing down of things true, of things indifferent, or of things false. All matters of faith, he argues,

are now delivered to us in Scripture; indifferent things do not rest on Apostolical authority, and need not be observed. The third class of traditions he enumerates as follows:

“There are, indeed, a great many pretended-to-be traditions, but they are false articles, or wicked practices, or uncertain sentences at the best. I reckon some of those which the Roman Church obtrudes, such as are invocation of saints and angels, adoration of them, and worshipping of images, the doctrine of Purgatory, prayer in the unknown tongue, the Pope’s power to depose kings and to absolve from lawful and rate oaths, the picturing of God the Father and the Holy Trinity, the half-communion, the doctrine and practice of indulgences, canon of the Mass, the doctrine of proper sacrifice in the Mass, monastical profession, the single life of priests and bishops. Now, these are so far from being Apostolical traditions that they are some of them apparently false, some of them expressly against Scripture, and others confessedly new, and either but of yesterday, or like the issue of the people, born where and when no man can tell” (“*Ductor Dubitan- tium*,” ii. 3, 24).

Romish Innovations.

“There are very many more things in which the Church of Rome hath greatly turned aside from the doctrine of Scripture and the practice of the Catholic, Apostolic and primitive Church. Such are these: The invocation of saints; the insufficiency of Scripture without the tradition of faith unto salvation; their absolving sinners before they have by canonical penance and the fruits of a good life testified their repentance; their giving leave to simple presbyters by papal dispensation to give confirmation of chrism; selling Masses for ninepence; circumgestation of the Eucharist to be adored; the dangerous doctrine of the necessity of the priest’s intention in collating Sacraments, by which device they have put it in the power of the priest to damn whom he pleases of his own parish; their affirming that the Mass is a proper and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead; private Masses, or the Lord’s Supper without communion, which is against the doctrine and practice of the ancient Church of Rome itself, and contrary to the tradition of the Apostles, if we may believe Pope Calixtus, and is also forbidden under pain of excommunication. . . . We have done this the rather (verified the charge of novelty) because the Roman emissaries endeavour to prevail amongst the ignorant, and prejudicate by boasting of antiquity and calling their religion the ‘old religion’ and the ‘Catholic,’ so ensnaring others by ignorant words, in which is no truth; their religion, as it is distinguished from the religion of

the Church of England and Ireland, being neither the old nor the Catholic religion, but new and superinduced by arts known to all who with sincerity and diligence have looked into their pretences. But they have taught every priest that can scarce understand his breviary (of which in Ireland there are too many), and very many of the people, to ask where our religion was before Luther, whereas it appears by the premises that it is much more easy for us to show our religion before Luther than for them to show theirs before Trent. And although they can show too much practice of their religion in the degenerate ages of the Church, yet we can, and do, clearly show ours in the purest and first ages, and can, and do, draw lines pointing to the times and places where the several rooms and storyes of their Babel was builded, and where polished, and where furnished " (*"Dissuasive,"* I, i. 11).

Romish Superstitions.

"Some of the Roman doctrines are a state of temptation to all the reason of mankind, as the doctrine of transubstantiation; some are at least of a suspicious improbity, as worship of images and of the consecrated elements, and many others; some are of a nice and curious nature, as the doctrine of merit, of condignity and congruity; some are perfectly of human invention, without ground of Scripture or tradition, as the forms of ordination, absolution, etc. When men see that some things can never be believed heartily, and many not understood fully, and more not remembered or considered perfectly, and yet all imposed upon the same necessity, and as good believe nothing as not everything—this way is apt to make men despise all religion or despair of their own salvation" (*ibid.*, II., i. 7).

Romish Impieties.

"You are gone to a Church in which you are to be a subject of the King so long as it pleases the Pope; in which you may be absolved from your vows made to God, your oaths to the King, your promises to men, your duties to your parents in some cases; a Church in which men pray to God, and to saints in the same form of words in which they pray to God; a Church in which men are taught to worship images with the same worship with which they worship God and Christ, or him or her whose image it is; a Church which pretends to be infallible, and yet is infinitely deceived; from receiving the whole Sacrament to receive it but half; from Christ's institution to a human invention; from Scripture to uncertain traditions, and from ancient traditions to new pre-

tences ; from prayers which you understood to prayers which you understand not ; from confidence in God to rely upon creatures ; from entire dependence on inward acts to a dangerous temptation to resting too much in outward ministries, in the external work of Sacraments and sacramentals ; to a Church where men's consciences are loaded with a burden of ceremonies greater than that in the days of the Jewish religion ; to a Church that seals up the fountain of God's Word, and gives you drink by drops out of such cisterns as they first make, and then stain, and then reach out. It is now become part of your religion to be ignorant, to walk in blindness, to believe the man that hears your confessions, to hear none but him, not to hear God speaking but by him, and so you are liable to be abused by him, as he please, without remedy. You are taught to worship saints and angels with a worship at least dangerous and in some things proper to God ; for your Church worships the Virgin Mary with burning incense and candles to her, and you give her presents, which by the consent of all nations used to be considered a worship peculiar to God ; and it is the same thing which was condemned for heresy in the Collynidians, who offered a cake to the Virgin Mary. A candle and a cake make no difference in the worship" ("Letter to a Gentlewoman seduced to the Church of Rome").

Universal Bishopric.

"This doctrine, though it be not so scandalous as their idolatry, so ridiculous as their superstitions, so unreasonable as their doctrine of transubstantiation, so easily reprov'd as their half-communion and service in an unknown tongue, yet it is as of dangerous and evil effect, and as false, and as certainly an innovation, as anything in their whole congregation of errors" ("Dissuasive," I., i. 1).

Supremacy.

"The Pope hath power *in omnia, per omnia, super omnia*—in all things, through all things, over all things ; and 'the sublimity and immensity of the supreme bishop is so great that no mortal man can comprehend it.' This is not the private opinion of a few, but the public doctrine owned and offered to be justified to all the world" (*ibid.*, iii. 3).

"Since the Bishop of Rome by acts which all the world knows had raised an intolerable empire, he used it as violently as he got it, and made his little finger heavier than all the loins of princes. . . . Every bishop hath from Christ equal power, and there is no difference but what is introduced by

men—that is, by laws positive, by consent, or by violence. . . . From hence it must needs follow that by the law of Christ one bishop is not superior to another” (“*Duct. Dub.*,” III., iv. 16).

Deposition of Kings.

“It were an endless labour to transcribe the horrible doctrines which are preached in the Jesuits’ school to the shaking of the regal power of such princes which are not of the Roman Communion. The whole economy of it is well described by Bellarmine, who affirms that ‘it does not belong to monks or other ecclesiastics to commit murders, neither do the popes care to proceed that way; but their manner is first fatherly, to correct princes, then by ecclesiastical censures to deprive them of the communion, then to absolve their subjects from the oath of allegiance and to deprive them of their kingly dignity; and what then? the execution belongs to others.’ This is the way of the popes, thus wisely and moderately to break kings in pieces” (“*Dissuasive*,” I., iii. 3).

Transubstantiation.

“The doctrine of transubstantiation is so far from being primitive and apostolic that we know the very time it began to be owned publicly for an opinion, and the very Council in which it was said to be passed into a public doctrine, and by what arts it was promoted, and by what persons it was introduced. For all the world knows that by their own parties—by Scotus, Ockam, Biel, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and divers others—whom Bellarmine calls most learned and most acute men, it was declared that the doctrine of transubstantiation is not expressed in the canon of the Bible; that in the Scriptures there is no place so express as (without the Church’s declaration) to compel us to admit of transubstantiation; and therefore at least it is to be suspected of novelty. But, further, we know it was but a disputable question in the ninth and tenth centuries after Christ; that it was not pretended to be an article of faith till the Lateran Council in the time of Innocent III., twelve hundred years and more after Christ; that since that pretended determination divers of the chiefest teachers of their own side have been no more satisfied with the ground of it than they were before, but still have publicly affirmed that the article is not expressed in Scripture, particularly John de Bassolis, Cardinal Cajetan, and Melchior Canus, besides those above reckoned. And, therefore, if it was not expressed in Scripture, it will be too clear that they made their articles out of their own heads; for they could not declare it to be there, if it was not; and if it was

there but obscurely, then it ought to be taught accordingly, and at most it could be but a probable doctrine, and not certain, as an article of faith. But that we may put it past argument and probability, it is certain that as the doctrine was not taught in Scripture expressly, so it was not at all taught as a Catholic doctrine or an article of the faith by the primitive ages of the Church. Now for this we need no proof but the confession and acknowledgments of the greatest doctors of the Church of Rome." Having quoted Scotus, Peter Lombard, Durandus, Alphonsus à Castro, and—"from the first and best ages of the Church"—Tertullian, Justin Martyr, Origen, Eusebius, Macarius, Ephrem, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, Theodoret, Gelasius; and having put aside "the horrid and blasphemous questions, such as, whether it may be said the priest is in some sense the creator of God Himself," and "whether a priest before he say his first Mass be the son of God, but afterwards the father of God and the creator of His body," against which a book was written by John Hugo, he lays down five propositions, the first two of which are: "1. That what the Church of Rome teaches of transubstantiation is absolutely impossible, and implies contradictions very many, to the belief of which no faith can oblige us and no reason can endure. For Christ's body being in heaven, glorious, spiritual and impassible, cannot be broken. And since by the Roman doctrine nothing is broken but that which cannot be broken—that is, the colour, the taste, and other accidents of the elements—yet if they could be broken, since the accidents of bread and wine are not the substance of Christ's body and blood, it is certain that on the altar Christ's body naturally and properly cannot be broken. 2. And since they say that every consecrated wafer is Christ's whole body, and yet this wafer is not that wafer, therefore either this or that is not Christ's body, or else Christ hath two bodies, for there are two wafers" ("Dissuasive," I., i. 5).

Objective Presence.

"We may not render Divine worship to Him as present in the blessed Sacrament according to His human nature without danger of idolatry; because *He is not there according to His human nature*, and therefore you give Divine worship to a *non ens*, which must needs be idolatry; for *idolum nihil est in mundo*, saith St. Paul, and Christ, as present by His human nature in the Sacrament, is a *non ens*; for it is not true; there is no such thing. He is present there by His divine power and His divine blessing, and the fruits of His body, the real effective consequents of His passion; but for

any other presence, it is *idolum*, it is nothing in the world. Adore Christ in heaven, for the heavens must contain Him till the time of the restitution of all things" ("Fifth Letter to a Gentleman that was Tempted to the Communion of the Roman Church").

Adoration.

"Since by the decree of the Council of Trent they are bound to exhibit to the Sacrament the same worship which they give to the true God, either this Sacrament is Jesus Christ or else they are very idolaters; I mean materially such, even while in their purpose they decline it. I will not quarrel with (dispute against) the words of the decree commanding to give Divine worship to the Sacrament, which by the definition of their own schools is an outward visible sign of an inward spiritual grace, and so they worship the sign and the grace with the worship due to God. But that which I insist upon is this: that if they be deceived in this difficult question, against which there lie such infinite presumptions and evidence of sense, and invincible reason and grounds of Scripture, and in which they are condemned by the primitive Church and by the common principles of all philosophy, and the nature of things and the analogy of the Sacrament; for which they had no warrant ever till they made one of their own, which themselves so little understand that they know not how to explicate it, nor agree in their own meaning, nor cannot tell well what they mean; if, I say, they be deceived in their own strict article (besides the strict sense of which there are so many ways of verifying the work of Christ, upon which all sides do rely), then it is certain they commit an act of idolatry in giving Divine honour to a mere creature, which is the image, the sacrament, and representment of the body of Christ. . . . The commandment to worship God alone is so express; the distance between God and bread dedicated to the service of God is so vast; the danger of worshipping that which is not God, or of not worshipping that which is God, is so formidable, that it is infinitely to be presumed that, if it had been intended that we should have worshipped the Holy Sacrament, the Holy Scripture would have called it God or Jesus Christ, or have bidden us in express terms to have adored it; that either by the first, as by a reason indicative, or by the second, as by a reason imperative, we might have had sufficient warrant, direct or consequent, to have paid a Divine worship. Now, that there is no implicit warrant in the sacramental words of 'This is My body,' I have given very many reasons to evince, by proving the words to be sacramental and figurative.

“Add to this that supposing Christ present in their senses, yet as they have acted the business, they have made it superstitious and idolatrical; for they declare ‘the Divine worship does also belong to the symbols of bread and wine as being one with Christ’—they are the words of Bellarmine; that ‘even the species also with Christ are to be adored’—so Suarez. But then let it be considered that since these species or accidents are not inherent in the holy body, nor have their existence from it, but wholly subsist of themselves (as they dream), since between them and the holy body there is no substantial, no personal, union, it is not imaginable how they can pass Divine worship to those accidents which are not in the body, nor the same with the body, but (by an impossible supposition) subsist of themselves, and *were* proper to bread and *now* not communicable to Christ; and yet not commit idolatry.

“At the best we may say to these men, as our blessed Saviour to the woman of Samaria, ‘Ye worship ye know not what; but we know what we worship.’ For concerning the action of adoration, this I am to say, that it is a fit address in the day of solemnity, with a *sursum corda*, with our hearts lift up to heaven, where Christ sits (we are sure) at the right hand of the Father; for *Nemo digne manducat nisi prius adoraverit*, said St. Austin (‘No man eats Christ’s body worthily but he that first adores Christ’). But to terminate the Divine worship to the Sacrament, to that which we eat, is so unreasonable and unnatural, and withal so scandalous, that Averroes, observing it to be usual among the Christians with whom he had the ill-fortune to converse, said these words: *Quandoquidem Christiani adorant quod comedunt, sit anima mea cum philosophis* (‘Since Christians worship what they eat, let my soul be with the philosophers’). If the man had conversed with those who better understood the article and were more religious and wise in their worshippings, possibly he might have been invited by the excellency of the institution to become a Christian. But they that give scandal to Jews by their images and leaving out the Second Commandment from their Catechisms, give offence to the Turks by worshipping the Sacrament, and to all reasonable men by striving against two or three sciences and the notices (observations) of all mankind. We give no Divine honour to the signs; we do not call the Sacrament our God” (“Real Presence,” § xiii.).

“This is a thing of infinite danger. God is a jealous God. He spake it in the matter of external worship and of idolatry, and therefore do nothing that is like worshipping a mere creature, nothing that is like worshipping that which you are

not sure it is God. And if you can believe the bread, when it is blessed by the priest, is God Almighty, you can, if you please, believe anything else.

“If it be transubstantiated, and you are sure of it, then you may pray to it and put your trust in it, and believe the holy bread to be co-eternal with the Father and with the Holy Ghost” (“Fifth Letter”).

Spiritual Presence.

“By ‘spiritually’ they mean ‘present after the manner of a spirit’; by ‘spiritually’ we mean ‘present to our spirits only’—that is, so as Christ is not present to any other senses but that of faith or spiritual susception. But their way makes His body to be present no way but that which is impossible and implies a contradiction; a body not after the manner of a body; a body like a spirit; a body without a body; and a sacrifice of body and blood without blood; *corpus incorporeum, cruor incruentus*. They say that Christ’s body is truly present there as it was upon the cross, but not after the manner of all or any body, but after that manner of being as an angel is in a place. That’s *their* ‘spirituality’; but we by the ‘real spiritual presence’ of Christ do understand Christ to be present, as the Spirit of God is present in the hearts of the faithful, by blessing and grace. And this is all which we mean besides the typical and figurative presence” (“Real Presence,” § i.).

“We think it our duty to give our own people caution and admonition. First, that they be not abused by the rhetorical words and high expressions alleged out of the Fathers calling the Sacrament ‘the body’ or ‘the flesh of Christ,’ for we all believe it is so, and rejoice in it; but the question is after what manner it is so, whether after the manner of the flesh, or after the manner of spiritual grace and sacramental consequence. We with the Holy Scriptures and the primitive Fathers affirm the latter; the Church of Rome, against the words of Scripture and the explication of Christ and the doctrine of the primitive Church, affirm the former. Secondly, that they be careful not to admit such doctrines under the pretence of being ancient; since, although the Roman error hath been too long admitted and is ancient in respect of our days, yet it is an innovation in Christianity, and brought in by ignorance, power and superstition very many ages after Christ. Thirdly, we exhort them that they remember the words of Christ when He explicates the doctrine of giving us His flesh for meat and His blood for drink, that He tells us ‘the flesh profiteth nothing, but the words which He speaks

are spirit and they are life.' Fourthly, that if these ancient and primitive doctors above cited say true, and that the symbols still remain the same in their natural substance and properties, even after they are blessed and when they are received, and that Christ's body and blood are only present to faith and to the spirit, that then whoever tempt them to give Divine honour to these symbols or elements (as the Church of Rome does) tempts them to give to a creature the due and incommunicable propriety of God, and that then this evil passes further than an error in the understanding, for it carries them to a dangerous practice, which cannot reasonably be excused from idolatry" ("Dissuasive," I., i. 5).

"I have manifested the nature and operations and the whole ministry to be spiritual; and that *not* the natural body and blood of Christ is received by the mouth, but the word and the spirit of Christ by faith and a spiritual hand; and upon this account have discovered their mistake who think the secret lies in the outside, and suppose that we tear the natural flesh of Christ with our mouths.

"This (His natural body) He gave us but once then, when upon the Cross He was broken for our sins; this body could die but once, and it could be but at one place at once, and heaven was the place appointed for it.

"This body, being carried from us into heaven, cannot be touched or tasted by us on earth; but yet Christ left to us symbols and Sacraments of this natural body; *not to be or to convey that natural body to us*, but to do more and better for us—to convey all the blessings and graces procured for us by the breaking of that body and the effusion of that blood; which blessings, being spiritual, are therefore called 'His body' spiritually, because procured by that body which died for us, and are therefore called our food, because by them we live a new life in the Spirit, and Christ is our bread and our life, because by Him after this manner we are nourished up to life eternal.

"The sum is this: The Sacraments and symbols, if they be considered in their own nature, are just such as they seem—water, and bread and wine; they retain the names proper to their own natures; but because they are made to be signs of a secret mystery, and water is the symbol of purification of the soul from sin, and bread and wine of Christ's body and blood, therefore the symbols and Sacraments receive the names of what themselves do sign (are signs of); they are the body and they are the blood of Christ—they are metonymically such" ("The Worthy Communicant," i. 3).

One Kind.

“They innovate in their doctrine of the half-communion. For they deprive the people of the chalice, and dismember the institution of Christ, and prevaricate His express law in this particular, and recede from the practice of the Apostles; and though they confess it was the practice of the primitive Church, yet they lay it aside and curse those who follow Christ and His Apostles and His Church, while themselves deny to follow them. Now for this we need no other testimony but their own words in the Council of Constance. Here is the acknowledgment both of Christ’s institution in both kinds, and Christ’s ministering it in both kinds, and the practice of the primitive Church to give it in both kinds, yet the conclusion from these premisses is: ‘We command under the pain of excommunication that no priest communicate the people under both kinds of bread and wine.’ The opposition is plain: Christ’s testament ordains it, the Church of Rome forbids it; it was the primitive custom to obey Christ in this, a later custom is by the Church of Rome introduced to the contrary. To say that the first practice and institution is necessary to be followed is called heretical, to refuse the latter subintroduced custom incurs the sentence of excommunication. And this they have passed not only into a law, but into an article of faith; and if this be not teaching for doctrines the commandments of men, and worshipping God in vain with men’s traditions, then there is, and there was, and there can be, no such thing in the world” (“Dissuasive,” I., i. 6).

“It is too much that any part of the Church should so much as in a single instance administer the Holy Sacrament otherwise than it is in the institution of Christ, there being no other warrant for doing the thing at all but Christ’s institution, and therefore no other way of learning how to do it but by the same institution by which all of it is done. But if a man alters what God appointed, he makes to himself a new institution, for which in this case there can be no necessity, nor yet excuse. That men are not suffered to receive it in Christ’s way, that they are driven from it, that they are called heretic for saying it is their duty to receive it as Christ gave it and appointed it, that they should be excommunicated for desiring to communicate in Christ’s blood by the symbol of His blood, according to the order of Him that gave His blood—this is such a strange piece of Christianity that it is not easy to imagine what Antichrist can do more against it unless he take it all away. I only desire those persons that are here concerned to weigh well the words of Christ and the consequents of them: ‘He that breaketh one of the least of My

commandments, and shall teach men so (and what if he compel men so?), shall be called the least in the kingdom of God'” (“Dissuasive,” II., ii. 4).

F. MEYRICK.

(To be continued.)

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

VII. WILLIAM WAKE (*concluded*).

THE primacy of Wake marked a time of more peaceable character than those of the predecessors of whom I have had to write. George I. was King, and was well established on the throne. There was no longer any serious fear of a Stuart Restoration. The peace of Utrecht in 1711 had ended a period of warfare which had gone on with only five years' break since the Revolution of 1688. The twenty-five years that followed were almost entirely years of peace. And England was the main preserver of it, the main barrier for Europe against the ambition of the house of Bourbon. It is not too much to say that the policy of England has been, on the whole, in favour of peace ever since, eager for the observance of treaties and international friendship.

When George I. became King parties were still talking loud, but much of the old bitterness was gone, inasmuch as very few people wanted the Stuarts back. The Tories were Churchmen hating the Papists, and more loath than ever to see the attempts of King James renewed. But King George knew what their principles had been of yore, and he gave his support to the Whigs. Consequently the party was all but dead in the first years of the House of Hanover. They were in such a minority in the House of Commons that they hardly numbered fifty men; and a mighty cleavage existed in the party outside, for there were still some Tories who longed for the Restoration of the Stuarts, though the majority would not hear of it. It was, indeed, in consequence of this that the Jacobite rising of 1715 took place. It had no hold in England; it was an act of despair on the part of the uncompromising members of the party. Bolingbroke, who, as we have already seen, had split the party and had gone with Atterbury to the side of the Pretender, was in hopes of the co-operation of Charles XII. and Louis XIV.; but the latter died in the very crisis, the Swedish King failed, and the rising of 1715 was an abject failure. The Whigs were stronger than ever, and took

advantage of this to repeat the Occasional Conformity Act, although Archbishop Wake opposed them; "the scandalous practice of occasional conformity," he said, "was condemned by the soberest part of the Dissenters themselves." Atterbury and he for once, at any rate, spoke on the same side. At the trial of his friend Sacheverell, five years before, Wake had gone strongly against him.

But the Church had now entered upon a period of inaction and deadness. The Bishops were for the most part Whigs, the rank and file of clergy Tories. The country squires were partizans of the House of Stuart, and the bucolical clergy were dependent on them. The well-known description of the poor parochial ministers of this period in Macaulay's third chapter is faithfully derived from contemporary literature. All through the time of the two first Georges the higher dignitaries of the Church were separated from the main body of its clergy, and this paralyzed its strength.

But further, rationalism was gaining ground rapidly. The religious wars which had so bitterly afflicted England during the Stuart period were now ended; and even on the Continent there was comparative peace where there had been religious bitterness. Intelligence, physical discoveries, new political theories, all were busy; and the result of them was a rising temper of questioning, not in theology only, but in every department of thought. England had taken a strong lead in literature, and the outburst of it in both France and Germany was largely the result of the imitation of English writers. The past was becoming underrated; the wreck of medieval ideas was followed by a vulgarization which vaunted itself as "common sense." It was a time of coffee-house chatter, of short essays, some of them sprightly and worth keeping, and some frothy—of no more value and taste than corked champagne.

When Voltaire, in 1726, was ordered to leave France because of his quarrel with the Duke of Sully, he came—a young man of thirty-two—to England because he regarded it, not unnaturally, as a land of freedom. There were open Deistical books going, such as the writings of Woolston, Tindal, and Collins. But above these were the discoveries of Newton and the philosophical inquiries of Locke, works which placed England in a higher intellectual position among the nations than she had hitherto taken. Voltaire lived three years on English ground, and it might have been well with him to have rested upon the convictions which he seems to have formed from his experience of our institutions and of the English clergy. But when he went back to the Continent, much impressed with the free spirit of our ecclesiastical life,

and found once more both corruption and intolerance in the Roman Catholic priesthood, he became an embittered enemy of the Church, if not of Christ Himself. His character and opinions must always present insoluble problems, which, in fact, we are not called upon to solve. His daring invective and satire he had learned largely from English writers, but in the spirit of Shylock he had "bettered the instruction."

We have already seen how semi-Arianism had manifested itself in the Church theology. It came to a climax in the writings of Benjamin Hoadly. In the time of Queen Anne he had come into note, being rector of St. Peter-le-Poer, in the City, by some writings of extreme Whig and Low Church principles, one of which ("The Measure of Obedience to the Civil Magistrate") so pleased the House of Commons at a moment of Whig ascendancy, that they sent an address to the Queen calling her attention to the signal service he had done to the cause of civil and religious liberty, a fierce attack being meanwhile made upon it by Atterbury. On the accession of George I. he was made Bishop of Bangor. Wake had just before conferred on him the Lambeth degree of D.D. He never once visited his diocese, but remained in London, where he still held two livings, and occupied himself in religious controversy. It was in March, 1717, that he preached the sermon before the King, on "The Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ," out of which the famous Bangorian Controversy arose. All that concerns us here is that on May 3, 1717, the Lower House of Convocation appointed a committee to examine the sermon, and that day week brought in a report that it had a tendency to subvert all government and discipline in the Church of Christ, and to impugn the regal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, and the authority of the legislature to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil sanction. This was sent to the Upper House, at which the ministers took fright. A formal condemnation of Hoadly by the Bishops, which would certainly have been approved by the rest of the clergy, would have been most inconvenient to the King and the Government, and therefore a royal mandate prorogued Convocation till November. There can be little doubt that Wake would have agreed to the report if it had come on for discussion. Although he had gone with the Whigs in the attack on Sacheverell, he had done so with discrimination, and his attitude from the moment of his Primacy had leaned to the "High Church" side. In fact, the committee of the Lower House could not have been appointed but by his consent. When November came, Convocation was again prorogued, and so continued to be from time to time, until all hope of its ever meeting again for business died

out of the minds of men. It never did so until the middle of the present century. The effect was very mischievous. Hoadly was translated to Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester in succession, and only ceased from political controversy in the last years of his life. Some good features of his administration are still to be seen in his occupation of his last diocese. He died, at the age of eighty-five, in 1761. Atterbury, in anger, secretly transferred his allegiance to the Stuarts, and from 1717 plotted on their behalf. The clergy sullenly returned to their parsonages, equally angry with the Whigs and the non-jurors. The Bishops felt their power gone down to zero, and thought more about their own dignity and the enrichment of their families than about clerical discipline. Every sort of heretical opinion found unchecked expression. But yet there was salt left in the Church to preserve it. Even the gentle commonplaces of Addison, the efforts of Sir Roger de Coverley to improve public worship, give us the impression of a real piety and a kindly community; and for deeper theology the non-jurors deserve grateful remembrance. But they were dissolving slowly. Hickeys was dead; Robert Nelson had left them; but Brett and Collier still gave testimony of a spiritual power and life, to which our religious literature is still indebted.

We have noted that Wake was now ranging himself on the Conservative line, as we should express it to-day. When he was Bishop of Lincoln he made an elaborate speech in favour of comprehension with Dissenters; yet in 1718 he spoke against the repeal of the Conformity Bill, and next year opposed the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. No wonder that he has been accused of inconsistency; yet this is not fair. It is always dangerous to one's own charity to impute bad motives, to judge any man save where overt acts prove his fall. In the present case Wake's change of opinion is entirely explicable; the spirit in which the relaxation was moved exhibited hostility both to the Church and to public morality, and the Archbishop discerned this, and shrank from it. He may have been shortsighted in his view, but he was certainly honest of motive.

But he was now bent on the revival of an idea which had been dear to him in years past, and which circumstances now renewed. It happened that the learned Dr. Du Pin, one of the ablest historians of the Gallican Church (April, 1719), wrote to William Beauvoir, Wake's successor as chaplain of the British Embassy in Paris, complaining of the Papal Bull, "Unigenitus," which Clement XI. had launched against the Jansenists. He declared, and quite truly, that some of the French Bishops were greatly opposed to the Bull, and that they

were upheld by the Theological Faculty of Paris. Beauvoir, who was a personal friend of Wake, wrote and told him of this, and he, in reply, sent a courteous message to Du Pin, who in response (February 11, 1718) expressed a fervid desire for the reunion of the two churches. "Vehementer opto ut unionis inter Ecclesias Anglicanam et Gallicanam ineundæ via aliqua inveniri posset. Non ita sumus ab invicem in plerisque dissiti, ut non possumus mutuo reconciliari. Atque utinam Christiani essent unum ovile."

Wake wrote a very interesting and thoughtful reply. The Church of England, he said, had secured her own independence along with her Catholic usages, in accordance with the will of Christ, and for the edification of her members. The Church of France had now the same opportunity, and might so reconstitute herself that, though she might still differ from us in worship and discipline, and even in some points of doctrine, she might still maintain a true communion with us. He did not think it would be possible to frame a common confession of faith, or liturgy, or discipline for the two Churches, nor was this necessary. Each holding the other as true branches of the Church Catholic, would thereby secure intercommunion in spite of differences. And he was sure, he added, that the best and wisest of his fellow-Churchmen would agree with him in this. Further, he bade Beauvoir to show Du Pin our Ordination Services.

The French doctor was delighted, and wrote in reply: "Il est de mon devoir de vous rendre de très humbles actions de grace de la belle et obligeante lettre, dont votre Excellence m'a bien voulu honorer. Je n'y ai pas moins admiré la beauté du style que les sentiments élevés et dignes d'un grand Prélat. Tout y respire l'amour de la paix, la douceur, la modération, la charité chrétienne; en un mot l'esprit de l'Évangile." This promised well, and the goodwill thus expressed was repeated in an address delivered at the Sorbonne on March 28, 1718, by Dr. de Girardin, one of its most distinguished members. This address is given at length in Mr. Lupton's lucid and exhaustive essay, "Archbishop Wake and the Project of Union between the Gallican and Anglican Churches" (Bell, 1896), to which I must refer the reader for the most full and candid details. De Girardin expressed his approval of the hope which had been held out, as well as of the Sacred Faculty for defending their true grounds of faith. He said it behoved them all in these days of inquiry to be sure what were essentials of belief and what non-essentials, and he recognised the same desire in the English Church both to preserve the faith and to keep the mind open for fresh light. If, he said, they started on the common ground that they

would not hold all Papal decisions to be articles of faith, they were at once holding out a hand of fellowship, and union by the blessing of God might follow.

Wake's response was one both of wise caution and of sincere brotherly love. The Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal de Noailles, had very earnestly expressed his sympathy with the Jansenists and his dislike of the animosity displayed towards them. Louis XIV. had detested them, but he was now dead, and it was hoped that the Regent Orleans would show himself more tolerant. But Wake, in a private letter to Beauvoir, expressed his belief that neither Regent nor Cardinal would break with the Vatican. Du Pin was still sanguine, and drew up a form of Eirenicon, to which he gave the name of "Commonitorium" —*i.e.*, an instruction or explanation of the faith. Wake then wrote to Beauvoir a dignified statement of his own position. Referring to De Girardin's hope of winning over the English people to the views of his Church by certain concessions, Wake says that if this means that the Church of England is to take Gallican direction what to retain and what to give up, they are wasting their time. "I am a friend to Peace, but more to Truth; and they may depend upon it I shall always account our Church to stand upon an equal foot with theirs; and that we are no more to receive laws from them than we desire to impose any upon them. In short, the Church of England is free, is orthodox; she has a plenary authority within herself. She has no need to recur to others to direct her what to believe or what to do; nor will we otherwise than in a brotherly way, and with a full equality of right and power, ever consent to have any treaty with that of France. And therefore, if they mean to deal with us, they must lay down this for a foundation, that we are to deal with one another on equal terms. If, consistently with our own establishment, we can agree upon a closer union with one another, well; if not, we are as much, and upon as good grounds, a free, independent Church as they are." And he adds, very emphatically, that if the French Church is in earnest, there must be proposals from the Cardinal as its representative. If they should be made, the Archbishop will ask leave of the King to consult his brethren with a view to their consideration. He ought not, he says, to enter into negotiations without the King's knowledge, and it would be very odd for him to have a commission to treat with those who have no manner of authority to treat with him. And he sums up by emphatically declaring that, while he is eager for union, he is also determined not to compromise the truth nor the independence of the English Church.

The French divines took this plain speaking in good part,

though they seemed, according to Beauvoir, to think that it was not likely to further union. However, Girardin went so far as to say that they thought the use of images, the invocation of saints, the communion in one kind only, might be waived as non-essentials, as well, of course, as the Papal supremacy. The Pope, urged on by the Inquisition, took alarm at the threatening attitude of the French Bishops, and took the initiative as to the struggle by promulgating (August, 1718) a fresh Bull, "*Pastoralis Officii*," in which he pronounced all who rejected the "*Unigenitus*" as "disobedient, contumacious, and refractory." It had the effect intended. Cardinal de Noailles, who was by universal consent a weak man, though he had expressed his approval of the action of Du Pin and Girardin, was frightened by the new Papal move, called his chapter together and gave in his adhesion. Other Bishops did the like, but when they posted up their adhesions on the gates of the churches, the civil magistrates tore them down. Feeling certainly ran high against the Papal usurpation at that moment, so much so that Wake sent a message to Du Pin expressing the hope that the Gallican Church would be firm, and assert its independence. Let the Bishops, he said, reject his usurped authority, and leave him only, as the primitive Church had done, a primacy of place and honour, as Bishop of the once imperial city. He urges them to take Pope Clement at his word—he has declared them contumacious, separate; let them be so, and reject his unfounded claims. Meanwhile, the fact that Wake and the doctors of the Sorbonne, if not the Cardinal Archbishop also, were in correspondence, produced much excitement in Paris. The chapel of the English Embassy was crowded with spectators Sunday after Sunday, and the chaplain performed the English Service in French for their instruction. Wake realized all this, and his hopes grew strong. He again wrote to Du Pin, repeating in the most earnest manner that everything turned on the resolute assertion of the independence, as to authority, of every National Church, and their union with each other by circular letters. The French doctors had accepted the English Communion Service as sufficient, but had made a difficulty over the "*Black Rubric*" at the end of the service, which, as Mr. Lupton truly says, is not really a rubric at all, but a Declaration of Council hastily added in 1552. However, Du Pin's reply shows that the Archbishop's explanation is satisfactory; his chief point is the Papal claims, and he earnestly assures Wake that the doctors of the Sorbonne are with him in their strenuous defence of Gallican liberty, and quotes writers of the past who have contended for the same. Mr. Lupton quotes a letter of Wake to

Beauvoir, written a little later, which shows what a very wise and statesman-like view he had formed of the matter. He foresaw that the project was in danger because the attitude of the Gallicans was inconsistent and illogical. While they are trimming and halting, "allowing the Pope as much as is consistent with their Gallican privileges, we honestly deny him any authority over us. . . . In earnest, I think we treat his Holiness not only with more sincerity, but more respect than they. For to own a power and yet keep a reserve to obey that power only so far and in such cases as we make ourselves judges of, is a greater affront than honestly to confess that we deny the power, and for that reason refuse to obey it. But my design was partly to bring them to this, and partly to see how they would bear at least the proposal of totally breaking off from the Court and Bishop of Rome."

He goes on to say that he hopes the friendship will be carefully continued, though nothing at present may seem to come of it, and he adds that he has on his side none whom he dares trust. His brethren on the Bench were nearly all Low Churchmen, and would have little sympathy with his aspirations. In fact, it is evident that his negotiations, if one may call them so, were becoming known, and were rousing opposition. But a more formidable opposition was rising over the water, and it came from the Jesuits, always the prime movers against any attempts to reform the Church of Rome. They moved the Regent to hostility; the crowds who attended the English services were interfered with, and some were imprisoned. An order was given and executed (February 10, 1719) to seize Du Pin's papers, and they were carried off to the Palais Royal for examination. A Jesuit named Lafiteau was present at the examination, and writes an account of it. "At first," he says, "we thought the letters between Du Pin and the Archbishop of Canterbury were pure civilities, but we soon found that it was something worse: 'Enfin, on parvint à la connaissance du plus abominable complot qu'un Docteur Catholique ait pu trâmer en matière de Religion. L'Apostasie n'eut jamais rien de plus criminel.'" As a specimen of the atrocities which have come to light, he mentions that Du Pin, while he did not alter "l'intégrité du Dogme," was prepared "abolir la Confession auriculaire, et ne plus parler de *Transubstantiation* dans le Sacrement de l'Eucharistie, anéantir les Vœux de Religion, permettre le Mariage des Prêtres, retrancher le Jeûne et l'Abstinence du Carême, se passer du Pope, et n'avoir plus ni commerce avec lui, ni égard pour ses décisions."

One result, apparently, was the death of Du Pin. He appears to have been overcome with grief that his efforts on

behalf of love and righteousness should have been thus defeated, and he died on June 6, 1719, not quite sixty-two years old.

So practically ended this correspondence. There is a very fine letter of Wake to Beauvoir in the collection of his correspondence, written later, in which he expresses the hope that God will yet open the way both for union of Christendom and the reformation, especially of the French Church.

He had in the same loving spirit exerted himself to draw the foreign Protestants into Christian union. Thus he writes to Beauvoir: "I am at present engaged in two or three other transactions of moment to the foreign Protestants. . . . If I can in any way help to promote this, though I am at present without any help, alone in this project, I shall do my utmost both to keep up my poor little interest with the two doctors (Du Pin and Girardin) and their friends, and to concert proper methods with them about it. The surest way will be, to begin as well, and to go as far, as we can, in settling a friendly correspondence one with another; to agree to own each other as true brethren and members of the Catholic Christian Church; to agree to communicate in everything we can with one another, which on their side is very easy, there being nothing in our offices in any degree contrary to their own principles, and, would they purge out of theirs what is contrary to ours, we might join in the public services with them, and yet leave one another in the free liberty of believing transubstantiation or not, so long as we did not require anything to be done by either in pursuance of that opinion. The Lutherans do this very thing. Many of them communicate, not only in prayers, but the Communion with us, and we never inquire whether they believe consubstantiation, or even pay any worship to Christ as present with the elements, so long as their outward actions are the same with our own, and they give no offence to any with their opinions." Golden words, surely. No wonder that his name is still held in honour, so says the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, among the foreign Protestants.

We have now done with the greater part of Wake's public life. He was learned, and his great desire for the reunion of Christendom calls for our respect and gratitude. His later years were clouded by great mental infirmity, and to this misfortune we attribute one of the sadder features of his Episcopate. That he should use his patronage on behalf of his family was regarded as a matter of course, and he certainly did it. "That parson must be asleep who does not marry a Wake" was the saying of some witty contemporary, which was caught up and immensely received by the world. By his

wife Etheldreda Hovel, daughter of Sir Wm. Hovel, of Illington, in Norfolk, he had a large family, among which his youngest daughter, Mary, married John Lynch. Two lives of John Lynch lie before me. The first is by Mr. Meadows Cowper, in "Lives of the Deans of Canterbury, 1900." The other is entitled "The Life of Dean Lynch, by a Yeoman of Kent. No Canterbury Tale, 1758." The first is discriminating, but on the whole favourable to him; the second is a fierce attack upon him. It states that after a disreputable career at Cambridge he took Orders at the canonical age, married Mary Wake, who was "exceedingly plain in person and much deformed," persuading his father to make the settlements which the Archbishop insisted on, though thereby he impoverished the whole family. John Lynch, says the pamphleteer (for biographer would not be a fair word), persuaded his father that he could make it up to his sisters by marrying them to clerics, and getting preferment for them out of his father-in-law. And it is one of the charges which this pamphleteer brings against him that he did not keep his word. The bitterness with which he deals with his subject is clear evidence that for some reason or other he simply hated him, and everything points to some personal injury, real or imagined. Anyway his first living preceded his marriage, for Wake gave him the rectory of Allhallows, Bread Street, with St. John, Walbrook, in 1723 (after he had been only two years in Orders), and he did not marry until 1728. Let Mr. Meadows Cowper tell us what followed: "Edward Tenison, promoted to the See of Ossory, resigned the living of Sundridge, and it was conferred upon Lynch by the Archbishop, and this he was allowed to hold by dispensation with his London rectories. At this time he also received the Mastership of St. Cross Hospital, near Winchester, and exchanged Allhallows, Bread Street, for All Hallows the Great, Thames Street; St. John's he resigned. In 1731 his father-in-law bestowed on him the livings of Ickham and Bishopsbourne, near Canterbury, and the sinecure rectory of Eynesford in Kent, upon which he resigned All Hallows the Great. But his preferment did not stop here. Dean Sydall, in the same year, was consecrated Bishop of St. David's, and resigned the Mastership of the Hospitals of St. Nicholas, Harbledown, and of St. John, Canterbury. As Todd naively remarks, the same liberal motive which had induced Sydall to accept these from Tenison inclined Lynch to receive them from Wake." The pamphleteer, after shortly summarizing the above, adds that his greedy appetite was so stimulated by all this that he was always worrying his father-in-law for more, till the Archbishop "sternly rebuked him, and bade him remember that there

were other clergy who had claims on him as learned and deserving men." One rather wonders how the writer knew this. Then he goes on: "This checked him until Wake fell sick and childish, and then Lynch saw his opportunity. No lease or grant was made except under his direction, and by observing and continuing his opportunities he became possessed of several hospitals, having no inspector to control him." Of one of these our "Yeoman" writes: "It is endowed with large farms and many other great manors of immense yearly value, the full income of which he wisely conceals from the knowledge of the world, and pockets the whole revenue without account, keeping on foot a small number of old men, who on account of the badness of the times are obliged to put up with a pittance of small beer, bread and cheese, and a mortified chaplain to show them the way to heaven." Evidently he means St. Cross at Winchester here, and making allowance for the personal animosity which is clear enough all through this Memoir, it must be confessed that the abuses of St. Cross lasted down into the middle of the present century. Then our pamphleteer says that by truckling to the great men he procured to himself the Deanery as an additional pittance, that he sold the Archbishop's preferments in the most shameless and heartless manner, freely lying to the purchasers as to the value of the livings they bought. Abuse of this sort defeats itself by its own violence; he follows it up with many pages of horrible charges as to Lynch's personal life, and broadly insinuates that he has been guilty of two murders, one of a choir boy and the other of a canon. The good Archbishop, he says, in his lucid intervals, has remonstrated, but in vain.

There is no doubt that though, as we have said, there are bright stars in the darkness, it *was* a dark and evil time. The South Sea Bubble in 1720, which has left its name in our commercial records, brought ruin upon thousands, and went far to drive men to believe that righteousness and honesty had departed from the earth. Selfishness seemed to rule triumphant. Education was at its lowest point. Towns were growing up and left to heathenism, and the village peasantry were neglected. The rich clergy were non-resident. But a great movement was at hand. In October, 1735, John Wesley, a young man of thirty-two, who largely owed his spiritual life to the non-juror, William Law, went forth to preach to the Indians and settlers in North America. On his return to England, February 1, 1738, Wake had been dead a year.

The Archbishop died at Lambeth on January 24, 1737. He was buried at Croydon. According to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, he had amassed a fortune of £100,000, although

he had expended much on the buildings of his diocese. In *Notes and Queries*, vii. Series, xii. 345, there is an interesting note about the library which he founded for the use of the clergy during his Lincoln Episcopate. He left a very valuable collection of coins and medals, as well as his library, to his college, Christ Church, Oxford. There are good portraits of him at Lambeth, at Oxford, at St. James's, Piccadilly, and in the National Portrait Gallery. Mr. H. B. Wheatley says that he was the last Archbishop of Canterbury who crossed from Lambeth to the House of Lords in the state barge.

W. BENHAM.

(*To be continued.*)



ART. III.—THE DIVINE TITLE “LORD OF HOSTS”
IN ITS BEARING ON THE THEORIES OF THE
HIGHER CRITICISM.

THE bearing of this Divine title for God, *Jehovah Tsebâôth*, on the theories of the Higher Critics as to the composition of the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua, the “Hexateuch,” as they call it, appears to have hardly attracted the attention which the subject deserves. Any argument based on some particular title for God, or on the presence or the absence from certain parts of the Bible of some particular expression, may be pressed, it would seem, with peculiar propriety against the theories of the Higher Criticism; because these theories may be said to have taken their rise originally in the person of the physician Astruc, through his noticing that two different names—“Elohim” and “Jehovah”—were used for God in the Book of Genesis; and, further, because it may be said generally that the critical theories in the present day are based in a great measure on the occurrence or the non-occurrence of various words and expressions in some one verse or passage in the Old Testament, as compared with some other.

The title for God, “Lord of hosts,” “Lord God of hosts,” “God of hosts,” never, as is well known, occurs in the Pentateuch, nor in the Books of Joshua, Judges, or Ruth. The first occasion on which it is used in the Bible is in 1 Sam. i. 3, in the passage, “And this man went up out of his city yearly to worship and to sacrifice unto the Lord of hosts in Shiloh.” The pre-Samuelitic period of the history of Israel is thus differentiated from the post-Samuelitic period by this circumstance, that in connection with the former period this title

"Lord of hosts" is never used, whilst in connection with the latter period it is used—and with growing frequency—at all stages of the history, even down to the end of the book of the prophet Malachi.

In this condition of things there is, of course, nothing anomalous on the "traditional" view of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua. The fact of this title for God not occurring in the Pentateuch or Joshua would merely mean that at the time these books were virtually composed—that is to say, in the pre-Samuelitic age—this expression "Lord of hosts" was not in vogue as a title for God, and consequently was not employed by the writers. But, on the other hand, from the point of view of the Higher Criticism, which attributes the composition and perpetual manipulation of the "Hexateuch" to writers all of whom lived, *ex hypothesi*, in the post-Samuelitic age, through various periods of the history down to, and even beyond, the latest period over which the Old Testament Scriptures extend, the non-occurrence of this title for God in the supposed work of such writers seems to constitute a curious anomaly. That fragments of work done by so many different hands at so many different points of time, at each of which the title for God, "Lord of hosts," was in vogue, should, when pieced together in the "Hexateuch," exhibit this peculiarity of being without this title for God is certainly a curious result. But when, over against such result, the fact is taken into account that persistent Israelitish and Jewish tradition seems to have regarded the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua as the work of the period antecedent to the first recorded use of the title "Lord of hosts," that, namely, in the first Book of Samuel, then this state of things seems to arise, that the tradition indicates a condition of things that would be natural, the theories of the Higher Criticism indicate a condition of things which would be unnatural, and that in a very high degree.

Amongst the hypothetical writers, whose hands the critics claim that they are able to detect in the composition or manipulation of the "Hexateuch," the two which at the present moment are held to be the earliest in date are known as the "Jehovist" and the "Elohist." They wrote, according to Dr. Driver, in the "early centuries of the monarchy." The remaining writers of the critics' imagination have been distributed through the later centuries, the writer of the "Priestly Code," so called, being placed in the "age subsequent to Ezekiel," and certain of the various manipulators of that code later still. Now, as all these different writers are conceived as having lived in the post-Samuelitic period of Israelitish history, during the whole of which this title for

God, "Lord of hosts," was in vogue, the question seems naturally to arise, How was it that they each and all resisted, as to this particular title for God, the influences of their environment, and never even once employed the expression "Lord of hosts" in all their handling of the "Hexateuch"?

How strong and persistent that environment was can be readily seen from the following table, which shows the number of times which the expressions "Lord of hosts," "Lord God of hosts," "God of hosts," are used in the books of the Old Testament. It also indicates the position of those authors of the "Hexateuch" according to the theories of certain representative critics. The critical theories, it need hardly be said, cut up the books of many of the prophets, and also the Book of Psalms, into fragments, and scatter the *dissecta membra* over various periods. Thus, Dr. Cheyne, in the case of the Book of Isaiah, has almost exhausted the resources of colour in his efforts to depict the theories; whilst of the Psalms he will only allow that one at most may possibly date from before the Exile ("Origin of the Psalter," p. 258). But, for the purpose of the present argument, these views of the critics make no particular difference; they merely distribute the fragments of these books over the later periods of the history, in which, equally with the earlier ones, these assumed writers of the "Hexateuch" will be seen to be embedded.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF TIMES THAT "LORD OF HOSTS," "LORD GOD OF HOSTS," OR "GOD OF HOSTS," OCCURS IN THE BIBLE.

These titles do not occur in the Pentateuch, Judges, or Ruth. The position of the assumed writers of the "Hexateuch" according to Kuenen and Driver are also shown.

| | | |
|----------------------|----|---|
| 1 Samuel | 5 | times. |
| 2 Samuel | 6 | " |
| 1 Kings | 2 | " |
| 2 Kings | 2 | " |
| 1 Chronicles | 3 | " |
| Psalms | 14 | " |
| <i>Jehovist</i> | 0 | " Early centuries of the monarchy. |
| <i>Elohist</i> | 0 | " Same period (Driver, <i>Int.</i> , p. 125). |
| | | B.C. |
| <i>Jehovist</i> | 0 | " 850-800 (Kuenen, <i>Hex.</i> , p. 248). |
| Amos | 9 | " 760-746. |
| <i>Elohist</i> | 0 | " c. 750 (Kuenen, <i>Hex.</i> , p. 248). |
| Hosea | 1 | " 746-734. |
| Isaiah | 62 | " 740-700. |
| Micah | 1 | " 727-697. |
| <i>Deuteronomist</i> | 0 | " Not later than reign of Manasseh (Driver, <i>Int.</i> , p. 87). |
| <i>Deuteronomist</i> | 0 | " 640-621, reign of Josiah (Ku., <i>Hex.</i> , p. 220). |
| Jeremiah | 81 | " 626-582. |
| Zephaniah | 2 | " 626. |

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| <i>J. E. united</i> | 0 times, | ^{B.C.} 621-588 (Kuenen, Hex., p. 249). |
| Nabum | 2 " | 610-607. |
| Habbakuk | 1 " | 608-597. |
| Ezekiel | 0 " | 593-570. |
| <i>Priests' code</i> | 0 " | Age subsequent to Ezekiel (Driver, Int., p. 142). |
| Haggai | 14 " | 520. |
| Zechariah | 52 " | 520-518. |
| <i>P²</i> | 0 " | 500-475 (Kuenen, Hex., p. 306). |
| <i>P² + P¹</i> | 0 " | 475-458, or 458-444 (Kuenen, Hex., p. 303). |
| Malachi | 24 | 450. |
| | <hr/> | |
| | 281 " | all in the post-Samuelitic age. ¹ |
| | <hr/> | |
| <i>P² + P¹</i> | promulgated 444 (Kuenen, Hex., p. 272). | |
| <i>Hexateuch united</i> | 444-400 (Kuenen, Hex., p. 314). | |
| <i>Rp</i> | from 400 into 3rd century B.C. (Ku., Hex., pp. 308, 317). | |

The titles do not occur either in Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ezekiel, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, 2 Chronicles, Ezra, or Nehemiah.

Here it can be seen at a glance that, at no matter what particular point of time any one of these supposed writers may have been assumed by the theories of the Higher Critics to have lived, each one of them would have been in contact with writers who frequently—in the case of some it may be said constantly—used this title for God, "the Lord of hosts." And yet none of these supposed writers of the "Hexateuch" employed it. How did it happen that, in respect to this particular point, they one and all, with a curious unanimity, resisted the influence of their own contemporaries, and ignored the religious phraseology so much in vogue in their own day? The Deuteronomist has been usually represented by the critics as having been very intimately connected in sentiment and in the point of view from which he regarded the people of Israel with the prophet Jeremiah. So much has this been the case that it was the opinion of Colenso ("Pentateuch," p. 267) that Jeremiah was actually the author of the Book of Deuteronomy. Dr. Driver, too, although he says that this view of Colenso is "certainly incorrect," nevertheless considers that

"Jeremiah exhibits marks of it"—the influence of Dt.—"on nearly every page; Ezekiel and II. Isaiah are also evidently influenced by it. If Dt. were composed in the period between Isaiah and Jeremiah, these facts would be exactly accounted for. . . . The *prophetic teaching* of Dt., the dominant theological ideas . . . approximate to what is found in Jeremiah and Ezekiel" (Introduction, p. 88). (The italics are Dr. Driver's.)

Yet, although the "Deuteronomist" is thus supposed by Dr. Driver to have written subsequent to Isaiah, in whose

¹ In which the assumed writers of the "Hexateuch" are supposed to have lived; yet the titles never occur in the "Hexateuch."

book this title, "Lord of hosts" or "Lord God of hosts," occurs sixty-two times, and to approximate in dominant theological ideas to Jeremiah, who uses this title eighty-one times, the title never even once occurs in the supposed composition of Dt. and his redactors, the Book of Deuteronomy.

"JE" united, somewhat later than the "Deuteronomist" (Kuenen, "Hexateuch," p. 249), exhibits the same abstinence from this expression, "Lord of hosts," although the union of the two documents, "J" and "E," is supposed also to have been manipulated within the lifetime of Jeremiah. The same curious phenomenon is exhibited in the work of the assumed writers of the "Priestly Code," which according to Dr. Driver was probably

"the work of the age subsequent to Ezekiel" (Introduction, p. 142).

With this Wellhausen ("Prolegomena," p. 405) and Kuenen agree, the latter placing (conjecturally, he says) the composition of those portions of the "Priestly Code" which he distinguishes as "P²" between the years 500 and 475 B.C. ("Hexateuch," p. 306). This time would commence only about twenty years after the prophet Haggai, who in the two chapters which contain his prophecies uses the title for Jehovah "Lord of hosts" fourteen times, and the prophet Zechariah, in whose book the expression occurs fifty-two times. The promulgation of the "Priestly Code" by Ezra is placed by Wellhausen and Kuenen in the year 444 B.C.—that is to say, in the days of Malachi. In the short book of the prophet Malachi the expression "Lord of hosts" occurs twenty-four times; in the so-called "Priestly Code," needless to say, it never occurs at all. Thus none of these assumed writers of the "Hexateuch" use this title for Jehovah, "Lord of hosts"—so much in vogue in the days in which they are supposed to have written—even once.

Amongst the older critics, Ewald long ago noticed this amongst other peculiarities which, according to his view, distinguished what he called the Great Book of the Primitive History from what he designated the Great Book of Kings. In the first volume of his "History of Israel," at the opening of his chapter on "The Great Book of the Kings" (Books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel and Kings), he wrote, p. 133:

"The first phenomenon that strikes the observer here is the marked difference in the language of this great Book of Kings in comparison of the preceding great book of the primitive history. Although both are equally made up of passages by the most diverse writers, yet on the whole each is distinguished by a peculiar cast of language. Many fresh words and expressions become favourites here, and supplant their equivalents in the primitive history; others that are thoroughly in vogue here are

designedly avoided in the primitive history, and evidently from a historical consciousness that they were not in use in the earliest times."¹ (The italics are mine.)

In "History of Israel," vol. iii., p. 62, Ewald wrote:

"In the course of the preceding centuries, when Israel had to fight to the death for its existence as Jahveh's people, the times had become more and more warlike, and Israel's entanglements with other nations more and more complex; and among the significant peculiarities of this age is the rapid popularity gained by the new appellation of the true God, 'Jahveh of armies' [A.V., 'the Lord of hosts'], in which the whole warlike spirit of the times, seizing on the higher religion itself, finds its most concise expression."

And in note:

"There is no intimation of the origin of this name in the Old Testament, but we may clearly see from Ps. xxiv. 10 that in David's time it was still full of living power, for it appears there as the most impressive and lofty title of Jahveh. . . . The most probable supposition, then, seems to be that the name arose on some occasion when the armies of Israel turned the enemy to flight in a great battle, as though they had been mightily strengthened by the armies of Jahveh coming down from heaven," etc.

It will be seen, then, that the best explanation which Ewald found himself able to give for the curious circumstance that this expression, "The Lord of hosts," and certain other words frequent in the later books of the Old Testament, do not appear in the Pentateuch, supposed by him, with the exception of some small ancient fragments incorporated, to have been composed and manipulated by writers of the later age, was that such words were by them

"designedly avoided in the primitive history, and evidently from a historical consciousness that they were not in use in the earliest times."

Now, as regards the expression "Lord of hosts" (not to enter into the case of other words not directly relevant), this surely seems an utterly insufficient explanation. The assumed "historical consciousness" of these supposed writers constitutes a rather vague—not to say light and airy—method of getting rid of what, however little Ewald may have realized the fact, would imply a most remarkable anomaly, and of accounting for the extraordinary consistency with which these writers, assumed to belong to so many different periods, would appear as having avoided this expression "Lord of hosts," which was so much in vogue in their own days—perhaps

¹ "This is especially shown by the name Jahveh T'sebaoth (1 Sam. i. 3, 11, iv. 4, xv. 2, xvii. 45; 2 Sam. v. 10, vi. 2, 18, vii. 7, 26 *et seq.*; 1 Kings xviii. 15, xix. 10, 14; 2 Kings iii. 14). On the other hand, the Books of Chronicles are again sparing in its use, and only use it in the life of David; it is entirely unknown to the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges."

the most majestic title of the God of Israel. It would not, of course, be unnatural that *some* writers under such circumstances might happen not to use this particular designation for God, and in point of fact it does not occur in certain writings even of the prophets—notably the Book of Ezekiel. But the circumstance which seems so curiously significant, and which appears to demand some really adequate explanation, is that such a large and scattered number of miscellaneous writers in the later age as are supposed by the critics to have taken part in the manipulation of the "Hexateuch" should one and all have resisted in this point the influence of the religious phraseology of their own day, and never once—even, as it were, by accident—have employed this title to designate the God of Israel. This is all the more remarkable when we bear in mind the fact that the Divine title "Lord" occurs in the last four books of the Pentateuch and Joshua more than 1,800 times. "Lord" 1,800 times, "Lord of hosts" not once! It is hard to see any adequate reason which would make such writers refrain of deliberate purpose from the use of this expression. They would not have been precluded from its use, so far as we are aware, by any recorded date of the origin of the name. Nor could any title surely appear more appropriate to have been applied to the God of Israel in recounting the history of those days of old, in which He led the hosts of His chosen people out of Egypt and through the wilderness into victorious possession of the promised land.

To the critics of the present day, however, many of the ideas and theories of Ewald are rather

"of those former things
Which all have passed away,"

and his explanation that the expression "Lord of hosts" was "designedly avoided" by these supposed writers of the Pentateuch and Joshua, through a "historical consciousness" that it, and other words besides, were not in use in the earliest times, would perhaps hardly commend itself to their approval. For the recent critics are not very ready to admit that in the Pentateuch there is any particular affinity with the earliest times. Thus, Dr. Driver writes, "Introduction," p. 124 :

"There is, at least, no *archaic* flavour perceptible in the style of JE." (The italics are Dr. Driver's.)

And on p. 125 he writes :

"On some of the supposed 'archaisms' of the Pentateuch, see Delitzsch, 'Genesis' (1887), p. 27 f. . . . Were the occurrence of these and a few other exceptional forms . . . really due to antiquity, they must have been both more constant and also accompanied by *other marks of an*

ancient style. This, however, is not the case; the general literary style of the Pentateuch contains nothing more suggestive of antiquity than books written confessedly under the monarchy, and the affinities of P are with writings belonging quite to the close of this period," etc. (The italics are again Dr. Driver's.)

This would hardly fall in with the "historical consciousness" explanation of Ewald.

It may be asked, What *does* Dr. Driver say of the non-occurrence of this expression in the Pentateuch?

In his "Introduction to the Old Testament" (6th edition, 1897), p. 184, Dr. Driver has a brief note at the end of the Books of Samuel on the expression "Jehovah of hosts." After giving the references to the passages in the Books of Samuel and Kings in which the expression occurs, he merely adds the words:

"All in Gen.-Kings; often in the prophets, except Joel, Obadiah, Jonah and Ezekiel."

"All in Gen.-Kings." From these words, taken in conjunction with the references to the passages in Samuel and Kings, Dr. Driver's readers are left to infer, should it occur to them to do so, that the title "Jehovah of hosts" is not met with in the Pentateuch; but no direct statement to that effect is made, nor is the attention of the reader in any way invited to the fact. The curious character of such a circumstance is quite unnoticed and ignored.

There has been published recently a commentary on "The Books of Joel and Amos," by Dr. Driver, and in this he has a note on the expression "the God of hosts" where it occurs in Amos iii. 13, and also a more elaborate "additional note" towards the end of the book, p. 231 *et seq.*, under the heading "Jehovah of hosts." In the latter note Dr. Driver refers with approval to the surmise of Ewald that the expression may have originated on the occasion of some great victory of the Israelites; but inasmuch as in these notes, the latter of which goes into much detail, Dr. Driver again, curiously enough, omits to make any direct mention of the non-occurrence of the expression in the Pentateuch, the notes contain no opinion of his as to Ewald's attempted explanation of that very remarkable fact, nor any theory of his own upon the subject. The importance of the point is once more unrecognised or ignored.

This non-occurrence, however, of the title "Lord of hosts" in the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua would seem to be deeply significant: it differentiates the pre-Samuelitic from the post-Samuelitic age. In reference to the former the expression never occurs; in reference to the latter its usage covers the whole period. On the "traditional" view that

the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua were virtually composed in the age to which Moses and Joshua belonged, there is nothing unnatural in the non-occurrence in these books of a title for God which did not apparently come into use until the age of Samuel. But if, on the contrary, as the Higher Critics insist, the various fragments which they claim to detect in the "Hexateuch" were written, interpolated, and worked over by a number of different writers, all of whom lived centuries later than Moses, and many of them than even Samuel, and in times in which the Divine title "Lord of hosts" was much in vogue, then the non-occurrence of this expression in the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua would seem to constitute a curious anomaly—one of the many anomalies which appear to significantly indicate the artificial character of the critical theories.

ANDREW C. ROBINSON.



ART IV.—THE ROYAL ACADEMY EXHIBITION OF 1900.

CONTEMPORARY British painters seem to have in common several characteristics: independence, originality, sincerity, and a love of rich colour. The latter tendency may be due to the general greyness of the British climate, especially of London, where the majority of English pictures are produced. The melancholy skies and the few glimpses of bright days produce a reaction in favour of vigorous and brilliant tones. In warmer lands, where sunshine is predominant, art often has the opposite bias, as is seen in the textile fabrics of India and Persia. Sincerity is a quality strongly present in the British mind, partly through the moral and religious influence of the Reformation, which is still the prevailing ethical atmosphere of the country, even with those who do not accept the doctrines of Christianity; and it is reflected in the fidelity and directness of much of the work of British painters. Originality proclaims itself in the fact that it is difficult to speak of a British or even an English school. The differences between Leighton, Millais, Watts, Poynter, Orchardson, Leslie, Burne-Jones, Sargent, Herkomer, Oules, Alma - Tadema, Dicksee, Richmond, Rivière; between MacWhirter, Peter Graham, Leader, Davis, and the rest, are too varied to make it possible to classify them together. The note of independence is, again, a British characteristic. Although past and present masters are much studied, and now and again there is a fashion for Velasquez or Reynolds or

Lawrence, for Corot or for Claude, the sturdy individuality of the race reappears, and most of our present painters have marked characteristics of their own. If these tendencies do not work towards the creation of a great school with powerful traditions, they at any rate add to the interest of the annual harvest of pictures.

It is common among superficial and unthinking persons to sneer at the Exhibition of the Royal Academy, and to pronounce judicially that it is very bad, and not worth even a single visit. The meaning of this is that the Exhibition, while it always has much that is very beautiful, sometimes happens not to contain any very great work, about which everybody is bound to talk; while, on the other hand, if the non-official painters, who at the present time are a very large body indeed, expect upwards of a thousand oil-pictures to be hung every year, there will obviously be a good deal that is uninteresting, and much that is poor. To expect several hundreds of painters of real genius to be at work every year, is to demand what has never been the case even amongst the most cultured and inspired races. And it may be safely said that the greater the artist the more conscious he is of his own failures and shortcomings. The scornful generalization is both stupid and ungrateful; without looking at inferior productions, there is always enough by the greater minds and more skilful hands to charm and instruct; and it is interesting every year to see what thoughts have been passing through the brains of old favourites, what signs of coming genius are shown by those who are younger, less known, or new to the arena altogether. If every critical grumbler could by any possibility be allowed to carry off fifty pictures from any exhibition free, the claimants for his choice would be so many that he would have difficulty in exercising it.

From national limitations, British painters are seldom drawn to the ideal, the poetical and the imaginative, except in landscape. In the present generation we have a Watts, but generally the nearest approach to this class of production is the painting of subject pictures, or illustrations of familiar topics. There is no demand for ideal work on the part of the practical and matter-of-fact British public; and the laws of demand and supply must necessarily enter into the world of art as in other spheres of human activity. Occasionally an artist is led to try to raise his art to the imaginative level, but too often he flounders in the attempt. The Exhibition is generally strongest in portraits, landscapes and subjects.

The failure of demand has almost extinguished another important branch of British art, and that is the religious. I should, of course, be inclined to insist that all art which

penetrates reverently into the inner meaning of things, especially landscape, and the illustration of the joys and sorrows of humanity, is essentially religious, because it exhibits some of the manifold manifestations of the Awful Being in Whom everything lives, and moves, and has its existence. But by religious art is conventionally meant the treatment of scenes from the Old and New Testament, and of the history and doctrines of Christianity; and of that, from various circumstances, we now get little or nothing, except the profoundly impressive and unique work of Mr. Holman Hunt, and the beautiful decorative schemes of Mr. Frederick Shields. The chief reason is that in Great Britain we have ceased to decorate our churches with pictures of any kind, except the churches of the ritualistic movement, which do not aim at anything more than conventional Crucifixions, Madonnas, Pietas, Stations of the Cross, Entombments, and Saints. Religious art in England has in the main sunk to the crudities of painted windows, and the tedious and lifeless absurdity of perpetual recumbent effigies. Yet all the aspirations, the religious and moral associations, the hopes and fears, the joys and sorrows, of the British race, are inextricably interwoven with the histories of the Bible; and it would have been natural to believe that the sincere and reverent treatment of such scenes and narratives would be always in strong demand. Never was Christianity more powerful or fruitful in its hold on the British race than at the present day. But the custom of illustrative pictures in churches has not taken root in Britain. Sir Joshua Reynolds, indeed, and his contemporaries, made a patriotic offer to paint large Scriptural canvases to be hung on the vast bare piers of St. Paul's Cathedral; but the ecclesiastical authorities did not understand the proposal. It fell to the ground, and with it was closed a glorious opening for British art.

Of portraits in the Exhibition of 1900, the most notable is Mr. Sargent's "Three Beautiful Sisters"—Lady Elcho, Mrs. Adeane, and Mrs. Tennant. They are the daughters of Percy Wyndham, second son of the first Lord Leconfield, the owner of the princely collection of pictures at Petworth. Their mother was the beautiful Miss Campbell, painted many years ago by Watts in one of his most charming efforts, the descendant of Pamela Fitzgerald. It is a drawing-room group: all three are dressed alike in plain white satin, in the masterly treatment of which Mr. Sargent shows his consummate power. An absence of detail concentrates attention on the three delicate aristocratic heads. The grouping is marvellously natural. A cool shady atmosphere pervades the room, which is tinted in quiet green, while behind is faintly seen the

famous Watts. A pathetic interest attaches to Mr. Sargent's two pictures of Lord Russell of Killowen, in the robes of Lord Chief Justice, a powerful head recalling the late Archbishop Trench. Mr. Sargent also sends Sir David Richmond, ex-Lord Provost of Glasgow; a touching picture of the boy Lord Dalhousie, who lost father and mother when very young; and an exquisite diploma picture, the interior of a noble saloon in Venice, full of rich old furniture, carvings and hangings, and with the same subdued tint as the background of the Wyndham ladies. The President, Sir E. J. Poynter, sends one striking portrait, marked by his usual wonderful attention to detail: Mrs. Murray Guthrie, a young lady in a dinner-dress of white satin and white lace, seated in an Empire chair, in the easy attitude of conversation. Mr. Orchardson's great picture of four generations of the Royal Family at Windsor has the tones of his delicate colouring and subtle grace. The beloved Queen, worn with age and sorrow, is on the left, welcoming her little grandson, Prince Edward of York, who, in the glowing health of childhood, is bringing her a bouquet of roses. The Duke of York, an admirable likeness, directs him forward; and the Prince of Wales looks on, an interested and kindly spectator. Mr. Oules's principal pictures give the strong personality of Mr. Andrew Carnegie, the American millionaire and philanthropist; the Prince of Wales in uniform as Commodore of the Royal Yacht Squadron; and a genial likeness of Mr. Cripps, the well-known lawyer and Member of Parliament. Professor von Herkomer has sent six canvases and two superb enamels. Of the canvases the strongest is his portrait of the Duke of Connaught, rich in character and colour; Sir John Wolfe Barry, the eminent engineer; and Sir G. Armstrong. A lifelike presentment of Mr. Michael Biddulph he has sent to the New Gallery. There are two fine examples of French portraiture in two richly-clad and graceful ladies by Benjamin Constant—the Princess Demidoff and Lady Colebrooke. Mr. Shannon is represented by a vigorous treatment of Lord Manners, and the quiet aristocratic figure, draped in pale silks and laces, of the Hon. Mrs. Portman. Mr. Fildes has two charming ladies—Mrs. Kleinwort, a pleasant, careful picture with a red background, and Mrs. Elmer Speed, in black with tapestry behind. Mr. Wells's representation of Miss Evelyn Oules, the tones of which are various shades of blue, gray and black, is very successful. It is pleasant to see excellent portraits by inheritors of well-known names in art: Sir Squire Bancroft (perhaps the most striking likeness in the Exhibition), by Hugh Rivière; Rudyard Kipling, by Sir P. Burne-Jones; Lord Stradbroke, a very pleasant and healthy-looking young

Englishman, by Arthur S. Cope; and Thomas Wall Buckley, a venerable and even magnificent head, by Walter C. Horsley. Mr. Solomon has fine portraits of Mr. Cohen, M.P., and Mrs. Jules de Méray. Among many others worthy of attention may be mentioned a good head of the witty and scholarly Professor Mahaffy, of Trinity College, Dublin, by Walter Osborne, and a presentation of the Lady Mayoress (Lady Newton), by Miss Henrietta Rae—features familiar and popular in the City of London from the indefatigable zeal with which Lady Newton has associated herself with the patriotic movements of the present year, especially the creation of the City Imperial Volunteers.

To turn to the landscapes: in these the present Exhibition is particularly strong. Mr. MacWhirter is fresher and more vigorous than ever. Two of his compositions are poems in themselves, bright, clear, and harmonious in colour, and rich in suggestion. "Over the Sea from Skye" is the beautiful Sound of Sleat under a sunny sky, with a Highland burn dashing down to it over rocks, from a foreground of heather, moss, fern, birch and other trees. "The Silence that is in the Solemn Woods" takes us to the lofty banks of the river Findhorn in Morayshire, where are ancient woods of dark Scotch fir, deep in shade and blue in colour. Beyond, the river winds away to the Moray Firth. All breathes of refreshment, quietude and peace. "A Nameless Dell" and "Golden Leaves" are scenes from Mr. MacWhirter's favourite haunt, the braes of Glen Affaric, rising away from Strath-glas, a region in Inverness-shire which is surpassed by none in Scotland. Mr. H. W. B. Davis is also stronger than ever. Never has he produced anything more beautiful than "After Sunset," with its effect of glow on the water in the foreground, gleaming from twilight banks and meadows. "In the Gloaming" is a somewhat similar picture, on a much smaller scale—a real gem. "East of the Sun, and West of the Moon" is another transcript of a subtle phase of nature, full of a pathetic beauty. "Twilight Grey" and "Moonrise" show Mr. Davis in the same tender and poetical mood. Mr. Peter Graham sends two examples, each of a favourite and popular scheme. "To Valley Pastures" reminds us of his long-trying skill in effects of sun and mist on a Highland hill; "Ocean's Surge, White as a Seabird's Wing," is full of dashing sea-water and foam on precipitous rocks, gemmed with yellow sea-weed and dark shells, the home of wild sea-birds. Nothing of their kind could be more perfect. Mr. Colin Hunter, who has suffered much in the past year from influenza, contributes two perfect specimens of his special sympathy for scenes of splendour on water, which cannot but

add to his high reputation and popularity. "Anchored to the Nets" reminds us that a better interpreter of the enchanted region of West Highland coasts does not exist. A fishing-boat in the foreground gives the human interest; the hills of Raasay and the peaked heads of the Red Cuchullins in Skye, all in sober blue and purple distance, brings the thought straight to that land of mysterious beauty, of dreams and romance. "London from the Tower Bridge" shows that he is equally at home in the magnificent combinations of colour and suggestion which belong to the greatest port in the world. In the foreground are the picturesque barges so well known in the Thames; London Bridge spans the middle distance; on the right are the Tower, with its many bastions, the noble front of the Fishmarket, the Monument, and the many towers and spires of the city; on the left are the pinnacles of St. Saviour's, Southwark, one of the chief remains of ecclesiastical London of the Middle Ages; the whole is dominated by the glorious dome of St. Paul's. The tones are rich browns and blues, and the sky is that of a London sunset, full of varied colour. The veteran favourite, Mr. J. C. Hook, shows almost a greater variety than usual, and no failure of interest and attraction. "A New Coat for an Old Friend" is the painting of a sea-boat; "Once Bit, Twice Shy" and "A Goatherd" are fresh and characteristic; "A Surrey Trout-stream" is a less familiar phase, no less happy. Mr. Briton Rivière, in his picture called "The Heron," gives a landscape of a vast white summer cloud, towering majestically over low-lying water-meadows and hunting figures. The aged Mr. Sidney Cooper, who is said to have reached his ninety-sixth year, sends four pictures of marvellous technique for such a period of life, ably composed and minutely painted: "Spring," which has sheep and lambs on a sloping meadow with trees; "Summer," cattle gathering by a stream and under shade; "Autumn," cattle again, near richly-tinted autumn trees and quaint cottages; "Winter," a drove in a snow-drift in the Cumberland Fells; "his eye is not dim nor his strength abated." Mr. Leader's four charming contributions show much variety this year: "Hill, Vale and Stream" is a river curving away from the base of a hill covered with birches under pale sunlight; "When Sun is Set" is a twilight riverscene; "At the Close of the Day, when the Hamlet is still" has a sense of the poetry of home quiet in the country; and in "A Trout-stream" we are brought nearer to the facts of Nature. Alfred Parsons has some delicious pictures, such combinations of silver-surfaced pools and green meadows as are one of the chief attractions of English scenery; "The Green Punt," "Rain in Spring," a very daring scheme of

violent colour, perfectly true to nature in certain aspects of sun and shower in May; and "In Longleat Woods." In company with Alfred Parsons it is natural to remember Yeend King and Ernest Parton. "The Avon by Bredon Hill," by the former, is a lovely composition of a sunlit, wooded hill, with shining water, and that emerald-green foreground which English landscape in early summer often shows; he also sends a fascinating farm scene, "The Fold-yard," a real bit of Southern England, two or three centuries old. The latter, Ernest Parton, is conspicuous by his beautiful "Pool on the Medway," a dreamy harmony of water, reeds, lilies, flowery banks, deep meadows, trees and downs, and "Solitude," a quieter evening phase of wood and water in autumn. Alfred East touches the poetry of misty grey and blue in his very thoughtful compositions of "Early Morning in the Nene Valley" and "A Morning Moon"; a gorgeous tone is adopted in "Lake Bourget from Mount Revard," which is a large upright transcript of golden trees and blue lake far below. "A Summer Cloud," by Sir William Richmond, may be compared with Mr. Briton Rivière's treatment of the same phase of sky. David Murray lays us under new obligation by several additions to his delightful series: "A Fair Land is England," a spring scene in blue, white and gold; "Brig o' Balgownie," an old Aberdeen bridge, with broad expanse of stream and high brown banks, a difficult subject to arrange; "The Colne," a river scene in the same key as those of Alfred Parsons and Ernest Parton, with swans, punt and willows; and an acknowledgment of the spell of the rich deep meadows and tall elms of the country round the royal castle—"In View of Windsor." Ernest Waterlow's three landscapes are strong, and take us out of the beaten track: "The Land of Olives" to Italy, "Forest Pastures" to a slope with rocks and aged trees, "Pastorale Provençale" to Southern France. Joseph Farquharson should be mentioned with the Scotch landscape painters; his speciality is snow, and he is always impressive and interesting. Whether in that or in other lines, his sympathy with Nature and his understanding of her is very marked. "When the Mist with Evening glows" is a rare and delightful effect; "And all the Air a Solemn Silence holds" has a foreground of snow-covered woodland, in misty shadow, with an after-glow of red sunlight on a distant hill. Akin to Farquharson's work is that of Harry W. Adams, in "Winter's Sleep," a winter river with snow on the banks, and gleams of warm sun on the reddish-brown stems of a row of willows. Akin to Alfred Parsons is John W. North, in "Summer in the English West," a courageous and wholly successful creation of the interior of an English wood, with sunlight pouring

through beech-leaves, the whole scheme of colour in various shades of vivid green. Akin to Yeend King's "Avon by Bredon Hill" is J. Clayton Adams's "A Grey Day," a fascinating realization of haymaking when a silvery haze is in the sunlight. With North's work may be compared a welcome memory of bluebells in a green wood by R. Vicat Cole, another inheritor of an honoured name, a phase of Nature that perhaps brings joy to the heart more vividly than any other: "The sky up-breaking from the earth beneath." "A Quiet Nook, Derwentwater," by Duncan Cameron, is a sunny effect on trees and water in small scale. "Autumn on the Wye," by C. E. Johnson, is an important and careful composition, giving an ideal of one of the fairest scenes in the British Islands, the dreamy distance thrown back by a vigorous Scotch fir on a broken cliff in the foreground. "The Way to the Village" (George Ransom) and "An Old Sandpit" (A. E. Bailey) should both be mentioned.

In rougher style, and more suggestive of Constable and the French, is "The Water-plash" of H. H. La Thangue: some strongly-painted geese hurrying down a gravelled path towards water in chequered sunlight; "September on the Arun" and "Wild Sussex," by José Weiss, giving new aspects of that varied and ever-charming county; and "Hill and Vale" and "The Bathers," by Mark Fisher, the latter a landscape with figures of bathing boys, unconscious in their happiness.

There are many breezy sea pictures. One remembers best "Breakers Ahead! Ware Manacles!" by C. Napier Hemy, a large smack mounting a towering surge; "Where the Sea-egg flames on the Coral," by J. Fraser; and "The Ebb," by Herbert J. Draper, a still, translucent sea among high brown rocks. Mr. Summerscales has some bright, breezy views in mid-sea. Brett sends several vivid records of coast impressions.

Amongst animal studies, Miss Lucy Kemp-Welch's "Horses bathing in the Sea" is by far the most striking. Some ten strong teamsters, attended by five or six carters, are in the trough of the waves on an early summer morning, in brilliant sunshine, in various attitudes of surprise, enjoyment, spirits and timidity. It is a large canvas, and its fine bold grouping recalls the firm hand of Rosa Bonheur. The shadow effects in the sunny water, of rather startling hues, are eminently true to nature, and it is a picture that will be held in life-long remembrance.

To turn in the last place to studies of subjects. The most remarkable is that called "The Two Crowns," by Frank Dicksee. It is a large and full picture, on a very impressive theme, and abounding in well-judged and harmonious colour,

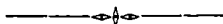
as brilliant a piece of painting as the Exhibition contains, a really great work. A young king in golden armour is returning triumphant from a war. He is surrounded by his rejoicing subjects, arrayed in all the many colours of the Middle Ages, especially a band of beautiful girls, who crowd on each side of his charger, scattering rose-leaves. The prevailing tint of the picture is rose, but it blends with every other hue. The youth's face is of splendid manly beauty, the type of all that is best in vigorous natural life. As he rides slowly forward, his eye is caught by a large bronze wayside crucifix, on a level with himself. The painter has chosen this instant to suggest the swift passage of thought through the mind of the conqueror, of the contrast between his own earthly crown and the crown of self-denial and self-sacrifice raised as the true ideal by Christ. The suggestion carries the impression that the warrior is great enough to bow to the ideal, and devote the rest of his life to the welfare of his subjects.

"The Trial of Queen Katherine" and "The Penance of the Duchess of Gloucester" are exceedingly fine pictorial illustrations of noted events, full of strength, character and colour. If in the first Queen Katherine could have been nearer and more central, the grouping would have been more impressive; but every head is powerfully drawn, and the picture breathes of silence and suspense. Sir Alma-Tadema's "Goldfish" is almost a miniature specimen of his exquisite art, a perfect gem; the details and colouring of the small space of distance could hardly be exceeded. "St. George," by Mr. Briton Rivière, is large and resplendent with rich tones; probably a dragon would look like the shining scaly monster depicted. "The Ploughboy," by H. H. La Thangue, is a sympathetic realization of rustic simplicity; such a boy, whittling a stick, and leading willing horses home, might be seen in any lane in Sussex, with a long and happy life before him, not devoid of humble joys, if limited and meagre in scope. "After the Heat of the Day, near Cairo" is one of Mr. Goodall's most successful presentations of Egyptian life: a calm sky, the domes and minarets of Cairo, men and women taking water from a cool and lucent side-stream of the mysterious river. "In Time of War," by Mr. Leslie, is one of his charming garden scenes, this time with a mute look of sadness about it, as a girl in the centre sits bowed in hopeless woe over the fatal news she has received from the front. "Orpheus returning from the Shades," by Sir William Richmond, is a Greek youth, in floating flame-coloured robes, making lofty brown rocks re-echo to wild jubilant song and chords; somehow it hardly carries conviction. "A Willing Slave" has C. E. Perugini's usual charm of grace, and "Rings and Things of fine Array"

has the fine taste, originality and humour of which J. Young Hunter (the son of the Scottish landscape painter) has already given several conspicuous examples.

Enough has been said to show that the Exhibition of 1900 has much that is charming and admirable. As we move through the world of nature and of men, we are constantly touched and inspired by things that are true, venerable, just, pure, lovely and of good report. We cannot record them ourselves, but we like to have them preserved and interpreted by those who have devoted their lives to the art of presentation. God has surrounded us from our cradle to the grave with tokens of His love, power and wisdom, the beauty of His thought in nature, the power of His presence in man. The poet can talk to us about these things, but the painter can bring them actually before our eyes. The grandeur of the depths of the woods, the hopefulness of bluebells springing again from the earth, the glorious healthy tumult of the sea, the calm peace of summer waters, the associations of history, the infinite varieties of human character, the joys and sorrows of human homes, the hopes and fears of human life—these every year we find have touched our great painters too, and they help us to analyze our feelings and to understand our thoughts: why it is that tears start to the eyes at some scene of perfect beauty or some heroic action, why we are refreshed and invigorated by seeing the secret of what is great and true in the endless series of impressions to which we are daily subject. It is because we ourselves are akin to the Divine power which lies behind the phenomena, and can dimly sympathize with the greatness of its perfection; and when we realize that we have so sympathized, we are raised above the material into the region of the eternal and the ideal. If we are thus invigorated for the daily round of ordinary duty, and the commonplace occupations of life, we are grateful without stint to those who have, whether consciously or unconsciously, helped us to realize that *the invisible things of Him are seen by the things that are made, even His eternal Power and Godhead*, and to know that while the beautiful things that are seen are temporal, they speak of the things that are not seen, and which they represent, *which are eternal*.

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.



Short Notices.

Hymns, Sonnets, and other Poems for the Bicentenary. London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. 1900. Price 1s. net.

THE sixteen hymns with which this volume begins strike us as being of exceptional merit, and, independently of the interest which the book possesses as a souvenir of the bicentenary of the S.P.G., it deserves a large measure of popularity with lovers of poetry. The Archbishop of Armagh contributes to this volume, as he did to the similar volume published in 1851. The Bishop of Ripon's first hymn, "God's Word went forth in Days of Yore," is sonorous, dignified and devout; and in a different manner the Rev. I. Gregory Smith's hymn, "Safe on the Shore," with music by Sir G. C. Martin, is one of the best religious songs we have seen for some time. We note that the hymns and music can be had separately, as also can the words of the hymns without the music, but we think the Society would be well advised to issue the whole volume bound in boards at a higher price. The book is quite good.

Leaves from the Golden Legend. Chosen by H. D. MADGE, LL.M. Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co. 1898. Price 3s. 6d. net.

This is a quite delightful selection of stories from the "Golden Legend," the famous "Historia Longobardica," by Jacobus de Voragine. To write a dissertation on the "Golden Legend" itself would be a pleasant task, but here it must be dismissed, as Mr. Madge dismisses it, with a quotation from the preface to the "Morte d'Arthur":

"For to passe the tyme thys book shal be pleasaunt to rede in, but for to gyve fayth and byleve that al is trewe that is conteyned herin, ye be at your lyberte."

For this short notice it must suffice to say that Mr. Madge's selection is comprehensive, the illustrations by H. M. Watts are becoming both in spirit and execution, and the book, as a whole, is one which will give much pleasure to many people.

Sunbeams through the War-cloud. By F. J. HAMILTON, D.D. London: Elliot Stock. 1900.

This is a small volume of "Short poems on special incidents in South Africa." Although marred in passages by crudity of versification, there is a vigour in these poems that is genuinely inspiring. We like best "Canadian Bravery and a Brave Canadian," which by its merit, as well as by its similarity of metre, reminds us of the best of Macaulay's "Lays."

The Taking of the Flag, and Other Recitations. By MACKENZIE BELL. London: Thomas Burleigh. 1900.

The public which Mackenzie Bell has won for himself by his poems should be widened by this volume of poems for recitation. They have been selected from his published works by the Rev. J. J. Nesbitt, whose

"Westminster Reciter" is well known; and the book further contains at least two poems which have not previously appeared in volume form.

The Story of the Religious Tract Society. By Dr. SAMUEL GREEN. R.T.S. Pp. 212.

This is a well-illustrated history of a most important and useful factor in the Christian civilization of the last hundred years. The Society has had the privilege of doing a glorious work, and it is here modestly and ably recorded.

Real Pictures of Clerical Life in Ireland. By J. DUNCAN CRAIG, D.D. Elliot Stock. Pp. 354.

This is a reprint of a book long out of circulation. The seventy chapters give brilliant and interesting sketches of Irish life in various aspects. The author's standpoint is that ultramontanism is Ireland's greatest misfortune, and that the spread of the Gospel of Christ would be its greatest blessing.

Helps to Faith and Practice. By Canon SCOTT-HOLLAND. Elliot Stock. Pp. 210.

This is a collection of devotional readings from the writings of Canon Scott-Holland, selected and arranged by J. H. Burn, D.D. These extracts, as might be expected, are full of original thought and vivid expression. They form a very remarkable series.

The Church Past and Present. Edited by Professor GWATKYN. Nisbet and Co. Pp. 295. Price 7s. 6d.

The scope of this work is best given by the names and subjects of the various writers: Mr. Llewellyn Davies writes on "The Apostolic Age"; Professor Gwatkin on "The Second Century"; Dr. Bigg on "The School of Alexandria"; Mr. Schneider on "The Age of Councils"; Professor Gwatkin on "The Latin Church"; Professor Collins on "England before the Reformation"; the Bishop of London on "The Reformation"; Dr. Hunt on "The Rise of Dissent"; Professor Gwatkin on "The Origin of Church Government"; Canon Meyrick on "The History of the Lord's Supper"; Professor Gwatkin on "Protestantism"; Chancellor Lias on "Romanism since the Reformation"; and Bishop Barry on "English Christianity To-day." The great value of the book is that it is written from the candid historical standpoint without prejudice or bias, and that each of the writers is master of the subject with which he deals. The result is a powerful vindication of the position of the Church of England, and a correction of many extravagant theories. The work has long been expected, and it ought to fill the most important place in present controversies. The tone is one of liberal and tolerant orthodoxy.

The Christian Race and other Sermons. The late Bishop RYLE. Hodder and Stoughton. Pp. 350. Price 7s. 6d.

Bishop Ryle's Commentaries, Tracts, Doctrinal and Historical Essays, gave him enormous influence during his long life. This is the first and only volume of his sermons. They are edited by the Archdeacon (Madden) of Warrington, and are full of common-sense and personal experience.

Confirmation Lectures: Notes on the Church Catechism. By the Rev. A. E. BARNES-LAWRENCE. Nisbet and Co. Pp. 58. Price 1s. 6d.

This little work supplies a real want. Clear, faithful, comprehensive lectures for those who are preparing Confirmation candidates have been much needed. These are mainly in outline, to be filled up and illustrated by those who use them.

A Hundred Devotional Songs. By the Rev. THOMAS ROWSON. London: Elliot Stock. 1900.

An unpretentious and devout book, containing many admirably simple and direct hymns. The references to well-known tunes greatly increase the practical value of the work.

The Soul's Inquiries Answered. By G. WASHINGTON MOON. Longmans, Green and Co. Pp. 127. Various prices.

There are many books of motto texts from Holy Scripture for every day, but in our opinion this is among the very best. It has stood the test of many years. The present is a new and revised edition, demanded by the widening circle of readers who have found this little book a friendly and stimulating spiritual influence.

Chats with the Children on Temperance Topics. By Rev. JOHN ISOBELL and J. JOHNSON BAKER. C.E.T.S. Pp. 110. Price 1s.

The temperance primers published nowadays are frequently too scientific for small children. This book will be found useful by teachers of junior Bands of Hope. It is very attractive reading for the youngest in such classes.

Bible Questions. By JAMES M. CAMPBELL. Funk and Wagnalls Company. Pp. 267.

Sermons in brief for every Sunday of the year, based on striking, pointed questions from Holy Writ. They are unusually suggestive, giving evidence of considerable reading and the power of sifting thought until it becomes transparent and forcible.

Mr. Yates' Cricket Club. By E. D. H. S.P.C.K. Pp. 80.

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

Margaret Graham's Self-conquest. By Mrs. SEAMER. Sunday-School Union. Pp. 63.

Three excellent short stories for children, bright, pure, helpful. It may not be the most dignified walk of literature, but assuredly those who consecrate their gifts to the service of the young, and succeed in making religion even neither dreary nor dreadful to young hearts, but the best and brightest thing in life, achieve, in a most complete sense, *monumentum are perennius*.

Why should we Worry? By J. R. MILLER, D.D. Sunday-School Union. Price 6d.

A booklet of 50 pages, containing the characteristic excellencies of this favourite American devotional writer.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. The Cambridge University Press has brought out, with the help of the Bishop of Ely and under the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, an edition of the Form of ordering Deacons and Priests. The publishers lay stress on the fact that the whole of the Ordination Service is here printed, in combination with the Holy Communion Office. This is certainly a great convenience, but we may point out that it is no novelty, for in one diocese (Salisbury) a volume presenting precisely the same advantages has been in use for the last six years. The Salisbury book is further distinguished by directions to the candidates and the congregation as to their share in the service, a feature which everyone who has been present at an ordination will admit to be of very great value.

2. The translation into French of Mr. H. E. Chapman's account of his perversion, under the title of "L'Ame Anglicane," argues a remarkable deficiency in the armoury of weapons at the command of the Roman

Catholic Church in its attack upon the Church of England. The author's motive in writing his life-story is intelligible enough; that of the translators is naïvely stated in their introduction: "Nous avons essayé de faire ressortir cette nécessité de la prière pour obtenir le retour de l'Angleterre à la foi dans nos deux ouvrages: 'La Crise religieuse en Angleterre' et 'L'Anglo-Catholicisme.' Mais le récit de M. Chapman, sans y viser, y réussit mieux que nos deux volumes." Comment is needless. The book from which the French hierarchy expects such great results may be interesting psychologically, but we should not think much of the mental balance of anyone who was seriously affected by it.

3. In "The Gospel of Common Sense" Mr. Stephen Claye runs a-tilt against the modern cleric of every denomination—especially "the priest"—in a way that does more credit to his zeal than to his discretion. Our readers will not suspect us of leaning towards sacerdotalism, but we must confess that we are pleased with neither the tone nor the form of this attack. Common-sense is a good thing, but Mr. Claye's common-sense would be more convincing if it were tempered with taste, information or style of a better quality than he here exhibits. The book is both stupid and vulgar.

The Month.

THE news from abroad has been frequently of a sensational character. It has also been extremely painful and disquieting in more than one notable instance. The assassination of the King of Italy, through an anarchist plot, has not only shocked the civilized world, but also shows the dreadful lengths to which the doctrines of "anarchy" lead men. By a most providential turn of events, the Shah missed, though only narrowly, a similar fate.

From China we learn that on August 15 the Allied forces entered Pekin after continuous fighting. We earnestly hope that peace may shortly be restored in the Chinese Empire now that the object of the campaign, the relief of the Legations, is, thank God! assured.

In South Africa there have been few developments of serious note. General de Wet still eludes the vigilance of Lords Roberts and Kitchener, and is likely to cause much trouble, though the ultimate result is certain. We have been too lenient with the Boers; now, perhaps, Lord Roberts's decisive proclamation may convince the foe that we do not propose to make it easy for traitors any longer.

There is only too good reason to believe that another horrible massacre of Armenians has taken place. Truly the rule of the Turk is one of the most dreadful anachronisms of these times!

In the Senate Hall in Rome, King Victor Emmanuel III. took the oath of fidelity to the Constitution in the presence of the members of the Senate and Chamber, Queen Elena, the foreign envoys who had attended the funeral of King Humbert, the high State functionaries, and the members of the Diplomatic Body. In his speech from the throne the King said he dedicated himself to his country with all the ardour and strength of which he was capable, with all the force given

him by the examples and traditions of his House. Italy would continue in his reign to be an instrument of external concord. But peace abroad did not suffice; they wanted also peace at home, for which the monarchy and Parliament must work hand in hand.

The British Association will hold its seventieth annual meeting in Bradford this year, commencing on September 5. The president, Sir William Turner, one of the most distinguished anatomists of the day, will deliver the opening address in St. George's Hall. Various receptions and entertainments have been arranged by the local committee.

The Bishop of Liverpool, acknowledging an address of welcome from the Liverpool Wesleyan Methodist Council, says: "I heartily thank the Liverpool Wesleyan Methodist Council for their very cordial welcome and for their good wishes. I know the happy relations which existed between my predecessor, Bishop Ryle, and the Wesleyan Church, and trust the same sense of brotherhood in Christ will be not less strongly felt in the future. The Church of Christ must close its ranks and be at peace within itself if it is to make any impression upon the appalling mass of sin and indifference by which it is surrounded."

The Queen has been pleased to approve the appointment of the Rev. Joseph Armitage Robinson, D.D., to the canony of Westminster, vacated by the death of Archdeacon Furse. The Rev. Dr. Robinson previously held the canony of Westminster, to which the rectorship of St. Margaret's is attached, and has now been transferred to a canony without rectorship. There is still, therefore, a vacant canony of Westminster carrying with it the important rectory of St. Margaret's. A similar transference to that now made took place in the case of the late Archdeacon Furse, who originally held the canony to which was attached the rectory of St. John's. Canon Robinson has stated that during the past fifteen months his literary work has, owing to the imperative calls upon his time, been at a standstill. He will now, it is earnestly to be hoped, be free to pursue those studies in theology in which he has already won so high a name. Scholars are waiting impatiently for his edition of the Ephesians.

At the annual prize-giving held at the Grammar School, Sandwich, Kent, the headmaster (Mr. E. H. Blakeney, M.A.) was able to give an encouraging report. During the past year the numbers have reached their full limit, and the list of successes in examinations has been most satisfactory. A sanatorium has recently been added to the school buildings.

The *Tablet* announces that the Rev. Archibald Charles Heurtley, formerly curate at St. Peter's, London Docks, and late in charge of St. Mark's, Jarrow; the Rev. G. T. Gorman, curate of St. Clement's, City Road, London; and Mr. M. G. Dunlop, Chairman of the Bishops-gate Branch of the English Church Union, have been received into the Church of Rome by the Rev. Oliver Vassall, C.S.S.R., at Bishops Stortford. The Rev. A. C. Heurtley is a grandson of the late Dr. Heurtley for many years Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford.

The proceedings connected with the fourth International Congress in furtherance of the Zionist movement, which aims at the settlement of a large portion of the Jewish people in Palestine, opened with a mass meeting held at the Assembly Hall, Mile End, to welcome the delegates to the gathering. The hall was crowded in every part, and many persons

besieging the doors were unable to obtain admission. The assemblage of those who found entrance was variously estimated to number from 7,000 to 8,000. London Jews formed the great majority, but there were present many from other centres of the United Kingdom and from over the seas, besides the appointed delegates from all quarters of the world. The delegates numbered between 300 and 400, this country contributing about a third part of them. The "Zionist" movement originated a few years ago as the result of a pamphlet, "The Jewish State," written by Dr. Theodor Herzl, a publicist in Vienna, who saw in the creation of such a State the sole panacea for the prevailing anti-Semitism. He paid a private visit to London, where his plan was coldly received, nor did it make headway among the Jews on the Continent until he was induced to advocate Palestine as the location of the proposed Jewish State. Since then Zionism has won many thousands of adherents in all parts of the world; but in the great capitals those who take the lead in Jewish affairs and in the administration of its institutions have with very few exceptions held aloof. In London the only two Jews of any standing in their community who are adherents of the Zionist cause are Dr. Moses Gaster and Sir Francis Montefiore. The earlier congresses were held at Bâle, and at the first of these gatherings, in 1897, it was decided not to include the founding of a State in the Zionist programme, but to declare as the aim of Zionism, "The creation for the Jewish people of a legally-assured home" in Palestine. The instrument through which it is hoped to attain this goal is a financial corporation styled "The Jewish Colonial Trust."

The Archbishop of York has appointed Mr. C. A. Cripps, Q.C., M.P., to be Chancellor and Vicar-General of the Diocese of York, in succession to Lord Grimthorpe, who has resigned that position on account of failing health.

Lord Wenlock has published the following letter from his Grace the Archbishop of York, written to his Lordship after the receipt of the letter addressed to his Grace, and given below:

"BISHOPTHORPE, August 7, 1900.

"MY DEAR LORD WENLOCK,—I am gratified by the letter which you kindly forwarded from 300 of the lay members of the Church in the Diocese of York. I desire to offer to them all my warmest thanks.

"I was indeed sorry to hear of the resolution to which you refer as having been passed by the York Branch of the English Church Union; but after the line taken by the Society itself one could not feel greatly surprised.

"I confidently hope that this leaven of disorder will work itself out before long. I am inclined to think that already there are signs of a better mind. But, however this may be, there can be no doubt that the overwhelming majority of both clergy and laity are ranged on the side of order in support of the doctrine of the Book of Common Prayer; and the Church will go on her way and do her work in quietness and confidence unmoved by the strife of tongues.

"Believe me, my dear Lord Wenlock, yours very truly and gratefully,
"WILLELM EBOR.

"To LORD WENLOCK, G.S.C.I."

The letter referred to was as follows:

"To his Grace the Archbishop of York, Primate of England and Metropolitan.

"At a meeting held in York on May 3 last, at which there was said to be a good attendance of both clergy and laity, a resolution was passed on

behalf of the York branch of the English Church Union in the following words: 'That the sincerest sympathy of this branch be and is hereby tendered to all priests of the Church of England, especially in the Diocese of York, who are defending such Catholic practices as the liturgical use of incense and the Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament.' Therefore we, the undersigned laity of the Diocese of York, as in duty bound, beg to assure your Grace that, in our judgment, such priests in present circumstances deserve condemnation rather than sympathy from English Churchmen. We stand by the assertion that the 'Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them.' We thank your Grace for the pains you have taken to affirm this; and we pray that, notwithstanding any threats of disobedience on the part of your subordinates, the endeavours of your Grace as Bishop of this diocese, and as Metropolitan, may promote the peace and welfare of the Church and the true knowledge of our Lord and of His teaching.

"Dated, *July*, 1900."

Professor Ince has responded to the widely-expressed desire that he should issue his criticisms of the E.C.U. declaration on the Real Presence in pamphlet form. The pamphlet, which is published by Messrs. Longmans and Co. at 6d., contains the text of the declaration, the *Times* letter of June 21, and some "additional remarks" by Dr. Ince, which will be read with great interest. We venture to make one or two quotations from them:

"If during the first six or seven centuries we cannot find any formal declarations of the effect of consecration upon the material elements of bread and wine, we are referred to the doctrine which may be gathered from the writings of the Fathers, the chief exponents of Christian theology in those early days. It must be perfectly well known to the framers of the Union declaration that there is no universally consentient teaching on this mysterious subject to be extracted from these ancient writers. Naturally, before the period of precise determinations of doctrine they wrote loosely, rhetorically, unguardedly, devotionally, as there was then no need for caution. It is known to all theologians that from the time of the Reformation there has been a controversy as to the true interpretation of the teaching of the Fathers on the doctrine of the Eucharist. The general conclusion which seems to emerge from the controversy is that in early Christian writers we may discern two different tendencies of thought, one spiritualistic, one materialistic. To estimate their real sentiments, we must be careful not to press rigidly isolated passages taken from a glowing sermon or exposition, but must balance one passage by another, and, above all, ascertain the general tenor of the writer's teaching, and his general attitude towards philosophical speculations. It was not till towards the middle of the ninth century that the doctrine of the actual conversion of the sacred elements into the flesh and blood of Christ was formerly taught by Paschasius Radbert, Abbot of Corbie in France. It was formulated as a dogma of the Western Church by the fourth Lateran Council, held in 1215, which expressly decreed that 'the Body and Blood of Christ are in the Sacrament of the altar truly contained under the species of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated into the Body and the wine into the Blood by Divine power, so that to complete the mystery of unity (between Christ and His people) we receive of His what He received of ours.' This doctrine, as one of the English Articles says, 'gave occasion to many superstitions.' At the time

of the Reformation, the most prominent controversy on theological doctrine, both in England and on the Continent, was that which arose about the Eucharist.

"Our English Reformers repudiated the whole Lateran theory and the subtle philosophical formulæ in which the Schoolmen had clothed it, and declared it to be contrary to Scripture and to the doctrine taught by the Fathers of the first six centuries. It may be proved that the teaching of the Caroline divines who lived immediately before and after the period of this last revision of the English formularies, on the subject of the Real Presence in no way differed from that of the earlier Reformers. It is quite certain, judging from their own writings, that Cranmer, and Ridley, and Hooker, and Andrewes, and Jeremy Taylor and Cosin would all alike have repudiated the doctrine of the Real Presence, proclaimed by the English Church Union to be part of the faith and teaching of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. It is strange, indeed, that a Union, professing to be an English Church Union, should not have referred to the office of Holy Communion in the Prayer-Book, or to the Thirty-nine Articles, in which the English Church has given its authoritative statement of belief and teaching in regard to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The only official document of the Church of England to which reference is made is the Catechism. It is assumed that the answer given to the question, 'What is the inward part, or thing signified?' which teaches that 'the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper,' is a confirmation of the doctrine of a real objective presence in the elements effected by consecration. It has been abundantly shown by Dean Goode, in his work on the Eucharist, that all the accredited expositions of the Catechism interpret this answer as an assertion that the Body and Blood of Christ are received in this Sacrament by the *faithful* only, meaning by 'the faithful' communicants who with a true penitent heart and lively faith receive the Holy Sacrament. The truth is that this declaration of the E.C.U. is at variance with the doctrine maintained by the consensus of all the most eminent theologians of the Church of England since the Reformation, nor can it be reconciled with the natural interpretation of the English liturgy or the 28th and 29th Articles. It is a deliberate attempt to undo the work of the Reformation, which delivered our Church and realm from the tyranny of the many accretions of false doctrine which the Church of Rome had imposed upon Christians as necessary articles of faith, but which the Church of England declared to be unsanctioned by Scripture or by the teaching of the primitive ages of the Church.

The doctrine now propounded for our acceptance is, as has justly been observed recently by Mr. Arthur Galton, the writer of some most interesting articles in the *National Review*, a return to the doctrine formulated by the Lateran Council of the thirteenth century, though unencumbered by the impossible philosophical theory of the existence of attributes without any substance of subject. And it tends to the reintroduction of various innovations of ritual practice, such as elevation of the elements for purposes of adoration, ringing a bell at the moment of consecration, observance of a festival of Corpus Christi, most of which, originating at the end of the eleventh century in France, and gradually spreading during the twelfth century, had by the time of the Lateran Council become almost universal in the Western Church. It ought to be matter for sincere satisfaction to men of all parties, moderate High Churchmen, Low Churchmen, Broad Churchmen, and the many who refuse to allow themselves to be labelled by any party names, that the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, at its recent session, passed by a very large majority a resolution deprecating the pronouncement by voluntary

societies of declarations such as that put forth at the recent meeting of the E.C.U., in terms which may be interpreted to suggest resistance on the part of the clergy to their spiritual rulers. It is also, I think, a matter for surprise and regret that members of the Union should be content to refrain from obtaining definite information from the Council of their Society whether the declaration was not intended to counsel resistance to authority by maintaining the practice of reservation of the Sacrament. Such ambiguity is deplorable, and tends to bring discredit on religion."

BEQUESTS.

Under the will of the late Mr. John Spofforth Dixon, of Hollybank Dibden, Hants, and of South Norwood, who died on July 9, aged 87, the following bequests are made: "The Royal National Lifeboat Institution, £1,000; the Brompton Hospital for Consumption, £1,000; the Earlswood Asylum for Idiots, £1,000; the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, £1,000; the Incorporated Society for the Enlargement and Building of Churches, £1,000; the All Saints' Schools at Upper Norwood, £200; and St. Mark's District Schools, South Norwood, £200.

Obituary.

PREBENDARY GEORGE EDWARD TATE has just died, at Bath, in his eighty-third year. He was a scholar and exhibitioner of St. John's College, Cambridge, and was placed at the bottom of the Wranglers in the Mathematical Tripos of 1841, when Sir George Stokes was Senior Wrangler. He was ordained by Bishop Charles Sumner in the same year to the curacy of Godstone, then in the diocese of Winchester. In 1847 he became curate of Warley, Essex, and in 1849, on the nomination of trustees, he accepted the incumbency of St. Jude, Southwark, which was constituted a vicarage in the following year. He worked there till 1856, when the Simeon's Trustees made him Vicar of Widcombe, Bath, a city with which he maintained his association to the last. In 1871 Lord Arthur Hervey nominated him to the prebendal stall of Taunton, in Wells Cathedral, which he retained till his death. In 1873 he became Rector of Lowestoft, the patronage of which was in the gift of the Bishop of Norwich (Dr. Pelham), and in 1880 he moved to the less exacting parish of Kippington, Sevenoaks, retiring in 1895. His chief claim to notice is the work that he did as senior member and the virtual secretary of the body called the Simeon Trustees. Among his associates in the trust are Professor Moule, Archdeacon Richardson, Prebendary Eardley Wilmot, and Canon Girdlestone. They have rather more than 120 benefices in their gift, in towns such as Cheltenham, Ipswich, and Clifton. Prebendary Tate made it his business to keep his eye on the fit and proper men. "During his Kippington days he would invite them down that he might decide as to their pulpit powers, and his gentle personality saved the ordeal from its apparent unpleasantness. Notwithstanding the care exercised by himself and his colleagues, it need hardly be said that they were sometimes deceived, and that their nominees developed views and adopted practices which Charles Simeon would have regarded with suspicion, if not with horror."—From the *Times*.