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THE
CHURCHMAN

JULY, 1889.

ART. I.—THE THEOLOGY OF BISHOP ANDREWES.

WE all know too well the tendency which there is, in the heats of theological controversy, to magnify the differences between the contending parties. We have had sad experience of this tendency in our own days. But at no period, perhaps, in the history of the Christian Church has this tendency been more grievously exhibited than in the contentions between the Church and the Puritan parties in England during parts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The differences between them, indeed, were not altogether inconsiderable, but they were certainly not so great as they have sometimes been represented, and never were sufficient to justify such language as was often used—at least, on one side of the controversy.

It can scarcely be wondered at, if the fierceness of the opposition with which Churchmen were assailed, and the readiness with which they were branded as Papists, may sometimes have had the effect of inclining them the rather to something like assimilations of language and practice—when these could be well justified,—to those of the pre-Reformation period.

Moreover, in the matter of the controversy with Rome, there was much that tended to make the attitude of the English Churchman to be (as a rule) defensive rather than aggressive. Charged as he was, by the Romish assailant of heretical pravity, of steadfastly denying the faith of the Church, he felt himself in an impregnable position when he maintained—and in maintaining this he felt he was maintaining enough—that the belief which he held was all that was contained in the Scriptures of truth, all that was of the faith of the primitive Church; and that, therefore, if more were required of him by the Church of Rome *now*, it must be because the Papacy had

made additions of her own to the faith which had once for all been delivered unto the Saints. In all that was really *of the faith*, he claimed, and rightly claimed, to be at one with the Church and the faith of his forefathers. Now from all this it resulted that, to those ignorant of the true theological positions of the contending parties, it might seem as if, on the side of the English Church, there was something like a readiness to bridge over the gulf which separated us from the communion of Rome. And then, as a further result, it came to pass, that designing men on the Romish side of that gulf, taking advantage of the language used (and, in a true sense, rightly used) by English divines, aimed at making a real bridge across, an easy way from the Church of England to the Church of Rome, desiring to make it appear that some of the most learned theologians of the Church of England really supported Romish doctrines, and to this end quoting language culled from the writings of men of eminent names, and claiming it as language which pertained to their own faith.

Those who care to read the history of some such attempts made in years past, may be referred to a pamphlet of Dean Goode's, entitled "Rome's Tactics," a publication which may be very profitably studied at the present time.

It will be found, we believe, that scarcely any of the divines of the Church of England were more freely quoted by Romanists for this purpose than the justly esteemed Bishop Andrewes.

But it concerns us especially to observe that, in our own time, a similar effort has been made from our own side of the separating boundary. Romanizers in the English Church have continually shielded themselves for the teaching of really Romish doctrines, under the shelter of language used by faithful sons of the Church of England. And it must be added with regret, that historians of high repute—ignorant apparently of the theological language which was demanded by the controversial position of Protestant writers—have so far misunderstood the teaching of some of our best divines as to justify (in part) the use which has been made of their words by these Romanizers, and by those whom we may call ultra-Church innovators.

There is no English theologian, we are inclined to think, who has suffered so severely from this process, none whose writings have been racked with so cruel a torture, as the great and good Bishop Andrewes.

Probably the use which has been made of his language has done far more than is commonly supposed to deceive and mislead those unacquainted with the controversial history and the theological language of the period.

At any rate, we think the time has come which demands

that these prevalent misconceptions as to the true character of our old Anglican theology should be swept away. And we are persuaded that a not unimportant service will be rendered to the cause of the true doctrine of the English Church, if, taking from the list of great English divines the name which has been so signally made their shelter by our modern teachers, we are enabled to show clearly that on the points in question Bishop Andrewes was distinctly on the Reformed, as distinguished from the Romish, side of the controversy.

To this object, accordingly, we purpose to devote the present article.

Statements on this matter have been (as we are persuaded) so often erroneous, and misleading deductions have so often been made, and consequent misconceptions have been so widely diffused, and have taken such firm hold on many minds, that we think it important that special attention should be directed to the subject. We are not, of course, questioning the right of Bishop Andrewes to be regarded as a High Churchman, and even a Churchman of rather an extreme type, with a high regard for the externals of order and ritual; but we are questioning, and more than questioning, the right of that ultra-Church party, who would fain be regarded as exclusively the Churchmen of this day, to identify themselves with that historical party in the Reformed Church of England of which Andrewes may fairly, perhaps, be taken as the Coryphæus.

It might be well, in approaching the subject, just to take account of the attitude of Bishop Andrewes towards the Puritans generally. Without desiring to make too much of this, it is certainly not without its value as indicating his view of the comparative importance of the points of difference which stood between the Church of England and the Puritans on the one side, and between the Churches of England and Rome on the other side.

It is, of course, needless to say that the good Bishop's sympathies were altogether and strongly on the side which was not the Puritan side of the disputes which were raging in and around the English Church. And he did not spare what he regarded as the errors and the follies of those who were opposed to him. He could, on occasion, be severe upon the undue prominence which was given in their scheme of doctrine to certain aspects of Christian truth. Nevertheless, in matters of fundamental doctrine, he knows of no severance between his own position and that of the Puritans.¹ Such an assertion

¹ Writing on behalf of those "qui reformatam Religionem profitemur," Bishop Andrewes declares: "Fidem autem unam retinere nos tamen, Confessionum nostrarum Harmonia satis ipsa per se loquitur" (Adv.

may sound startling. To some it will, perhaps, seem hardly credible. Yet it is certainly no more than he is himself responsible for declaring. He speaks distinctly to the point when he says :

Distinguat itidem, inter *res fidei*, in quibus ne ii quidem hic, quos Puritanos appellat (nisi plus etiam quam Puritani sint) a nobis, nec nos ab illis dissentimus ; et *disciplinæ res* ; quam aliam ab Ecclesiæ præcæ formâ commenti sunt ("Ad. Bell. Resp.," pp. 290, 291 ; Ox., 1851).

Let those who know what the attitude of the Puritans was towards the doctrines of the Church of Rome, towards the decrees of the Council of Trent, towards the whole mediæval religious system which had encrusted the faith of the Christian Church—let these judge whether the words of Bishop Andrewes could have been used by one whose doctrines were in accord with those who now would fain be regarded as his disciples. They are certainly not the words of one who regards the question of episcopacy as a question altogether apart from the question of Church government. They are assuredly not the words of one who questions the possibility of reformed Presbyterian churches having a valid Eucharist.¹

It would have been well if Churchmen of succeeding generations had followed the example of Bishop Andrewes in the moderation of his language as regards the Puritans. Thus he writes in his "Responsio ad Bellarminum" :

Puritanorum ea religio non est, quorum nulla est religio sua atque propria : disciplina est. Quod ipsum tamen de Puritanis generatim dictum volo, deque iis inter eos, qui præterquam quod disciplinæ suæ

Bellar., cap. 1, p. 36, A.C.L.). Those who are familiar with the "Harmonia Confessionum" will not lightly estimate the value of this declaration.

Of Europe he says : "Cujus media prope pars in *nostram* Reformationem consensit" ("Ad. Bell. Resp.," p. 33, A.C.L. See also p. 448).

Those who have studied Jewel's "Apology" might infer something as to the true character of Bishop Andrewes' theology from his saying : "En ecclesiæ nostræ Apologiam vere Gemmeam" ("Opuscula," p. 91, A.C.L.).

¹ On the subject of Episcopacy Andrewes says : "If our form be of Divine right, it doth not follow from thence that there is not salvation without it, or that a church cannot stand without it" ("Opuscula," p. 191). He adds : "Cæcus sit, qui not videat stantes sine ea Ecclesias. Ferreus sit, qui salutem eis neget."

When Bishop Andrewes preached before the Count Palatine, he included in the bidding prayer "the churches in Great Britain and Ireland, and the two Palatinates" (see Russell, p. 371, and "Opuscula," p. 80, A.C.L.).

According to Spottiswoode, Andrewes acquiesced—after stating his own difficulties—in the view of Archbishop Bancroft, that where there were no bishops, ordination by presbyters must be esteemed valid ; that otherwise "it might be doubted whether there was any lawful vocation in most of the Reformed Churches" ("Church and State of Scotland," p. 514. London, 1677).

paulò magis addicti sunt, cætera sobrie satis sapiunt; qui quantumvis formam illam perditè depereant, in reliquâ tamen doctrinâ satis orthodoxi sunt. Nec enim nescius sum, censeri, adeoque esse, eo in numero (non minus quam in societate vestrâ) cerebrosos quosdam, pronos in schisma nimis. Etiam non deesse, qui quoad religionis capita quædam, vix per omnia sani sint. Quos ego hic, quos ubique exclusos volo. Mihi ab exteriori regiminis formâ Puritani sunt, non autem à religione, quæ eadem et est et esse potest, nbi facies regiminis externa non eadem ("Ad. Bell. Resp.," pp. 161, 162, A.C.L.).

It is surely needless to say that such words concerning the Puritans could never have been written by those who, on doctrinal matters of controversy between Rome and the Puritans, held the views of the Unreformed Church. And so, as regards the Bishop's general view of the Church of Rome,¹ it will perhaps surprise some of our readers to learn that he is to be classed with that long list of able and learned divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who regarded Rome as the Babylon of the Apocalypse, an anti-Christian power, whose practice is the practice of idolatry, whose teaching, supported by untrue allegations, is upheld by men to whom God has sent a strong delusion that they should believe lies (see "Tortura Torti," pp. 151-153). He quotes Irenæus in regarding *Lateinus* as the name of Antichrist, and finds the number of the beast in PaVLo V. VICe Deo ("Tortura

¹ Nothing is said, and nothing needs to be said, concerning the eastward position. Bishop Andrewes, as far as we are aware, was never charged with adopting it. Indeed, we question whether any satisfactory evidence can be adduced of its being adopted anywhere (after the Reformation settlement) before the accusation of Bishop Wren, who (by his own showing) used it only on occasion in the Consecration Prayer, because of the smallness of his stature. The plan of Bishop Andrewes' chapel shows that the practice was for the ministering clergy (as with the deacon and subdeacon in part of the Ambrosian rite formerly used in Milan Cathedral) to stand at the north and south ends of the Communion Table, facing one another (see *Minor Works*, A.C.L., p. xcviij).

As to the Bishop's use of the mixed chalice, he may doubtless have committed an error of judgment as to what was by the law of the Church of England permitted. But we may, perhaps, with all submission to authority, be allowed to think that the maxim "de minimis non curat lex" might possibly have been allowed to cover a practice (not as a ceremony) so ancient and (the Armenian Church notwithstanding) so catholic; one, too, derived, in all probability, from the original institution, and one, the symbolism of which (as often interpreted by Christian antiquity) bears so strong a witness against (so-called) "Real Objective" doctrine.

Bishop Andrewes says: "We hold it a matter not worth standing on: so all else were agreed, we would not stick with them to put as much *water* in as the priests use to do" (*Minor Works*, A.C.L., p. 25).

On the subject of reservation of the Sacrament Bishop Andrewes, granting what all allow, that in early times it was sent home to the sick, and against the time of extremity *reserved*, adds: "But neither doth this touch us, who at the desire of any that is in that case, may not refuse,

Torti," p. 361). The converts of the Jesuits in Japan he regards as only hypocrites made two-fold more the children of hell than the Jesuits themselves ("Ad Bell. Resp.," p. 35, A.C.L.).

But to come now to particulars. It is impossible to omit mention of the great vital doctrine of justification, though perhaps, on this point, the teaching of Bishop Andrewes is too well known to need any commendation of ours. Those who would have a clear and distinct view of this most important subject—those who would have before them the reformed doctrine in its purity, not in its extravagancies, and in the distinctness of its opposition to the post-Tridentine doctrines of Rome—those who would understand its cardinal position in the scheme of Protestant theology, can hardly do better than make themselves masters of the famous sermon on "The Lord our Righteousness." It must suffice here to make the following extract:

I know St. Paul saith much : that our Saviour Christ shed His blood "to show His righteousness, that He might not only be just, but a justifier" of those which are of His faith. And much more, again, in that when he should have so said, To him that believeth in God, He chooseth thus to set it down, "To him that believeth in Him that justifieth the ungodly;" making these two to be all one, God and the Justifier of sinners. Though this be very much, yet certainly this is most forcible, that "He is made unto us by God" very "righteousness" itself. And that yet more, that He is made "righteousness to us, that we be made the righteousness of God in Him." . . . What can be further said, what can be conceived more comfortable? To have Him ours, not to make us righteous, but to make us "righteousness," and that not any other but "the righteousness of God;" the wit of man can devise no more ("Sermons," vol. v., pp. 112, 113, A.C.L.).

Would that subsequent generations had seen no falling away from such faithful Scriptural teaching as this! Would that those who in this day would fain be regarded as admirers of Bishop Andrewes might learn from him to let their trumpet give a sound no less certain than his!

But it is especially on the doctrine of the Eucharist that our modern teachers are ever ready to plead the authority of Bishop Andrewes, as of one whose language will shelter all their innovations. And therefore it is on this subject especially that we are desirous of showing that his doctrine has been so generally misrepresented and misunderstood. And we believe that the mistake will be evident to all impartial readers if we are enabled to show—*first*—that the language

but go to him and minister it him. So that *reservation* needeth not; the intent is had without it" (Minor Works, A.C.L., p. 19).

"*Circumgestare hoc vestrum præcepto Christi contrarium, nec ei usquam Scriptura favet. Contrarium et instituto. . . . Extra Sacramenti finem, extra præcepti vim, usus haud ullus*" (Resp. ad Bell., p. 267).

quoted from Bishop Andrewes is language which he uses in common with divines of his day most distinctly opposed to the Eucharistic doctrines which our modern teachers are seeking to introduce; and *secondly*, that other sayings *may* be quoted from Bishop Andrewes which clearly indicate his own position as also distinctly opposed to the doctrines now advocated by ultra-Churchmen among us.

I. First, then, let us look at the language of Bishop Andrewes, which has been so often quoted as unquestionably supporting the doctrine of our new teachers. We have here to do with his words concerning (1) The Eucharistic Presence; (2) The Eucharistic Sacrifice; (3) Eucharistic Adoration.

(1) We take the subject of the Presence first. Here we are face to face with what will, at first sight, seem to many a most serious difficulty. We have to meet the fact that the Bishop not only declares his belief in the Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but acknowledges nothing less than identity of faith, so far as the Presence is concerned, with the Church of Rome.

Thus he writes: "Præsentiam (inquam) credimus, nec minus quam vos, veram. De modo præsentiaë nil temere definimus"¹ ("Ad Bell. Resp.," p. 13, A.C.L.).

Language could not speak more distinctly. Is it possible to avoid the conclusion that our great theologian recognises no difference whatever as regards the truth of the Presence between the Church of England and the Church of Rome?

It is quite impossible. But the crucial question remains: What did the Bishop mean by the Presence? To suppose that he must have meant to commit the Church of England to the belief that the Body and Blood of Christ are really present *in the Elements* on the Table, is impossible for those who have any acquaintance with the Eucharistic controversies of that date. It is necessary, in view of the language, not of Andrewes only, but of the body of Reformed theologians of this period as a whole, to take into account the fact that Christendom was now divided on the question—"What is it that is of the essence of the Real Presence?" On one side, the side of Romanists and Lutherans, the question was answered by saying, "The essence of the Real Presence is its being in the elements, or under the forms of the consecrated bread and wine. The Presence *is not* if it is not *there*." On the other

¹ The Bishop had just said: "Nobis autem vobiscum de objecto convenit; de modo, his omnis est. De, *Hoc est*, Fide firma tenemus, quod sit. De, *Hoc modo est* (nempe Transubstantiato in corpus pane) de modo, quo fiat ut sit (per, sive *In*, sive *Con*, sive *Sub*, sive *Trans*), nullum inibi verbum est. Et quia verbum nullum, merito a fide ablegamus procul: inter *Scita Scholæ* fortasse, inter *Fidei Articulos* non ponimus."

side, the side of the Reformed, it was answered by saying, "The essence of the Real Presence is in its being in the heart of the receiver. The question of its being in, or with, or under the elements, is nothing more than a question of the *mode* of the presence to the soul of the communicant."

The language of Hooker on this subject is well known. None now dare to question that his great name stands up as a pillar, supporting in this particular the doctrine of the Reformed. But then an attempt has been made to isolate the teaching of Hooker. And some may be ready to ask: "Has not Hooker been set before us—and may we not believe rightly set before us?—as herein standing in a manner alone, the peculiarity of his too subjective theology standing as a warning to future generations against such a conception of the Eucharistic Presence?" It is true that Hooker's example has been so set before us. But that there was here any peculiarity in Hooker's teaching, any standing alone and apart from the teaching of other great English divines, is altogether a mistake.¹

¹ The attempt to isolate the teaching of Hooker will be found to break down completely under examination. Not only was Hooker's teaching—as to its substance—nowise *new*, but even the language in which he clothed it varies little from the expression of (1) Cranmer—"the force, the grace, the virtue and benefit of Christ's body . . . and of His blood . . . be" (he had said just before, "not corporally in the outward visible signs") "really and effectually present with all them that duly receive the Sacraments" ("Answer to Gardiner," Preface, P.S. edit., p. 3); which, again, had been almost repeated by (2) Ridley, speaking of the "spiritual partaking of the body of Christ to be communicated and given, not to bread and wine, but to them which worthily do receive the Sacrament" (Works, P.S. edit., p. 240); and, again, by (3) Bradford, confessing "a presence of whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver," but refusing to "include Christ's Real Presence in the Sacrament, or tie Him to it otherwise than to the faith of the receiver" ("Sermons," etc., P.S. edit., pp. 510, 511), and declaring, "I never denied nor taught, but that to faith whole Christ's body and blood was as present as bread and wine to the due receiver" (*Ibid.*, p. 488); and, again, by (4) Philpot confessing "the presence of Christ wholly to be, with all the fruits of His passion, unto the said worthy receiver" ("Examinations," P.S. edit., p. 68), and acknowledging "a Real Presence . . . to the worthy receivers by the Spirit of God," while denying "in the Sacrament by transubstantiation any Real Presence" (*Ibid.*, pp. 132, 133). And it may be worth observing how Hooker's saying on this subject seems to be as something like a keynote to succeeding English divines. It is adopted verbatim by (1) Bishop Field as from "that exact divine Master Hooker" ("Parasceve Paschæ," edit. 1624, pp. 136, 137). It is almost repeated by (2) Dr. Mayer—"not . . . that His body is in, under, or about the bread . . . but faith making Him present unto the worthy receiver" ("Catechism Explained," 1623, p. 527). It may be said to be condensed in the famous dictum of (3) Bishop Jeremy Taylor—"present to our spirits only" ("Real Presence," i. § 8; Works, edit. Eden, vol. vi., p. 17), and to be expanded by (4) Dean Jackson when he says, "The sacramental bread is called His body, and the sacramental wine His blood, as

Hooker was simply speaking the language and teaching the doctrine of the Reformed—as distinct from the doctrine of Romanists and Lutherans alike. On behalf of the Church of

for other reasons, so especially for this, that the virtue or influence of His bloody sacrifice is most plentifully and most effectually distilled from heaven unto the worthy receivers of the Eucharist" ("On Creed," xi., § 5, edit. Oxford, 1844, vol. x., p. 41). (5) The same note is struck by Bishop Bayly, saying, "Christ is verily present in the Sacrament by a double union; whereof the first is spiritual, 'twixt Christ and the worthy receiver; the second is sacramental, 'twixt the body and blood of Christ and the outward signs in the Sacrament" ("Practice of Piety," p. 442, edit. 1668); and again, "The Sacramental bread and wine, therefore, are not bare signifying signs, but such as wherewith Christ doth indeed exhibit and give to every worthy receiver not only His Divine virtue and efficacy, but also His very body and blood" (which he had just spoken of as "absent from us in place"), "as verily, etc." (*Ibid.*, p. 445); and also by (6) Bishop Cosin expressing (as his matured views) that "the body and blood is neither sensibly present, nor otherwise at all present, but only to those who are duly prepared to receive them" (in Nicholl's "Additional Notes," p. 49a); and again, that "Christ in the consecrated bread ought not, *cannot* be kept and preserved, to be carried about, because He is present only to the communicants" (Works, A.C.L., vol. iv., p. 174); and again, that "indeed the body of Christ is given in the Eucharist, but to the faithful only" ("Hist. of Trans.," A.C.L., p. 193). His view is commended by (7) Bishop Nicholson as "Hooker's very pious judgment" ("Exposition of Catechism," A.C.L., p. 215). His saying is quoted by (8) Bishop Patrick, who makes it his own, "according as learned Hooker speaks" ("Mensa Mystica," § i., chap. 5; in Works, edit. Oxford, 1858, p. 151). See also p. 150: "This is all that is meant by the Real Presence of Christ in this Sacrament, which the Church speaks of and believes." It may probably have suggested the language of (9) Bishop Ken, "present throughout the whole sacramental action to every devout receiver," which he substituted in the revised edition of his "Exposition of the Catechism" as the correction or true explanation of the less guarded expression "present on the altar," as used in the first edition (see Ken's Prose Works, edit. Round, 1838, pp. 212 and 325). It may also have suggested the language of (10) Dean Comber, "We desire they may be made the Body and Blood of Christ to us; that although they remain in substance what they were, yet to the worthy receiver they may be something far more excellent . . . that we may become partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood" ("Companion to Temple," edit. Oxford, 1841, vol. iii., p. 260). It is quoted (11) by Archbishop Wake as from "the venerable Hooker . . . whose judgment, having been so deservedly esteemed by all sorts of men, ought not to be lightly accounted of by us" (in Gibson's "Preservative," edit. 1848, vol. x., p. 68). It is virtually declared by (12) Archdeacon Waterland (as by Bishop Patrick) to be the doctrine of the English Church, saying, "The force, the grace, the virtue of Christ's Body broken and Blood shed—that is, of His passion—are really and effectually present with all them that receive worthily. This is all the Real Presence that our Church teaches" (Works, edit. Oxford, vol. iv., p. 42):

We are not aware that a single example can be adduced of any eminent divine (before the Oxford Movement) claiming to represent the doctrine of the Church of England, who condemned the doctrine of Hooker as falling short of the true doctrine of the Real Presence.

England he was taking the side, defending and maintaining the cause of that great body of Protestant Christians who rejected alike the doctrines of Transubstantiation and Consubstantiation.

It would be easy to multiply quotations to show the consensus of English divines in support of the assertion of Bishop Jeremy Taylor, that our presence (the presence that is, which we of the Church of England believe) is "presence to our spirits only." Over and over again (we are tempted to say, even, *usque ad nauseam*) in the writings of our divines, we meet with the assertion that all more than this, all teaching of *trans*, or *con*, or *sub*, or *in*, has to do with questions, not for faith, but for the schools—questions not of *the presence*, but of *the mode*.¹

¹ It must not be supposed that these divines in insisting that the question of *trans*, *con*, *sub*, etc., was only a question "de modo" were thus making light of the errors contained in the *trans* and the *con*. To relegate these from questions of *the faith* to questions of *the mode* was to exclude them from belief altogether. Once admitted as a true explanation of the *mode*, they had naturally and consistently demanded to be placed in the position of things to be held *de fide*, and then had brought in with them their concomitant superstitions. To treat them as mere questions "de modo" was to degrade them to a position in which their power for evil was crippled indeed, but also one which they could never be content to occupy, one in which they could not live. It was well said by Bishop Morton: "It would be a wonder to us, to hear any of our own profession to be so extremely indifferent concerning the different opinions of the manner of the Presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament, as to think the Romish sect, therefore, either tolerable or reconcilable, upon pretence that the question is only *de modo* (that is) of the manner of Being, and that consequently all controversy about this is but vain jangling" ("On Eucharist," iv., chap. i., § 1, pp. 210, 211, edit. 1635). Thus Archbishop Bramhall's somewhat unguarded statement, "We determine not," which is objected to by Dean Goode ("On Eucharist," vol. ii., p. 370), is really equivalent to the condemnation of both transubstantiation and consubstantiation.

Hooker wrote: "Sith we all agree that by the Sacrament Christ doth really and truly in us perform His promise, why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions whether by consubstantiation or else by transubstantiation the Sacrament itself be first possessed with Christ or no?" And this saying gave occasion to the objection ("Chr. Letters," 34), "In which words you seem to make light of the doctrine of transubstantiation, as a matter not to be stood upon, or to be contended for, cared for, or inquired into." On which Hooker's MS. note is very valuable: "Not to be stood upon or contended for by them, because it is not a thing necessary, although because it is false, as long as they do persist to maintain and urge it, there is no man so gross as to think in that case we may neglect it." He quotes Frith, who, in answer to the question, "Dost thou not think that His very natural Body, flesh, blood and bone is contained under the Sacrament, and there present, without all figure or similitude?" said, "No, I do not so think. Notwithstanding I would not that any should count that I make my saying, which is the negative, any article of faith" (see Keble's "Hooker," vol. ii., pp. 353, 354).

And so Andrewes, while maintaining "de modo quo fiat, ut sit *per*, sive

And it was perfectly consistent for these divines to maintain that, as regards the real doctrine of the Presence, they believed it as firmly as their Romish opponents: that so far as the truth of the Presence was concerned, there was actually no difference between the belief of the Church of England and that of the Church of Rome. And it was perfectly natural for Bishop Andrewes, as a defender of the faith—the Reformed faith of the Church of England—to declare “Præsentiam credimus, nec minus quam vos, veram.”¹

But it may be asked: What evidence can you bring that such language as this was ever used by those who took their stand decidedly on the side of the Reformed? Can such an assertion be matched from the words of any divine whose name will clearly be recognised as the name of one who was an upholder of the faith of the Reformed? There are, we suppose, very few names which would more satisfactorily meet these requirements than the name of William Perkins. A strenuous defender of Puritan doctrines in England, his writings were so highly esteemed among the Reformed Churches on the Continent, that edition after edition was published abroad of a Latin translation of the most important of his works, many of which were also published in French, Dutch and Spanish. And can, then, the language of Bishop Andrewes, concerning the Presence, be matched from the writings of Perkins? Let us see. Thus Perkins writes:

in, sive con, sive sub, sive trans, nullum inibi verbum est. Et, quia verbum nullum, merito a fide ablegamas procul,” has a section of his answer to Cardinal Du Perron’s “Reply” against “the belief of Christ in the Sacrament *sub speciebus*” (see *Minor Works, A.C.L.*, p. 13; see also p. 35).

¹ The Bishop adds, “De modo præsentiae nil temere definimus, nec anxie inquirimus non magis, quam, in baptismo nostro, quomodo abluat nos sanguis Christi;” on which Archbishop Wake wrote, “He plainly insinuates that the presence of Christ in the Eucharist was much the same as in baptism; the very allusion which the holy Fathers were wont to make to express His presence by, in this holy Sacrament” (“Discourse of the Holy Eucharist in Gibson’s Preservation,” vol. x., p. 69).

It must not, however, be supposed that in the earlier stages of the controversy the term “Real Presence” (a comparatively modern expression) was always so readily accepted by the Reformed. In the sense in which their opponents presented it, it was always, of course, rejected with aversion. Cranmer wrote, “The very body of the tree, or, rather, the roots of the weeds, is the Popish doctrine of transubstantiation, of the *Real Presence* of Christ’s flesh and blood in the Sacrament of the altar (as they call it), and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest for the salvation of the quick and the dead. Which roots, if they be suffered to grow in the Lord’s Vineyard, they will overspread all the ground again with the old errors and superstitions. These injuries to Christ be so intolerable that no Christian heart can willingly bear them” (“On Lord’s Supper,” pref. to edit. 1550, P.S., p. 6).

We hold and believe a Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and that no feigned, but a true and real Presence (Works, vol. i., pp. 589, 590, edit. 1616).

God the Father, according to the tenor of the Evangelical covenant, gives Christ in His Sacrament as really and truly as anything can be given unto man (p. 590).

There must needs be such a kind of presence, wherein Christ is really and truly present to the heart of him that receives the sacrament in faith. And *thus far do we consent with the Romish Church touching Real Presence* (Works, vol. i., p. 590).

We differ not touching *the Presence* itself, but only in *the manner* of the Presence¹ (*Ibid.*).

¹ The following quotations from the Latin translation of the "Reformed Catholic" ("Honov.," MDCI.) will serve perhaps to make still more striking the correspondence of language with that of Andrewes: "Credimus ac docemus *realem presentiam* Corporis et sanguinis Christi in sacramento (cenæ) eamque non confictam, sed *veram*, sed *realem*" (p. 225).

"Necesse omnino est, esse etiam talem quendam *modum presentiæ*, quo Christus verè et realiter præsens sit cordibus eorum, qui recipiunt sacramentum. Et hactenus consentimus cum Ecclesiâ Romanâ, quod ad *realem presentiam attinet*" (p. 230).

"Diximus nos *non differre* ab illis, quoad *ipsam presentiam*, sed saltem quoad *modum presentiæ* (p. 230).

So Grindal had written: "Christi *presentiam* in suâ sacrâ cenâ, eamque *veram* et *salvificam* omnes fatemur; de *modo* tantum est *disceptatio*" ("Remains," P.S. edit., p. 248).

Foxe, speaking of the difference between the Lutherans and the Sacramentaries, says: "They both . . . do confess the *Presence* of Christ, and disagree only upon the *manner* of the *Presence*" ("Acts and Mn.," vol. v., p. 11).

And the *Declaratio Thoruniensis* declares, "Nequaquam negamus *veram* corporis et sanguinis Christi in Cenâ *Præsentiam*, sed tantum *localem* et *corporalem Presentiæ modum*" (In Niemeyer, p. 682).

Calvin wrote, "Falso jactant, quicquid docemus de spirituali manducatione, *veræ et reali* (ut loquuntur) *opponi*; quandoquidem non nisi *ad modum* respicimus" ("Inst.," iv., cap. xvii., § 33).

And, again, "Longe falluntur qui nullam carnis Christi *presentiam* in Cœna concipiunt nisi in pane sistatur . . . Tantum de *modo* quæstio est" (*Ibid.*, § 31).

And, again, "Ubi quæcunque cena peragitur, *præsens* esse ejus corpus modo *presentiæ modum* quem exposui amplectatur, non dissentio" ("Secunda Def. contra Westphalum").

Compare the following from Bishop Cosin: "We know well . . . that Christ said, 'This is My Body,' not that *after this manner* it was His Body; we believe verily that it is so. But, that it is *after this manner* so (that is to say, by annihilating and transubstantiating the bread into His Body), or after any other manner, *whether in, or with, or under the bread*, we are not tied to believe at all. . . . We believe, I say, the Real Presence no less than they do; of the *manner how* we dare not (as they do) so rashly define that which we can never understand" (Works, A.C.L., vol. iv., p. 283).

"Can anyone persuade himself that our Blessed Saviour would have appointed that His most holy Body should be present in His Church, in *such a manner* as that it should come into the hands of His greatest enemies" (Works, vol. iv., pp. 226, 227).

Now, we ask, Can the reader discover any really important differences in the statements of the two divines? Is Perkins

Again, Bishop Cosin says: "De reali (id est, vera et non imaginaria) *præsentiæ* Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia, Protestantium *Ecclesiæ* nullæ dubitant" ("Hist. Trans.," cap. ii., § 1, vol. iv., p. 18).

"*Modum* vero *præsentiæ* Corporis Sanguinisque Domini in S. Eucharistia, nos, qui protestantes sumus, et ad normam *prisæ* ac *Catholicæ* *Ecclesiæ* reformati, anxie non scrutamur" (*Ibid.*, cap. i., § 7, p. 18).

And Rodolph Gualter in his Preface (see "Hospinian," op. iv., 623) to the "Consensus Orthodoxus" (Tiguri, 1605), says, "Itaque neque *præsentiæ* neque manducationem Corporis Christi in cœna negamus, sed de *solo modo* *præsentiæ* atque manducationis inter nos et adversarios est controversia."

Moreover, in the "Consensus" itself (said to be written by J. Herdesian), the language of Œcolampadius (in his "Dialogus") is quoted with approval, "Dissidium majis est de *modo* *præsentiæ* vel *absentiæ*, quam de ipsa *præsentiæ*, vel *absentiæ*" (p. 344, edit. Tiguri, 1605; see also p. 33). And the sixth chapter of this important work is "De vero *præsentiæ* Corporis Christi in cœna modo." And in p. 259 it is said, "Etsi . . . hæc *præsentiæ* Christi non sit corporalis, rectè tamen dici potest esse *realis*, quia non est imaginaria . . . quamvis alio *modo* exhibeatur et realiter in cœna *præsens* sit panis."

And again, "Talis est vera *realis* Christi in hoc mysterio cœnæ *præsentiæ* . . . quod tamen non alio *modo*, quam per fidem . . . fieri posse est intelligendum" (p. 259).

So Bucer declared that "the controversy was rather about the *manner* of the Presence or absence, than about the Presence or absence itself" (see Cosin's Works, A.C.L., vol. iv., p. 164).

So Bishop Morton declares, "The question is not absolutely concerning a *Real Presence*, which Protestants (as their own Jesuites witness) do also profess. . . . Our difference is not about the truth or reality of Presence, but about the true *manner* of the being, and receiving thereof" ("Catholic Appeal," i., chap. ii., § 1, p. 93).

So Heylin writes, "It seems it is agreed on both sides (that is to say, the Church of England and the Church of Rome) that there is a *true* and *real* Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist; the disagreement being only in the *modus præsentiæ*" ("Cyprianus Anglicus," p. 25).

Albertinus declares, "Non quæritur, utrum Corpus et Sanguis Christi fidei nostræ *præsentiæ* sint; id enim fatemur et nos" ("De Sac. Euch.," cap. xxiv., edit. 1654, p. 149; see also p. 151).

And so Turretin, "Non quæritur, an Corpus Christi sit *præsens* animo fidelium in Eucharistia, et an uniatum arcte cum ipsis? Sed an uniatum cum signis sacramentalibus, et *præsens* sit localiter cum ipsis" ("Inst. Theol. Elenct.," part iii., quæst. xxviii., p. 568, Genev., 1686). Again, "Aliud est *præsentiæ* *veritas*, aliud *perceptionis* *modus*" (*Ibid.*, p. 579).

Another most unexceptional witness is Bishop Reynolds, who was one of the Assembly of Divines, and took the covenant. His language may also be well set beside that of Bishop Andrewes, "A real presence of Christ we acknowledge, but not a local or physical; for presence real (that being a metaphysical term) is not opposed unto a mere physical or local absence or distance; but is opposed to a false, imaginary, fantastic presence" (Works, 1826, vol. iii., p. 72).

Again, he says, "As, by faith, we have the evidence, so, by the Sacrament, we have the presence of things farthest distant and absent from us" (p. 68). "In this Sacrament we do most willingly acknowledge a real, true and perfect presence of Christ—not in, with, or under the

less emphatic than the Bishop in his statement of the truth and reality of the Presence? Is he more unwilling than Andrewes to recognise *so far* a full agreement with the doctrine of the Church of Rome?

But how, it will be asked, are we to account for the fact of such a divine as Perkins making use of such language as this? We answer without the least hesitation—It needs not to be accounted for at all. He is teaching the common doctrine of Reformed divines—the doctrine of all the old divines of the Church of England, because our great divines have all taken their stand with the doctrine of the Reformed (as distinguished from the Roman and Lutheran doctrine) on the subject of the Eucharistic Presence.¹ If their opponents have constantly

elements, considered absolutely in themselves, but with that habitude and respect, which they have unto the immediate use, whereunto they are consecrated" (p. 68). And he quotes in a note from St. Augustine, "Secundum quendam modum Sacramentum Corporis Christi Corpus est, et Sacramentum Sanguinis sanguis est" (Ep. 23).

With this language of Bishop Reynolds (which closely resembles that of Bishop Cosin) may be compared the words of Maresius, who—commenting on the declaration of the Belgic Confession, "Nos fide (quæ animæ nostræ et manus et os est) in animis nostris recipere verum corpus et verum sanguinem Christi unici Servatoris nostri"—says, "Videntur hac in parte confessionis nostræ primi Scriptores allusisse ad id quod dixisse aliquando fertur Durandus, laudente et referente ex Episcopo Eliensi Casaubono in Responsione factâ ad Epist. Card. Perronii pro Rege Angliæ, *Verbum audimus, motum sentimus, modum nescimus, præsentiam credimus*. Quidni enim Christus quamvis absens loco et corpore, præsens nobis fieret spiritu et fide, quandoquidem hæc est fidei veræ indoles, haud absimilis tubis opticus per quos remotissima objecta accedere et præsentia se nobis facere videntur, ut menti præsentia reddat quæ alias vel loco vel tempore absentia ac dissita sunt?" ("Exegesis," p. 531; Gronin, 1652).

¹ In the "Harmonia Confessionum" it is distinctly declared: "Omnes veram veri corporis, et veri sanguinis domini nostri Jesu Christi communicationem credimus. In *modo* communicandi hæret controversia" (Præf).

Even Æcolampadius said: "Dissidium majis est de *modo* præsentia vel absentia quam de ipsa præsentia vel absentia."

(See Bucer in "Retractatio in Scripta Angl.," p. 644.)

And John Alasco expressed much the same. Peter Martyr said, "Discrimen est in *modo* et ratione manducationis . . . verum corpus, et verus sanguis exhibetur, quia fides non amplectitur ficta, sed vera" ("Loc. Com." vol. i., p. 1594).

So Calvin, "*Modi* tantum definitio quæritur" ("Admonitio ultima et Westphalum," Op. tom. viii., p. 720), and again he declares, "The controversy is simply on the *mode* of eating" ("De vera part.," Op. tom. viii., p. 743.)

And Ursinus says that the controversy is "not whether the flesh of Christ be eaten, for this none of us deny, but *how* it is eaten" (see Nevin's "Mystical Presence," p. 91.)

And so Cranmer had said, "The contention is *only* in the *manner* and form *how* we receive it" ("On Lord's Supper," p. 370, P.S. edit.).

contended that the Real Presence in its essence is presence only in or under the form of the sacramental signs—must *they*, therefore, who are persuaded that the Real Presence in its essence is presence to our spirits only, must they concede that they are unbelievers in Real Presence altogether? Nay, rather, shall they not earnestly contend that, as regards the truth of the Presence, they believe not less than their opponents? This is just what our Anglican Bishop Andrewes has done. But this is just what the Puritan Perkins had done before.²

(2) We come next to the subject of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Bishop Andrewes has written: "The Eucharist ever was, and by us is considered both as a sacrament and as a sacrifice."³ And in a sermon preached in 1612, he declared

John Owen declared, "One of the greatest engines that ever the devil made use of to overthrow the faith of the Church, was by forging such a *Presence* of Christ as is *not truly* in this ordinance to drive us off from looking after that great *Presence* which *is true*" (Works, edit. Goold., vol. ix., p. 572).

¹ When Bellarmine teaches that the Real Presence (*i.e.*, under the form of the elements) is needed for the purposes of the sacrifice, but is needless for sacramental purposes—he may be said to be virtually conceding what our divines have contended for, *viz.*, that in view of communion the essence of the Real Presence is presence to our spirits only (see Bellarmine "De Sac. Euch.," lib. i., cap. i., c. 452; Ingold., 1601).

² Beza wrote: "Negat Beza se negare *veram* et illis immotis principiis, ac proinde analogiæ fidei consentientem veri corporis et sanguinis Christi in Cœnâ præsentiam atque *κοινωνίαν*" ("Ad. Hold. Conv. Responsio." Op. tom. iii., p. 102, edit. 1582).

And he had said (with explanation): "Nos in Cœna Christi carnem præsentissimam statuimus" (tom. ii., p. 245).

In perfect consistency, therefore, at the colloquy at Poissy, Beza declared (with the other Reformed delegates), "Quoniam fides innixa Verbo Dei, res perceptas præsentis facit: per istam vero fidem, recipimus vere et efficaciter verum et naturale corpus et sanguinem Jesu Christi, virtute Spiritus Sancti: hoc respectu fatemur præsentiam corporis et sanguinis ipsius in Cœna" (see Hospinian, "Hist. Sac.," par. ii., Op. tom. iv., pp. 520, 521; Genev., 1681).

Bishop Reynolds declares, "By the Sacrament we have the presence of things farthest distant and absent from us" (Works, vol. iii., p. 68, edit. 1826).

And there need be no stumbling-block to faith in this and such like sayings.

When Œcolampadius wrote: "Per fidem absentissimum corpus Christi, animo præsentissimum est"—("Epist. Doct. Virorum," 1548, fol. 129b)—he was not attributing to faith any function which had not been given to it by more ancient authorities. To St. Augustine's "Quomodo tenebo absentem? Fidem mitte et tenuisti," may be added the saying of Rupertus Tuitiensis: "Ut fidei, cui præsentia sunt omnia præterita, ejus passio memoriter representetur" ("De Trin. in Gen." lib. vi., cap. xxxii., Op. edit. Migne, tom. i., c. 431).

³ Yet elsewhere Andrewes asserts distinctly that in strictness of divinity Christ's death is the only sacrifice. "This is it in the Eucharist that

that the Apostle (1 Cor. x.) matcheth the Eucharist with the sacrifice of the Jews, and that, "by the rule of comparisons, they must be ejusdem generis."¹

Can language such as this be matched from the writings of any divine whose name will carry with it a guarantee of supporting the doctrines of the Reformed? No exception; we presume, will be taken to the name of Theodore Beza, who, on the same subject, has thus expressed himself:

Cœna Domini sacrificii rationem habet, idque triplici respectu : 1. Quatenus in ea aliquid Deo offerimus, solemnem videlicet gratiarum actionem, ex illo Christi præscripto (1 Cor. xi. 26). 2. Deinde, quod in ea conferrentur eleemosynæ, ex instituto fortassis Apostoli (1 Cor. xvi. 2). Quæ eleemosynæ vocantur *προσφορὰι*, ex illo Christi sermone (Matt. xxv. 20). 3. Quod mortis Domini sacrificium, ob oculos quodammodo in illis mysteriis positum, veluti renovetur ("Quæstiones et Respons.," p. 105).

On these two quotations it is needless to say more than this, that Andrewes and Beza both belonged to that class of Reformed divines who, rejecting what Waterland calls the "new definitions," preferred to give that wider sense to the

answereth to the sacrifice in the Passover . . . By the same rule that theirs was, by the same may ours be termed a sacrifice. In rigour of speech neither of them, for to speak after the exact manner of divinity, there is but one only sacrifice *veri nominis*, properly so called : that is, Christ's death. And that sacrifice but once actually performed, at His death : but ever before represented in figure from the beginning, and ever since represented in memory to the world's end ("Sermons," vol. ii., p. 300, A.C.L.).

In this matter Andrewes seems to have followed the example of Perkins, who wrote, "Cœna Domini est sacrificium, et potest bene, et certe sic dici, ut et olim a Patribus appellatum est" (Cath. Ref. Cont. xi., cap. ii., p. 251. Hanov., MDCI.). "Sacrificii vocabulum sumitur dupliciter, proprie et improprie" (p. 250). "In hâc porro controversiâ vocabulum sacrificii, nunc proprie, nunc improprie, et per similitudinem accipio" (p. 250).

We may willingly acknowledge the Bishop's mistaken interpretation of Heb. xiii. 10 (Minor Works, A.C.L., p. 21), and regret his admission of the word *altar*. But the very language in which he defends this term shows clearly the *sense* in which he admits the sacrifice. "The holy Eucharist being considered as a *sacrifice* (in the representation of the breaking the bread, and pouring forth the cup), the same is fitly called an altar ; which, again, is as fitly called a table, the *Eucharist* being considered as a *sacrament*, which is nothing else but a distribution and an application of the *sacrifice* to the several receivers" (Minor Works, A.C.L., p. 20. See also "Respon. ad Bell.," p. 250 ; "Sermons," vol. ii., p. 299, and vol. v., pp. 66, 67).

¹ The Bishop's language here must not be misunderstood. Waterland says : "He did not mean, as some have widely mistaken him, that both must be the same kind of sacrifice, but that both must be of the sacrificial kind, agreeing in the same common genus of sacrifice ; for he said it in opposition to those who pretended that the Eucharist was an ordinance merely of the sacramental kind, and not at all of the sacrificial" ("Christian Sacrifice Explained," p. 430 ; Works, vol. v., p. 137).

word *sacrifice*, in which it no longer possesses any strictly propitiatory meaning, but extends itself to comprehend the offering of any religious service and sacred action in the worship of God.

(3) It remains to deal with the subject of Eucharistic adoration. Bishop Andrewes wrote: "Christus ipse, Sacramenti res, in et cum sacramento; extra, et sine sacramento ubi ubi est, adorandus est" ("Resp. ad Bell.," p. 266, A.C.L.).¹ "Nos vero *et in mysteriis carnem Christi* adoramus, cum Ambrosio" (*Ibid.*, p. 267). Very much has been made of this language of the Bishop. And very much the same might be made of the following language of Theodore Beza, which we quote at length, because it may be said not only to match the words of Andrewes, but also to indicate clearly the very obvious, but only true, explanation of the use of such words by Andrewes and Beza alike:

Adorari ubique Deum, ac presertim in sacris mysteriis oportere dubium non est. Neque ullam esse Ecclesiam arbitror, in qua non adhibeatur solemnis quædam ut gratiarum actio, ita etiam et interior et exterior adoratio quum hæc mysteria tremenda, quasi in cælis potius quam in terris, celebrantur ("Tract. Theol.," vol. iii., p. 364; Geneva, 1582).

Here we must leave our subject to be concluded in the following CHURCHMAN.

N. DIMOCK.

¹ These words of Bishop Andrewes were quoted by a Romanist as a support of Romish doctrines while Andrewes was yet alive. And, in 1617 (Andrewes still living), the Romanist was answered by Dr. Collins ("Defence of the Lord Bishop of Ely"): "The Bishop grants that Christ is to be worshipped, and that He is to be worshipped in the Sacrament, which He infallibly accompanieth and effectually assisteth: *ergo*, with you he is a Pontifician, and maintaineth your cause, and betrayeth his own. No such thing, gentle sir. To make him yours, more goes to it than so. Especially these two, Corporal Presence and transubstantiation, or conversion. These are the two main badges, or rather buttresses, of your Cyclops, neither of which is to be found in the Bishop's writing, and, God knows, is far from his belief." (See "Russell's Memoirs," p. 448.)

It is scarcely possible to read the Bishop's "Answer to Cardinal Perron's Reply on 'The External Adoration of the Sacrament'" (Minor Works, A.C.L., p. 15 *sqq.*) without seeing how abhorrent from his views are the Romish adoration and the Romish doctrine of the Presence.



ART. II.—THE BIBLE SOCIETY'S WORK, EARLIER AND LATER.

IT is felt by many friends of the Bible Society's work that the time is opportune for an effort to revive "the old Bible Society spirit."¹ This paper is a contribution towards that end. There is a sense in which we can never revive the spirit of the earlier years: there is a sense in which we can, and ought to do so. It is a duty as well as a comfort to distinguish between the possible and the impossible in this matter.

If we draw a line right across the Bible Society's history through the year 1851, it will divide it into two not very unequal parts; the earlier section is by ten years the longest, viz., forty-seven years—the later section is just thirty-seven.

How impossible it is for the children of the later half to understand, save by the help of reading and tradition, the feelings which dominated the minds of pious Christians in the Bible Society's earlier years.

A single illustration will make this clear. The foremost fact in the history of 1804—the year of the Society's foundation—was the proclamation of Napoleon, as Emperor of the French, and his preparation for the invasion of England. Every port on the Continent was closed against our commerce. A new armada was organized within three hours' sail of our coasts; the Continent was coming over as enemies. The foremost fact in 1851, the year through which the line is here drawn, was the Great Exhibition, the Crystal Palace—the new temple, as men thought, of a golden age of peaceful trade. Every port everywhere was open; the Continent came over as friends. It is not possible in an age of peace to revive feelings that in every fibre felt the touch of the revolutionary time which brought forth, in 1804, the Emperor Napoleon.

Two high qualities—one of life, the other of godliness—were developed in those solemn early days. Resolve grew strong; Seriousness sank deep into the English mind. England did two things by God's help, and with God's blessing. Lord Nelson may stand for an example of one thing that she did, and, though less strikingly, Lord Teignmouth may stand for the other. She kept the keys of her house hanging at her own girdle, and went in and out in freedom to see what good she could do. England in those days spoke a large language. She lived, and she felt she lived, under the guidance of great men, in great times.

And thus sprung up a great religious energy, full of His

¹ The substance of this paper was read at a meeting of Bible Society workers and friends, held at the Bible House, on Thursday, May 2nd.

power, who was red in His apparel, and whose garments were like him that treadeth in the winefat: He came marching in the greatness of His strength, and men felt that He was mighty to save.

There was a second influence at work.

There came over the mind of Englishmen a great religious seriousness: sermons, poems, letters are full of seriousness. The word is not heard now. Men are earnest now: they were serious then.

To this fact contemporary literature bears faithful witness. The seriousness of those days is mirrored in the second book of Cowper's "Task." The later years of the last century were years of awful misery amongst the poor—of portentous calamity. Never had there been in human memory such repeated calamities; darkness literally covered Europe, and earthquakes and storms shook its very foundations. A few lines from Cowper will make all this vivid:

Sure there is need of social intercourse,
Benevolence, and peace, and mutual aid
Between the nations, in a world that seems
To toll the death-bell of its own decease.

Then, having passed in review the unexampled calamities of the time, those great manifestations of force in nature, in her winds and in her mighty upheavals, those things which affect and overpower the senses, just as the manifestations of God's immediate presence overpower the soul, he adds that—

These are frowning signals, and bespeak
Displeasure in His breast, who smites the earth
Or heals it, makes it languish or rejoice;

and he concludes:

And 'tis but seemly that, when all deserve
To stand exposed by common peccancy
To what no few have felt, there should be peace,
And brethren in calamity should love.

This is the kind of thing that sank into the heart of the very soundest part of the great English community. Their pulses beat to the movements of this poem. Their tears fell upon these pages; but they were not idle tears. They put down the book in serious energy, and went about doing good.

And so the Bible Society sprang up, as other and similar contemporaneous institutions did, out of a quickened fear of God and a quickened love of men. A single word describes the temper that created it—it was the type and embodiment of benevolence. The energy I spoke of, and the seriousness I spoke of, were steeped in penitential lowliness towards God and in well-wishing towards men. Men were *bene volentes*; and when there's a will there's a way.

So there rose up before men the idea, and then the institution of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

It was a very spontaneous movement. It needed no patronage, no fostering, and not much skill. No sooner was it ascertained that a great need of the Word of God existed, than there sprung up, as in a moment, a new machinery to supply that need.

Before the Society was a year old, it was plain that the fulness of time had come. Glasgow and London in 1805, Birmingham and Bath in 1806 held spontaneous meetings, without waiting for organizers or deputations. Wales, whose wants had really been the occasion of the foundation of the Society, contributed £1,900 the first year. It has never ceased to contribute largely. Yet there was no local secretary for sixteen years. All was spontaneous. The year 1809 was the first year in which regular auxiliaries were formed. How they sprang up! Reading, first, in March. Two days later, came Nottingham, with Newcastle as its twin sister. Then came Edinburgh in July, and East Lothian early in October. Leeds was organized before October was out. Exeter came in with December. Next year the North of England took up the work.

Systematic Christian work for women was the eldest daughter of the Bible Society. By 1819 it was estimated that ten thousand ladies were giving at least an hour a week to the systematic visitation of the dwellings of the poor. This they did, not only to see that the poor whom they visited were put in the way of becoming owners of the Book, which is especially the library of the poor, but, where it was possible, to make them partners in the work, and to collect their great littles for Jesus Christ's sake, so binding together in one body, in one catholic, Bible-reading, Bible-spreading community, the separated sections of English social and Christian life. Let me give a single typical illustration.

On the day after Christmas Day, 1817, the Liverpool Ladies' Branch was formed, with ten connected Associations which were organized in the following week. More than six hundred ladies undertook definite work in 341 districts. At the close of the first year the number of the subscribers exceeded 10,000, of whom 3,364 were free contributors, hoping for nothing again. More than 3,000 Bibles and Testaments had been distributed by sale, and the whole amount raised was £2,550, out of which the sum of £518 was sent to the parent Society as a free contribution.

I have not selected this instance because it is the best I could find. It is a fair specimen of what went on all over the country.

I have said that the spirit that worked in the workmen was

a hearty spontaneous spirit. It was also wonderfully widespread in its action. All ranks and conditions of men and women felt it.

In 1809 a few maid-servants in Aberdeen resolved to meet together and contribute a little in aid of the work. They formed themselves into the Aberdeen Female Servants' Society, and in their first year contributed £20.

Earlier still, in the Society's first year, a young lady in Sheffield, about fifteen years of age, agreed with a younger brother that he should contribute a halfpenny and she a penny a week towards a fund for procuring New Testaments for the poor. When they had saved sixteenpence, they bought their first copy. Then she drew up an appeal, and aimed at higher things. The little society contributed in one year £32 to the work.

In London, the Surrey Chapel Association, formed in 1812, came to the front. In eight years it raised £2,000. In the tenth year from the Society's foundation, its Juvenile Associations, spontaneously organized, were sending it £500 a year.

The generous influence passed across the seas. It touched the hearts of the best men everywhere. Henry Martyn's journals are full of enthusiasm for the Bible Society.

In January, 1808, he writes, "The Reports of the Bible Society are delightful;" and a few days later, "the Reports of the Bible Society, with which Mr. Brown has favoured us, have filled us all with wonder and delight." Two years later there are a couple of entries very characteristic: "May 18.—Calling at Colonel W.'s to-day, I had much discussion with some officers and ladies there on the amusements of the world. But I could produce nothing clear and convincing, perhaps because I had not prayed enough for assistance. Colonel W. consented to become a subscriber to the Bible Society." Five days after, he writes: "Breakfasted and dined with the General. He would not subscribe to the Bible Society, but offered a donation of £50, which I would not accept." That marks a high tide of Bible Society enthusiasm, a refusal of £50 because it was only a donation.

And one more reminiscence of Henry Martyn must find place, illustrative of this early Bible Society devotedness. It is an entry in the minute-book of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee, January 5, 1811, four days after Martyn had preached the sermon which founded the Calcutta Auxiliary, and three days before he left India for ever:

The Reverend Henry Martyn presents to the Committee, free of expense, a revised copy (prepared for the press) of the New Testament in Hindustani.

Every word of this brief record is eloquent of the old Bible

Society spirit. The five men, of whose transactions that is one minute, were George Udney, David Brown, Thomas Thomason, William Carey, and Joshua Marshman. Their names are in the book of Life. What makes these men so intensely interesting? I can find no better reason than that they were full of the old Bible Society spirit.

Then it is hardly possible to overstate the true catholicity of spirit to which the Bible Society was constantly ministering, and to which it has continued to minister.

Let me give a single illustration :

When Lord Shaftesbury presided over the special public meeting of this Society in the beginning of its jubilee year (1854), the first resolution was moved by the Bishop of Winchester (Sumner). It was seconded by the Rev. John Angell James. Both names are to us venerable, and are venerated. I dwell for a moment upon the Birmingham speech. Here is an extract: "I rise to second the resolution which has been moved with such chastened eloquence, such Christian piety, and in a spirit of such true catholicity, by the right rev. prelate, with whom I feel it to be an honour and a happiness to be associated in this 'work of faith and labour of love'—an association"—here is the point—"for which we are indebted to the Society which has brought us together on this platform. And I am sure that the right rev. prelate will agree with the sentiment which I now avow, that this is just as it should be, and as our Society exhibits it—the Churchman with the Dissenter, the Dissenter with the Churchman, and both together with the Bible—a position which is not altogether unlike that which was occupied by the cherubim on the Ark of the Covenant, with their faces towards each other, and both bending in lowly reverence towards the mercy-seat under the overshadowing of the cloud of the Divine presence." That certainly was beautifully said, and it was said after "forty-seven years" of delightful experience.

If there is any one thing that we more than any other need to revive, it is that catholicity of mind and heart, of which this venerable patriarch thus spoke on that day. The Bible Society was founded, no doubt, to spread the Bible, and not to promote Catholicity; but, if I may borrow once more from John Angell James, I would say that its sacrifice at the altar of truth has been so abundantly accepted, because it has sacrificed all the while at the altar of charity also.

Now, it is impossible to revive, even in the year of the great Eiffel Tower in Paris, the feelings which the French Revolution had produced in English hearts. That seriousness of which I spoke—which I can well picture to myself, for it was in its effect upon the mind like that indefinable something which we

used to see in India on the faces of men who had lived through the Mutiny—that we cannot have. Nor can we have that novelty of enjoyment, or, rather, that enjoyment of novelty, which was the peculiar sparkle in the cup of our predecessors. I borrow their own language to describe their feelings, as they surveyed their foreign work.¹ But listen also to the words of courage, of faith, of comfort, which blend with the record of their delight in their work, for they represent the very feelings which we have to cherish and, if needful, to revive :

Let our thoughts [they say] go back to the moment when, in a small apartment, and among a small company of persons, the thought was originated, "Why not a Bible Society for the world?" And then behold that thought carried out into effect and reality, to an extent even beyond the imagination and the hope of those in whose breasts it sprang up. Let us think of that little company, and that obscure chamber, and contrast them with the multitudes now assembled in this magnificent hall, besides the countless thousands throughout the earth, of every tribe, kindred and tongue under heaven, whose hearts all beat with high and holy delight in the one cause of sending abroad the sacred volume. And let the ascription of praise be heard: "Now unto Him who" not only "is able to do," but has actually done, "exceeding abundantly, above all that we can ask or think; unto Him be glory in the Church of Christ Jesus, throughout all ages, world without end. Amen."

And then, having thrown into sharp contrast the income, issues, and versions of 1804 and 1834, they review their mistakes, their difficulties, their reverses. "The Russian Bible Society, once the admiration of the world," had suspended its operations. Humiliation, perhaps, had been called for, correction administered; yet they say in words which we can adopt to-day, for one of them is the very text of this paper, "How wonderful still has been the preserving and *reviving* mercy of God!" Then, reverting once more to that heightened language than which no other even then seemed adequate to describe the Society's earlier history, they conclude: "The Society remains, although the enchantment of novelty has long since passed away, together with all that excitement derived from the extraordinary career the Society was permitted to run, when princes and potentates, prelates and dignitaries arose, touched by an invisible hand, and zealously promoted the work. Oh! what cause for thanksgiving, what ground for encouragement, does such a survey present! And, vast as the prospects of future labour unquestionably are, how does the retrospect forbid despondency, and call upon you to go on your way rejoicing!"

This passage describes admirably, I think, the old Bible Society spirit; and while we cannot restore "the enchantment of novelty," which even then, as you will have noticed, is spoken of as long since passed away, we can cherish the glowing delight

¹ End of Report, 1834.

with which our predecessors looked back upon the Society's earliest work, and though we live in colder and more critical times, we can ask ourselves why it is that this generation is not more moved at what it has pleased God to permit it to witness.

For it can be proved to demonstration that, with one or two brilliant exceptions, the solid achievements of the later period of this Society's work surpass, as well in intrinsic value as in vast extent, the missionary Bible-work of the earlier days.

I quoted just now some glowing words from the Report of 1834. At that time not a single version existed of the whole Bible in any one of the languages of the South Seas. Nott was putting the finishing touches to his manuscript, the work of twenty years. As a printed Bible the Tahiti Bible dates from 1838. In 1835 we read in the Report that "the Rev. Mr. Williams, of the London Missionary Society, has brought with him from the Island of Rarotogna (the name of the island is twice misspelt) a translation of the New Testament, in the language of a group of islands named Rarotogna." That group, during the past year, has become part of the British Empire. Fifty years of Bible missionary work have made it so. But this is *our* joy, not that of our fathers. Listen to another extract from the same Report: "The Rev. Mr. Yate, of the Church Missionary Society, has reached England, bringing the translation (of the New Testament into Maori) with him. Mr. Yate has furnished an interesting account of his labours, and the circumstances of the people for whose benefit they have been undertaken. . . . And your committee have engaged to defray the expense of printing 2,000 copies of the New Testament for their use." That 2,000 has since become 85,000. And looking at the South Seas as a whole, we have had part and lot in providing eight complete Bibles, four New Testaments, the four Gospels in two others, and portions of the holy Word in twelve. Our American brethren have, in addition, provided for the Sandwich Isles.

Turn to Africa, and include Madagascar. The entire history of the completed Malagasi Bible is comprised between 1835 and this present year.

Robert Moffatt's name appears in our documents for the first time, I believe, in 1837, thanking the Graham's Town Auxiliary for consenting to print the Gospel of St. Luke in "Sichuana." His work belongs to our period entirely. So does the Kaffir version. So, with a single exception, do all the West and East African versions.

The immense work going on in China is later still, and all of it belongs to the days since the Treaty of Nankin opened, in 1842, the five ports. The eighteen provinces are open now.

Let me add two suggestive words, and ask what our prede-

cessors would have felt and said if they could have pronounced as we can the two words "the Corea" and "Japan."

The Indian work would require a paper in itself. Think how in the old days money flowed to Serampore. This society alone sent over £30,000, and that was not all. Yet the work done then nearly all passed away, and except in South India, in the case of the Tamil, in which a most solid foundation was laid in the last century by our German brethren, and in North India in the case of Henry Martyn's Hindustani version, the really magnificent series of Indian Bibles belong to the Bible Society's later history.

I must pass away from details, though they are of the essence and substance of the question.

We are coming to know distinctly, and to estimate intelligently, what our work has to confront. We understand better than we did what is written in other sacred books than our own. Look at the learning that has been spent upon the Vedas. Pound them in a mortar, squeeze them in a press, can you from their quintessence construct a clear aspiration like "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me"? or a restful soliloquy founded upon well tried experience, "The Lord is my Shepherd, therefore can I lack nothing"?

We have read "The Light of Asia," perhaps, and admired "The Great Renunciation," and we are now taught to believe that only at the lips of a half-clad mendicant can India receive a gospel. How long will this doctrine be fashionable? Buddhism as a system has perished out of its own birth-place, and only lives and reigns where it has turned its back upon itself. Nothing can live permanently that defrauds humanity. Gautama wore, and compelled his disciples to wear, a garb composed of strips. Our Lord wore a coat without a seam, which compelled the rough soldiers to exclaim "Let us not rend it!" The vestments of both are symbolical of the message they delivered. The one message is a message of degradation ending in death. The other "covers" man's defenceless head with the shadow of a Saviour's wing. The Buddha in a way was rich, and for his disciples' sakes became poor, and there the message ended, in poverty that was helpless to do aught but stupefy the finer feelings of the heart. Christ also was rich, and He became poor that men through His poverty might be made rich—rich in hope, in earnest expectation, in keen aliveness to the promise of life for evermore. Five hundred millions of men have been narcotized with Buddhism. From Ceylon north-eastwards to Japan, from Bali in the southern tropic to Baikal on the verge of Siberia the "wheels" of Buddhism have been turned. It was not till 1828 that the literature of Buddhism was unveiled. We know now with what we have to do. And the delightful discovery should be everywhere

announced that throughout all the Buddhist countries the Scriptures are available and intelligible, and that the Bible Society has brought them to the dwellings of men. Thus, as in India with the Hindus, so in Ceylon, in Burmah, in Nepal, in Tibet, in Mongolia, in Manchuria, in Japan, and through the length and breadth of China, the brooding Buddhist is called to awake and arise from the dead that Christ may give him light.

Then we face the Arabian. Him we have known of old. We have not yet done with him. Our very latest solitudes are on his account. We have encountered him on the banks of the Aruwimi; we are face to face with him on the equatorial lakes. Everywhere he is a scourge.

The children born of thee are sword and fire,
Red ruin and the breaking up of laws.

For him, too, is the Gospel made plain. No slight is passed therein upon Abraham's seed. Only their pedigree is traced through Christ. The Arabic version with which our American brethren have enriched us is one of our chief treasures. What a harvest may some day spring from its incorruptible seed!

We surrender, then, the "enchantment of novelty," and the early stir of soul when wild revolution had its way abroad, and rampant infidelity mocked at all that was moral in men. Till similar perils return we cannot altogether feel as our fathers felt when they went out to "visit" Christ in His ignorant and downtrodden children, and to give them a Divine hope as the anchor of their soul. We have fallen on other times and other perils. Peace has its defeats as well as its victories, and in our days the bonds have been relaxed, which in times of more obvious peril bound together so graciously and so fruitfully the sundered servants of Christ.

Let us endeavour to revive the old Bible Society spirit. It was noble, free, spontaneous. It was widespread. It was catholic. It was full of faith, of bright anticipation. It greeted from afar the things which we see. It gave itself to hasten forward the accomplishment of these things. So the Holy Spirit wrought in their spirits and showed them what should come to pass. Now we have received "the same spirit," and, although in different circumstances from theirs, in altered times, in a more advanced stage of the work, we cannot altogether be as they, yet "a full heart and a full head"—a head that knows the extent of the Bible Society's accomplishments—and a heart that feels something of the joy called out by the splendid achievements of modern translators in bringing the Word of Peace to the intelligence of the many millions of mankind, are all that is needed to rekindle, by God's grace, the ancient glow and gladness that the Bible Society's work once evoked.

That work is the joint accomplishment of Churchmen and Dissenters, working together in one spirit, doing, and gaining thereby, incalculable good. The staff of Beauty was in the Society's hands and the staff Bands. It would be a calamity of the first magnitude if any declension of spirituality or fraternity should hinder the progress of the work or injure the gracious instrumentality by which, under God, it has been done. It would bode ill for the most successful instrumentalities if the barometer of Bible Society feeling were to sink permanently to a lower range.

W. J. EDMONDS.

NOTE.—A simple threefold table will illustrate the wonderful development of the Bible Society's work.

In the middle of 1819 the Rev. John Owen drew up in a simple table a few figures illustrative of the Society's growth in the first fifteen years of its career. It is a record of much interest, as well as a measuring line of much convenience. Here it is :

Expenditure 1804-1819, £704,840 : an average of £47,000 a year.
 Circulation " 2,461,000 : " 164,000 "

Now let the remainder of the Society's life be divided into four parts, from where Mr. Owen's figures end—say,

- | | |
|---|----------------|
| (1) From 1819, her Majesty's birth, to 1837, her Majesty's accession | } or 18 years; |
| (2) From 1837 to 1854, the year of the Society's Jubilee | |
| (3) From 1854 to 1869, the year of the Society's New House | } or 15 years; |
| (4) From 1869 to 1887, the Queen's Jubilee | |

—and let the expenditure and circulation of these four periods be compared with that of the first, and the result is approximately as follows :

In Mr. Owen's 15 years, an average expenditure of £47,000 a year.				
1819-1837	18	"	"	£90,000
1837-1854	17	"	"	£102,000
1854-1869	15	"	"	£165,000
1869-1887	18	"	"	£209,000

Turning from expenditure to circulation :

In Mr. Owen's 15 years, an average circulation of ... 164,000.				
1819-1837	18	"	"	... 435,000.
1837-1854	17	"	"	... 1,038,000.
1854-1869	15	"	"	... 2,000,000.
1869-1887	18	"	"	... 3,058,000.

In other words, we have been able to spend in the last period of eighteen years five times as much money; and for that money have effected a circulation of nineteen times as many copies as in the year of which Mr. Owen was the enraptured witness and the glowing chronicler.

Finally, let us look at the versions. Nothing in the documents of the Society needs such tender handling as its various lists of versions. In the early days of the work the home executive carried to excess the charitable grace of believing all things. Versions *in posse* were counted as if *in esse*; and the *posse* itself was often *non posse*. The year 1837 marks for us the line between the time of dreams that surpassed the facts, and the time.

of facts that have surpassed the fairy fabric of dreams. This paper has already in some degree dealt with that subject. Yet, in a sentence, there is something more to be said. In 1836 a circulation was claimed in 158 languages, or, if not an actual circulation, hopeful preparation at least was a-making. Then from the committee itself a man was raised up to chastise these figures and to weed the list. Russia and Serampore had furnished most of the lay figures. The list fell to 135. It was a bit of honest work that deserves warm praise. It was not till after the Jubilee, in 1854, that the list of versions came again within measurable distance of the list of 1836. Since then its progress has been alike wonderful for extent, for variety, and for influence. The entire history of the Christian Church may be ransacked to discover a second achievement worthy of being placed side by side with the Bible Society's work for the spread of the Bible.

ART. III.—WONDER-WORKS.

I this infer,
 That many things, having full reference
 To one consent, may work contrariously ;
 As many arrows, loosed several ways,
 Fly to one mark ; as many ways meet in one town ;
 As many fresh streams meet in one salt sea ;
 As many lines close in the dial's centre ;
 So may a thousand actions, once afoot,
 End in one purpose, and be all well borne
 Without defeat.

SHAKESPEARE, *Henry V.*, i. 2.

BY Wonder-Works we mean those signs, powers, miracles which show that, besides the physical, there is a spiritual influence in the world, wherein the unresting activity of God, veiled behind the natural order of things, stands out as initiating new things, in new ways, for special purposes, rendering nature "a fairer and goodlier system than ever floated in airy romance before the eye of genius."

The manifestation of this spiritual influence will be twofold ; one in matter, one in manner. Both will intensify the signification of that variety in nature which exhibits wide and free changes, both in form and substance, for unwonted achievements. These achievements, the actual physical wonders, far transcend the imaginings of poetic minds. The reason of Newton and Galileo took a higher flight than the fancy of Milton or Dante.

The manifestation being twofold, so is the proof. It embraces the world as a whole, and pierces every part in particular ; gives uniformity to variety, and variety to uniformity. Thus, the forms of matter in the universe, the state of beings and existences, the amount of life in planets and stars, change instant by instant ; their path in space, the direction of forces acting on them, varies moment by moment ; out of this infinite

variety is evoked the present natural apparent uniformity. This uniformity is not only a veil over the variety, but the ground for a further and wider system of change. Thus, the substance of all the worlds and of the things contained in them ceaselessly undergo general and special transformation for special adaptive purposes; in new series and cycles of series, in the birth and death of worlds, in the quickening and dying of living creatures. The ascertained state and structure of the universe exhibit a sublimity beyond all that was ever thought of in our unscientific days.

So vast and complex a system which, as if it were an organism or living structure, dies moment by moment and lives again moment by moment, is only possible, so our reason asserts, in two ways :

1. As an everlasting automaton, ever the same, never the same; that is, as a whole invariable, yet every part, relatively, always varying; consequently the whole, as a whole, and the parts everywhere, are continually different. Our understanding is not able to bring such a paradox within the region of mathematics.

2. If we conceive the phenomena of nature as representative of Eternal Power, and the ever-varying forms of substances and of forces as different modes in which that power operates, we have worlds both natural and supernatural at the same time, always and everywhere miraculously natural and naturally miraculous; the intelligible purpose in everything being a miraculous signature of the Eternal's Will.

Whichever view we take, the worlds as a vast self-existent automaton, which is unthinkable, and requires our reason to dispense with faith, and our faith to dispense with reason; or the worlds as created and sustained and renewed ever and ever by the Eternal Strength; we have that system and series of wonder-works which renders possible that which would otherwise be impossible.

For guidance of life and thought we always prefer the more probable, as being the more reasonable, and reject the automaton theory; while we accept creation as a fact—that wonder-work which includes every wonder.

Is this natural miraculousness? and is the infinite variety within the uniform covering caused and maintained by laws which allow no deviation other than that of universal adaptation to infinitely varying exigences? We do not regard things as being so fated. The following are some of our reasons :

1. Natural laws are not real things, nor established statutes, nor creative powers, but our own view as to the modes of order, affinities, operations, movements, positions, concerning worlds and things. The laws of gravity, of motion, of heat,

are merely the observed behaviour of gravity, of motion, of heat. When we try to understand that behaviour, and our best men go further than common mortals, we always come to the inexplicable, which can neither be fathomed nor crossed. The various stages and conditions of the earth's development do not show the same order, or intensity, or rate of progress. We cannot say that the space and things with which we are acquainted accurately and adequately represent all surrounding space and things. We do not know that the present state—rather the contrary—is a likeness of former and future states. The laws, we do know, may not prevail everywhere; or, if they do, probably with such variation as not to be the same laws at all. We cannot think that the present forms of process exist where are no such processes. Laws can only hold good so long as the things to which they refer remain the same.¹ Professor Stuart says: "The relation of a law of nature is very different from what its relation is to the future." Dr. Whewell would teach us that a law of nature is merely that which serves to gather and bind together our view of a particular series of phenomena.

2. All asserted laws are not equally probable. Of those we regard as most fixed, the expression of regularity may at any moment change to irregularity. Indeed, no law explains all the phenomena which it is said to formulate; possibly, therefore, no one is altogether true. Some of the regular coincidences attributed to fixed laws are probably due to accidental conjunctions which have attracted our attention. Only infinite experience can prove universal and eternal uniformity. Even the theory of gravity, which explains nearly all facts in the solar system, does not show why some substances are imponderable, nor why the law of the diffusion of gases is an exception, and not the only one. Gravity does not indicate that the earth cannot stop. If the earth were to stop, it would prove that the law of gravity does not sufficiently account for all the attributed phenomena. At present physical science knows little more than the rudiments of motion, and magnitude, and number.

Suppose things continue the same, and in the same surroundings, would natural laws always produce the same effects?

1. Things never do continue precisely the same, nor with identical surroundings. We know that in the far-off and near, throughout the universe and in everything, there is incessant change as to substances and forces, their positions

¹ Thomson, "On a Universal Tendency in Nature to Dissipation of Energy," Proc. R.S.E., 1852.

and relations. Whithersoever our observation extends, the physical energy of the universe is passing from higher to lower forms. No two series of events are ever precisely the same. However conservative laws may seem, they are really the untiring agents of change. Every scientific man knows this.

2. Were uniformity universal—that is, if things and their surroundings always continued the same—there could not, so far as physical science ascertains, be any creation or dissolution of worlds. We know, however, that the present state of things began, and not less surely that it will pass away. It is certain that now, and in the past, uniformity is the stage on which the most surprising changes are prepared. Some very different substances are apparently identical in their arrangement of particles and in the number of particles. Where laws and circumstances seem the same, there also are obtained results wholly different. No sooner do we go beyond the surface than we come face to face with mystery; every natural process leads to that which is beyond the natural. Then we are in presence of the Unknown, the Eternal, the Absolute, the Infinite. What is done then? Every man of science, of philosophy, of religion, of common-sense, says, “The Unknown made Himself known; the Eternal brought Himself into relation with time; the Absolute allied Himself with things by creation; the Infinite made matter, force, life, express realities of which He is the Essence. The intelligibility of any physical event is a mental marvel, and the explanation of that marvel is a moral miracle, which gives to every atom universal influence, and to every event a prolonging that is infinite.

3. Those who assert “the existing natural uniformity is never broken,” must be answered with the fact, “Natural uniformity is always broken.” Behind the face and frame of the worlds, even as behind the face and within the frame of a man, are those varieties of working, that continual change of substance, which reveal an ever-advancing process. From the synthesis of life in man until the analysis by death, and from the time that the materials of the worlds began to differentiate into their present order unto the universal diffusion of matter and force, there has been no process of human thought, no combination of atoms, no wind to move a leaf or to raise a ripple, that has not been due to departure from uniformity. Who would have thought such mighty consequences could emerge by that apparently slight deviation, the mere inclination of a line to a plane? It gives rise to the beneficent round of the seasons, that goodly procession in the heavens, at every footstep of which so many precious

influences in the way of delight and utility are shed upon our world. Holy Scripture contains no event so startling, nor any such great departure from usual order, as physical science shows to have happened in the past and as liable to occur in the future. Once there was no corn in the earth, nor any juice of the grape; the multiplying of bread in the hands of Christ, and His change of water into wine, are works of less wonder than those which brought that corn and that juice of the grape out of the ground. Once there was not a man to till the earth; the creation of that man, of which we know, is not an inferior marvel to the resurrection of that man, for which we hope. Nature, the great miracle, is a wonderful compendium of every conceivable miracle. One condition is the fruitful germ of a thousand beneficial effects, and a thousand events are necessary for the production of one condition.

Despite all this, answer is made, and a fairly good answer it is: "Amidst all natural changes such great inflexibility prevails in the onward march of things, and in administration of law, that there is no turning aside for sinner nor show of favour to a saint. Nothing can happen which opposes universal laws, nor can there be anything which is not a result and an effect of those laws."

The answer, though it seems good, and obtains acceptance from some scientific men, is not satisfactory, as we now prove.

1. The Miracles of Scripture. Nations most capable as to intellect, most pure in morals, most scientific with regard to investigation, accept those miracles—accept them because verified, in various infallible ways, by persons competent to judge, and in circumstances most conducive to effective examination; accept them also because those miracles were made, at the time of their performance, by the persons beholding them, the origin of national institutions, customs, morals, sacred rites, laws, classifications of society, and apportionment of land. They became the basis of prophecy; and so constitute the history of a people, and so explain the origin and facts of Christianity, that neither can the history of that people, nor the birth and progress of Christianity be understood or explained apart from those miracles.

2. If it be said: "The improbability of a miracle is so great that no amount of historic evidence can afford sufficient proof," we answer: Historical evidence generally weakens with lapse of time; but the evidence for these works of wonder is strengthened from age to age, by new facts, which furnish new arguments. Investigations amongst ancient ruins, philosophical researches as to memorial inscriptions, the collation of antique manuscripts, have been carried so far that thoughtful theolo-

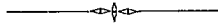
gians are well aware that the most reliable commentators are not those who doubt most, but those whose exercised faculties discern the prevalence of Spiritual Power. In law cases, citations of former confirmed decisions are accepted as conclusive. It is dangerous for any ordinary mind to assume the attitude of unbelief for the further confirmation of faith, or to put faith in solution for the satisfaction of its reconstruction. We do not well, but suffer loss, if we cast refined gold again and again into the crucible for trial by fire. The Creeds, Sacraments, Scriptures, have been verified, and are verifiable by a larger, more varied and reliable evidence than attests any other history, any other events whatsoever. The Christian faith of men like Newton and Boyle stands forth in beautiful and effective contrast with the infidelity of later and lesser men. Soundest philosophy is at home with soundest faith.

3. Not only so, it is known by scientific men, notwithstanding the opposition of a few, that it is impossible by means of science to give demonstrative evidence that the statements in Holy Scripture concerning miracles are untrue. Astronomy begins to furnish proof as to the origin, progress and decline of worlds. Geology finds cataclysms varying cosmic uniformity. Modern physiology discovers parallels for recorded supernatural events; laws rise above laws; chemistry is supernatural in its process if compared with mechanics. Organic forces not less marvellously control chemical. All laws and all forces so mingle that we know not where one ends, nor where another begins. System after system of unbelief goes down before the fact that life—one long patience—and time—much longer—demonstrate that nature, as a whole, is a universal wonder-work of which every part is miraculous. Take a bird, a quadruped, a vegetable. What large use and meaning in every one! Take the whole of things, the universe, that stupendous production of which as yet, with all our seeing, we see so small a part. We are lost in its immensity, and the infinite diversity of its relations. Probably this contrivance of beauty and far-reaching results is but one of many possible forms in the mind of God.

Finally: Miracles show that the earth is subject to cycles of intermittent changes. These are in accord with our own nature which is now held in check, and anon advances by higher adjustment. One day mind and body are incapable; another day the whole man is new. We are conscious of rebellion; within and without all things are against us; a power enters, and our experience gladly discerns that all things work together for our good. These mental and physical processes have their counterpart in other men, and in nature at large. We are curiously relative to the worlds, and the worlds

to us. There is speciality in everything, and this proves that purpose is not less true in the least than in the most majestic. The inside and the outside work everywhere into one splendid construction. Science, only achieving accuracy during the last three hundred years, is beginning to set the strophes of earthly melodies to the rhythm and music of the spheres. We are still in some doubt concerning the fundamental notes; nevertheless, we know somewhat as to the higher science of harmony; and the far-reaching concords gather into one dominant of glory far off. Some of us talk of things coming, and being interfered with by a non-natural causality. It is not so: the natural and the supernatural are two sides to one piece; the seen and the unseen, are products of one factor. The working essence, which we do not see, and the product, part of which we do see, are the grand total. "This hath God done." We are infants, both in science and faith, but manhood is coming. Our best thoughts, our best works, transcend former ideals. Our capacity discerns that we are only at the beginning of what God will do in us, for us, by us; and the coming glory will exceed all that the world has ever dreamed.

JOSEPH W. REYNOLDS.



ART. IV.—ALEXANDER KNOX.

MUCH speculation and controversy have arisen as to the effect exercised by the writings of Alexander Knox on the Church movement in England since 1831. It cannot be doubted that their influence has been more or less felt; but the following short sketch of the life and writings of this remarkable man does not enter into this question. It has been undertaken entirely on account of the pleasure afforded by the contemplation and study of the character of one whose letters and conversation dwelt continually on the study of God's Word and the Liturgy of the Church of England, which he believed was divinely directed in its compilation. There is no attempt at criticising his numerous writings, but it is hoped that these few notices of this good man and his immediate friends, which have afforded so much satisfaction to the writer, may induce others to examine them with the same experience.

In the beginning of the present century Alexander Knox resided in lodgings in Dawson Street, Dublin. Here he courted retirement, but as a theologian, philosopher, and scholar his society was much sought after. He was visited by religious people of various schools of thought, upon whom his conversation and writings left strong and permanent impressions.

He was born in Londonderry, March 17th, 1757.¹ There he spent the early years of his life, and became acquainted with John Wesley, who exercised a strong influence on his opinions in after-life. His father (whose family was originally Scotch, and collaterally descended from John Knox, the celebrated reformer)² was a member of the Corporation of Derry.³ Of him we read that "when Wesley arrived a stranger in that town, while he stood musing, a gentleman on horseback asked his name and took him home with him. Wesley's host took him to church, where he was placed next the Mayor. He gave him hospitable entertainment for the next fortnight, and both he and his wife became members of Wesley's Society." Knox describes his parents as deeply pious people, and in one of his letters writes :⁴ "I do not know, but I am this day enjoying the consequences of my pious father's fervent supplications for my salvation." He also speaks of the advantage he felt from having a Methodist father and mother,⁵ and his acquaintance with John Wesley, which he believed had brought him into a clearer view of the Gospel philosophy than if, instead of Arminian, he had had Calvinistic teachers.

He lost his father when he was only twelve years old ;⁶ but he speaks feelingly of the influence his mother had in the formation of his character. To Mr. Butterworth, in 1807, he writes as follows :⁷

Whatever I have gained of true peace originated not in the teaching of the Methodists, but of my own mother, who was uncommonly fixed in strict religion before she ever heard a Methodist. She it was who, when severe affliction came upon me, urged me to pray, and induced me to read "The Pilgrim's Progress." Thus a feeling grew up in me which years of subsequent deviation did not wholly destroy. When this feeling was more strongly revived in me it was through the very hand of God Himself, who, without the intervention of human means, awakened me from the sleep of my soul in a moment. Then I own I received some aid not to be forgotten through a Methodist preacher. In deep misery of mind I went to talk with one who was near, and while he talked with me, the painful hardness I felt within relaxed, and a disposition to pray sprang up in me which I have never since lost.

About twenty letters addressed to him by John Wesley are preserved in the "Remains."⁸ They are principally on the subject of his health, pointing out the goodness of Divine providence in sending the affliction of epileptic fits to keep him humble

¹ "Remains of Alexander Knox," vol. iv., p. 417. Dean Burgon's "Lives," vol. ii., p. 249. "Having taken exceeding pains to ascertain the exact date of A. K.'s birth, I have only now (Feb., 1888) heard from one of the family that it was probably 1757."

² Ordnance Survey of County Londonderry, by Colonel Colville.

³ Wesley's Journal, quoted in Fryerman's "Life of Wesley," p. 765.

⁴ "Remains," vol. iv., p. 107.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 143.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 417.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 70.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. iv., pp. 1-20.

amidst the advantages conferred on him of possessing great intellectual attainments, being in easy circumstances, and enjoying the affection of a tender, indulgent parent. Wesley also rebukes him for not attending the ordinances of religion from fear of attacks of his complaint during the time of public worship. This debility, however, prevented him from enjoying the benefit of a public school or any regular course of education; but his talents were of the highest order, and enabled him, though labouring under such serious disadvantages, to acquire extensive knowledge of the ancient classics as well as modern languages and general literature, and during the time he resided in his native city he took a lively interest in all its civil and political events.¹ During this period his diary gives a clear account of his state of mind. He writes :

I was once strongly impregnated with Evangelic religion, but it was from the mere pressure of affliction, and as that grew lighter the other lessened apace; but the hold was assuredly strong, for it required the increasing deviations of years entirely to suppress it. The whole course of my life from the period I mention in which Divine grace seemed to have taken a hold of my heart, until almost the present hour, has been marked with tempting circumstances peculiarly fitted to destroy me.

Elsewhere he writes :

During the period of my occasional intercourse with Mr. Wesley, I passed from childhood to youth, and from youth to manhood, not without some material changes in my mind and habits. At an early age I was a member of Mr. Wesley's Society; but my connection with it was not of long duration. Having a growing disposition to think for myself, I could not adopt the opinions which were current among his followers, and before I was twenty years of age my relish for their religious practices had abated. Still, my veneration for Mr. Wesley himself suffered no diminution.

His diary goes on :²

Temptation after temptation drew me by degrees from my fear of God and my early practice of private prayer; my taste for religion decreased, I began to love company, to love talking on worldly subjects, until I launched out into the world. It was my misfortune to be bred to no business, and of course I had the disposal of every day upon my hands. This, with right grace, would have been a blessing to me; as it was, it was the greatest of curses; it forced me, as it were, upon the world. I had also naturally a most active mind, which sickened when not fully occupied. This, combined with my want of employment, produced increasing languor and low-spiritedness, and became to me a source of infinite evil.

When the political movements about Parliamentary Reform began in the North of Ireland, he continues :³

Some busy men set themselves to cultivate me; I caught at the bait, and became a politician. I had talents for public speaking, which God no doubt gave me originally for a very different purpose; and these I

¹ "Remains," vol. iv., p. 56.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 56.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 57.

began to show forth with the fulness of pride and vanity at public meetings. I was led to associate with persons the fittest above all in my neighbourhood to feed my reigning desires—to whet both my love of pleasure and my ambition. These persons sought me, and though their friendship has been a snare to me, it would be ungrateful to deny that they did it in kindness.

In the year 1795 he speaks of the Irish Government being “conducted on as fair and liberal principles as it has been at any period,” and about this time he wrote some of his political essays. Most of these papers were first published in newspapers or in a pamphlet form, afterwards collected and republished in 1798, under the title “*Essays on the Political Circumstances of Ireland; with an Appendix, containing Thoughts on the Will of the People, by a Gentleman of the North of Ireland.*” He declares in the preface “that, at no very distant period, he had himself been a sincere and zealous advocate for a limited Parliamentary reform; but having always had a just abhorrence of the principles of the United Irishmen, and being convinced (of what one of their own oracles afterwards acknowledged) that any degree of popular reform would infallibly lead to complete democracy, he felt it his duty to abandon a pursuit which appeared to him dangerous, and become an unqualified supporter of the existing Constitution.” A temporary intercourse with the Convention politicians of 1792-93 gave him some advantage in understanding the vocabulary of Irish Jacobinism, and enabled him to trace a systematic connection between seemingly detached bursts of treason, which might escape the observation of a common reader. “To bring those early symptoms of treasonable design to light,” the author declares to be the object of these essays, the greater part of which appeared before the treason of the United Irishmen had been substantiated by the reports of the secret committees in the spring of 1797. He further believes “that no possible means would have been adequate to their suppression but coercion;” and that nothing can be more false than to “represent them as provoked into treason by the strong measures of the Government, which were only resorted to when the safety of the country demanded them.” The latest of these essays was written in June, 1797 :

At that period the movements of the conspiracy appeared almost exclusively in the Province of Ulster, where no religious motive was as much as pretended, and the Roman Catholics seemed disposed to keep aloof from combination; but it required little foresight to prognosticate that when those parts of the kingdom where the bulk of the inhabitants are Romanists should become engaged in the conspiracy, religious motives would be added to those of a political nature.

In 1797, the depression of spirits from which he constitutionally suffered returned with great intensity. He writes at

this time,¹ "I went down to Derry for medical advice, which availed nothing: I fell into black despair." The disturbed state of the country probably increased his depression. In Essay XIX., dated June 28, he writes: "Till within a very few weeks I have been in the midst of horrors which those fabricators have laboured to deepen. I have lost one friend; and in him the country an ornament and an honour, by that infernal plan of cowardly, cold-blooded assassination which these politicians have helped to foster." These words refer to the death of the Rev. Dr. Hamilton, author of "Letters on the Giant's Causeway," who had been assassinated in the month of April previously. It was at this time he sought the assistance of a Methodist preacher, and feelingly acknowledges the benefit derived from his advice. He describes how, having spent the night in prayer and reading, he felt, when morning came, "that it could not have been so comfortable if he had spent the night in sleeping." Just on the breaking out of the Irish rebellion of 1798, Lord Castlereagh pressed him to become his secretary; and during all that stirring period he was actively employed in the correspondence and duties connected with his office. He was strongly impressed with the ability and honesty of purpose of this nobleman; and his testimony is that he considered him "the honestest, and perhaps the ablest statesman that has been in Ireland for a century." He continues:²

I know of him what the world does not and cannot know. He is humane and good-natured beyond the usual standard of men. In him it is not merely a habit or a natural quality, but it is a moral duty. There is no bloodshed for which he does not grieve, and yet he has no tendency to injudicious mercy.

Mr. Knox was the person who conveyed the message from the Ordinary of Newgate when the Sheares sent to entreat for mercy, and he was present at the subsequent conversation between Lord Castlereagh and the Attorney-General, and describes the manner in which the case was considered as being "the result of the soundest wisdom and the most genuine humanity."

In a letter to his friend, George Schoales, dated 1799, he mentions that returning ill-health warned him to keep aloof from politics, and in July of that year he writes that he is "really very ill,"³ and has determined to go to England, and begs him to join him as a friend who could be of essential service by affording him sympathy, and being one to whom he could freely impart his unhappy sensations. He encloses him at the same time a sketch of an address to absentee Irish proprietors, which he begs him to consider and obtain a few opinions on it.

¹ "Remains," vol. iii., Preface, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 31.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iv., pp. 35, 36.

The two following years he spent in England in a state of great bodily and mental weakness, and during this time he experienced the kindest attention from many friends, especially Mr. George Schoales and the Rev. Thomas Stedman, Rector of St. Chads, Shrewsbury.¹ He frequently stopped at Mr. Stedman's house, and from his conversation and amongst his books derived the best possible aids to convalescence.² The beginning of his acquaintance with this good man was in consequence of a sermon he heard him preach, which made such an impression on his mind that he visited him afterwards in his vestry, and told him with tears of his spiritual anxieties, and begged to be permitted to spend the evening at his house, where he remained for six weeks.

In the year 1800 he became acquainted with Mrs. Hannah More, and remarks of her, "I have never seen a superior woman." His letters in this year are very interesting. He was then suffering from flying gout, but remarks: "It is well that a severe restraint prevents me from being involved in the political scenes enacting in Dublin. Nothing could be more hurtful to me than being in the bustle of resort." And to Mr. Stedman he writes: "My illness was extremely severe, beyond anything I ever suffered: my spirits often oppressed, gloomy, and distressingly apprehensive of the worst that can befall human nature, either here or hereafter;" but he adds: "One thing I am sure of—that if it is not my own fault, good will arise from even my mysterious suffering."

He ever continued to regard with favour the union between Great Britain and Ireland, but was an equally strenuous advocate of the claims of Roman Catholics to emancipation. During his absence from Ireland in the year 1799, he introduced by letter his young friend, Mr. John Jebb, to Charles Brodrick, Bishop of Kilmore, by whose means he was appointed to the curacy of Swanlinbar, in that diocese, at "the usual salary," as he says, "of £50 per annum." And thus commenced the remarkable correspondence carried on between him and Mr. Jebb for a period of thirty years.

In the year 1801, when Bishop Brodrick was translated to the Archbishopric of Cashel, he gave Jebb the option of remaining at Swanlinbar, or moving with him to his new sphere of labour. He decided to go to Cashel, and there he cemented the mutual friendship which existed between himself, Archbishop Brodrick, and Alexander Knox. In 1801, writing to Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Knox describes himself as being "in miserably weak health and quite unable to travel,"³ and reiterates

¹ "Remains," vol. iv., pp. 46-66.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 49.

³ "Castlereagh Correspondence," vol. iv., pp. 29-32.

his opinion that "until the Roman Catholics are equalled with the Protestants disaffection in Ireland must be the popular temper." He continues:

Distinct Parliaments contributed to keep disaffection alive; but if disaffection be still kept up by other sufficient means, the want of a local Parliament may become not an advantage, but a real grievance, to the Empire. When the rebellion actually commenced, the presence of an Irish Parliament was not without its efficacy. If rebellion be kept alive, even the Union may become the source of irreparable mischief, both to Ireland and the Empire, because disturbance will as much as ever require summary means of suppression. But these means can no longer have the same sanction as was given them by a native Parliament.

In 1802 we find him again in Dublin, living in lodgings in Dawson Street, and in February of that year writing to Lord Castlereagh that he has not dined out but twice during three months; found company affected his nerves; likes living at home sufficiently not to feel irksomeness; has abundance of visitors, and rides on horseback when the weather permits of it.¹ The letter concludes as follows:

If I can bear my state of health with tranquillity, you, my lord, are the chief earthly cause. This I tell you, not flatteringly—you would not be flattered, and I would flatter no man—but you ought to know that you have been the instrument of Providence to give to one person at least substantial comfort as far as this world can furnish. I have a pretty little property, but it came to me so burdened, and I was so more and more embarrassed, that I shudder to think what my state by this time would have been were it not that the danger is over.

This sentence evidently refers to a Government pension, which, however, does not appear among those on the Civil List, and was probably paid from secret service funds. Several letters of the correspondence between Alexander Knox and his friend John Jebb bear the date 1802, and on August 24th he wrote from Liverpool,² where he had gone for a short visit, that he was induced to prolong his stay that he might enjoy the companionship of Adam Clarke to Manchester, and perhaps to Yorkshire. "Methodism," he writes, "abounds in Liverpool;" and he expresses fears that interesting preaching is only to be found among Methodists. Although a Churchman, he had attended a Methodist chapel on the previous Sunday, and remarked of the preacher that "he spoke the words of truth and soberness." He gives a favourable account of the state of religious society in Ireland. "There," he says, "we have many who, though not at all Methodistical, have religion sincerely at heart,"³ and "I place myself amongst those who are deemed Methodists because I conceive the present definition of

¹ "Castlereagh Correspondence," vol. iv., pp. 219, 220.

² "Remains," vol. iv., p. 106.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 104.

Methodism to be that spiritual view of religion which implies habitual devotedness to God both of the heart and conduct."¹

The year 1803 was an eventful one in his life. He then adopted a more decided attitude with regard to worldly society, and identified his own opinions with those of Wilberforce and Hannah More.² It was at this time that he became acquainted with Mr. and Mrs. Peter la Touche, who invited him to their beautiful place, Bellevue, near Delgany, County Wicklow, which he most graphically describes, as well as the lovely scenery surrounding it, in a letter to an English friend; to which, however, he adds: "I am happy here, not because the place is a fine one: a much better reason is that the owners of this house are lovers of goodness to a degree rarely to be met with in their station." While he was visiting there in the month of December, the disturbances occurred in Dublin when Lord Kilwarden and his nephew were murdered in Thomas Street, and which culminated in the execution of Robert Emmett.

News travelled slowly in those days, and he writes:³

We were in unsuspecting tranquillity when Dublin was in alarm. We heard it the following day as we were preparing to go to church. Of course we were shocked at the murders, but felt so little apprehension that I drove with Mrs. la Touche the next day to visit Mrs. Tighe, at Rosanna, through a part of the country which had been the scene of a battle in the late rebellion.

He had gone to Bellevue only for a short visit; but the congenial society of Mr. and Mrs. la Touche, and the friends who frequented their house, constantly attracted him to their circle, where he found the great truths of religion the constant subject of thoughtful conversation.

In the spring of 1804 he had a slight return of illness; and in the fourth volume of his "Remains" there are some interesting letters, written at this period. He reproaches his friend Schoales for having mentioned his name as likely to assist in writing on the Caledonian navigation, and says, "I never could write where I was not feelingly impressed with the subject." In August he undertook a journey through parts of Ireland, and passed through some of the places in the County Wexford where the principal conflicts between the loyalists and rebels had occurred in 1798. He crossed from Waterford over to South Wales, where he visited many places of interest, such as Grongar Hill and the old castle, described in Dyer's poem, and Golden Grove, where Jeremy Taylor lived and preached during the usurpation. He was accompanied on this journey by his faithful servant Michael McFeely, whom he describes as "the greater enthusiast of the two respecting ruins and old castles."

¹ "Remains," vol. iv., p. 117.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 105.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 135.

He adds: "He is a first-rate fellow, and has been a main feature in the pleasantness of the journey." In this year (1804) he also visited Hannah More at Barley Wood, and speaks of his intercourse with her as "a great mental and moral luxury."¹ He writes of her: "She is really a most extraordinary person, uniting so much power of mind with such simplicity of purpose and humility of heart." In the succeeding years he maintained an active correspondence with Mr. Jebb, in which there is frequent mention of sermons written by him and transmitted to his friend; and meanwhile he was occupied in writing reviews and papers on theological subjects, which are contained in his published "Remains." In a letter to Mr. Stedman, he mentions having lately contributed two reviews to the *Eclectic*, a magazine which he calls "Evangelical and Puritanic," while he speaks of himself as being "not one whit Puritanic, but a Primitive Churchman." In 1809 he and Jebb undertook together a journey to England, where they renewed their acquaintance with many valued friends, and enjoyed the congenial society of Wilberforce, who writes from Newport Pagnell concerning them:²

We arrived here last night from Battersea Rise. There we took up our abode from Tuesday evening, and enjoyed the society of many kind friends whom Henry Thornton had asked to meet us—*inter alios*, Mr. Knox, of Ireland, and his friend Mr. Jebb. The former is a man of great piety, uncommon both in quality and quantity, and extraordinary liveliness of imagination and powers of conversation. He is really well worth your going over on purpose to talk with him. He was once, strange to say, Lord Castlereagh's private secretary. He is the very last man I should have conceived to have gravitated to Lord Castlereagh.

We are indebted to this visit for the graphic description of Mr. Knox,³ furnished by Mr. Parken, editor of the *Eclectic Review*, who, meeting him at the house of Mr. Butterworth, was so impressed by his conversation and sentiments, that in the evening he wrote down his immediate impressions of what had passed. Never before nor afterwards did he meet Mr. Knox, who on the next day took a final leave of London; but such was the impression made on him by this short interview, that in person, mind, manner, and principles he was enabled to embody the very image of this eminent man; and his friend Bishop Jebb declared that "a more perfect or graphic description could not be given." Mr. Parken's exact words are as follow:

His person is that of a man of genius. He is rather below the middle size, his head not large, his face rather long, narrow, and more rectangular than oval, his features interesting rather than pleasing, his forehead high but not wide, his eye quick, his eyebrow elevated, his nose aquiline, his

¹ "Remains," vol. iv., p. 168.

² "Life of Wilberforce," vol. v., p. 557.

³ Introduction to Burnet's "Lives," edited by Bishop Jebb.

under lip protruded. His muscles are very full of motion, his complexion pale, apparently from ill-health, but susceptible of a fine glow when the subject of conversation became animating. His expression of face not unlike Cowper's. He is small-limbed and thin, and wears spectacles which very much become him. When interested, his countenance is full of action, his eye is piercing, his cheek suffused, his gestures profuse and energetic, his whole form in motion, and ready to start from his seat. His manner of expression is natural and easy, fluent in general, but not very fast; he hesitates occasionally for a word, and encumbers his diction with long explanatory parentheses, from which, however, he returns duly to his proper topic; his language is commonly appropriate, and almost invariably pure—sometimes exquisitely elegant—very suitable and mostly well made out: occasionally it is quite sublime. His voice is clear and pleasant, with a very little of the Irish tone.

"On this occasion," Mr. Parken writes, "we sat from three until half-past eight, and too much of the afternoon was occupied with controversy between Mr. Knox and Adam Clarke on certain topics connected with the Methodist institutions. He strongly maintained the necessity of Episcopal ordination, but acknowledged the value of the labours of Methodist and other teachers. With reference to the silent general effect of the Establishment, he added that 'we were far from comprehending the machinery of heaven. We little knew how much was working and producing effects of which we were unconscious.' Those who knew Mr. Knox instantly recognised the fidelity of this description, happily preserved to exhibit human nature in its improved and happiest state."

This excursion occupied nearly five months, and shortly after their return Mr. Jebb addressed to his friend a letter, very characteristic of the relations between them. He writes:¹

I have been taking a full and certainly not a morbid retrospect of my deportment during our never-to-be-forgotten journey, and I must take shame to myself for having too often indulged a cavilling disputatious spirit, when it should much rather have been my delight to listen and improve, and thankfully avail myself of the uncommon advantages with which I was blest. . . . Your patience and forbearance now surprise me.

The correspondence throughout shows that Jebb was entirely influenced by the vigorous philosophic tone of thought adopted by Knox, and constantly regretted that he had differed from him in his views. In 1810 Jebb was appointed to the living of Abington, which he describes to Mr. Knox as worth £1,000 per annum, with a good house, and expresses his satisfaction that his new residence will afford ample accommodation for him and his faithful servant, Michael, as well as a room for Miss Ferguson² (in whose house Mr. Knox lodged), who had been their travelling companion in England the year before, and

¹ "Correspondence between Bishop Jebb and Alexander Knox, Esq.," vol. ii., p. 564.

² "Remains," vol. iv., p. 129.

whose thoughtful kindness and good sense made her such another sympathetic friend to Mr. Knox as Mrs. Unwin had been to the poet Cowper.

In a very interesting letter to Hannah More,¹ written in this year, while bewailing the differences of opinion among Protestant Dissenters and Episcopalians, he considers that the best remedy in such a state of unrest is to "listen to the concurrent voice of acknowledged wisdom and universal revered piety through all the successive ages of the Catholic Church," from Anselm and Bernard, in the twelfth century, up to the earliest fathers, where we may trace the unbroken succession, and hear their unvarying testimony. In the following year Mr. Knox paid a short visit to Archbishop Brodrick, at Cashel, but did not on that occasion visit his friend at Abington, as he was obliged to return to Delgany, to be included in a picture of the family at Bellevue, to be painted for Sir Thomas Acland.² In a letter to Mr. Jebb, he describes this picture as follows :

Sir Thomas Acland would have me in my invalid dress ; my green velvet nightcap had taken hold of his heart. I lean on a sofa, have just been speaking ; Mr. and Mrs. la Touche are sitting one on each hand, thinking of what they had heard. I hold a book in my hand, and after considering what that book should be, I resolved on Butler's "Analogy," for the purpose of indicating that the conversation was religious.

In December he excuses a long silence to his friend Jebb on the plea that he has been engaged in a correspondence with Mr. Parken, the editor of the *Eclectic Review*, to whom he had addressed two long letters,³ one on the subject of justification, the other on the character of mysticism. Concerning this young barrister he writes :⁴

He is really an uncommon young man. The questions he puts to me will probably lead to a more digested, as well as more systematized, statement of all my views than I have ever yet had occasion to give ; and though I do not—indeed, cannot—keep copies, it may happen that what I write may justify me in getting them transcribed. This is the case with two letters—the one on justification, the other on mysticism, both which may serve as good records of thoughts.

These two letters are printed in his "Remains." His view that justification is not merely a deliverance from the power of sin, and an imparted rather than an imputed righteousness, is frequently dwelt upon in his writings. In a letter to Major Woodward he thus explains himself :⁵

I mean that God, by His gracious influence, justifies the individual operatively, or makes him righteous, and then by His just and merciful estimate of the work thus wrought He justifies him imputatively—that is, reckons him righteous in virtue of the vital principle which has been

¹ "Remains," vol. iv., pp. 239, 244, 245.

² "Correspondence between Jebb and Knox," vol. ii., p. 48.

³ "Remains," vol. i., p. 256.

⁴ "Correspondence," vol. ii., p. 55.

⁵ "Remains," vol. iii., p. 33.

wrought in him ; and again, that whether we are justified or sanctified, brought effectually out of a state of sin, or confirmed and established in a state of holiness, the excellency of the power is of God, and not of us. First and last it is God who worketh in us of His own pleasure both to will and to do.

In August, 1812, he wrote to his friend Jebb to inquire the most direct route to Abington, and Jebb replied that "the journey might be comfortably accomplished in two days. First day, stop a mile beyond Maryborough ; second day, to Nenagh, from which Abington is just twenty miles." He spent Christmas at Cashel with the Archbishop, who afterwards accompanied him to Abington, where for a short time these three saintly men enjoyed happy intercourse and took sweet counsel together. Referring to this period afterwards, he remarks :¹

I think the imperfectness of intellect lies in this, that it cannot keep pace with feeling. There are matters of which the heart takes cognizance, the fulness of which is not to be expressed in words. Music seems added to supply this want.

In 1815 Mr. Jebb went to London to arrange for the publication of his sermons, and there met many who had enjoyed Mr. Knox's and his society during their former visit. Mr. Butterworth, at whose house he stopped, desired him to convey to Mr. Knox his affectionate remembrance, and adds that he would travel a thousand miles, and a thousand back, to see him. It was during this visit to England that Jebb was introduced to the Rev. John Marriott, author of the hymn "Thou whose Almighty Word." He describes him as a most amiable and accomplished young man, to whom Sir Walter Scott had dedicated the second canto of "Marmion." Jebb inscribed his volume of sermons to Charles Brodrick, D.D., Archbishop of Cashel, with a motto from Gregory Nazianzen : "This man was most exalted in life, but most humble in his own estimation." In a letter to Knox, Jebb writes : "The character struck me years ago as most appropriate, and dwelt upon my mind ever since, associated with that of our excellent friend. I did not think I could use it more aptly."² Mr. Knox wrote to his friend, advising him to return home by Bristol, that he might visit Hannah More, and adds : "Convey to her an assurance of my cordial affection." Explaining the cessation of their correspondence, he writes : "The simple causes are decreased strength and increased avocations ; my public calls, Association, Academy, charities, cut deeply into my time, and weakened health now forces me to seek refreshment when once I could have written."³ In September of this year he visited the Archbishop at Cashel, from whence he renewed his corre-

¹ "Correspondence," vol. ii., p. 139.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 245.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 253.

spondence with Hannah More, and in one of his letters gives his reason for not revisiting England, that his friend at Bellevue being determinately stationary, makes him in sympathy form a like determination, and that while Mr. la Touche remained on earth he could not harbour the thought of leaving him for so long as a visit to England would require. He goes on to say:¹

It is in itself a high gratification to converse with a man more than eighty, who is able to exercise not only sound sense, but remarkable acuteness and nice discernment. To converse, I say, with such a person is an absolute delight. I used always to feel it such in the instances of John Wesley and Dr. Maclaine, the only persons whom I have ever known that I can bring into comparison with Mr. Peter la Touche.

In writing to Hannah More, he dwells on the great utility of our Liturgy, and continues, "Though the materials were drawn from various sources of primitive devotion, a selection equal to ours was doubtless never made before, and except in the sacred sources of truth, I know not where there is anything like the consistent, pure, simple, practical theology which runs uniformly through the daily service, the Litany, the collects (for the most part), and the original occasional services."² He was also occupied in his study of the Epistles to the Romans and Hebrews,³ and thus writes to his friend Jebb: "I examined the 'justification' of the Epistle to the Romans and the 'perfection' of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and a friend to whom I have read it declares the reasoning to be close and conclusive." He also notices a pamphlet antagonistic to the Bible Society by an unknown author, who, however, proved to be William Phelan, afterwards a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and an esteemed friend of both Mr. Knox and Mr. Jebb. These men had views very contrary to the general opinion of religious people of their own and the present time on the unrestricted distribution of the Bible, and Phelan shared their fears. On receiving the thirteenth report of the Bible Society, Mr. Knox thus expresses his opinion: "Nothing can be more gratifying externally to its early advocates than the high fashion at which the plan has arrived. Such progress is providential, but mysteriously providential. It is one of those dark ways of Heaven which we are certain must ultimately lead to good; but what they may involve we cannot ascertain, and may even think of with awe. Will not the sacred volume be exposed to depreciation—in one class from disappointment, in another from familiarity?" How little did his prediction estimate the present resources and annual distributions of the Bible Society!

In August this year his friend Jebb went to Cheltenham for the benefit of the waters, after a severe illness; but before leav-

¹ "Remains," vol. iv., p. 319.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 333.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 41.

ing Dublin he sat to a famous sculptor, named Morrison, for a medallion likeness. This same artist had shortly before executed a similar medallion of Alexander Knox, which Jebb took with him to England, and also one of Archbishop Brodrick. These three medallions are carefully preserved by the Rev. Dr. Poole, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

In 1818 Jebb's sermons, published three years before, were out of print in London and Dublin; and he then determined to publish his work on Sacred Literature, which twelve years before had been suggested to him by Alexander Knox, who had first put into his hands Lowth's work, and pointed out to him some parallelisms in the New Testament. He adds: "Without you I never should have dreamt of seeking for parallelisms in the New Testament."¹ In 1820 we find Mr. Knox engaged in considering the doctrine respecting baptism held by the Church of England. He writes:²

The subject costs me a good deal of thought. I attempt briefly to prove the doctrine of baptismal regeneration in the case of infants to be that of the Church of England. I show from our formularies what this doctrine implies, and I then point out practical consequences which flow necessarily—or at least naturally—from the established premises.

In the following April, Mr. Jebb went to London, where he was introduced to Southey. This led to a correspondence with Alexander Knox concerning his "Life of Wesley;" and the result was that a few years afterwards he was requested by the author to make a statement of the impressions his intercourse with Wesley had left on his mind. He found this call irresistible, and prepared a carefully-written account, which is embodied in the second edition of Southey's "Life of Wesley.

In 1822 he lost his dear friend Charles Brodrick, Archbishop of Cashel, who died in Dublin, where he had been living since 1811, as coadjutor to the Archbishop of that diocese, who was incapacitated by long illness from attending to his duties. His death was a severe trial to Mr. Knox, who regarded him with veneration and great affection. At this period Alexander Knox was living in Dublin, and he mentions his nervous weak state as peculiarly trying. In one of his letters he writes that he had gone that day to the Association in a sedan-chair. The meetings of the Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge were held at this time in Capel Street. He also speaks of the watchman crying the hours during the night in Dawson Street, a custom which was abolished when the Metropolitan Police were established in 1838. In the following year the Rev. John Jebb was promoted to the Bishopric of Limerick, and delivered his first Charge June 9th, 1823. This he sent to

¹ "Correspondence," vol. ii., p. 335.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 407.

Mr. Knox, who criticised some points, though at the same time expressing his general approval. He alludes in his letter to a custom of the time, when the now obsolete clerk took the most prominent and almost the sole part in the psalmody. Mr. Knox did not care for congregational singing, but considered the drawling of a solitary clerk a worse extreme, and proposes that, where it is possible, a few members of the congregation might be taught to accompany and supersede the clerk, as most akin to choir-singing, which he thought to be most in consonance with the spirit of the Church of England.

In 1824 Mr. Knox published, in Dublin, "An Enquiry on Grounds of Scripture and Reason into the Use and Import of the Eucharistic Symbols." In a short introduction, he describes it as having been printed for the satisfaction of two friends who, having read it in manuscript, desired to have it in a form better fitted for close consideration, and he thought it right to accede to their concurrent suggestion, in order that others might deem his attempted elucidation not unworthy of their attention. The publication of this little work had important results, both in England and Ireland, and led to much friendly and adverse criticism, and awakened thought which had long been dormant, or at least not expressed in the manuals of the day on the Eucharist.

Mr. Southey¹ in the *Quarterly Review*, 1828, describes it as "composed with the unaffected humility of sincere devotion, and it enters with that spirit into the heights and depths of Divine philosophy." And the Bishop of Limerick expresses himself warmly in its favour. He writes: "My opinion is that into the small compass of its pages you have compressed more good sense and sound theology than are contained in any ten bulky volumes of former writers on the subject."² At this period Mr. Knox resided generally at Bellevue, where he enjoyed the society of the pious and intellectual people who were the frequent guests of the La Touche family, and who were often doubtless attracted thither by the wonderful conversational powers and original suggestions of their gifted visitor. The Bishop of Limerick was in London engaged in Parliamentary duties, and Mr. Knox watched his speeches on Irish ecclesiastical subjects with keen interest. In June the Bishop mentions to him that he spoke for three hours on the Tithe Bill in general defence of the Irish Church Establishment, and Mr. Knox, in reply, tells him that the subject was continually before him. He writes:³

"I saw not how the multifarious falsehoods which were gaining more

¹ "Remains," vol. iv., p. 478.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 409.

³ "Correspondence," vol. ii., p. 495.

and more the blind acquiescence of even well-meaning persons were to be completely met and refuted. This desideratum your speech has supplied, and if the clergy and friends of our Irish branch of the Anglican Church do not feel themselves more obliged to you than to any other individual for the last hundred years, I can only say they see business with eyes differing from mine.

Elsewhere he writes to the Bishop :¹

I am not without fear that the Church of Ireland will eventually be sacrificed to the preservation of what will be considered central integrity. But I am sure that if the one Church goes the other will soon follow, and what the political constitution will then become I only wish they might have the sagacity now to make a matter of grave consideration.

The Bishop's letters at this time are deeply interesting, relating to various friends whom he and Mr. Knox had met in 1809, also describing his meeting with Archdeacon Churton (the editor of Townson's Sermons), and visits to the Earl of Derby at Knowsley and to the excellent Bishop Law of Bath and Wells. In the year 1827 Bishop Jebb was seized with a paralytic affection which ended his active labours in the Church; and although he recovered his speech and reasoning powers, he shortly after removed to Leamington, never again to return to his diocese.

In the following year Mr. Knox's venerable and valued friend, Mr. Peter la Touche, died at Bellevue, in his ninety-fifth year. Thus was broken up the happy intimacy he had enjoyed for so many years in his visits to this lovely place.

The latter years of Knox's life were altogether spent in Dawson Street, Dublin, where increasing infirmities detained him very much within doors; but he continued to enjoy great mental activity and constant converse with men of kindred and sympathetic spirit, who soothed his decline of strength by words of wisdom spoken in season. The Rev. Charles Dickinson, subsequently the Bishop of Meath, was at that time chaplain to the Female Orphan House, an institution which Knox regarded with great interest, Mrs. Peter la Touche being one of its earliest and warmest patronesses, and Jebb having frequently advocated its claims at annual charity sermons. His connection with the orphanage gave Dickinson an opportunity of frequent intercourse with Knox, and enabled him to minister consolation and comfort to the aged Christian when the lengthening shadows began to fall on his path. On one occasion,² when Knox was speaking in a dejected strain of his own diminished keenness of enjoyment in spiritual matters, and was evidently much distressed with apprehension on this

¹ "Correspondence," vol. ii., p. 485.

² "Memoir of Bishop Dickinson," by the Very Rev. John West, D.D., Dean of St. Patrick's.

account, Dickinson asked him whether the sight of beautiful scenery still produced in him the same lively sensation of gladness as formerly. He remained silent for some minutes, and then with sudden animation replied: "Mr. Dickinson, you don't know from what suffering you have relieved me by that observation. You are right; it is the animal sense that has grown duller in both cases." The excellent Rev. Thomas Kelly, author of some of our most popular hymns, was also an occasional visitor; and about three months before Mr. Knox's death, during a conversation with him, the latter remarked to him that his views had not heretofore been sufficiently evangelical, and when Mr. Kelly was about to leave he said: "You must offer up a prayer for me." They retired to an inner room, and he did so, and when the prayer was finished Mr. Knox cordially expressed his thanks. Mr. Kelly had been ordained a clergyman of the Church of England, but was at that time a Nonconformist minister, and felt rejoiced at his friend's request, as being an evidence to him that he was seeking for a surer hope than Mr. Kelly considered his system of theology had hitherto afforded. Mr. Knox's aspirations after holiness had always been heartfelt and unceasing; but his views of the great doctrine of the Atonement were confused, and no doubt as the time of his departure drew nigh, when feeling for the foundation of his faith, this doctrine assumed greater prominence in his mind and became a sustaining power. Mr. Scott, another attached friend, some time before his death perceived this tendency. He believed Mr. Knox was himself quite unconscious of it, yet it afforded him great satisfaction, having always felt that there was a serious deficiency in the system of religion professed by Knox. He died at his lodgings in Dawson Street on June 17th, 1831. Mr. Scott and his wife, who was daughter of his friend Archbishop Brodrick, were sent for immediately before his death, but it was not certain that he recognised them. He was laid to rest in the vaults of St. Ann's Church, Dublin, of which a few years afterwards his valued friend the Rev. Charles Dickinson became rector, and in the chancel a tablet was erected to his memory, bearing a truly descriptive and appreciative inscription, setting forth his intellectual qualities, his great power of eloquence in speech and writing, his devotion of all his powers to the service of God and His Word, and his affectionate attachment to the Church of England. It concludes with the following words: "As he lived the life of faith, so he died, in the sure Christian hope of a resurrection to glory."

In 1861, when St. Ann's Church was restored, the east window was erected as a memorial to Knox. It represents

the parables recorded in St. Matthew xiii.—a subject aptly selected as illustrating a most original and interesting paper written by him, which is published in the first volume of the "Remains." He considered that these parables, besides conveying individual instruction, should be taken together as a connected series indicating the several stages through which the Church of Christ was to proceed, and that each parable had a period peculiarly its own, in which the state of things signified predominated; but that when another state of things commenced, the former, though becoming less prominent, did not cease. The first describes the opening of the Gospel dispensation. The second indicates that state of things which was to ensue after the first planting of Christianity, and that mixed state of the visible Church which took place from the second century. In the third parable it has grown into magnitude, fitly represented by the seed and its subsequent condition—a tree which, instead of requiring support, affords shelter. This emblem of a tree represents the Church, not merely as visible, but hierarchical, and is symbolic as dividing into two trunks the Eastern and Western Churches and the several branches representing National Churches. The fourth parable marks a state in which vital Christianity has in a measure disappeared, but as leaven is hidden, not destroyed. In the fulness of time the whole shall be leavened. How this was to be accomplished is exhibited, Knox thought, in the fifth and sixth parables—the person finding treasure not looked for, but coming on it unexpectedly, representing one moved by unexpected agency, who becomes impressed with an object which is to him as a hoard of gold. He sees religion alone can confer happiness, and there is no sacrifice he considers too great to obtain it. The merchantman in the sixth parable is one devoted and trained to business, corresponding to Christians brought up in the nurture of the Church, choosing one pearl of great price. He lays hold on religion at whatever cost as his portion and inheritance. The seventh and last parable, of the net, marks the consummation of all things.

Fifty-seven years have elapsed since Knox passed away, and this window erected to his memory thirty years after his death is evidence that "he being dead yet speaketh." His writings still continue to excite the interest of thoughtful people.¹ Many who do not approve of his theological views, and consider his interpretations of Scripture as fanciful, still value them as suggestions leading to further develop-

¹ Dean Burgon in his "Lives" refers to Knox, vol. ii., p. 248. He asks "Why is no Memoir of Knox extant?"

ment of thought on the most important of all subjects. His letters to the Rev. John Walker, founder of a sect which he named the Church of God, but more familiarly known as Walkerites, has become a scarce publication, and no doubt many of his essays and letters still exist uncollected in contemporary periodicals.

The last will and testimony of Alexander Knox, proved July, 1831, a month after his death, shows his unalterable affection for the la Touche family. To Mrs. Peter la Touche he left the greater part of his landed property, and he bequeathed all his books and papers to her niece, Miss Catherine Frances Boyle. A window in memory of Mrs. la Touche has been erected by Miss Boyle in the chapel of the Female Orphan House, in the North Circular Road, Dublin. She also presented a fine mezzotint portrait of that lady to the institution, which may still be seen in the board-room.

KATE LEEPER.

After the MS. of this paper, written by the wife of the Rev. Alexander Leeper, D.D., Canon of St. Patrick's, Dublin, had been received by us, we were informed that the gifted writer had entered into rest. Mrs. Leeper (as some of her many friends knew) took a keen interest in all that pertained to Alexander Knox; and the present paper will in a good measure supply a deficiency. We pay a sincere tribute of respect to the much-esteemed and lamented lady.—ED. CHURCHMAN.

Correspondence.

THE PROSECUTION OF THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

To the Editor of THE CHURCHMAN.

SIR,

Pressure of other work has made it impossible for me to write a reply to Mr. Miller's article in time for your July number. I shall ask you to kindly publish it in August. Meanwhile, may I make two observations upon Mr. Miller's article? It consists partly of argument and partly of abuse of myself.

As to the argument, he does not attempt to grapple with my main contention, that the prosecution of Bishop King must do infinite damage to the cause of Evangelical Truth and to the Church of England; but he does show that I am not so well acquainted as he is with the recondite meaning of some of the outward actions which form the subject of the prosecution.

Then he impugns the accuracy of my representation of the judgment already given. I am prepared to vindicate it in all respects.

As to the attacks upon myself in which Mr. Miller so freely indulges, I would point out that the value of my argument, be it great or small, in no way depended upon its authorship. It would have had the same force

if published anonymously, or if the writer be as stupid, as ignorant, and as graceless as Mr. Miller insinuates that I am.

One grave accusation I must notice now. Mr. Miller says that I have "hitherto been found a consistent supporter of compromise with error." This is about as serious a charge as could be brought against a Christian man. I will give Mr. Miller credit for not having brought it without believing it to be true. His belief must be founded upon facts, or supposed facts; and I call upon him to send me a statement in writing of those facts, and with your kind permission it shall be printed with my reply in your August number.

Yours faithfully,
SYDNEY GEDGE.

1, Old Palace Yard,
Westminster,
June 14th, 1889.

Short Notices.

Roman Catholic Claims. By CHARLES GORE, M.A., Principal of the Pusey House. Rivingtons, v. 1889. Pp. x., 175.

A PERSON who is uneasy about the present position of things in the Church of England, and who meditates flying from its known evils to the unknown evils of the Church of Rome, has no excuse if he does not make himself acquainted with a good deal of the difficulty which awaits him in the Church which attracts him. There are books to suit almost every class—at any rate, so far as cost is concerned. For those who can afford to spend ten to twenty shillings on a first-rate book there is the work of Dr. Salmon on; "The Infallibility of the Church," recently noticed in our pages. For those who have to look well at a shilling before they spend it there is the sixpenny work of Dr. Littledale called "Words for Truth," which is a summary of replies to Roman cavils against the Church of England, and a useful companion to the same author's "Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome." Between the great work of Dr. Salmon and the handbooks of Dr. Littledale may be placed Mr. Gore's useful treatise on "Roman Claims," which is already in a second edition. It is a reply to Mr. Luke Rivington's pamphlet, "Authority: A Plain Reason for joining the Church of Rome;" and to say that Mr. Gore is a great deal more than a match for Mr. Rivington is to do but scant justice to the former. Mr. Gore's treatise is a firm, temperate, and well-reasoned statement of the comparative strength of the Anglican and Roman positions. He shows, what every well-informed student of Church history knows to be a simple fact, that, when the appeal is made to antiquity and to history, the difficulties of the Roman Catholic are frequent and overwhelming.

The volume contains some valuable quotations from works which are not in the hands of everybody. The following are specially worthy of note, and should not be skipped because they are in small print: From Mozley's "Theory of Development," on the perils of a one-sided logic (pp. 2, 3); from Newman's "Via Media," on the Roman doctrine of the Real Presence (p. 20); from Mahan's "Exercise of Faith," on St. Chrysostom's ignorance of the existence of an infallible guide (pp. 47, 48); from Grady's "Letters," on the falsifications in the Roman Breviary (pp. 107, 108); from Keenan's "Catechism," on the "Protestant inven-

tion" that Roman Catholics must believe that the Pope is infallible (p. 116).

This notice may conclude with a short extract from Mr. Gore's last chapter. It is on Anglican orthodoxy :

"I must in fairness say that there is no even unauthorized practice of the English Church which I had not as soon be responsible for as for that withdrawal of the chalice from the laity, to which the whole authority of the Church of Rome is committed ; that I have never heard a sermon in an English Church more to be regretted than one it was once my lot to hear in Strasburg Cathedral, in which Christ was preached as the revelation of Divine justice, and Mary as the revelation of Divine love. I have not read in Anglican biography anything which I should more desire to disown than Mother Margaret Mary Hallahan's description of the Pope saying Mass : ' When I heard him sing Mass I cannot express what I felt ; it was the God of earth prostrate in adoration before the God of heaven.' I have not been confronted in an Anglican book of devotion with any prayer more impossible to pray than—

" ' Soul of the Virgin, illuminate me ;
 Body of the Virgin, guard me ;
 Milk of the Virgin, feed me ;
 Passage of the Virgin, strengthen me ;
 O Mary, mother of grace, intercede for me ;
 For thy servant take me ;
 Make me always to trust in thee ;
 From all evils protect me ;
 In the hour of my death assist me ;
 And prepare for me a safe way to thee ;
 That with all the elect I may glorify thee ;
 For ever and ever. ' "

ALFRED PLUMMER.

St. Athanasius, his Life and Times. By the Rev. R. WHEELER BUSH. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

This little book will be by no means the least popular of "The Fathers for English Readers"—that attractive series published by the S.P.C.K. The story of the Arian controversy is most complicated, and when the narrator is compelled to be concise, as well as clear and interesting, he has considerable difficulties to overcome. Mr. Bush has, on the whole, performed his task with great success. Even though limited in space, he might well have omitted other facts in order to set forth clearly the changes which led to the third return of St. Athanasius from exile. The "Pope" of Alexandria returns to his See as quietly as if he has been taking an afternoon stroll. The accession of Julian to the Imperial throne was no small event in the life of Athanasius. Among the opponents of the Nicene Creed we find frequent mention of Eusebius, best known as of Nicomedia, and Eusebius of Cæsarea ; among its defenders Eusebius, once called of Vercellæ ; the next time his name occurs he is only called Eusebius, to the distraction of the unlearned. When so many Bishops changed their views as the fortunes of war turned, and so many bore the same name, it is well to preserve, where it is possible, their distinctive titles. Other similar suggestions, if carried out, would simplify the history to the ordinary reader, for whose benefit the book is supposed to be written. Yet, after all, the main facts of the story are told with great clearness, and in an interesting and graphic manner.

There is a view of St. Athanasius which represents him as a special pleader of great ability, placed by the course of events under the protec-

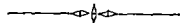
tion of Alexander, and determined to defend his patron at all costs. Mr. Bush points out that the two treatises, "To the Gentiles," and "On the Incarnation," are sufficient to refute this idea. These, although written prior to the outbreak of the great controversy, indicate clearly the attitude into which an attack on the divinity of the Second Person of the Godhead would force the writer if he practised the virtue of logical consistency. Athanasius was brought up in the Alexandrian school of divinity, taught how the highest aspirations and profoundest intuitions of ancient philosophy are fulfilled in Christ, bringing to bear upon his studies keen penetration combined with deep reverence, and careful not to trust to the terms of human speech as adequately expressing the mysteries of the Divine Nature. Arius, on the other hand, brought up in the Antiochene system of logical interpretation, seized upon the term "Son of God," and treated the relation of God the Father to the Son as exactly analogous to that subsisting between a human father and a purely human son. This irreverent notion was dispelled by the term "consubstantial," upon which Athanasius insisted, not as a complete definition of the relations between the Father and the Son, but as a corrective to a prevalent error. Unlike others of his party, he had firm hold of a doctrine without being blindly devoted to the words in which it was expressed. This is shown by his wise treatment of the Semi-Arians, a point on which Mr. Bush has not sufficiently dwelt. His power of being "in a good and Scriptural sense all things to all men," Mr. Bush justly notes; and as a striking example of this we refer readers to the interesting account of St. Athanasius among the Egyptian monks. The extent to which Arianism triumphed over the Church is often much exaggerated. As a genuine theological conviction it never was victorious, in spite of its undoubted attraction for half-heathen natures, and minds more prone to logic than to reverence. Mr. Bush well contrasts the one Truth of the Church attested by her one creed with the ever-varying opinions of the different sections of Arianizers set forth in a host of mutually destructive symbols. The real power of Arianism was based upon the influence of the Palace. To resist a heathen Emperor was comparatively an easy task, but when the Emperor was a heretic he appeared in the guise of an angel of light. It was such a strange experience to find the God of the Roman State casting off his divinity to own the Christians' God, that no wonder many were willing to follow the illustrious convert into whatever by-paths of heresy he might lead them. At the Nicene Council an impartial verdict was possible, for the Emperor was only anxious for peace. He was indifferent to the controversy as a theological question. After that the strength of Arianism varied as the Arian zeal of the Emperors, and the accession of the heathen Julian to the throne was a death-blow to the heresy. Henceforth it might linger, but it was doomed. "Athanasius *contra mundum*" is, as Mr. Bush hints, rather an exaggeration. It is a misrepresentation to assert that at this crisis "Rome was as silent as St. Peter at the door of Caiaphas." Mr. Bush shows what good service Julius did to the cause, and though Liberius signed an Arian Creed, to the fatal injury of the modern doctrine of Papal infallibility, the weakness of the poor old man, broken down as he was by shameful treatment, could never outweigh the noble testimony which he bore to the truth in the days when he exercised his free judgment.

This little work will have done good service if it enables anyone to appreciate the prime importance of the question at issue, as reaching to the very heart of Christianity, and to thank God that in her hour of deepest need He raised up a champion for the Church, second only to St. Paul in the mingled strength and sweetness of his life, and in the heroism of his self-sacrifice.

C. E. SCOTT MONCRIEFF.

The Lambeth Conferences of 1867, 1878, and 1888. With the official Reports and Resolutions, together with the Sermons preached at the Conferences. Edited by RANDALL T. DAVIDSON, Dean of Windsor. Pp. 414. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Anything like a review of this volume is unnecessary. The title-page speaks for itself. Whatever Dean Davidson does he does well.



THE MONTH.

THE Queen's Bench (the Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Manisty; Baron Pollock dissenting) have decided against the Bishop of London in the St. Paul's Reredos case, and have directed a *mandamus* to issue calling upon him to reconsider the complaint made to him under the Public Worship Regulation Act.¹

The *Guardian*, reverting to a passage in Baron Pollock's judgment, says :

So far, however, as the case has yet gone, we have the Judge who thinks that the *mandamus* ought not to be granted holding that if a Bishop were to refuse to transmit a particular representation on the ground that the adjudication upon any representation was an evil, the Queen's Bench ought to treat his decision as nugatory. Upon this the *Record* observes that "it is not too much to say that if the so-called 'reasons' which have been filed in more than one well-known case as a justification for the use of the veto had been judged by Baron Pollock's rule they must have been condemned;" and though we do not share the satisfaction with which our contemporary regards this conclusion we cannot deny that it is sound.

The Bishop of Lincoln, it appears, has determined not to appeal.

The Archdeacon of Warrington (Ven. W. Lefroy), we note with pleasure, has been appointed to the Deanery of Norwich, made vacant by the resignation of Dr. Goulbourn.

The Central Council of Diocesan Conferences has laid stress on the necessity of Tithe Legislation without further delay.

We record with regret the resignation² of the Rev. E. C. d'Auquier, the able and devoted Headmaster of the South Eastern College. The Rev. E. H. Askwith, appointed by the Council (Dean of Canterbury, President) to the vacant post, was most strongly recommended; and we are confident that the College will flourish under his care.

The new Canon of Llandaff, the Rev. Griffith Roberts, Rector of Dowlais, intends to resign his living, in order to devote the whole of his time to the duties of Diocesan Missioner.

¹ In a very able article (with which we entirely agree) the *Record* says: "The gravity and importance of the recent judgments, whatever is the sequel, seems to us to be the heavy blow which all the Judges, and not least Baron Pollock who was he dissentient Judge, have delivered against the Episcopal veto. Hitherto it has been generally supposed, and certainly the Bishops have acted on this view, that a Bishop has absolute power under the Public Worship Act to prevent a prosecution, and that his reasons might be as unsatisfactory and illusory as possible, and might in fact be a mere mockery of the complainant without there being any remedy. In a word, it was supposed that the discretion of the Bishop was absolute and unassailable. All three of the Judges distinctly repudiate this notion."

² The official circular says: "That resignation was accepted with regret by the Council, who feel that they owe to Mr. d'Auquier a deep debt of gratitude for the energy with which he has during the last ten years built up the College, from very small beginnings to its present important and recognised position. In selecting a successor, their choice has fallen upon the Rev. E. H. Askwith, a former scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, and tenth Wrangler of his year, and now a master in Westminster School. . . . The Council are satisfied that Mr. Askwith will carry on the religious teaching of the College on the lines which the promoters had in view in founding the School."