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retaining creeds and of revising those of the past, and discusses the question of the ethics of creed-subscription.

Among ecclesiastical confessions the Westminster Shorter Catechism and the Brief Statement of the Reformed Faith, of our own Church, please Dr. Curtis best. Concerning the latter he says (p. 290): "More than any other Confession, perhaps, it speaks in modern language, such as the pulpit may utter frankly and without alteration or paraphrase. It is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that every Protestant Church might cheerfully and heartily accept it for use both at home and in the mission field." But the ideal creed, to the author's way of thinking, is one couched in Biblical terms and offered by our Lord Himself: "Thou art the Christ, Son of the Living God."

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

Life of Sir Henry Vane the Younger, Statesman and Mystic (1613-1662). By JOHN WILLCOCK, M.A., D.D., F.R. Hist. Soc. Published by the Saint Catherine Press, London. 1913. Crown 8vo; pp. xxiii, 405.

Dr. Willcock has already given us three biographies dealing with the central years of the seventeenth century. One of these is devoted to the romantic figure of the author of *The Exquisite Jewel*,—Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromartie (1611-61). The two others trace the careers of those sharply contrasting figures, the eighth and ninth Earls of Argyll—*The Great Marquess: Life and Times of Archibald, 8th Earl and 1st (and only) Marquess of Argyll (1607-61)*, and *A Scots Earl in Covenanting Times: Being Life and Times of Archibald, 9th Earl of Argyll (1629-85)*. In the present volume he turns to the English side of the same great struggle for civil and religious liberty which was described on its Scotch side in *The Great Marquess*, and groups an account of its progress on English ground around the figure of Sir Henry Vane the Younger. Argyll was certainly the most commanding figure in the Scotch history of the times; and Dr. Willcock would place Vane by his side as occupying something like the same position of relative eminence in the English history of the day. There can be no good biography when there is no sympathy with the character and achievements of the person whose history is depicted; and we count it only gain for the general value of this volume that Dr. Willcock looks upon Vane with an admiring eye. "The purest patriot that England has ever seen" he calls him (p. 344) with genuine enthusiasm, if possibly with some exaggeration. To him more than to any other, he thinks, we are indebted for that vindication of our liberties which was the crowning service to us of the epoch of strife through which Vane lived. He does not hesitate to assign to him preëminence among all the statesmen of his time. "Three great names," he remarks, "are associated by us with the English Commonwealth which rose on the ruins of the Monarchy in the middle of the seventeenth century: Cromwell supreme in the field of war, Blake on the sea, and Vane in the cabinet" (p. 1). "Nothing, to a

modern man is more astonishing in Vane's career," he explains more fully (p. 347), "than the advanced views which he held regarding so many political matters. His advocacy of toleration, of religious equality, of the sovereign power of Parliament, of reform in the House of Commons, and of a written constitution, shows him to have been far in advance of his time. In some respects, indeed, he is in advance of our time. And the mere fact of his being able to rise so completely above the level of his age explains how it was that he so often stood alone and was so often regarded with hostile feelings."

It is as the enlightened advocate, not so much of religious toleration as of the equality of all religions before the law, that Vane especially commands Dr. Willcock's admiration. It is in effect in this aspect of his character that Dr. Willcock essays particularly to depict him. In the effort to throw into a vivid light how much Vane towered in this above his contemporaries, perhaps now and then something less than justice is done to them. "The principle of toleration," we read (p. 17), "was firmly rooted in Vane's nature, and it would be hard to say whether Geneva or Rome, Canterbury, or Edinburgh, or Boston, in those days hated it most." That a practical unanimity of opinion obtained in the middle of the seventeenth century, that a religious function belonged to the civil magistrate; and that it was his duty, as the Westminster Confession expressed it, "to take order that unity and peace be preserved in the church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed", is of course true. But we can hardly on the basis of this common consent that it belonged to the magistrate to foster the true religion and to suppress heresy, wipe out the differences with respect to toleration which existed between Rome, say, with its "anarchical methods of propagating religion"—by means of force and fraud and massacres and burnings (pp. 33-34)—and Protestantism; or even between Canterbury with its Laudian doctrine of "thorough", and Edinburgh, operating under its "Solemn League and Covenant". If Argyll may be taken as a representative of Covenanted Edinburgh,—and surely no better representative could be wished—we have Dr. Willcock's own testimony that he was no persecutor (*The Great Marquess*, pp. 193-4, 198). The "comprehensive ecclesiastical establishment", which Argyll expounded in his great speech at Westminster on the 25th of June, 1646, while it sought "a reasonable measure of uniformity in religion", could not (as Dr. Willcock points out himself) "press heavily upon devout, well-disposed persons who had conscientious scruples",—and indeed, clearly (as Dr. Willcock also tells us), "expressed the same idea" in another way, which Cromwell gave famous utterance to in his letter to the Speaker of Parliament after the battle of Naseby. And that Argyll was in his broad views of the establishment occupying the same ground with his other brethren in

the Covenant is notorious. Precisely the same views for example had been declared by George Gillespie in his sermon before the House of Lords in 1645, and other equally authoritative announcements of them might easily be adduced. No doubt all these men were advocates of an "established church", and Vane had progressed beyond that standpoint. He was convinced, as they were not, that the magistrate as such had no function in the sphere of religion; and in this he rose superior to them, and manifested an insight into the essential fitness of things to which they had not yet attained. We may contrast with the article on the "Civil Magistrate" in the Westminster Confession from which we have just quoted the exposition of "the Rule of Magistracy" given by Vane in his *Retired Man's Meditations* published in 1655 (p. 388) and observe with admiration the height above all theories of "establishment" to which Vane had soared. "We are to understand by this terme," he says, "the proper sphere, bounds, and limits of that office, which is not to intrude itself into the office and proper concerns of Christ's inward government and rule in the conscience, but is to content itself with the outward man, and to intermeddle with the concerns thereof in reference to the converse which man ought to have with man, upon the grounds of natural justice and right, in 'things appertaining to this life', wherein the Magistrate or higher power is not only the proper Judge, but hath the right of coercion thereunto, if not obeyed, and the more illuminated the Magistrate's conscience and judgment is, as to natural justice and right, by the knowledge of God and communications of light from Christ . . . the better qualified is he to execute his office, and the more accountable he is to God and man in default thereof" (p. 229). But because the true relation of the civil magistracy to the church was as yet so little understood, is no reason why we should lump all the advocates of the "establishment" of religion in an indistinguishable mass of intolerant persecutors. In point of fact Vane would have had little quarrel with the Scots with their accomplished independence of the Church in *spiritualia*: what vexed his righteous soul most was the ingrained Erastianism of the English Parliament, on which, more than any other one thing, was wrecked the scheme of a uniform religious establishment in the two kingdoms.

And this leads us to speak a word on Vane's relation to the Solemn League and Covenant. We are loath to believe that the real state of the case is fairly represented when we are told that "Vane succeeded in inserting clauses in it" (p. 122) by means of which—that it was "through Vane's diplomacy that—the terms" (p. 145) in which its obligations were expressed were weakened beyond the purpose of the contracting Scots. Baillie leaves us in no doubt that the declaration in its final form was understood by the Scots to express their full mind. And certainly the terms in which the obligations were expressed in the final form seem to be precise enough to bind most consciences (*cf.* this REVIEW vi [April 1908], pp. 198 ff.). Vane himself moreover in 1662 declared, at his trial and on the scaffold, his

loyalty to the Covenant and his reverence for it, only explaining that he did not consider that it should be rigidly imposed. "I will not deny," he says in his "Reasons for an Arrest of Judgment", "that as to the manner of prosecution of the Covenant to other ends than itself warrants, and with a rigid, oppressive spirit, to bring all dissenting minds and tender consciences under one uniformity of church discipline and government, it was utterly against my judgment. For I always esteemed it more agreeable to the Word of God that the ends and work declared in the Covenant should be promoted in a spirit of love and forbearance to differing judgments and consciences, that thereby we might be approving ourselves 'in doing that to others which we desire they would do to us'; and so, though upon different principles, be found joint and faithful advancers of the reformation contained in the Covenant, both public and personal" (p. 129). On the scaffold he speaks with evidently true feeling of the Marquess of Argyll as "that noble person whose memory I honour" and describes how he "was with myself at the beginning and making of the Solemn League and Covenant, the matter of which", he continues, "and the holy ends therein contained I fully assent unto, and have been as desirous to observe; but the rigid way of prosecuting it, and the oppressive uniformity that hath been endeavored by it, I never approved. This were sufficient to vindicate me from the false aspersions and calumnies which have been laid upon me, of Jesuitism and Popery, and almost what not, to make my name of ill savour with good men" (p. 130). These do not seem natural words on the lips of one who had sought so to frame the wording of the Covenant as to make it palter in a double sense; and we would fain believe, if it be possible to do so, that Vane was incapable of arguing as, for example, Browne argued, when rebuking the Assembly of Divines for its attitude regarding the *jus divinum*, that as there is no positive rule of church government in the Word, the Covenant leaves absolute freedom to all on this point. We prefer to think, if it be possible to do so, that Vane's meaning is not very far from that of Argyll; or of George Gillespie when Gillespie declares that he would condemn "any rigorous or violent course against such as being sound in the faith and holy in life, and not of a turbulent, factious carriage, do differ in smaller matters from the common rule"—and apostrophises thus: "Let that day be darkness, let not God regard it from above, neither let the light shine upon it, in which it shall be said that the children of God in Britain are enemies and persecutors of each other." No doubt Vane would interpret the "smaller matters" more broadly than Gillespie and seek a wider toleration but we should not forget that the toleration of the Scots was wide enough to include Vane's party. "We may be very confident," declared the Scottish Commissioners in 1646 of the Pilgrim Fathers, "that the godly people who did transplant themselves out of this island (the fame of whose piety and zeal shall never suffer detraction or the smallest diminution from our thoughts or words) might have lived in the Church of Scotland en-

joying the pure ordinances of God, with peace in their consciences and comfort to their souls." The chief enemy of Vane in his pleadings for toleration was not the Scots with their Solemn League and Covenant, within which toleration would have been readily granted for all the practical of Vane's friends, but the chief enemy of the Scots with their Solemn League and Covenant,—the Erastian Parliament, who would itself govern everything, even the inmost *spiritualia*, and would allow no freedom outside the reach of its prescriptions.

The main lack which the reader feels in the volume is an adequate account of Vane's theological opinions. "Dreamy Mysticism" is what he is credited with; "strange dreams and fantastical interpretation of Scripture and sheer unintelligibility" we are told "often overcloud his religious writings." A contemporary critic is quoted to the effect that he "hath not contented himself in the shallows, but hath waded into the deeps of divinity, possibly so far sometimes as that he cannot feel the ground of Scripture". Some description is given of his chief religious writings: and (with the help of T. H. Green) a brief *précis* of his teaching is offered. A good deal more than this would have been welcomed by theological readers who have not access to Vane's books.

Dr. Willcock is more interested in the man, however, than in his religious opinions, and brings him before us with especial zest as the Apostle of liberty, civil and religious. He is full of admiration for his insight and foresight and credits him, as we have seen, with being in advance not only of his time but even of our time in the clearness of his convictions and the boldness of his suggestions. No doubt it is generally true that most of the political advance which has been slowly worked out in Britain for the last two hundred and fifty years has merely given effect to what was already present in promise in the Puritan Revolution: and Vane as the bold spirit who was ever in the lead in the Puritan Revolution naturally embodies in his own person the *clairvoyant* element inherent in it. Some of his suggestions have not even yet worked themselves into fact: some of them—as for example government by a single-chamber—we may hope never will, though certainly a close approximation to it is already in being. But the praise which Dr. Willcock pours out upon him seems fairly justified in general. The biography he has given us of him is most illuminating. The field it covered was not unoccupied: other biographies of Vane are in existence. There was room, however, for a new one, and Dr. Willcock has written this new one with adequate knowledge, keen sympathy and just characterization. The positive new contributions to our knowledge of Vane which he makes he does not claim to be large. He thinks he has given a fuller account of Vane's relations with Cromwell, and of his political career from Cromwell's death to the restoration of Charles II, than has hitherto been accessible. And he presents the material for a judgment upon the connection of Vane which has recently been alleged with the plot in which Sir Richard Willis was the chief spirit and which had for its object the seizure—perhaps the murder—of Charles II and his brother, the Duke of

York, expressing his hope, at the same time, that Vane may be ultimately cleared of complicity in this discreditable proceeding. But the chief claim of the volume upon attention is its lucid and well-ordered narrative of the whole story of Vane's career. As is usual in Dr. Willcock's books the volume is well illustrated. It is also provided with a useful index.

Princeton.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

What is the Truth about Jesus Christ? Problems of Christology discussed in six Haskell Lectures at Oberlin, Ohio. By FRIEDRICH LOOFS, Ph.D., Th.D., Professor of Church History in the University of Halle-Wittenberg, Germany. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1913. 12mo; pp. vii, 241.

There are few men better equipped than Friedrich Loofs to give an illuminating survey of recent christological discussion. He is handicapped, of course, by his own dogmatic point of view. His dogmatic point of view is that of right-wing Ritschlianism. As a right-wing Ritschlian, Jesus is to him the unique Revealer of God and Mediator of Redemption. From this standpoint he looks out upon all recent discussion, and by its standard he estimates the value of its contribution to thought. Whatever is less than this, and, equally, whatever is more than this, he condemns; and he so conducts the survey of the progress of discussion as to lead up with apparent naturalness to the conclusion that it is thus and not otherwise that we must think of Christ. It is only at the end of the volume, therefore, that we learn Loofs' own Christological opinions; and they are given to us there less as the constitutive elements of his own Christology than as the residuum of the Christological discussion of recent years. "For us," says he (p. 236), "the three following thoughts, held out by these views, are the most valuable: first, that the historical person of Christ is looked upon as a human personality; secondly, that this personality, through an indwelling of God or his Spirit, which was unique both before and after, up to the end of all time, became the Son of God who reveals the Father and becomes also the beginner of a new mankind; and, thirdly, that in the future state of perfection a similar indwelling of God has to be realized, though in a copied and therefore secondary form, in all people whom Christ has redeemed." Here are just the familiar forms of right-wing Ritschlianism: Jesus Christ is only a man; but in this man God dwells uniquely and by this unique indwelling of God, He is made the Revelation of God and the Mediator of redemption; and the redeemed are to be brought in their measure into a relation to God similar to that in which He stood. When Loofs, then, speaks of Jesus being something more than man—as he sometimes does in the course of his lectures,—it is this that he means: not that Jesus is in