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THE
CHURCHMAN

JUNE, 1892.

ART. I.—MODERN OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

No. IV.—PROFESSOR DRIVER.

I COME now to the English disciple of the school to which these articles have been devoted who, by reason of his reverence, moderation, and learning, exercises most influence upon English theological thought. I mean Canon Driver. Professor Cheyne has been so recently and, I may add, so ably dealt with in the CHURCHMAN by Canon Meyrick, that I may be excused from discussing his writings. His extreme opinions with regard to the Psalter, though they would seem a necessity of the case, if the new criticism is to be logical as well as ingenious, will hardly, one would think, be likely to secure the acquiescence of the English religious world. But it is the candour, the religious earnestness, of Canon Driver, combined with an indisposition to push matters to extremes, which has won for him the commanding position he at present unquestionably occupies in the domain of Old Testament criticism in this country.

Yet, for critical acumen and ability to grasp the true nature of the question at issue, the palm, I must honestly confess, seems to rest with Professor Cheyne. He has justice on his side when he asks, as he has lately done, why Canon Driver, if he goes so far, has not the courage to go farther. For it is the weakness, and not the strength, of Canon Driver's critical position that has won for him the commanding position of which I have just spoken. In England extreme views are unpopular. Moderation is the invariable condition of success. The whole history of English politics, for instance, has been a history of compromise. He is in the highest esteem as a practical man who has an expedient always ready to bridge over a difficulty, to soothe the animosities of con-

flicting sections of society. Macaulay, who, perhaps, of all our historians is the most intensely national, boasts of this tendency to sacrifice logic to circumstances, as displayed in the momentous document which formulated the principles of the Revolution of 1688. Our strong religious antipathies have until lately prevented this principle from being regarded with equal favour in the department of theological controversy. But it has at length been welcomed there also, and he is the most popular divine who, in the conflict of opinion, is happy enough to have struck out an apparently plausible and workable middle course. Such a course, whether logical or illogical, is hailed in the nineteenth, as it was in the fourth century, by those who desire to avoid the painful necessity of strife. I fear it must be added that the policy of compromise is as certain to defeat the hopes of those who have thus hailed it in this century as in that. There is, unfortunately, no Athanasius at present to discern the true principle at stake, and to defend it with eloquence and insight equal to his stubborn tenacity of purpose. Nevertheless, now, as then, it is a controversy on a fundamental question which is raging, and now, as then, it may continue to rage for not less than half a century. Then it was the Divinity of the Son of God which was disputed; now it is the authority of the written Word. It has already been pointed out in these pages how English critics are accustomed to adopt the conclusions of German criticism in regard to that Word without accepting its premisses. The premisses are that there has been, and can be, no revelation, no special Divine guidance, in the history of Israel. Judaism and Christianity, says Kuenen, as we have seen,¹ have neither of them any claim to a revelation of truth "in any way special and peculiar." In his view, the occurrence of alleged miraculous events in a narrative may be taken as a proof that it is separated by a considerable interval of time from the events narrated. It is on this basis that the theory of the later origin of the Pentateuch has been raised. But Canon Driver, while he accepts the conclusions of men like Wellhausen and Kuenen, does *not* accept their premisses. His "criticism," he tells us, does not "banish or destroy the inspiration of the Old Testament: it *presupposes* it."² He lays down no postulate concerning the possibility or impossibility of miracles, so that his theory of the Old Testament is deprived of its chief supports, and, unlike that of his Continental allies, rests on the insecure foundation of criticism alone.

¹ CHURCHMAN, May, 1892, p. 394.

² "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament," Preface, p. xix.

I should be very sorry to do the least injustice to Canon Driver's motives. If I have described his middle course as a "plausible" one, it is not because I wish to impute insincerity to him. No one can fail to have the greatest respect for his candour, his industry, his wide and profound Hebrew scholarship, and his high character as a Christian and as a divine. Nor, if this were a mere matter of pure linguistic criticism, or of the interpretation of any particular passage of Holy Writ, should I venture for a moment to cross swords with him. But the question at issue between the adherents and the opponents of the new criticism is a far wider one. It is concerned with the whole plan and purpose of revelation, with the part miracles and special providences play in the history of Israel, with the principles of literary and historical investigation in general. On such points as these others beside profound Hebrew scholars and skilled textual critics may claim to form and to express an opinion. We may venture to go further. It is not too much to say that the importance of the question to the moral and spiritual life of Christendom demands that every man, according to his ability, should examine the methods recommended to us, and accept or reject them according to his view of their intrinsic excellence or worthlessness.

Before we proceed to a more detailed examination of these methods, we may remark on the position in which the Old Testament narrative, as a whole, is placed by Canon Driver's theory. On critical grounds chiefly, without the assumptions we have referred to as universal among German critics, yet supported by some instances of alleged discrepancies,¹ he divides the sources of the Pentateuch into four main currents. First, there are the Jehovist and Elohist, who, as he tells us, "cast into a literary form the traditions respecting the beginning of the nation that were current among the people—approximately (as it would seem) in the early centuries of the

¹ If these alleged discrepancies are not treated in these articles, it is from no intention to misrepresent Canon Driver or any other critic. But if we devoted ourselves to an examination of them we should have space for nothing else. A brief statement of them will be found in Canon Driver's "Introduction," in pp. 129 *et seq.* It cannot be denied that the contents of the Pentateuch present some difficulties on what is generally known as the "orthodox" theory. But (1) it is possible that fuller information might avail to clear up those difficulties; (2) they form a very slender foundation for the support of so vast a fabric as modern criticism proposes to rear upon them; and (3) the theory of modern critics regarding the Hexateuch is confronted with difficulties at least as serious as the theory they bid us renounce. The object of these papers, let it be clearly understood, is not so much to maintain the traditional view, as to point out the difficulties in the way of our acceptance of that which we are at present asked to substitute for it.

monarchy,"¹ and whose narrative has been combined by a later writer. Then there is the Deuteronomist, who must be supposed to have composed his account of the institutions of Israel in the reign of Manasseh.² Then there is the "completed Priestly Code," which, he tells us, "is the work of the age subsequent to Ezekiel."³ With regard to this last, it has obviously no historical value whatever on Canon Driver's hypothesis. Written not less than a thousand years after the events it professes to record, and resting, so far as we know, upon no authentic information, it must, of course, be dismissed in any inquiry concerning the early history of the Jewish nation and its institutions. Though Canon Driver regards the ritual of the Priestly Code as clearly "based upon *pre-existing Temple usage*" (the italics are his own), he gives us not the slightest information as to the date to which this "Temple usage" may be supposed to extend backward.

Under any circumstances whatever, the religious ceremonies of a given age can hardly be regarded as any very sufficient guide to the ceremonies of a period from nine hundred to a thousand years before it. Nor can statements of historical events, made nine hundred or a thousand years subsequent to those events, be depended upon, unless they can be distinctly shown to be based on earlier authentic information. Thus the Priestly Code, though no doubt important for the period immediately succeeding the return from captivity, and perhaps, to a limited extent, for an earlier period, is historically worthless for the events of the Mosaic age. The main portion of Deuteronomy, however, we are told, can be traced back to the information found in the mingled Jehovistic and Elohist narrative which has just been mentioned. And this, as we have seen, is simply a record of "traditions" which were current in Israel about five centuries after the events to which those traditions refer. Now, it is quite true that there are traditions *and* traditions—traditions which are authentic, and traditions which can lay no claim whatever to such a character.⁴ But what importance can be attached to traditions which at the very nearest are divided by a period of five hundred years from the events to which they relate? If the analogy of other history is to be trusted, they are useless to the historian. We find ourselves

¹ "Introduction," p. 110.

² *Ibid.*, p. 82.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 135. But it is remarkable that in Neh. viii. 14, which Canon Driver admits to be authentic, Levit. xxiii. 40 is spoken of as already existing in a written form.

⁴ It were much to be wished that when writers on the Old Testament speak of traditions, they would tell us whether they mean the one or the other.

debarred from writing the history of the savage races of Polynesia because of the absence of written records. We reject almost instinctively the traditions contained in the Welsh Triads or in the pages of Geoffrey of Monmouth, because we not only find them improbable in themselves, but unconfirmed by anything approaching to contemporary authority. And we do this not because there is actually no truth whatever in statements handed down by word of mouth, but because we feel it to be a hopeless task to sift the accounts, and to separate truth from falsehood. This is precisely the position in which we are placed on Canon Driver's hypothesis in regard to the history of Israel. We cannot be sure that the accounts which have come down to us are anything more than a mass of pure fiction; whereas on the traditional theory the evidence is continuous and contemporary, or all but contemporary, throughout. It is true that there *may* have been written records before the Jehovist and the Elohist—though even this is contested by some of the highest of the authorities Canon Driver bids us follow¹—but Canon Driver himself does not attempt to decide the question whether there are such written records or not. In other words, in writing an "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament," he is content to take us as far back as the eighth or ninth century B.C., and there leave us.² Thus when we endeavour to settle the question whether there is any evidence for the belief universally held, at least from Nehemiah's time, that, to use the words of St. John, "the law was given by Moses," we find ourselves entirely without information beyond a mass of traditions—most probably oral—accumulated during at least five centuries. We may, therefore, be said to be without trustworthy evidence that any law whatever was given by Moses, and certainly without any authentic information about its contents. One alternative, certainly, is open to us, if we still cling to the ancient doctrine of revelation and inspiration. We may believe that some of the details of the Law of Moses were miraculously revealed to the Elohist or Jehovist, or both, in the days of the earlier kings, and that they recorded them for the benefit of future ages. And if we reject such an alternative, as in the present stage of belief on inspiration we certainly must, what remains to us, on Canon Driver's theory, of that inspiration which he "presupposes" ?

¹ Wellhausen, "History of Israel," p. 393.

² He tells us in p. 118 that "a date in the early centuries of the monarchy would seem not to be unsuitable both for J and for E, but it must remain an open question whether both may not, in reality, be earlier." And he seems to imply that before they appeared the Jews depended on oral tradition.

Certainly not an inspiration which gives us a clear, accurate and authoritative history of a Divine revelation delivered, as has been hitherto believed, in the infancy of the world, by the mouth of a prophet and sage whose career and character stand apart from any other. We do not find in it even a definite conception of the character and Being of God, for this we first learn from the Deuteronomist, who is supposed to have written in the reign of Manasseh. We have simply a collection of precepts, handed down in a narrative bearing a certain pietistic flavour, which by a stretch of language may be credited with inspiration, but which certainly can hardly be said to amount to, scarcely even to contain, a Divine revelation. The origin of these precepts, moreover, no one can tell us. Canon Driver does not make the attempt. So far as we can learn from him, we are in the dim cloudland of tradition till the days of the early kings, when we meet with the first endeavour to tell coherently the story of the Israelitish nation. Nor do the authorities he bids us consult give us much more definite information. Some of them think that all Moses gave the Israelites was the Ten Commandments in their "original form."¹ What that may have been we do not precisely know.² Others assign more or less of the institutions now known as Mosaic to Moses as their original author.³ Thus the history of Jewish institutions, so far as the critical school is concerned, is at present in a very chaotic state, and sorely needs some critic of superior powers who will bring it into somewhat more definite shape. Of the original Mosaic institutions we are, as far as Canon Driver can inform us, altogether in the dark, though we may derive much

¹ Kuenen, "Religion of Israel," ii. 7.

² See p. 460.

³ We gain no information whatever from Canon Driver's "Introduction" as to the amount of legislation or distinct religious teaching which must be ascribed to Moses. This, he tells us, is because his aim is to deal with the *literature* rather than the *history* of Israel. But all we find concerning the fragment Exod. xx.-xxiv., which is supposed by the critics on all hands to contain Israelite institutions in their earliest stage, is that "the Decalogue was derived by E from a pre-existing source" (p. 30), and that the same was the case with the "Book of the Covenant," *i.e.*, Exod. xx. 20 to xxiii. 33 (p. 33), though, he adds, the "form" (of these laws) "in particular cases is due to the compiler who united J and E into a whole." And, again (pp. 144, 145), we learn that "it cannot be doubted that Moses was the ultimate founder of both the national and religious life of Israel," that "he provided the people with a nucleus of a system of civil ordinances," and "with some system of ceremonial observances," and that "it is reasonable to suppose that the teaching of Moses on these subjects is preserved, in its least modified form, in the Decalogue and the 'Book of the Covenant.'" In other words, it is only "reasonable to suppose" that we may possibly find in the Bible some approximation to correct information as to a very small part of what "Jehovah commanded Moses."

more definite information on the point from Kuenen and Wellhausen, whom, for reasons he does not assign, he does not here appear to follow.

We have, it is true, a Deuteronomist writing, as we are told, some seven or eight hundred years after the Exodus, who gives us his view of what Moses might be supposed to have meant or said, and whose inspiration must be held to consist in the undeniable and most magnificent expansion of the very uncertain germ of ceremonial enactment and moral teaching we are enabled to trace to a Mosaic origin. And then we have another portion of the Mosaic narrative which by the vast majority of German critics is held to be the *Grundschrift*, or earliest portion of the narrative, but which Canon Driver, here following Kuenen and Wellhausen, makes the latest, though he admits that "there are still scholars" who cannot agree with him on this point.¹ The whole question of the origin of Jewish institutions is therefore at present in the profoundest confusion. It is true that from Eichhorn downwards there has been a gradual growth of a distinct conception among German critics with regard to the supposed contents of what is known as the Priestly Code.² But Ewald stands loftily apart from the crowd of critics of his school. He recognises the strong archaic flavour of certain passages in which other Hebraists detect no archaic flavour at all, and his "Book of Origins," which corresponds partly, though by no means entirely, with what others have picked out as the *Grundschrift*, or Priestly Code, he ascribes boldly to the reign of David or of Solomon. Let

¹ Canon Driver's reasons will be found in pp. 129-135 of his "Introduction." Most of them have already been examined in the articles on Wellhausen and Kuenen. It is curious to find Canon Driver ("Introduction," p. 132) in the course of his argument interpreting Ezekiel's phrase, "the priests, the Levites, the sons of Zadok" (Ezek. xliv. 15), of the *Levites generally*, especially when there is a distinct statement to the contrary in Ezek. xl. 46.

² Canon Driver describes the Priestly Code as the "framework of our present Hexateuch" (p. 8). On the supposition that it was the *Grundschrift*, or original narrative, this is intelligible enough. It has not been made quite so clear why the redactor, with plenty of older materials *ex hypothesi* ready to his hand, should have set them in a framework of so recent a date. Especially it is not clear why he should so continually have interrupted the freer and more flowing narrative of J and E to insert what we are repeatedly told are the drier and more formal details of the Priestly Code. This remark can hardly, however, be understood without a reference to the very singular way in which, according to the critics, the various narratives are, not fused or blended, but pieced together. The reader should certainly consult the analysis of the Priestly Code in Canon Driver's "Introduction," p. 150. It would help him to appreciate its critical value if he were to mark it out in a copy of the Old Testament.

it be remembered that the Priestly Code contains the whole Book of Leviticus, and it will at once be seen how far removed from certainty we are, on the principles of the new criticism, as to the real character of the revelation, if any, which God gave by the hand of His servant Moses.

So much must suffice for the general principles advocated and applied to the Old Testament by Canon Driver. It will, I think, be widely felt, here as in Germany,¹ by practical persons who have to teach Scripture to the people at large, that we are left by them in a position eminently indefinite and unsatisfactory. The early history of Israel has been reduced to chaos, but when it comes to the reconstruction of the history on the new basis, it is found that no very definite results have been attained. One thing may be regarded as certain, that few people will be able to remain where Canon Driver has left them. They must either go further, and with Kuenen and Wellhausen deny altogether the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch in its present shape, or, if they have any deep religious sympathies, any personal dealings with men's souls, they will find themselves forced to return to something far more closely resembling the old traditional view.

Some illustrations of Canon Driver's method when applied to details will now be given. But it is necessary, in the first instance, to do full justice to the spirit in which he has approached the problem. There can be no doubt of the transparent honesty in which the task has been undertaken, and the few words of self-vindication on this point in the preface² must be regarded as fully borne out by the whole tenor of the book. Everyone must admit that Canon Driver is fully convinced, and that after careful inquiry, of the soundness of the methods he has been led to adopt. But, as an honest seeker after truth, he cannot be offended if others are unable to agree with him on this point, nor even if they see, or think they see, in his own pages, evidence that those methods cannot implicitly be trusted.

Our first criticism on a point of detail will be the way in which Canon Driver deals with the interesting passage in 2 Macc. ii. 13-15, which gives us an account of the efforts made by Nehemiah to collect and preserve the ancient literature of Israel. On all the "ordinary principles by which

¹ See Herr Wurm's remarks quoted in the last paper. Those remarks have a special significance when read in the light of a paragraph, which has gone the round of the newspapers during the last few weeks, stating that the number of persons in Germany who describe themselves as of no religion at present is *fourteen times* as great as the number who so described themselves in 1871. This is a remarkable practical comment on the effects and tendencies of the new criticism.

² P. xi.

history is judged and evidence estimated,"¹ this is a most important statement. Yet how does Canon Driver deal with it? First of all he endeavours to show that it has nothing to do with the question of the Canon, but refers rather to Nehemiah's efforts towards the collection and preservation of national literature generally. He is no doubt perfectly right here. There seems no ground for contending that the writer ascribes to Nehemiah any intention of promulgating a Canon of Scripture, though something of the kind must almost certainly have been for some time in existence three hundred years later, when the Septuagint was translated. But even if the passage has nothing to do with the formation of a Canon, it is nevertheless extremely important by reason of the testimony it gives to the care which was taken at a critical moment to preserve the ancient literature of Israel. There is nothing improbable in the account in itself—quite the contrary. It agrees exactly with the character ascribed to Ezra and Nehemiah in the books bearing their names. From those books we gather that there was an ancient Israelite literature known to them, and that this literature was held in deep reverence, so that the people gathered together "from morning until mid-day"² to hear it read. No "ordinary" historical or literary critic, we may be sure, would dismiss so interesting a passage with the curt remark that "the origin of the statement is too uncertain, and its terms too indefinite, for any far-reaching conclusion to be founded on it."³ On the contrary, he would regard such a passage, taken in connection with the whole history of Israel, and the belief entertained in the days of Nehemiah of the Divine origin of the Mosaic Law, as supplying very strong evidence of the care taken at the return from the captivity to hand down the literature of earlier days unimpaired to future ages. Nor does the fact that the account from which this passage is extracted plainly contains legendary matter entitle Canon Driver to argue that it is "discredited" thereby. The admirers of Professor Freeman will remember that this is not the way in which he deals with a narrative of the battle of Brunanburh, with which legendary matter, in the course of time, had become involved.⁴ That is to say, the founder of the principal school of historical research among us does not countenance the wholesale rejection of stories in which legendary matter is embodied, but prefers the careful and

¹ "Introduction," p. xiv. ² Neh. viii. 3. ³ "Introduction," p. xxx.

⁴ Neither does he dismiss Alfred as a myth because of the story of the burnt cakes and the housewife's rebuke in the Isle of Athelney, with which the facts have been embellished by later hands.

patient disentanglement of the legend from the facts round which the legend has grown. No first-rate historian would reject a statement so intrinsically probable as the endeavour on the part of Nehemiah to preserve the ancient literature of Israel, on the ground that in the course of years it had become encrusted with legend. Nor should we fail to note that the absence of this legendary matter in the books of Jeremiah and Nehemiah is a distinct evidence of their greater antiquity.

We cannot, again, implicitly trust Canon Driver's method of discovering different sources for a narrative in the occasionally varying details he finds in different portions of the history. He assumes somewhat too readily, many will think, that "the Hebrew historiographer, as we know him, is essentially a *compiler* or arranger of pre-existing documents"—not "an original author"; and that the "documents or sources can generally be distinguished from each other, and from the comments of the compiler, without difficulty."¹ His whole system of critical analysis is based on this assumption; yet the only historical foundation for it is that the author of Chronicles frequently, though by no means always, transfers the contents of Kings bodily to his pages. Critically, too, this theory can hardly claim to be established beyond doubt; for though there are unquestionable evidences of later editorial additions, and even, so far as Genesis is concerned, of the transcription of documents, yet the incapacity to distinguish satisfactorily between the narrative of the Jehovist and the Elohist, which is frequently admitted by Canon Driver,² supplies at least a presumption against his theory of compilation as just stated.

Unfortunately there is no space for full details on the critical methods, apart from questions of language and style, by which the various sources of the narrative are supposed to be indicated. One or two instances must suffice as specimens. We are told how the promise of a son to Sarah is twice related, and that three different, or at least independent, accounts are given of the origin of the name Isaac. There is no sort of incompatibility between the two accounts of the promise, nor are three explanations given of the name. Sarah's remark in Genesis xxi. 6 may as easily have been suggested by the name Isaac, as the name by the occurrence referred to. Again, we are told that "the section Genesis xxvii. 46—xxviii. 9 differs appreciably in style from xxvii. 1-45, and at the same time exhibits Rebekah as influenced by a different motive in suggesting Jacob's departure from Canaan."³ The difference in style between the two narratives is by no means so marked as to pre-

¹ "Introduction," p. 3.

² *Ibid.*, pp. xii., 12, 14, 17, 36, and the final summary in pp. 109 *et seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

clude all difference of opinion on the point, while the criticism which here discovers a discrepancy between the accounts of Rebekah's motive displays a strange ignorance of human nature. Is it a thing altogether unknown, it may be asked, for a wife to give one reason to her husband for wishing a thing, while in point of fact she is really actuated by another? And if, beside, that husband were blind and all but bedridden, would it be in the least degree surprising that a sensible woman should carefully conceal from him circumstances which would be certain to alarm him? Where, in fact, the "higher criticism" sees a difference of sources, less cultivated intelligences may be content to see that "touch of nature which makes the whole world kin," and to find in it the plainest proof of the unity of the narrative. But all through the Pentateuch it is just the same. The striking, distinct, glowing pictures of individuality which live before us in the sacred story, and have been felt to do so from time immemorial, are taken ruthlessly to pieces and assigned authoritatively to different sources. The history of Noah as now found in Genesis was partly written, according to Canon Driver, six hundred, and partly a thousand, years after Moses. We find from his analysis that chapters vi. 1-8, vii. 1-5, 10, 12, 16*b*, 17, 22, 23, viii. 1-3*a*, 6-12, 13*b*, 20-22, ix. 18-27 are from J E; while chapters vi. 9-22, vii. 6-9, 11, 13-16*a*, 18-21, 24, viii. 3*b*-5, 13*a*, 14-19, ix. 1-17, 28, 29 are from the Priestly Code. From what and what kind of sources the author of the Priestly Code derived his information we are not told. The history of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and the Exodus, the wanderings in the wilderness, are all treated in the same fashion. Yet if this theory of compilation, which would seem at once intricate and clumsy, does really represent the way in which the narratives were put together, it is not a little surprising that the results are found, from a purely literary point of view, so strikingly successful. If Abraham be, as Wellhausen tells us he is, "a free creation of unconscious art," we cannot but be astounded to find so finished a picture produced by so exceedingly rough a mosaic.

Unfortunately there is not space to discuss other portions of Canon Driver's analysis; but one more specimen may be given from Genesis xxxiv. The story of Dinah's seduction and Simeon and Levi's revenge is divided pretty fairly between J E and P. The grounds for assigning different sources to the narrative are stated as follows: "The motives and aims of the actors seem not to be uniformly the same. In verses 3, 11, 12 Shechem himself is the spokesman, and his aim is the *personal* one of securing Dinah as his wife; in verses 8-10 (*cf.* 16, 21-23) his father Hamor is spokesman, and

his aim is to secure an amalgamation between his people and Jacob's. In verse 30 Jacob expresses dissatisfaction at what his sons have done, while from verse 5 it would be inferred that they had merely given effect to their father's resentment."¹ This kind of criticism might safely be left to the intelligence of any sensible person. It is a point on which the judgment of mankind in general is quite on a level with, if not actually superior to, that of the most finished Hebrew scholar. But we may be allowed just two observations. The motive of an intending bridegroom in proposing to a young lady is very seldom indeed precisely identical with that of his family in approving of the match. His desire is generally to possess the lady, and it is to be hoped that this is at least not usually an aim which his father shares with him. A father, again, may feel the keenest resentment at the dishonour of his daughter, without thinking it desirable or prudent to avenge it by a ferocious and treacherous massacre. Canon Driver, too, seems to have overlooked the fact that neither verse 5 nor verse 30, according to his own analysis, are to be found in the narrative of the author of the Priestly Code. This kind of criticism may fairly be denominated *psychological*. For it has its origin, not in facts or principles, but in the bent of the critic's own mind. He is on the look out for discrepancies, and his imagination supplies him with what he seeks. Those whose minds are not "heated by the chase," will be inclined to be critical where he is imaginative, and will see only a plain straightforward narrative where he sees the plainest traces of the mythical J E or P. We may add that the successive interferences of Reuben and Judah on behalf of Joseph in Genesis xxxvii. are regarded as indicative of northern and southern Israelite sources respectively. It seems difficult to explain this theory of the sources of the story of Joseph except on the ground that each writer has coloured the details so as to suit his own local or tribal prejudices. Perhaps, on the whole, it is quite as easy to believe that this not very improbable story has its sources in fact.

In Canon Driver's analysis of the Ten Commandments the "original form" of the Decalogue is supposed to be that portion of them only which is found in *both* Exodus and Deuteronomy. This may or may not be the case. But we may be permitted to point out that similar canons of criticism, when applied to the New Testament, are rejected by most competent critics; that on such grounds St. Mark must be supposed to give us the true title on the cross, and not, as is generally believed, St. John; and that on this principle we should be compelled

¹ "Introduction," p. 15.

to reject words in the institution of Holy Communion to which the whole Christian Church has set her seal—the words “Do this in remembrance of Me.”¹

It is chiefly in his criticism of the Pentateuch that Canon Driver's analysis fails to convince us. In his criticism of other books of the Bible, if he is not always right, he is at least moderate, and even fairly conservative, save where the tenor of their contents is adverse to his theory of the Priestly Code. But it will surprise no one to find that the narrative in Joshua has been “expanded” by a Deuteronomic editor,² or that Judges was “set” by a “Deuteronomic compiler in a new framework, embodying his theory of the history of the period.”³ He approves of the remark of Dr. Davidson, that this framework is “hardly strict history, but rather the religious philosophy of the history.”⁴ All we are concerned with is the fact that the reconstruction of the *whole history of Israel* as we now have it—for the same principle is applied, though to a less extent, to the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles—is necessary to the establishment of his theory. That theory may or may not be correct, but at least it must be admitted that this expedient is a violent and, on ordinary historical principles, an unusual one. And when we find, as we do find,⁵ the prophet Ezekiel gently rebuked for his undue severity to his countrymen in chapters xvi., xx., xxiii., on the ground that he “is not wholly just to the past, and that he has transferred to it unconsciously the associations of the future,” one is irresistibly impelled to ask which was the more likely to be correctly informed on the history of Israel—Ezekiel, writing in 592 B.C., or the English and German disciples of the Higher Criticism in A.D. 1892?⁶

This brief sketch of Canon Driver's now widely-known work is as unsatisfactory to the writer as it will be insufficient for the reader. But, as has already been said, all we are at present concerned to do is to enter a *caveat* against the tendency now too common to take all the assertions of this

¹ It is noteworthy that an allusion to an historical statement, concerning God's resting on the Sabbath Day, which according to the critics is first found in a document subsequent to the Exile, occurs in the version of the Fourth Commandment contained in Exod. xx., one of the earliest portions of the Pentateuch, according to Canon Driver. This is only one specimen of the endless difficulties which confront the new criticism when it betakes itself to construction.

² “Introduction,” p. 97. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 157. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 161. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

⁶ We may further ask, What does Canon Driver mean by Ezekiel “transferring to the past the associations of the future”? Does he mean that Ezekiel was divinely inspired to foresee the establishment of the Priestly Code, and that he blamed Israel by anticipation for not having conformed to it before it was definitely embodied in legislation?

school for granted. There are many who imagine that the critics are simply confining themselves to the establishment of the proposition that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses or in the age of Moses. If that were all, little or no objection would or even ought to be raised against it. But as has been seen, this is *not* all for which they contend. The principles on which they proceed would not only disprove the Mosaic authorship and date: they would deprive the narrative of all sound historical foundation whatever. This would result, if not in depriving it of all title to inspiration, at least in destroying altogether its claim to be considered as veracious history. It is for this reason that I have given some specimens of the methods pursued. The removal of all contemporary or in any sense trustworthy evidence of the nature of Moses' legislation cannot, as far as the Law is concerned, be regarded as other than fatal to the belief in revelation. For revelation is not merely the preservation of a high moral tone, nor even the gradual evolution of sound conceptions of God. It is something more. It is the direct communication of Divine truth by God to man. The true meaning of the term "inspiration," and the question whether the word can in any sense be applied to writings whose source is such as Canon Driver pronounces those of the Old Testament to be, may be a matter for debate. But there can be little doubt that, on his view, definite supernatural revelation there was none, at least until the coming of Christ. It is here that the higher criticism at present in vogue among us appears to involve danger. It is not that it admits the presence of a human and fallible element in the Scriptures. It is impossible for any fair and candid-minded man any longer to deny that such an element is to be found in them. It is in the exaggeration of this element out of all proportion to the Divine, in which the danger lurks. It is not the admission of occasional mistakes which must be ultimately fatal to the authority of the Old Testament in the eyes of thinking men, but their manufacture to such an extent that the historical credibility of the whole narrative is impaired, if not destroyed. It is the attempt, just *because* the Scriptures claim a Divine origin, to apply canons of criticism to them rejected alike by historians and literary critics in ordinary historic and literary investigation which everyone who desires to maintain the honour of Scripture in the world at large feels bound to protest.¹ It is the doctrine inseparably

¹ Dean Milman, whose reputation as a historian, a poet, and a man acquainted with literary problems will not be contested, writes as follows in the preface to the third edition of his "History of the Jews," published in 1863: "I must acknowledge, as regards the modern German schools of criticism, profane as well as sacred, that my difficulty is more

involved in the critical method, that no supernatural revelation was made to man, save in the Person of Jesus Christ, to which we are bound to take exception. The more we regard the Incarnation and Mission of Christ as an isolated fact, without either root in, or definite connection with God's previous treatment of mankind, the more we weaken the moral and spiritual evidence for Him.

Yet we need not fear for the ultimate issue.

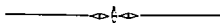
"Our little systems have their day ;
They have their day, and cease to be."

The present fashion of Old Testament criticism will pass away, as other fashions have done before it. Even Canon Driver himself may well be haunted by a doubt whether the Old Testament literature of to-day, like "the older literature" on the Old Testament to which he refers, may not once more, in time to come, be "largely superseded by more recent works."¹ The fate which has attended former schools of interpretation will in turn attend that of which we hear so much at the present time. Thus will our descendants be provided with yet another illustration of the truth of words which are destined to outlive as many more generations and schools of critics as they have outlived already. "All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof as the flower of the field. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but the Word of our God endureth for ever."

J. J. LIAS.

often with their dogmatism than with their daring criticism. If they destroy dominant theories, they rarely do not endeavour to compensate for this by constructing theories of their own—I must say in general on the most arbitrary conjecture—and assert these theories with as much certitude, and even intolerance—contemptuous intolerance—as the most orthodox and conservative writers." After paying a tribute to Ewald's learning, industry, and acumen, and lamenting the "dogmatism," "contemptuous arrogance," and "autocracy" with which it was allied, he goes on to admit that inquiry into the age and composition of the Hebrew records is a legitimate subject of inquiry. He admits, too, that there may be occasionally "discernible marks and signs of difference in age and authorship." "But," he adds, in words which deserve to be remembered, "that any critical microscope, in the nineteenth century, can be so exquisite and so powerful as to dissect the whole with perfect nicety, to decompose it, and assign each separate paragraph to its special origin in three, four, or five, or more, independent documents, each of which has contributed its part—this seems to me a task which no master of the Hebrew language, with all its kindred tongues, no discernment, however fine and discriminating, can achieve."

¹ "Introduction," p. 1.



ART. II.—SOME PROVERBS OF SOLOMON.

No. II.

“Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.—PROVERBS xxii. 6.

THIS proverb, by the mere fact of our familiarity with it, makes good its claim to be numbered among the “words of the wise.” That is a true proverb which, written in an Eastern country well-nigh three thousand years ago, retains its hold on us to-day in these far-off islands of the West; which has guided and encouraged the teacher in his arduous task, alike in England in this nineteenth century of the Christian era and in Palestine a thousand years before Christ was born. We find, too (and in this lies the secret of its power), that all the main principles of education are virtually comprised within its narrow but pregnant compass. Rightly understood, it includes alike the general and special conditions on which success in the training of childhood depends. It lays down the broad, solid foundations on which all true education must rest, and at the same time plainly indicates the variety of method and treatment which individual scholars demand.

1. In its broad, fundamental principles education is the same for all who are its subjects. “The way in which he should go” is, in this respect, but one way for all who tread it. In every case education must concern itself with *the whole man*.

The education of *the body*, as in these days we have come to understand, must in no case be neglected. Our aim must always be to provide for the *mens sana* the *corpus sanum*, as its proper and congenial dwelling-place. “Bodily exercise is profitable,” even though, in comparison of the greater profit of “godliness,” it be but “for a little.” The teacher who would train the child, whether of peer or peasant, in “the way he should go,” must pay attention to the due development and discipline of the body. The hand should be firm and vigorous, whether it be destined to guide the plough or to grasp the helm of the State. To “endure hardness” is a training as available against the seductions of an easy and luxurious lot, as against the sterner experiences of a severe and straitened poverty. It is a pitiable sight to see the breadwinner prostrate and enfeebled in the poor man’s cottage. Is it less pitiable to see the imperious mind, which wrests her secrets from Nature and is the benefactor of all mankind, weighed down and paralyzed by the infirmity of the corruptible body, or the large opportunities which wealth and station confer unoccupied through the remorseless presence of bodily pain and weakness?

Quite as little, nay, even less if possible, can any respect of persons be allowed, any difference of "way" recognised, in the training of the *moral nature*. Honesty is not the prerogative of any one station in life. Truthfulness should be as much the inmate of the cottage as of the palace. Purity is a priceless gem which shines lustrous alike on the chaste bosom of the village maiden and in the royal diadem of the queen. Temperance—not the partial or total abstinence from one of God's good gifts, which that word has unhappily come to mean, but self-control in the free and lawful use of them all, and mastery over all our appetites and passions—is a necessary and vital part of the education of every child of man.

Above all, in its religious aspect, in its relation to the spiritual being of man and his eternal destinies, "the way in which he should go" is the same for every man. "The way everlasting" knows no change in its essential characteristics. It varies not as through long ages the countless procession winds along it, going through clouds and sunshine, joy and sorrow, prosperity and adversity, "from strength to strength," till every one of them appears before God in Zion. One way only there is by which that goal can be reached, and in that one way, therefore, every child must be trained. This is what the Church means by her earnest striving for religious education, and for the maintenance of her voluntary schools. She would have it not only a possible privilege, but an acknowledged duty, to guide the feet of her children into this way in which they should go. She would give them not only religious knowledge, but religious education. She would not only inform, but "train" them, making their whole life, work no less than worship, religious, and bringing the powers and energies of their whole being within the restricting, yet expanding and ennobling, limits of that narrow way.

2. But if this proverb thus lays down by implication the common lines of an universal education, if it indicates the broad principles of bodily and moral and religious training on which all successful education must rest, it also opens up the interesting field of special dealing with the individual scholar. This is what lends its fascination to the teacher's office, raising it to the dignity of a profession, and providing scope for the highest gifts in its successful discharge. The literal rendering of the proverb, as the margin of the Revised Version notices, is, "Train up a child *according to his way*," thus suggesting that while in all that is essential "his way" is the way of all men, it may nevertheless be, as indeed it is, in important particulars, *his way* only. The tenor of *his way*, in the case of every pupil, must be the subject of careful study on the part of the true teacher.

"*His way.*" What may the parent or teacher learn concerning it; how may he be helped and guided in the difficult task of applying the general principles of education to the particular subject of it by the character and temperament and disposition of each individual child? He has to deal not only with

voices low and gentle,
And timid glances shy,
That seem for aid parental
To sue all wistfully,
Still pressing, longing to be right,
Yet fearing to be wrong;

but with

the eye of keenest blaze
And the quick-swelling breast,
That soonest thrills at touch of praise;

and he needs "glance both kind and true" to discern and treat accordingly.

"*His way.*" It must be fashioned also by the gifts and talents which His hand, who in nature as in grace "divideth to each one severally as He will," has bestowed upon the individual. Not less perilous and injurious to society than unjust and mischievous to the individual is the education which would keep down, or refrain from helping upward, what God has formed to rise, or which wearies itself in futile attempts to raise unduly what He has fitted for less conspicuous, though not less necessary, paths of service.

"*His way.*" What again does the providence of God, so far as we may presume to scan it, add to our forecast of its special future? It is our aim to train every baptized child to "do his duty in that state of life unto which it shall please God to call him." How far can we foresee for each scholar committed to our care what that state of life will be? That, too, is a consideration which the proverb commends to us, when it bids us train him after the tenor of *his way.*" The wisest of men lends no sanction to the unwisdom of an education which in details is the same for all.

It is to education thus conducted, to education which lays its strong foundations of physical and moral and spiritual training, unvarying for all men, and rears upon them, with wise and discriminating hand, its multiform superstructure, in accordance with the character and gifts and calling of each man, that a successful issue is guaranteed by this proverb. Thus, in the faith of Him who gives the command, "Train up the child according to his way," and then, in the like faith of Him who gives the promise, look for the reward: "even when he is old he shall not depart from it."

T. T. PEROWNE.

ART. III.—NOTES AND COMMENTS ON JOHN XX.

No. VII.

I DO not propose to retrace the lines of comment on verses 22, 23, offered last month. Let me only add to them the remark that if the conclusions then suggested are substantially true, we are led to the thought that the commission given to the Church is given to it, practically, as it is *testis et conservatrix divinorum librorum*, "a" (the Article, XX., in its English, does not say "the") "witness and keeper of Holy Writ." Such a witness and safe-keeper the Church is, undoubtedly; a character too often either forgotten or greatly mistaken. Some Christians think of Scripture as bound up with the Church visible more than it is, some as bound up with it less than it is. Some extend the meaning of Article XX. so far as to make the witness and safe-keeper to be, *therefore and as such*, the only qualified interpreter—a most gratuitous inference, as if a librarian as such were an adequate expositor. Some, on the other hand (it may be from a deep and joyful experience of the living power of the written Word) forget too much its intimate connection and, so to speak, cohesion with the living, breathing congregation of Christian disciples. No doubt it can happen, and in detached cases it does happen, that the Book acts altogether apart from the immediate action of the Church. I know, from first-hand report, of instances in which a Bible has been the solitary means through which Christianity, orthodox and living, has been learnt by one who was an untaught heathen when the Book almost literally fell into his hands. But even in such an instance we trace an indirect co-operation of the Christian Church; for without its existence it is most unlikely that Scripture, as we have it, would have been largely copied, preserved amidst the storms of history, and widely dispersed. On the human side, every copy of the Bible is connected with the existence of the Church, as a condition to its existence. And then, in the immense preponderance of actual experiences, the written Word is brought home to the individual by the spoken witness of the Church, coming (as of course it must ordinarily come) through the voice of some other individual, who in his turn has already been similarly approached. Practically, it is the Christian parent, or friend, or teacher, or expositor, who, in the vastly larger number of cases, is to the individual the "witness" as well as "keeper" of Holy Writ, saying, "This is the Word of God; I have received it; I pass it on to you." It is an individual who speaks (or writes), but an individual who, knowingly or not, has been helped to his or her own

realization of the written treasure by the conditions and aids of Christian membership, and who is thus in some sense, in turn, an organ of that membership in its work of witnessing and keeping.

Doubtless, if every living witness and every Christian uninspired book were to vanish from the earth to-morrow, the Book would still prove its own undying and independent power. But would it, in the actual workings of human life, speak to man nearly as often, or as widely, as before?

It is one thing to dream (it *is* a dream) of a Church-interpretation of Scripture such that the reverent and prayerful soul cannot get at the true sense of Scripture without it.

It is another thing when what we assert is a connection of Scripture with the visible congregation of Christ, such that the world's acquaintance with the Word, reverence for it, and benefit by it, is indefinitely increased and assured by that connection.¹

It is, then, this character of the disciples of Christ, and of their community, as the actual witnesses and guardians of the revelation of Christ, which is referred to specially, if I am right, in the passage before us. The revelation of Christ is, above all things, a revelation with a view to the remission or retention of sin. It reveals, with infallible certainty, the way of remission, the means to it, and, by consequence, how to miss it. The terms of the revelation are sure; its absolution or condemnation is Divine. When St. Paul, for example, or St. John so instructs me as to assure me, penitent and believing, that my sins are forgiven, I am to be as sure of it as if Christ stood by me and spoke the words. And when a Christian friend, in conversation or by example, *brings home* to my thought and heart such an Apostolic—*i.e.*, such a Divine—absolution, or, again, some corresponding Apostolic condemnation of my state or of an act in my state, he is doing me not an accidental service, but one divinely instituted, and implied in the fact that our Lord willed that His followers should be a community, and should live and work with His Word in their possession.

Two reflections may be offered before the subject is quitted. First, this *diffusion* of the witnessing and keeping office

¹ It may not be out of place to refer to Augustine's well-known words, *Ego Evangelio non crederem nisi sive Catholica Ecclesia commoveret auctoritas*. (*Contra Epistolam Manichæi quæ Fundamenti dicitur*, c. v.) The ample teaching of Augustine on Scripture assures us that he meant anything by this rather than that the Church is above Scripture, or that Scripture owes its Divine authority to the Church. But he felt it a powerful evidence to Scripture (among other evidences) that it came as a fact to him through the historic Christian society as that society's rule of faith.

over the whole Christian congregation is no contradiction to the Divine institution of an ordained and so far separated ministry—a ministry which has a function full of life and blessing, concentrating the witness of the congregation, and securing in a degree otherwise impossible, or at best most precarious, the order and the continuity of Christian worship. Hence the commission to the Church is, in our Ordinal, not unlawfully given with special emphasis to the Christian presbyter; though this was not done in any known ordination-ritual for presbyters before the thirteenth century.

Secondly, on the other hand, whatever is true of the remitting and retaining efficacy of the Church's true witness to Scripture, and true articulation of the message of Scripture, this must be at least as deeply true of the direct witness of Scripture to the soul as the man reads it and ponders it for himself. Of the Oracle itself we may truly say, "Whosoever sins it doth remit, they are remitted unto them." I quote some wise words of Doddridge's, written on this passage 150 years ago, in that often helpful commentary, his "Expositor": "Let us try our state by the character laid down in the inspired writings; in which sense we may assure ourselves that if our sins are declared to be remitted, they are remitted. And if, indeed, they are so, we need not be much concerned by whom they are retained. . . . Men may claim a power which God never gave, and which these words are far from implying. But whatever the sentence they may pass, they whom God blesseth are blessed indeed."

This whole subject is one of continual, and in our time of acute and special, importance. The sacerdotal theory in the Christian Church, in all its parts, and not least in that of a judicial absolution supposed to convey Divine forgiveness, puts a human intermediation between man and God where God would have man see the one Mediator only. It is a contradiction to the sacred first principles of the Gospel.

Meanwhile may our Lord in mercy shorten the days of controversy, and utterly abolish in us that which likes controversy for its own sake; and may He lengthen, till they fill our lives, the sweet hours in which we for ourselves enjoy in glad consciousness, and so are able gladly to assert to others, the holy certainties of the remission of sins for the Name's sake of the Only Begotten of the Father, who died for us and rose again.

But now let us pass at once to some view of a scene which will carry us indeed into the pure light of a direct view of the Lord Jesus Christ, seen in His living glory. We arrive at the record of the doubt and the belief of Thomas, verses 24-29.

Verse 24: *But Thomas, one of the Twelve, whose name means Twin, was not with them when Jesus came.* Verse 25: *So the other disciples began to say (ἔλεγον) to him, We have seen the Lord. But he said to them, Unless I see in His hands the print of the nails, and insert¹ my finger into the print of the nails, and insert my hand into His side, I will not believe (οὐ μὴ πιστεύσω).* Verse 26: *And after eight days again the disciples were indoors, and Thomas with them. Jesus comes, while the doors were fastened, and took His stand in the midst, and said, Peace be unto you.* Verse 27: *Then He says to Thomas, Bring your finger hither, and see My hands; and bring your hand, and insert it into My side; and do not become unbelieving, but believing.* Verse 28: *Thomas answered, and said to Him, My Lord and My God.* Verse 29: *Jesus says to him, Because you have seen Me, Thomas, you have believed; happy such as saw not, and believed.* Verse 30: *Now Jesus did many other signs as well in His disciples' presence, which have not been written in this book.* Verse 31: *But these have been written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that, believing, you may have life in His name.*

Of this passage I do not attempt any detailed exposition in this paper; it may be more possible to do this a month hence. At present I merely take up for notice some of its outstanding facts and lessons, asking the Risen Lord to grant writer and reader to realize His presence "in the midst," and to adore Him from the soul as our, nay as my, Lord and God.

We note, then, as often before, the concurrent brevity and minuteness of the record. Its brevity: no remarks or explanations are offered with reference to the absence of Thomas; just the fact is given, as necessary to explain the sequel. We are left to conjecture for ourselves why he was away. And conjecture surely says that his absence at such a time cannot have been mere accident. It was probably an expression of individual character, an act of that peculiar independence passing into self-will which we trace throughout his sketched portrait in this Gospel. I should not think that the mind of Thomas was one in which there was a strong tendency to doubt the miraculous, a Sadducean mind; but rather that he was a man decidedly apt to fall back upon himself, suspicious of over-influence from others, perhaps with something of that morbid honesty (if the phrase is permissible) which doubts because another believes, doubts because it fears, or seems to itself to fear, that it may accept reasons for belief which are

¹ βάλειν appears never quite to lose a certain *force* of meaning. Here εἰν ἢ βάλω is not merely "unless I put," but almost "unless I push."

good only for another. Such a character, I venture to take it, was expressed in that marked absence. Reports were about that Jesus had risen. Jesus he dearly, ardently loved (chap. xi. 16), whatever mistakes he made about Him. Perhaps the first notion of His resurrection may have struck bright and glad upon Thomas, as a notion. But with equal likelihood he may have decided against the reports for that very reason: "Too good to be true"—so good that the wish must have fathered the assertion. So he would fortify himself with the reflection that his associates had done just this—had believed because they wished. Then he would unconsciously and easily pass from the spirit of grief to the spirit of pride, pride in his firmness and caution of thought, in his courageous willingness to be in the dark if dark it must be. Neither accident nor intellectual scepticism, but grief passing into a sort of melancholy pride—such seems to me a probable account of the absence of Thomas.

But all this, if true, is unrecorded by the pen of St. John, in his tranquil brevity. Yet, on the other hand, what minute traits of individuality we have in these few touches! How truly Thomas stands out as a real character, altogether different from Peter, for example, and from John; not for a moment to be taken for a mere reflection or echo of another personage. This is not only proof of veracity, of the firm reality which lies as a rock beneath the beautiful narrative. It is not only evidence that we have a record of facts before us, indicated in these brief touches not of art, but nature—for such nature-copying art *was not*, most surely, in Christian circles (if anywhere) when this book was written. It is a phenomenon not only of fact, but of instruction and consolation. The individualities of the Apostles Peter, John, Thomas, Nathanael, Paul are representative individualities. And the fact that they were, each and all, subdued to the same adoring love of Jesus Christ is a representative fact. Were the Apostles for us so many mere names, so many lay-figures attired in Galilean costume and grouped around the Lord, their recorded faith would *teach* us very little. But they are "men of like feelings" with us, *δμοιοπαθεῖς ἡμῖν*, like present-day people in their marked differences from one another. And the Lord Jesus found them all out, and they all found out Him; the one Lord, absolute and unalterable, and yet precisely the right Friend and Saviour for each of these persons.

Such a record as this may be used in the Divine hand to remedy two very possible mistakes.

1. We are apt sometimes, in thinking, praying, speaking for the benefit of the souls of others, to forget too much the

differences of character; to expect and to demand that characters the most diverse from our own shall not only reach the same results, but shall reach them by the same steps, in the same order. A man who has suffered much from intellectual clouds and conflicts, sometimes perhaps to be traced to indolence and half-heartedness, is often tempted, as it were, to insist that some friend now seeking after Christ shall feel just the same difficulties before he attains the light. Strange to say, such an attitude is possible, instead of that of the prayer and longing that into the light we now enjoy, holy and happy, this soul may step by any path our Master shall choose, and the sooner the better, if it be His will.

A mind, again, which has had little or no experience of such trials (and this exemption is sometimes a sign of mental health and strength, not of blindness or immaturity) is apt not seldom to grow impatient and unsympathetic in contact with one of the opposite cast. Let it not be so. True, you are not obliged to experience the conflict with the legions of doubt. But you should thoughtfully watch it, and pray, like Moses on the hill, while Joshua was battling in the valley. You should recognise with respect a different character, training, position; not to doubt whether such a heart needs the same Christ and the same salvation, but to bear with its different pace, its circuitous route, as it comes towards Him and to Him.

2. On the other hand, are not Christian believers often tempted sorely in the other direction, tempted to too keen a suspicion, too serious an estimate of differences of character in the presence of Christianity and Christ? Are we never disposed to say, practically, to ourselves—however whisperingly—that this man or that is so entirely different from myself that he never can, he never will, see Christ, His love, His redemption, as clearly and as gladly as I see it? And then perhaps the thought has already crept in, “and he never *need* do so.”

This is fatalism under a veil. It makes a man's character his fate. It ignores the free and Divine action of the Eternal Spirit upon men. It practically forgets the positive assurances of the Lord Jesus Christ that there is for every human soul a most urgent need that it should come to Him, and deal with Him.

This fatalism, a branch of a subtle and far-spread disease, we are helped to resist, to give the lie to, by this same wonderful record of the individualities of the Apostles. They, or at least the leaders of these leaders, were sharply and deeply differenced from each other. And the Lord Jesus dealt with them in widely different ways. But He led them all to the

same end—Himself; Himself seen and known by each as his all in all, his peace, his joy, his power, his purity, his Lord and God.

With admirable vividness this comes out in their artlessly-recorded words and deeds. How different was Thomas in mental and moral cast from John! Yet it is John who observes, who records with loving care, and so embraces, as it were, for his own the final faith of Thomas. How different was Thomas from Paul, the Galilean from the marvellous youth of Cilicia trained into the Pharisaic expert in the school of Gamaliel; the rugged peasant-mind from him in whom the pride of the genius, the savant, and the zealot were, till grace changed him, all combined! And very different was their intercourse with Jesus, and with the followers of Jesus. But by "this same Jesus" they were both led into the same blessed results as regards faith in Him. "My Lord and my God," exclaims Thomas, at once adoring and appropriating, as true faith should ever do. "I live," writes Paul (Gal. i. 20), "by faith in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave Himself for me," adoring and also appropriating the same Person with the same heaven-given simplicity of faith; *his* pride also quite broken up, *his* difficulties also quite done away in the sunlight of Christ, *his* inmost heart also freely opened to learn what God would have him learn of the glory and the love of His Only Begotten.

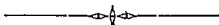
For the present we close the Gospel. But, at least, we have already gathered some fresh encouragement to patience and to faith from this first view of the story of St. Thomas. May we be, for our study, at once better able to sympathize with the differing characters and circumstances of others, and yet, all the while, more sure that, each and all, they need Christ, and the same Christ, with an absolute need. Above all, let us be sure of Him, trustful of Him, certain that He knows the way and holds the key, however impenetrable to Him this or that mind or heart may seem to us. The more we recollect and realize these things, the better we shall, on the one hand, delight to do what we can to bear our humble witness to such a Redeemer, and the more truly, on the other hand, will our Christian witness be borne not to ourselves, but to Christ Jesus our Lord.

Meanwhile, let us thank God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, that out of the darkness of the Apostle's doubts, and out of the darkness of the doubts of many a doubter since, He has brought forth light, the light of fresh and living evidences of the presence, the patience, the love, the glory of His dear Son. We may thankfully breathe as our own the prayer of the Church, written by the Reformers,

and appointed for the memorial day of the once-perplexed disciple :

Almighty and everliving God, who for the more confirmation of the faith didst suffer Thy holy Apostle Saint Thomas to be doubtful in Thy Son's resurrection; Grant us so perfectly and without all doubt to believe in Thy Son Jesus Christ, that our faith in Thy sight may never be reproved. Hear us, O Lord, through the same Jesus Christ, to whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for evermore. Amen.

H. C. G. MOULE.



ART. IV.—PROJECTS OF CHURCH REFORM,

1886-1892.

UNLESS any unforeseen crisis occurs before the close of the present decade, the years 1832 and 1885 will be known to future generations as the two great epochs in the constitutional history of this country during the nineteenth century. By the Reform Bill of 1832 the centre of gravity of political power was shifted from the aristocracy to the middle class; while in 1885 the revolution which had been commenced by Mr. Disraeli's measure of 1867 was completed, and what are popularly called the working classes were admitted to a preponderating share in the government of the country. On each occasion the Church, from its intimate connection with the State, necessarily felt the effects of the change. After the first Reform Bill had become law, the cry of "Down with the Church!" was loudly raised, and was answered by the counter-cry of "Reform the Church!" Happily, the latter prevailed. The national profession of Christianity was maintained, but the ecclesiastical organization was in many respects readjusted to suit the wants and ideas of modern times. Tithes in kind were commuted into an annual money payment. The Ecclesiastical Commission was established, and our bishoprics and cathedral chapters were docked of their excessive revenues, the surplus being devoted to parochial purposes. In 1840 the Church Discipline Act was passed for amending the method of proceeding against criminous clergymen. Two new sees, those of Ripon and Manchester, were created, and facilities were provided for forming new parishes and ecclesiastical districts.

History always repeats itself, and history never repeats itself. The course of events during the last seven years

has been similar and yet dissimilar. A fresh movement for the disestablishment has accompanied the last Reform Act, as it did that of 1832. On September 11, 1885, the *Record* newspaper startled the country by disclosing the fact that of the 579 Liberal candidates who were then intending to contest the 567 Parliamentary seats in Great Britain at the impending General Election, no fewer than 376 had pronounced themselves in favour of Disestablishment in respect of the whole Church of England, and twenty-four more had assented to it with regard to Wales alone. The Church was at once roused to action. Lectures and addresses and other measures of defence were organized throughout the length and breadth of the land. Many of those who had been parleying with her assailants made haste, when detected and exposed, to disclaim all complicity with them, and the attack was, for a time, staved off. Moreover, the attitude which had been adopted fifty years previously was resumed. The friends of the Church were not content with a mere negation. They took advantage of the revival of popular interest in her affairs to raise a demand for the removal of certain patent defects in her organization. The existence of these was universally admitted, but hitherto the apathy of Churchmen had permitted them to remain unassailed. It was now, however, hoped that the wave of newly-aroused public opinion would furnish sufficient impetus to effect their overthrow.

The prospects of Church reform were further brightened by the creation of the House of Laymen in connection with the Convocation of the Southern Province. The formation of this body was in no way owing to the discovery of the impending danger. It had been mooted many years previously, and after being under discussion in Convocation throughout the whole of 1885, the details had been finally agreed upon in the July session. The House met for the first time, concurrently with Convocation, on February 16, 1886. It was opened by an address from the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which allusion was made to the existing state of feeling on ecclesiastical subjects. The Primate noticed the urgent need of a reform of Convocation itself, and commended the matter to the consideration of the newly-formed House. But there were wider and greater questions, and there were encouragements both within and without the Church to believe that this was a time in which solutions might well be attempted with hope of success in removing hindrances, and in gaining new efficiency for the religious and spiritual ministrations of the Church. It would be ridiculous to accuse Churchmen of merely moving in a moment of alarm for improvements

which they had at no moment ceased to pray for and to press for. But no practical or friendly counsellor would divert attention from politics, and earnest Churchmen might view without misgiving any excitement which had directed some attention to the justice of their claims. The Archbishop then commended to the consideration of the House, in addition to the one already named, three other subjects: (1) Church patronage, on which he intended to submit to them immediately a proposed Bill; (2) the adjustment of clerical finance and the possible formation of a fund for the relief of poor livings by the taxation of the wealthier benefices and offices, in connection with the measure then projected for facilitating the sale of glebe lands; and (3) the position of the laity in the control of Church affairs, with special reference to the desirability of parochial councils on the one hand, and of a national body of bishops, clergy, and laity, representing the two provinces, on the other.

The intrusion of Irish Home Rule into the sphere of practical politics caused the dissolution of Parliament, and with it of Convocation and the House of Laymen, after a brief existence of little over six months. In opening the new House of Laymen in the following year, the Archbishop mentioned two further desirable items of reform: the one in the mode of paying and recovering the Tithe Rent Charge, and the other in the administration of Clergy Discipline. These, together with the four topics referred to in his former address, and the subject of an increase of the home episcopate which has been under discussion concurrently with them, constitute the chief branches of Church reform which, six years ago, were regarded as pressing. Opinions, of course, differed widely as to the details of the remedial measures which were required, but the importance of making some advance under each of the different headings was almost universally admitted. To what extent has the programme which was then put forward been carried out in the interval? Very imperfectly, it must be sorrowfully confessed, and with halting steps. Out of the seven enumerated subjects, one, after several miscarriages, has been effectively dealt with; and while these remarks are being penned, there is a good prospect, though by no means a certainty, of a satisfactory measure being passed with reference to another. The remaining five stand almost in the same position as they did when the cry for Church reform was raised in the autumn of 1885. Almost—but not altogether. For it would be a mistake to set down the discussions which have taken place upon them in the interval as entirely wasted, or to ignore some slight progress which has been actually achieved, because the final goal has not been already reached. A separate

examination of the different points will show us the exact state of the case with respect to each.

I. To begin with a matter which has not loomed so large before the public eye as some of the others, but which those who are conversant with the actual work of the Church regard as of great practical importance—the increase of the episcopate. No additional diocese has been provided for by legislation since 1886. But the bishopric of Wakefield was established in 1888 under the arrangements made ten years previously by the Four Bishoprics Act; and the number of suffragan bishops, of whom six years ago there were only four, has been increased to seventeen. This last result has been mainly due to the Suffragans' Nomination Act, 1888, which removed the previous restriction as to the towns which might be selected for the sees of these subsidiary prelates. The blame, if blame there be, for the absence of further progress, does not lie with the Legislature. For though the creation of new bishoprics in Birmingham, Sheffield, Suffolk and Surrey, and within the existing diocese of St. David's, have been under consideration, the financial arrangements have not as yet been sufficiently completed with regard to any one of them to justify an application to Parliament for the necessary Act.

II. We have seen that the Archbishop, in his first address to the House of Laymen, assigned a prominent place to the question of the reform of Convocation. The subject was considered at some length in *THE CHURCHMAN* of May and June, 1890, and has been discussed by Archdeacon Sinclair in the *Newbery House Magazine* for last April. There has long been practical unanimity as to the need for this reform: and the only difficulty and difference of opinion is as to the way in which it is to be brought about. No definite step towards its accomplishment has been taken during the six years under review; but the conviction is gradually forcing itself upon the minds of both clergy and laity that it will be necessary and, from an ecclesiastical standpoint, will not be improper, to apply to Parliament for a declaration that, under the existing constitution in Church and State, Convocation has power, with the assent of the Crown, to reform itself. A resolution approving of such a course was passed in the London Diocesan Conference in 1891, and was reaffirmed on April 27th in the present year.

III. The idea of a united assembly of the bishops and representatives of the clergy and laity of both provinces has made no way, and the formation of Church parochial councils has not advanced; but a House of Laymen has just been created in the Northern Province, and in the Diocese of London effect was last year given to a resolution of the Upper

House of the Canterbury Convocation passed as long ago as 1884, in favour of according episcopal sanction to the conduct of extra services and the delivery of addresses by laymen in consecrated buildings.

IV. On the other hand, the Tithes Question, or, at any rate, one phase of it, has been definitely grappled with, and has been set at rest for the time. The dishonest agitation of the Welsh tenant farmers against the payment of the tithe rent-charge which reduced some of the clergy in the Principality to the verge of starvation, suggested the expediency of reverting to the principle as to the incidence of the rent-charge on the owners of the land, which had been embodied in the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836. In spite of the enunciation of this principle in the measure which created the rent-charge, payment by the occupying tenant had in practice become almost, if not quite, universal. As a remedy for the local Welsh difficulty it was proposed to prohibit, throughout the country, this deviation from the intended working of the tithe commutation system, and at the same time to provide a mode for recovering unpaid rent-charge through the machinery of the county courts. Attempts at legislation were made during the sessions of 1887, 1888, and 1889, and the first session of 1890; but they all failed, partly through factious opposition and partly through the difficulty experienced by the Government in framing a measure satisfactory to themselves and to their followers, and capable of resisting the fire of hostile criticism. At length, in the autumn of 1890, a Bill which answered these requirements was introduced, and it became law early in last year. The incidence and recovery of the tithe rent-charge have thus been finally settled. A larger and more difficult question, however, in the shape of its redemption, looms in the distance. During the passage of the recent Bill through Parliament the Government appointed a commission to investigate the subject, and their report was presented early in last March. Legislation upon its lines may be anticipated at no distant period.

V. Cognate to the subject of tithe as affecting clerical finance, is the question of an equalization of the incomes of livings. It will be remembered that the Archbishop, in 1886, associated this question with that of the sale of glebe lands, with respect to which a Bill was then in contemplation. This Bill was passed in 1888, but up to the present time it has not produced any widespread effects, and certainly has not as yet promoted by one hair's breadth the equalization of the revenues of benefices. This latter is a thorny subject, and is complicated by the property rights of the patrons as well as by the claims of the parishioners for whose benefit the benefices have been

endowed. There is much to be said against, as well as in favour of, a wholesale equalization of clerical incomes. The number of livings with excessive revenues is at the present time very small, and an augmentation of the poorer benefices is rather to be sought from private beneficence than by mulcting those clergy who are in the enjoyment of means befitting their vocation. In reviewing the history of Church finance during the last six years, it would not be right to omit all mention of the Clergy Pensions Institution and Ecclesiastical Buildings Fire Office (Limited), which were founded by private enterprise, the one in the beginning of 1886 and the other in the following year. The first of these institutions enables the clergy to purchase for themselves deferred annuities, and invites benefactions from the laity in order to supplement these annuities by substantial pensions. Its invested funds now amount to upwards of £70,000. The design of the second is to enable the Church to reap for herself, in respect of her own buildings, the large profits which accrue from fire insurance. After paying a dividend of £5 per cent. to the shareholders on their paid-up capital, the surplus profits are devoted to augmenting the funds of the Clergy Pensions Institution and to other Church objects. As the result of the working of the year ending last March, the office has been able to distribute £2,000 among objects of this class, and the greater the number of insurances which are effected with it, the larger will be the amount available for this beneficial purpose.

VI. and VII. We come, in the last place, to two items of Church reform which have occupied, and deservedly occupied, a large share of public attention. They are needed in order to meet evils which not only occasion grave scandal, and furnish the enemies of the Church with legitimate handles against her, but also inflict most serious spiritual injury in the parishes affected by them. It is difficult to estimate whether greater practical injury is inflicted by the abuse of the rights of patronage and the promotion of unworthy and incompetent incumbents to benefices, or by the retention of guilty clergymen in their cure of souls through the inadequacy of the means for their removal which are provided by our existing ecclesiastical law. The latter abuse is, however, clearly the more glaring, and brings the greater amount of scandal upon the Church. It is also, or ought to be, the more simple to remedy. We are not, therefore, surprised that, although two Church Patronage Bills were introduced into Parliament in 1886, it has been ultimately decided to give priority to the subject of Clergy Discipline, which was not brought forward until two years later, and to use every effort to carry a measure upon it before the dissolution of the present Parliament.

While these pages are passing through the press, the issue of the endeavour cannot be regarded as finally assured, but there are good grounds for confidence that the third endeavour to pass the Clergy Discipline Bill will prove successful. It first saw the light in 1888, when it was read a second time in the House of Lords. It was reintroduced in the following session, but did not advance beyond a first reading. In 1891 it was again brought in, and passed through the Upper House in a modified form; and this year, with further alterations, it has again been passed by the Lords, and has been read a second time by the overwhelming majority of 230 to 17 in the House of Commons. It has been freely criticised by both friends and foes, and during the last six or eight months an agitation against it has been fomented on the ground that it proposes to deal by civil enactment with matters upon which the Church alone is competent to legislate. It is to be hoped that this newly-started objection will be got over by the passing of a concurrent ecclesiastical canon, and that no unforeseen mishap will hinder the further progress of the Bill. We shall then secure (*a*) that if an incumbent is convicted of a grave misdemeanour, or is found guilty in divorce or bastardy proceedings, his living will be vacated, as a matter of course, just as it is at present on a conviction for treason or felony; (*b*) that the procedure in the ecclesiastical courts with regard to other evil acts or habits will be simplified and cheapened; and (*c*) that those courts will be able to pronounce sentence of deprivation in cases where at present they can only inflict temporary suspension from the benefice.

While, however, the Clergy Discipline Bill appears to be on the eve of passing, the fate of the kindred subject of Church Patronage reform is, so far as respects the present Parliament, sealed. As already mentioned, the subject was taken up earlier than that of Church Discipline; and, in the Radical Parliament of 1886, not only did the Bill on the subject, introduced by the Archbishop into the House of Lords, pass through the stage of a Select Committee in that House, but another Bill, brought in by Mr. Leatham, M.P., and proceeding upon rather different lines, was read a second time in the House of Commons without a division. In 1887, in the first working session of the Unionist Parliament, the Archbishop reintroduced his Bill in the House of Lords, and, after undergoing some important amendments, it was read a third time and passed. But the congestion of public business in the Lower House, owing to the obstructive resistance offered to the Irish Crimes Bill, prevented any further progress being made with it during that year; and no subsequent attempt has been made to reopen the question. This is much to be lamented; for the Bill,

as it left the Lords in 1887, was a useful and practical measure. It proposed to prohibit for the future the severance of the next right of presentation from the rest of the advowson, and to render illegal the mortgage of an advowson and its sale by public auction. An intending purchaser was to be obliged to obtain a certificate of his fitness to hold the right of patronage from a commission consisting of the diocesan chancellor, the archdeacon, rural dean, and two laymen appointed by the Lord Chancellor. Donatives were to be turned into presentative benefices; and the bishop was to have power to refuse institution to a nominee of the patron on the ground of physical infirmity, pecuniary embarrassment, or notorious or reputed evil life, or where less than two years had elapsed since his admission into deacon's orders. The parishioners were to have one month's notice of an intended presentation, and might submit to the bishop written objections to the proposed nominee.

Such is a brief record of the attempts at Church reform during the last six years. It is a mingled story of success and failure, in which the impetuous amongst us will, no doubt, pronounce that the latter predominates. In view, however, of this slow progress in the past, are we to give way to despair or despondency for the future? Are we to admit that the Church has no prospect of satisfactory reform except in the severance of her connection with the State? Surely not. The legislative stove may burn slow, and the chimney may smoke, but we believe that it is still possible to cook the ecclesiastical meal without setting fire to the constitutional fabric. All that is necessary is the exercise of patience and perseverance. Let the reforming friends of the Church doggedly practise these two old-fashioned virtues with the same determination as do her would-be destroyers. We shall then wring from a reluctant House of Commons, if we cannot obtain from a willing Parliament, those measures which are necessary to keep the Church abreast of the times, and to ensure her increased efficiency in the discharge of the high and holy work to which she has been called by her Heavenly Master.

PHILIP VERNON SMITH.

ART. V.—THE SERVANT OF CHRIST.

NO. VI.—COMPREHENSIVENESS.

IN the fabled times of Greece the beautiful hills of Attica were infested by a robber whose gruesome deeds have made his name proverbial even to this day. Unhappy was

the wayfaring farmer or pedlar who passed near the stronghold of Procrustes. For if he happened to be abroad that day, and caught the distant sound of steps or voices through the echoing woods, short was the time before the luckless traveller was carried up to the mountain fastness, there to be put to fiendish torture for the amusement of the reckless bandit. In that grim place was kept a bed, which only the ignorant could see without shuddering. On that terrible machine the unwilling guest was invited to repose himself after the fatigue of his journey. And then he was tied down, and the sport began. For if the bed was too short, his limbs were lopped off till it fitted; if too long, he was stretched with ropes and pulleys till he equalled its length. Then the murderous freebooter would boast with glee that wonderful indeed was the bed of his guest-chamber, for there were none whom it did not equally suit.

There is amongst ourselves in spiritual matters many a Procrustes. Many a religious man and woman of one extreme party or the other wishes to fit all characters, all dispositions, all circumstances, however various, to one hard unyielding type of their own choice and make. There is too little of practical submission to the rule of our Church that nothing is to be required but what may be proved by certain warrant of Holy Scripture. No matter what part of the character these people sacrifice, what beauty of disposition they maim, what difference of circumstances they confound, all alike who do not suit their rigid requirements they ruthlessly condemn.

The bigot theologian—in minute
 Distinctions skilled, and doctrines unreduced
 To practice; in debate how loud! how long!
 How dexterous! in Christian love, how cold!
His vain conceits were orthodox alone,
 The immutable and heavenly truth, revealed
 By God, was nought to him: he had an art,
 A kind of hellish charm, that made the lips
 Of truth speak falsehood; to his liking turned
 The meaning of the text; made trifles seem
 The marrow of salvation; to a word,
 A name, a sect, that sounded in the ear,
 And to the eye so many letters showed,
 But did no more—gave value infinite;
 Proved still *his* reasoning best, and *his* belief,
 Though propped on fancies wild as madmen's dreams,
 Most rational, most scriptural, most sound;
 With mortal heresy denouncing all
 Who in his arguments could see no force
 On points of faith too fine for human sight,
 And never understood in heaven, he placed
 His everlasting hope, undoubting placed.
 He proved all creeds false but his own, and found
 At last his own most false—most false, because
 He spent his time to prove all others false.

Among the vices of religious people which have hitherto hindered the spread of the mild and beneficent kingdom of our Lord in human hearts none is more cruel, gratuitous, destructive, or unchristian than the mistake of those who think that the results of faith in Jesus Christ must necessarily be all of one complexion, or of one degree, and according to the precepts of men rather than the "exceeding breadth" of the commandments of God. No enemy of God's empire could be more subtle than this tyrannous spirit of narrow censoriousness. For it creeps into the heart of the most devout, and, under the guise of a care for the honour of the faith, strangles altogether the divine gift of charity. It was this that made the devout and honourable women the readiest weapon for the Jews at Antioch in Pisidia for the expulsion of Paul and Barnabas. It is this imposition of a yoke devised by man and not ordained of God which drives away stalwart, sensible, manly characters from the influence of the Gospel as of something artificial. We may take serious warning from the state of religion in France, where the divorce between the intellect of the country and the faith as presented by the Roman Church is notorious. It is this arbitrary enactment of principles not contained in the New Testament which separates churches, and breeds the foul brood of religious intolerance. It is this disposition to call common and unclean things which God has cleansed that renders so much of modern Christianity absurd to some and distasteful to many. It is this tendency of all mankind to encrust the simplest and broadest truths with interpretations, deductions, comments, laws, customs, and beliefs of their own invention that has to multitudes cast a stumbling-block in the way, proved a most needless offence, and disastrously abridged that liberty wherewith Christ has made us free. This is that spirit of arrogant pedantry which has so often hindered the cause of foreign missions, imposing on converts from heathenism the ecclesiastical customs, language, and even dress of a civilization totally distinct from their own, and associating in their minds with the cause of Christ the necessity of mere local accidents as indelibly as the universal principles of justice, temperance, and faith.

It is this spirit of intolerance that has disgraced professedly Christian institutions in the past; Christianity itself cannot be disgraced by the mistakes of its blind adherents, but always remains sublime and pure. "In zeal, bigotry and persecution for any party or opinion, however praiseworthy they may appear to weak men of our own principles, produce infinite calamities among mankind, and are highly criminal in their own nature; and yet how many persons, eminent for

piety, suffer such monstrous and absurd principles of action to take root in their minds under the colour of virtues!"¹ How well has such a spirit been sketched in the familiar lines of Samuel Butler!—

He was of that stubborn crew
Of errant saints, whom all men grant
To be the true Church militant ;
Such as do build their faith upon
The holy text of pike and gun ;
Decide all controversies by
Infallible artillery,
And prove their doctrine orthodox
By "apostolic" blows and knocks ;
Call fire and sword and desolation
A godly thorough reformation,
Which always be carried on
And still be doing, never done ;
As if religion were intended
For nothing else but to be mended.
A sect whose chief devotion lies
In odd, perverse antipathies ;
In falling out with that or this,
And finding somewhat still amiss ;
More peevish, cross, and splenetic
Than dog distract, or monkey sick ;
That with more care keep holiday
The wrong, than others the right way ;
Compound for sins they are inclined to,
By damning those they have no mind to ;
Still so perverse and opposite
As if they worshipp'd God for spite ;
The self-same thing they will abhor
One way, and long another for.

"The doctrine which, from the very first origin of religious dissensions, has been held by bigots of all sects, when condensed into a few words and stripped of rhetorical disguise, is simply this: 'I am in the right, and you are in the wrong. When you are the stronger, you ought to tolerate me; for it is your duty to tolerate truth. But when I am the stronger, I shall persecute you; for it is my duty to persecute error.'"²

O love-destroying, cursèd Bigotry ;
Cursèd in heaven, but cursèd more in hell !
The infidel, who turn'd his impious war
Against the walls of Zion, on the Rock
Of Ages built, and higher than the clouds,
Sinned, and received his due reward ; but she
Within her walls sinned more ; of Ignorance
Begot, her daughter Persecution walk'd
The earth from age to age, and drank the blood
Of saints.³

But God is of no nation, nor is His Church the offspring of

¹ Addison.

² Macaulay.

³ Pollok.

any exclusive civilization. Jesus Christ belongs to all the world. Manifold is the face of Nature which discloses God. Not one single leaf is precisely the same as another. The varying proportions of heat and cold, sun and rain, soil and position, land and sea, His agents obeying His laws, what an infinite variety these produce in the animal and vegetable kingdoms! Here a gorgeous tropical profusion of every kind of the most brilliant beauty of foliage and flower, with splendid colours on every bird and insect, and with strange, powerful forms of animal life; there, the quiet vegetation and milder types of temperate civilization. Here, the bright fascination of lonely snow-clad mountain-tops, where the thin, pellucid air is radiant morning and evening with unwonted colours, and the sun and the stars seem near; there, the humble beauty of a motionless pool in a wood, lustrous with slumbering water-lilies, and the broken lights falling through canopies of wondrous green. Here, the grandeur of a storm at sea, with black clouds and foaming waters; there, the exquisite structure of the earliest forms of life, too small to be detected by any but the strongest microscope. Just in the same way, manifold too are the types of human character, which He has permitted to be created and made in His own image through that power of vitality and reproduction which He has given to His human family. Like the leaves in the wood, however many myriad millions of human beings come into the world, no two seem to be exactly alike, even if they were born at the same hour of the same parents. We have no need to send our minds to distant nations for illustrations of how far one type of character can be from another; we have only each of us to run over the first names that occur in the list of our own acquaintance, and we cannot help being struck with the inexhaustible wealth of differences that they exhibit. Manifold again are the dealings of God with all these divergent minds. Some He brings home to Himself by happiness, others by sorrow; some by poverty, others by wealth; some by ease and tranquillity, others by hard work; some by praise, others by blame; some by health, others by sickness; some in a coal-mine or a cellar, others in a palace. Even if you knew every single circumstance and thought you were aware of every possible characteristic of any individual, it would be impossible for you to predict the upshot. So fertile are the resources of a Mind which is Almighty. Manifold, again, are the operations of God in history. From countless complications, each ever new, He has made good at length to spring. Of no two nations has the career been alike; each has been chequered with varying measure of light and shade, of crime and good; no one system has run through all; yet all have been permitted to contribute

to the well-being of the world. "O Lord, how wonderful are Thy works! In wisdom hast Thou made them all! How unsearchable are Thy riches, and Thy ways past finding out! At sundry times and in divers manners hast Thou revealed Thyself!"

We need not be surprised, then, when we have thought for a time of the infinite manifoldness of the Father of all things, to recognise also that there are untold shades of difference in the Christian character. We can no longer allow condemnation to be passed by censorious people on others who, in matters not essential, arrange their conduct differently from themselves. We shall, in fact, expect that the consciences of such various sorts of persons will have different kinds of enlightenment. What suits one man or family well enough, we are prepared to find possibly poisonous to another. Consider a moment even what abundance of motives God allows and accepts. With one man, like Bishop Butler, religion may be entirely a matter of prudence, a balance of probabilities. With another, it may be almost a hereditary grace, handed on from parent to child, and never questioned. With another, the motive that leads to Christ may be sympathy with Christendom in general. With another, it may be mainly the need of some solemnizing influence on the life, of some brightening hope, however dim, for the future. With another, it may be the conviction of the reason that, without belief in God and the soul, no morality, and therefore no happiness, is possible. With another, the "schoolmaster" may be adoration of the divinely mysterious and beautiful. Another may be convinced chiefly by the historical proofs for Christianity. Another may be won over chiefly by the internal evidence. The efficient thought in another may be the supernatural spread of Christianity, in spite of difficulties from within and from without. Another may be attracted mainly by the divine beauty of the character and words of our Lord. The mind of another may be impelled by the fear of sin, and the justice and mercy of the way of salvation revealed in Jesus Christ. To the conscience of another, Jesus Christ speaks with absolute directness. These motives and causes of belief are not equal in value, truth, and importance; and they often work one with another in the same mind; but if they lead in the end to the one eternal process, "Believe, and thou shalt be saved," they are all, so far, instruments of God's Holy Spirit. Some minds may look more to the satisfaction of emotion, others of philosophical reason, others to the best motive of all, the love of God. In all these we may see the guidance of the Spirit leading on to the Cross. Now, if we only consider what largely different styles of religious sentiment and practice these different motives and

causes, and such as these, would produce, we shall at once see how impertinent, arrogant, and cruel it is for one style to set itself up and say, "Mine is the only correct standard of feeling and practice; all others beside me are made to be pitied; mine is the true fashion, the true opinion; I am the voice of the Church; I freely express my condemnation of all those who presume to act differently from what I think proper." We see in this light the immense importance of our Saviour saying, "Judge not that ye be not judged." And we gladly echo the words of St. Paul: "To me it is a very small thing that I be judged of you or of man's judgment; yea, I judge not mine own self. . . . If ye be dead with Christ from the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances, 'Touch not,' 'Taste not,' 'Handle not,' after the commandments and doctrines of men?"

But, while we submit to no human interference with our Christian liberty, while we would die rather than acknowledge the tyranny of a human Procrustes, there is one standard by which all who are called Christians will adjust their conduct and their conscience. We must be conformed to the image of God's Son. That image is left us in His life, His character, His words, His actions. There is the undying principle which appeals alike to all times, all places, all circumstances, all dispositions. Whatever may be the complexity of the events which happen to us, there we shall find a light which will never fail to make our duty clear. Our Lord was born (after the flesh) of Hebrew race, yet His words are as broad as the whole world. There is not one of them which is less suitable to the humblest and most ignorant wanderer over Arctic snows than to the most cultured philosopher, or the most powerful king. In Him satisfaction was found alike by Jewish noble, by Roman centurion, by the learned member of the Sanhedrim, by the foreign Syro-Phœnician woman, by ignorant fishermen, by despised tax-gatherer, by wild demoniac, by the pure maid of the mountain hamlet, by doubting Thomas, by questioning Philip, by the warm-hearted Sons of Thunder, by impetuous Peter, by cultivated Paul. All alike discovered in Him what they wanted, the better way, the real truth, the new life, redemption and salvation. For there was in Him one grand principle of unity which all in their degree could grasp and follow, when enlightened by His wisdom; and that principle was, "My meat is to do the will of Him that sent Me." He showed once for all by His Divine life and His redeeming death that love is the fulfilling of the Law. It is by making our consciences answer in all humility to Him, and to Him alone, that we shall, in our innumerable varieties, fulfil the various purposes of God. We accept, of course, the

terms of agreement on which we associate ourselves together in a Church; and in all moral and civil matters we listen as far as possible to that voice of the Church which is expressed in the Christian laws of a Christian country. We are equally respectful to the importance of the opinion of the whole body of believers when they were united in the early ages of Christianity. But that is not the point on which we are now insisting. It is this: that if we submit to the dictation of other men, or of any institutions, however valuable, as to our conduct in matters of conscience between God and ourselves, we shall be robbing Him of the treasures which He has scattered up and down the world, each to be preserved and developed in its own excellence for His glory and the good of the whole. To Christ alone we stand or fall. His commandments are not grievous. Far from maiming or obstructing any part of us, they will, by the help of His Spirit, bring the more fruit to perfection. One will show more courage, another more wisdom, another more devoutness, another more enthusiasm, another more activity, another common-sense, another humility, another nobleness, another generosity, another affection, another singleness of heart, another kindness, another patience, another contentment, or self-control, or strictness of self-discipline, or expansiveness of sympathies, or forethought, or good-nature, or whatever his gift may be, and these in different proportions; but of all these excellences there is but one source, and that is the Lord Jesus Christ. They are the manifestations of His Power and Presence in different soils. They are the results of a free and unfettered growth of each natural character in Him. They are His grace, free from all meddling, manifesting itself in a new virtue for every character, a new excellence for every circumstance as it comes.

It is, then, our privilege and duty to vindicate the Christian religion from all unwarranted attempts of human tyranny, however plausible. As we go about through the world, we shall meet with many presumptuous pretences, many censorious tongues. If anybody tells us to do this or that as a matter of Christian allegiance, it is our business to ask him to prove it from Scripture. If the proof fails, we listen to him no more. We can take the advice of public opinion, or preacher, or Church, where it offers useful suggestions which we can see to be in conformity with the mind of Christ; but we take nothing that they say upon absolute trust without thought or examination. And while we recognise no human institutions as affecting our private conduct or character in matters of conscience, except as a guide and not as a law, we guard against passing judgment ourselves upon others. While we stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us

free, we must beware of curtailing that same liberty for our fellow-Christians. While, where Christ has left no commands, we acknowledge none, we must be careful not to impose on our brother our own scruples, tastes, and opinions. Just as we should be as ready to admire a classical cathedral as a Gothic, so we should not attempt to set up one type of practice for everybody. As it is to Christ alone that we ourselves acknowledge our own responsibility, so we must remember that it is equally He alone who condemns or acquits our neighbour. It is our glory to follow the merciful Saviour who would not harshly condemn even the sinful woman taken in adultery, and never to imitate Procrustes.

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

ART. VI.—THE SPANISH CHURCH.

CIRCUMSTANCES have recently occurred which have awakened a considerable amount of interest in the Church which bears the above title, and criticism, both adverse to and favourable, has made many familiar with a subject that was hardly thought of in many circles. It may, therefore, not be out of place to set down a few notes, made during a recent visit to Spain, to help those who have not yet enjoyed that advantage.

The title selected above, "The Spanish Church," is adopted for two reasons. First, the Church of Rome, though dominant in Spain for so long a time, and though acknowledged by her people, is not a *national* Church; and second, because the Church of which I write is the only one either aspiring to that name, or with any prospect of being so.

The Church of Rome, it is true, has interfered in the politics of Spain, has moulded them entirely to her own fancy for close upon four hundred years, has given tone to society, and we may say administered its laws, but yet remained an alien after all. Her centre was Rome, not Madrid. Her interests were those of the city of the seven hills, not of the Spanish, and she drew largely on the resources of the country whenever she could, and when the support of the pretended successor of St. Peter required it. Spain was, moreover, almost the last of the nations of Europe to acknowledge the supremacy of the See of Rome. And it was not until the reign of Philip II. that religious tyranny reached its climax, Rome became supreme, and the rising light of the Reformation effectually shut out, and Spain entered on that downward course which brought her from the proud position which she then occupied,

the foremost kingdom in Europe, to be unnoticed and unknown in European politics of the present day.

Then, on the other hand, there are at present several organizations at work for the evangelization of Spain. The various reformed Churches have established missions there, and are carrying on faithfully the preaching of the Gospel, with varied success. The Scotch and Irish Presbyterians, the Independents, and the Plymouth Brethren are all zealously labouring. And while one must feel regret at the apparent want of union which these various elements present, yet in the face of the gross darkness, the hideous idolatry, that meets one so glaringly at every turn, the Apostle's words commend themselves to the thoughtful Christian, "Whether in pretence or in reality Christ is preached: and therein I do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice;" and one must strongly sympathize with every effort that is being made to teach the people. I had the advantage of visiting the missions of these societies, as well as the privilege of mixing with the members of the reformed Episcopal Church, and while I would not for one moment withhold the credit due to the self-denying labours of the good men engaged in them and the success attending those labours, yet the conclusion irresistibly forced on one is that this latter has taken the true standing of a national Church. It has secured largely the confidence of many who have not as yet joined it; it stands on its own basis, and has a unity in its organization throughout the country that marks it out distinct from all the others. It was cheering to hear the little congregations joining so heartily in the responses in their Scriptural services, and in the hymns, many of which are very beautiful.

There are other considerations which serve to heighten the claim of this reformed Church to be the National Church of Spain.

In England and Ireland it has become the fashion to assert the continuity of these Churches with the ancient Churches of those lands. And in Ireland we do lay stress on the fact that we derive our Orders in an unbroken line from St. Patrick. Now, if this continuity be anything more than a curiosity, or, as Archbishop Laud put it, "a great conquest over the unstability of this present world," we find it possessed in a very high degree by this Spanish Church. The ancient Church, the Gothic Church, after abandoning Arianism in the sixth century, resisted for five centuries all attempts of the See of Rome to enforce its jurisdiction. Again and again were the attempts renewed, always, it is true, just as in the present day with Romish aggression, with some slight advantage on their side; but so

late as the year 1482, when the bishopric of Cuenca became vacant, and Sixtus IV. wished to nominate his own nephew to it, the interference was resented by Isabella the Catholic, who bestowed the see on her chaplain, Alphonso de Burgos; and when the Pope's legate came to Castile to remonstrate, he was ordered to quit the country at once, and it was not until after the intercession of Cardinal Mendoza that he was admitted to an audience of Ferdinand and Isabella, the result of which was the complete surrender of the Pope, and the issue of a bull, said to be at present among the archives of the Simancas, engaging to confirm the nominations of the Spanish monarchs to all ecclesiastical preferments.

It is not until the reign of Philip II. that we find the Church in Spain brought completely under the dominion of Rome. His father only prepared the way for it, out of hatred to the rising Protestant cause, and was himself too imperious to bend to such a yoke, even in his retreat at Yusté proving but a bad papist, but with Philip's accession every spark of religious liberty was trampled out, and Rome—dark, cruel, and superstitious—settled down as a pestilential cloud upon the land. It is remarkable that it was under the rule of this relentless bigot, who could besiege the city of Rome and make Paul IV. sue for peace when his own political schemes required it, that the chains of Romish intolerance and oppression were riveted on his own country.

The light of the glorious Reformation was then breaking over the rest of Europe; in no land more than in Spain had its advent been hailed with joy and apparent promise, for the reforms effected by Isabella and Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros among the clergy had made them superior to almost any then in Europe. The new doctrines carried across the Pyrenees and into the Eastern ports made rapid progress until the arm of the Inquisition was turned against those who received them, and those of the reformers who escaped the fire and the dungeon fled to other lands, carrying their influence with them, and their piety, their earnestness, and their learning are attested by a large literature which is to be found in the public libraries of almost every country of Europe but their own, on subjects connected with the Reformation and theology.

The late Emperor of Germany, becoming aware of the existence of these works, had a collection of them made and published, with a memoir of their authors, as far as that could be done, under the able editorship of Dr. Boehmer, and the work has recently been translated into English.

Prescott, summing up the effects of the suppression of the Reformation in Spain, says: "Never was there a persecution which did its work more thoroughly. The blood of the

martyrs is commonly said to be the seed of the Church. But the storm of persecution fell as heavily on the Spanish Protestants as it did on the Albigenses in the thirteenth century, blighting everything, so that no germ remained for future harvests. Spain might boast that the stain of heresy no longer defiled the hem of her garment, but at what a price was this purchased! Not merely the lives and fortunes of a few thousand of the existing generation, but by the disastrous consequence entailed for ever on the country! Folded under the dark wing of the Inquisition, Spain was shut out from the light which broke over the rest of Europe, stimulating to greater exercise in every department of knowledge. The effect was visible in every department of science, not in the speculative alone, but in the physical and practical. Hence those frantic experiments, so often repeated, in the financial administration of the kingdom, which made Spain the by-word of the nations, and which ended in the ruin of trade, the prostration of credit, and finally the bankruptcy of the State."

For upwards of three centuries and a half Spain has lain under this incubus and continued to descend. Not all the advantage which ought to have accrued from the discovery of the New World—which fell to her lot—not all the gold stolen from Mexico and Peru, or wrung from the Jews and the Moors, could serve to keep her afloat. As one travels through the land, rich in all natural resources, the dreariness of desolation is apparent; every little eminence is topped with its church, crumbling to decay, inside whose dark walls a lifeless ceremonial is drawled out with perfunctory monotony, while all around lie the straggling vestiges of peasant life, unsustained by any industry, unenlivened by any signs of prosperity.

Prescott was not right, however, in saying that every germ of the ancient plant had been destroyed in Spain. We know that from time to time there have been shoots from the old stock—revivals of spiritual religion, risings against spiritual tyranny—even in Spain. Many of us remember the case of Matamoros and the strong feelings it excited some thirty-five years ago; but these individual efforts were soon put down, and it was not until the tide of revolution which swept over Europe in the middle of this century reached Spain and overturned the reigning dynasty that religious liberty and the rights of conscience were regained by the people; but with that event it was remarkable how soon inquiry was turned in the direction of a purer religion. Revolutions have not, in general, much about them to commend them to the Christian mind, but that in Spain had a remarkable feature. An old sea captain, who had for many years been trading to the ports

of Spain, told the writer that very shortly after the revolution broke out he happened to enter Bilbao with his vessel, and that he had no sooner arrived than he was simply besieged by crowds of Spaniards asking if he would give them Bibles, and begging him on his next voyage to bring a cargo of them from England, and when on his return he brought a goodly supply they were carried away by the people as a great treasure.

The British and Foreign Bible Society at once embraced this opportunity, and nobly stepped in to sow the precious seed, it is to be hoped, of a great and glorious harvest. And if on the bookstalls of Madrid and Seville and other large towns the "Santa Biblia" is occasionally to be met with, as it is, it is the hopeful evidence that ignorant prejudice is giving way—that the Bible is no longer a proscribed book in Spain, and that the Spanish themselves are now not ashamed or afraid of having it in their possession, but that it is passing into the current literature of the country.

It was under these circumstances that the recent reformation took form. There were not wanting, even then, those who sighed for the light—those who were earnestly searching for it—those who saw some faint glimmering of it, and were patiently awaiting the dawn.

The revolt from the Church of Rome had been deep and wide; smothered, indeed, under the power wielded by that Church, but intensely bitter against it, and ready to break away, as it has done, on the first opportunity into open infidelity, because it knew nothing, and had the means of knowing nothing between the two. But some labourers had been at work, prayerfully, earnestly, quietly—Christian men from England, whose business or professions brought them to reside for short periods in Spain, were moved to compassion when they saw the darkness and ignorance, and gathered little bands around them to listen to Bible truth and to drink in the "good news." But with the opening afforded by the revolution various branches of the Church of Christ felt themselves called on to enter the field, and did so with success. And was there not both cause that they should so feel and room for them to work? A recent writer remarks that "A religion that has no moral effect upon the people serves for nothing. This has been precisely the result of religious ignorance in Iberia. The people have been surfeited with fantastic notions of saints, with thousands of petty observances of feast days, etc.; but what effect has it had on their morals? They have been brought up on superstitious lines, but have not been taught the principles of common morality. Religion in Spain thrives on ignorance and deception. It

harbours and fosters both." There are circumstances, however, which determine the mind to act in one way rather than another, and while wishing success to all that is done in Christ's Name, we naturally feel more drawn to those who think as we think, who see truth in the same light, and who adopt the same principles which we have adopted, both with regard to matters of Church government and the ordering of public worship.

Among the Spanish reformers there were a number of men who were sufficiently large-minded to see that under the huge incubus of Romish superstition and impiety there were vestiges of the truth, forms that once had life, principles that were correct, though they had been twisted into shapes almost unrecognisable, threads—feeble threads—of historic connection with past purity, and they determined to retain what was good while clearing away all that did not stand the test of God's Word; to retain the form of Church government, the use of a liturgy, and the threefold order of the ministry. In this they were aided by several English and Irish Churchmen, among whom are to be mentioned the Rev. Mr. Tugwell, and more recently the Archbishop of Dublin, the latter of whom has written an interesting preface to the English translation of the "Revised Prayer-Book of the Reformed Spanish Church."

Two circumstances favoured the formation of this Church in Spain.

First, a goodly number of men who had received Orders in the Church of Rome, and were so far instructed as to be able to teach others in turn, were awakened to see the errors of the Church to which they belonged, and to come out from it. The number of priests, indeed, who have left that communion in Spain are very large, and are to be met with in various walks of life; too many of them to be found among the "free-thinkers;" but those to whom I allude embraced the truths of the Gospel, and were fitted to enter upon ministerial duties. One of them—a man who occupies an important post in the Church, and is doing good work among his fellow-countrymen—came to England some years ago as domestic chaplain to a Spanish nobleman. While living there he made the acquaintance of the gardener at the house where the family was stopping, and this man, in his humble way, asked the Spanish priest as to the hope that was in him, led him to study the New Testament, and this led to his conversion, his leaving the Church of Rome and finally joining the reformation. Others, in different ways, have been led to adopt the same course, so that the Church stands fairly well fortified in this respect: not well enough, indeed, for the ever-widening sphere, the new doors continually opening, and the

almost unlimited field before the Church, but quite sufficient for it to claim affinity with our own branch of the Church, as well as to establish its catholicity.

The second circumstance is the existence of the liturgy of the ancient Spanish Church, known as the Muzarabic. The history of that liturgy is remarkable, and, though pretty well known, will bear repetition here.

It derives its name from the appellation given by the Moors to all Christians whom they conquered, and who were willing to live under their rule. This was the case with the inhabitants of most of the large towns, where they were not only tolerated, but lived on friendly terms with their Moslem masters, and in some cases, as at Toledo and Cordova, even held their worship under the same roof where the Mahomedans worshipped. The word "Mustararab," which means a person aping the Arab, was applied to these because they adopted the manners, dress, habits, and even language of the ruling race, was afterwards corrupted to "Muçarab," and finally to its present form, in which it has become better known as describing their ancient liturgy than the people themselves. This liturgy has been ascribed to Isidore of Seville, but is in reality much older—at least in some parts—and on the return of the Goths to the Catholic faith, under Riccared, many hymns and prayers by Leander and others were added to it.

Its known divergence from the Romish Missal excited the hostile feelings of the Pope of Rome. John X. had it examined, and, the report proving favourable, it was allowed to remain as it was. Alexander II. in 1064 ordered its abolition, but still the Spanish Church clung to it. In 1067 the attempt was renewed, but was again resisted, and it was not until after Alphonso VI. reconquered Toledo that, by intrigue and every other artifice that could be employed, a part of the Spanish prelates were gained over, and the Roman ritual established in some parts of Spain. The city of Toledo held firmly to the old book, and it was at that time, 1087, that the trial, of which Robertson gives the account, took place, first by an appeal to arms, and then to a trial by fire. But though the Muzarabic ritual came out triumphant in both cases, it was allowed in only six churches, and by degrees died out in them. In the sixteenth century, however, Cardinal Ximenes appointed to the cathedral the Muzarabic Chapel, in which the Spanish rite is in use to the present day; at the same time he made alterations in the text, removed some of the offices, and added others, so that while unique in one way, it is but a mutilated thing after all.

As it stands, it proved a valuable aid to the reformers, and

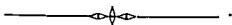
gave them a basis from which to start. Taking it for their foundation of a book of common prayer, they proceeded carefully, testing, as they say, every portion by the Word of God, and they have succeeded in arranging for themselves a really excellent and Scriptural liturgy. As the Muzarabic did not contain all that was necessary for the compilation of a complete liturgy, they have borrowed from other sources, modern and ancient, and added compositions of their own, many very admirable prayers, etc., by Señor Cabrera.

In the translation of this book these several portions are indicated in the margin, with notes of the respective sources from whence derived.

This Church is represented by congregations pretty widely scattered over the Peninsula, and these in very many cases have become centres with branches in outlying districts mission-stations, where, for want of ordained pastors, the work can be carried on largely by evangelists and teachers, superintended by the ministers at the headquarters. These stations might be multiplied almost indefinitely, were the means forthcoming and ordained men to be had. At Seville, for instance, there is a most interesting station at Osuna, the life of which is a Bible-woman of great earnestness; this place is visited by the Rev. F. Palomares; but there are very many other towns in the Vega or Plain of Seville where there are similar opportunities, where there are very many longing to have a teacher among them.

An organization such as this may well feel its need of a chief pastor—a Bishop—and it is with a feeling of that want that it has turned its eyes to the Church in these lands, one constituted as it desires to be, and one from which, for many reasons, it might expect the truest and most brotherly sympathy. The dubious answer given by the Lambeth Conference was calculated to chill the warmth of affection kindling in the hearts of those Spanish reformers towards England, and it argues well for the staunchness of their principles and their patient loyalty to them, that they have not been led to throw themselves into the arms of some of the Nonconformist bodies.

GEO. YEATES.



Notes on Bible Words.

NO. XXI.—“AFFLICTION.”

AFFLICTION in the N.T. is the rendering (A.V.) of the following words :

I. *θλίψις*, a *pressing together*, *pressure*; from *θλίβω*, to *press*¹: in Bible, metaph. oppression, distress, affliction, straits.

Matt. xxiv. 9, “then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted,” εἰς θλίψιν: Alford: “up to tribulation.” Vulg. *in tribulatione*.

Rom. xii. 12, “patient in tribulation” (Diodati: *nell’ afflizione*).

2 Cor. i. 4, “tribulation . . . trouble.” Vulg., first clause, *tribulatione*; the second, *pressura*: “comforteth us in all our affliction, that we may be able to comfort them that are in any affliction.” R.V. So in verse 8: “our trouble,”—“our affliction.”²

John xvi. 33, “ye shall have *tribulation*” R.V. and A.V.

Coloss. i. 24, “of the afflictions of Christ”: Vulg., *passionum Christi*.

θλίψις is the Sept. for *רָצַץ* and *רָצַץ* *distress* (from to be pressed, straitened. “In all their affliction He was afflicted.” Isai. lxiii. 9.³)

Also for *רָצַץ* *oppression* (from to *press*, to *squeeze*), Exod. iii. 9; “I have seen the oppression.”

II. *κάωσις*, “ill-treatment”: Vulg. *afflictio*: Acts vii. 34, “I have seen the affliction of My people.” Compare *κακοπάθειω*, the *suffering of evil*; Jas. v. 11, “of suffering affliction,” R.V. “of suffering”; *κακοπαθῆω*, to *endure evils* (hardship, troubles); Jas. v. 13, “Is any among you afflicted?” R.V., “suffering”; 2 Tim. ii. 3 and iv. 5.

III. *πάθημα*, *what one suffers*. In 2 Tim. iii. 11, Heb. x. 32, 1 Pet. v. 9, “afflictions”: R.V. “sufferings.”

The chief word, taking the O.T. and the New,⁴ has the thought of being *pressed*, straitened, distressed.

The other leading Hebrew word for “affliction” is *רָצַץ* (from to *lower*, to *depress*, to *humble*. Isai. xxv. 5, “shall be brought low.” Ps. cxix. 71, “that I have been afflicted”:—*ἐταπεινώσας με*, *humiliasti me*). Ps. xxv. 18. *Vide humilitatem meam*, ἴδε τὴν ταπεινώσιν μου. “Consider mine affliction.” *Ταπεινώσις*, *lowness*, is the Sept. for this Hebrew noun.

¹ For *θλίβω* see Mark iii. 9 “lest they should throng Him.” Metaph., *afflict*, *distress*. ² Thess. i. 6, “to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you,”—*θλίβουσιν ὑμᾶς θλίψιν*,—*tribulationem his qui vos tribulant*: “affliction to them that afflict you.” R.V.

³ Monotony, in such cases, is force. Lightfoot, on 2 Cor. i. Our translators are divided between “tribulation,” “trouble,” and “affliction.”

⁴ Delitzsch: “In all their distress He was distressed.”

⁵ The same want in the religious vocabulary, which gave currency to *θλίψις*, also created “tribulatio” as its Latin equivalent. Bishop Lightfoot, Phil. i. 17. The Vulgate here has *pressuram*.

Review.

Charles Simeon. By H. C. G. MOULE, M.A. Methuen and Co., 1892.

THIS book will be very widely read, we trust, and will do good service in several ways. Most members of the Evangelical School, probably, have read the "Memoirs" by Canon Carus, and are familiar, more or less, with what has been written about Mr. Simeon in other Biographies, and in periodical literature. Many Churchmen, again, who have no acquaintance with the "Memoirs," and have read but little about the work at Cambridge mentioned therein, were pleased with the admiring picture of Mr. Simeon drawn in the "Sir Percival" of Mr. Shorthouse—a picture suggested, as its artist says, by the "Memoirs" of Canon Carus. But a large number of devout and earnest Churchfolk, it is probable, know scarcely anything about Mr. Simeon, and yet are ready to learn something of the great work which in various ways he did. To such readers, undoubtedly, the present biography (the author modestly terms it "a short sketch of a memorable career") will prove welcome and helpful. It is a really interesting book; deeply spiritual in tone, with a refreshing candour and tolerance; rich in information, admirably arranged; from a literary point of view, an excellent piece of work. It will remove much prejudice, and bring together—a thing greatly to be desired—many who see the evils of "party" spirit, and who, differing in measures of "High" or "Low" or "Broad," are at one in love of the Prayer-book and loyalty to the Church of England.

The Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge, sometime Fellow of Trinity College, has special qualifications for the task (the "delightful task," he calls it), of writing a present-day book on the life and character of that honoured servant of Christ, who lived and died an Incumbent of a Cambridge parish, and a Fellow of King's. In the course of years, living in Cambridge, Mr. Moule has gathered up many personal reminiscences; moreover, unpublished papers have been placed at his disposal; and he has many links of sympathy and affection. Mr. Moule's intimacy with Canon Carus, Fellow of Trinity, curate, successor, friend, and biographer of Mr. Simeon has led him to insert (after the Preface was written) a few lines of "In Memoriam," which many who knew Canon Carus will read with pleasure, and which we cannot refrain from quoting here, as follows:

It had been my earnest hope to be permitted to place this little volume in his living hand; now I can only inscribe it to his beautiful and holy memory, thanking God that I have enjoyed the happiness of knowing him, and of seeming to know in him the saints of that elder time which he remembered so well.

A few brief paragraphs may be quoted from this delightful book.

From Eton, in 1779, Charles Simeon passed to King's College. Three days after his arrival, the Provost sent to tell him that within a few weeks, in mid-term, the Holy Communion was to be administered in the chapel, and that he (according to a college rule) must communicate on that day. What Simeon felt he described in a private Memoir:

"What?" said I, "must I attend?" On being informed that I must, the thought rushed into my mind that—Satan himself was as fit to attend as I; and that, if I must attend, I must *prepare* for my attendance there. Without a moment's loss of time, I bought the "Whole Duty of Man," the only religious book that I had ever heard of, and began to read it with great diligence; at the same time calling my ways to remembrance, and crying to God for mercy. . . .

He consulted Kettlewell's book, but chiefly Bishop Wilson's, on the Lord's Supper; and at his second Communion, on Easter Day, he "had

the sweetest access to God." The services in the College Chapel were at that time irreverently performed; but such was the state of Simeon's soul for many months from that time that the prayers were as "marrow and fatness" to him.

This is a proof to me [he wrote] that the deadness and formality experienced in the worship of the Church arise far more from the low state of our graces than from any defect in our Liturgy. If only we had our hearts deeply penitent and contrite, I know from my experience at this hour that no prayers in the world could be better suited to our wants or more delightful to our souls.

Similarly, we read (p. 107) that in the use of the Prayer-book in public worship Simeon "found one of his purest joys." "No other human work," he said, "is so free from faults as it is." "Never do I find myself nearer to God than I often am in the reading-desk."

Perhaps the English Church "never had a more devoted son and servant than Simeon," St. Charles of Cambridge, to quote an expression in the "Essays" of Sir J. Stephen. From the first to the last of his Cambridge life he was "resolutely and unceasingly anxious that all men should love and venerate the Church of England." He deplored the coldness and slackness of Church life in the country generally, "and he looked on its real resuscitation as one of the sacred objects of his own labours."

And I cannot but think [continues Mr. Moule] that not a little of the revived consciousness of corporate life and duty in the national Church, often attributed almost wholly to the movement which Simeon lived to see begin at Oxford, is due to his persistent work and witness at the other centre of academic influence.

In an admirable passage, later on in the book (p. 260), Mr. Moule remarks that, so far as the Oxford movement "was a reaction from an over-drawn individualism in religion and an excess of the subjective spirit, there was much in Simeon's thought and teaching which struck a concord with it." Again: "The evangelical revival of the eighteenth century found a certain defect supplied in the school of Simeon."

This devoted pastor and preacher was free from party spirit. Mr. Moule says (p. 95): "From that baleful spirit, altogether different from a faithful and reverent jealousy for distinctive revealed truth, Simeon was kept extraordinarily free all through his life." Certainly it was with those devoted clergymen and laymen who accepted the title Evangelical (they did not, as is sometimes said, *claim* it) that Simeon's sympathies mainly lay. But his "necessary and affectionate special relations with them" were always governed by his deep loyalty to Scripture, his "cordial allegiance to the doctrine and discipline of the English Church as such, and his love of his Redeemer's image wherever he saw it reflected."

On the state of Cambridge at the time when Simeon went to King's, and on the remarkable changes which took place as regards both "town and gown" during the period of his ministry (he was *fifty-four years* Vicar of Trinity Church), the biography contains much interesting information, no small portion of which, probably, will be altogether new to many readers. Principal Moule refers, of course, to Gunning's "Reminiscences"; volumes full of curious details as to clerical worldliness and grossly inconsistent living; and also to the "Recollections" of the late Professor Fryme.

The funeral of Simeon was itself a most striking testimony to the good man's faithful and laborious career. The whole University was resolved to honour the man once almost banished from its society. Heads of Houses, Doctors, Professors, men of all ages, stations, and opinions. and of every College, came to the burial of Simeon.

Short Notices.

Roman Catholic Claims. By CHARLES GORE, M.A., Principal of the Pusey House, etc. Fourth edition. Longmans, Green and Co.

THE present edition of this work differs from the last, we read, only in minor corrections and modifications. But in the new preface there are some interesting remarks. For instance, Mr. Gore says: "I shall be sorry if what I have said in Chapter I. were understood to mean that there was no class of Roman writers who had a real regard for historical truth." There is "an exceedingly able school of Roman Catholic historical writers. But they abstain from applying their critical research to matters determined *de fide*." Mr. Gore adds: "Is it not intolerable to one who believes in the God of truth—to one who believes that whatever is of God will bear investigation—to be told that on certain subjects, on matters of the faith, there is to be no free and critical investigation?"

The Gospel Narrative, or Life of Jesus Christ. By Sir RAWSON W. RAWSON, K.C.M.G., C.B. Griffith, Farran and Co.

To give the full title of this book we must add: "Collated from the authorized text of the four Gospels, with Notes of all material changes in the R.V., and Epitome and Harmony of the Gospels, forming together a complete narrative in chronological order of the Life and Discourses of our Lord Jesus Christ as derived from a synoptic view of the four Gospels." The work is well and carefully done; and to those students who value a system of this sort the volume will be very welcome.

The Relation of Confirmation to Baptism, as Taught in Holy Scripture and the Fathers. By A. J. MASON, D.D., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Pp. 497. Longmans.

This ably-written book will be read by many with interest, although it is long, and from the nature of the case somewhat "dry." It merits a review of some length, specially as it bears upon the Chrism of the Greek Church; and due criticism, perhaps, will hereafter be given. At present, we quote a key-note sentence (p. xv.). English Churchmen, says the learned author, "are not bound to prove that Confirmation is a separate sacrament. To us it is no incorrect description of the relation of Confirmation to Baptism when the Fathers say that in Baptism the Holy Ghost is given, meaning thereby that He is given in that part of the baptismal sacrament which we know by the name of Confirmation."

The Book of Common Prayer, with Historical Notes. Edited by Rev. JAMES CORNFORD, M.A., Lecturer at the London College of Divinity. Eyre and Spottiswoode.

The "Notes" in this work are printed in the margin. They are judicious and, so far as we can see, correct. Many of them, of course, are simply dates. Thus, in the margin of the "Prayer for all Conditions," we find "1662; Dr. Gunning, Bishop of Ely"; and opposite the word "Finally," "The Prayer was originally much longer." As to the type, etc., we need only say the volume comes from the Queen's Printers.

Our Lord's Signs in St. John's Gospel. By JOHN HUTCHISON, D.D. Pp. 240. T. and T. Clark.

Dr. Hutchison's "Lectures on the Philippians" was, at the time, very favourably reviewed in this magazine by an Archidiaconal pen. The

volume before us, dealing with the eight Miracles in the Fourth Gospel, is exceedingly good.

In the *National Church* appears the text of Mr. Gladstone's remarkable speech on the Clergy Discipline Bill.

The *Morning Calm*, the monthly magazine of Bishop Corfe's Mission to Corea, is—as we have mentioned before—published by Messrs. Griffith, Farran and Co.

The *Higher Criticism of the Bible* (Elliot Stock) is a paper read at Ruridecanal Chapters by the Rev. E. B. Wensley, Vicar of All Hallows, Kent. Mr. Wensley is strongly conservative.

William the Silent is one of the excellent Biographical Series published by the Religious Tract Society.

In the *Anglican Magazine* (Harrison and Sons, 59, Pall Mall) appears an interesting Note on the good work being done in the diocese of Sydney under Bishop Saumarez Smith. Here is another Note:—

The Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII., *De conditione opificum*, and his intervention in social questions on behalf of the working classes, seem to be producing singular results on the development of the newer dogmatic theology of the Church of Rome. They have given a fresh impulse to the *cultus* of St. Joseph, as the example and the patron of the working men. In accordance with a *mandement* of Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris, and with the formal approbation of the Pope, on Sunday, March 20th, in Notre Dame de Paris, the city and diocese were solemnly consecrated to St. Joseph, and placed under his patronage. Thus become more and more prominent the later and more peculiar developments of Roman doctrine. The great church at Montmartre is dedicated to the Sacred Heart, as an expiation for the whole of France; Notre Dame and the whole city and diocese have now been consecrated to St. Joseph.

In the *Church Sunday-School Magazine*, a good number, we notice with pleasure the following paragraph:

The Sheffield Sunday-School Union has asked the schools in connection with it for information as to the proportion of former Sunday scholars who are now members of the churches to which the schools are attached, and the result is satisfactory to those who regard the Sunday-school as a power for good. There are 126 schools in the Union, and 106 answered this particular question. In the churches with which the 106 schools are associated, *nine-tenths* of the whole number of church members have, at some time and place, been Sunday scholars, and *in thirty-nine of them, all* the church members, without exception, are, or have been, Sunday scholars. Further, one-half of the members of the 106 reported churches are, at the present time, in the Sunday-school, nearly one-fourth as scholars, and more than one-fourth as teachers.

The Rev. A. F. W. Ingram, Head of the Oxford House, Bethnal Green, has done well to publish some short papers, *Old Testament Difficulties* (S.P.C.K.), simple but by no means feeble. Here is an anecdote on the vitality and influence of the Bible. "Why can't you let the Bible alone, if you don't believe it?" was asked, it is said, of an energetic Secularist lecturer. "Because the Bible won't let me alone," was the honest reply.

Archdeacon Farrar's Sermons in 1877, on the subject of "Man's eternal future," published by Messrs. Macmillan and Co., now appear with a "Preface to the Thirtieth Thousand." This volume is a companion to other books in the new series of the learned and eloquent Canon's writings. The title is *Eternal Hope*.

Canon Law is a pamphlet published by the Council of the C.A. as the reply of the Association to the "Rejoinder of the E.C.U." (Church Association, 14, Buckingham Street, Strand.) The greater part of this "Reply" has appeared, if we remember right, in the *Guardian*.

The Holy Tears of Jesus is one of the late Dr. Christlieb's sermons, translated by Prebendary Kingsbury, with an Introduction and Appendices. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

The "Liturgy" and the "Eastward Position" is a pamphlet by a very able controversialist, some of whose writings, as e.g., "The Historical Grounds of the Lambeth Judgment," have been commended in the CHURCHMAN. The *Quarterly* and the *Guardian* alike referred to the writer's learning and research. Mr. Tomlinson's present work is illustrated by "fifteen of the oldest known representatives of the Lord's Supper." (J. F. Shaw and Co.)

Bishop Crowther's *Experiences with Heathens and Mohammedans*, a tiny volume, is published by the S.P.C.K.

We are pleased to see a second edition of *Everyday Thoughts for Everyday Children*; simple and practical Christian counsels. (Elliot Stock.)

In the April number of the *Newbery House Magazine* (Griffith, Farran and Co.), appeared an interesting article by the Archdeacon of London on "Declaratory Acts and the Reform of Convocation." One paragraph in Dr. Sinclair's article runs thus:—"The difficulty which none of these attempts have been able to overcome is the great question, Where resides the authority for the reform of the Convocations? This can be only decided from a strictly legal point of view; and in offering a solution I have the advantage of two very clear and able articles on the subject in the CHURCHMAN magazine, by an eminent lawyer who takes a keen interest in all matters affecting the National Church—Mr. Philip Vernon Smith. There has been a misapprehension that Mr. Smith is not of the same opinion as when he wrote those articles; but I put the question to him only the other day, and he assured me that the misapprehension was entirely groundless, and that he held the solution with which I am to conclude my paper to be the only one possible." The Archdeacon's article somehow or other escaped our notice; but we saw it mentioned (with an allusion to the CHURCHMAN) in the *Guardian*.

An interesting leaflet is issued by the "Pastoral Work Association, Diocese of Norwich." It gives order of reference, on both sides, for the Old Testament controversy. Thus:—I. *The following state the case of Modern Criticism*:—Rev. C. Gore, "The Holy Spirit and Inspiration" (*Lux Mundi*); Professor Sauday, "Oracles of God"; Bishop of Manchester, "Teaching of Christ"; Professor Ryle, "The Canon of the Old Testament"; Rev. R. Horton, "Inspiration of the Bible"; Canon Kirkpatrick, "Divine Library"; Professor Driver, "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament." II. *The following have been written in reply*:—Principal Cave, "Inspiration"; Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, "Christus Comprobator"; Canon Liddon, "Last Oxford Sermon"; Professor Stanley Leathes, "The Law in the Prophets"; Rev. R. B. Girdlestone, "Foundations of the Bible"; Rev. Dr. Robertson, "The Early History of Israel." III. *Standard Works written before the present controversy*:—Professor Westcott, "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels"; Dr. Lee, "Inspiration of Holy Scripture." The names of publishers and the prices are given. In connection with this leaflet we may express our regret that no mention was made of Professor Kirkpatrick's "Divine Library" in the brief notice of Bishop Wordsworth's book (*The Primary Witness*) in the last CHURCHMAN. That notice, written in haste, was unavoidably imperfect. The counsels of the venerable Bishop (St. Andrews) are wise and weighty. He says:—

"The collapse of the Wolfian theory in its attempt to dethrone Homer, notwithstanding the energy with which it was prosecuted, and the triumphant air which it assumed, may well teach us to be doubly cautious how we meet the advances of the new criticism in its attempt to dethrone Moses, however we may admire the ability, or be staggered by the boldness and assurance it displays. I say, to be doubly cautious 'how we meet.' *We must not refuse to meet them.*"

A little volume entitled *Te Deum Laudamus* (Nisbet and Co.) will be welcomed by many. It is a series of simple and earnest addresses on the "Te Deum," specially insisting on the true doctrine of Justification, by Sir Arthur Blackwood.

Blackwood has a well-written paper on Civilization, Social Order, and Morality in the United States. We give an extract, as follows :

"It has been estimated that two-thirds of the whole population of the United States never enter a church, although it may be assumed that almost all have been baptized in some form or other. These two-thirds may be classified as irreligious, or devoid of religion. The reader may estimate how many of the remaining third are really religious. The number of professed atheists is unknown, but it is said that atheistic missionaries are to be met with. Agnosticism is professed by a very large number. Israelites, hundreds of thousands of whom are inhabitants and citizens, are agnostics so far as Christianity is concerned ; and very many Gentiles represent themselves as agnostics. Naturally it would be inconsistent for a good Christian or a good Israelite to go the usual pace as one of 'the boys' ; so the profession of agnosticism serves many as a pretext for their conduct. Although professed Christians are generally not backward in dilating upon their ideas of religion and of God, and many of them would be offended were they told that they were nothing but idolaters, it is safe to hold that most of them have very quaint ideas of the attributes of God, and are in fact idolaters. Being unable to reconcile individualism to any god but one after their own heart, each has his ideal god—not of stone, wood, or india-rubber, but a flexible and comfortably fitting ideal god, who suits at all times under all circumstances as his worshipper desires. This kind of deism is consistent with man's reason, but may not prove to be a saving doctrine. It is about a century since the French in Paris dethroned God and enthroned the Goddess of Reason. Man's reason is self-asserting, and not to be put down in the United States ; where Reason reigns supreme, so it is claimed. They take their chances as a matter of course. Permanent impressions are made upon a child's mind at a very early age. In the United States little or no special care is taken to keep the bad from deteriorating the good. All are thrown together, and it may be for the good of the bad—so think many. Parents may not have had the advantage of education, and may be vulgar, foul-mouthed, foul-mannered, drunken, vicious, and utterly depraved. Their children soon learn to despise them, or are ashamed of them, or break away from them. Long before the children have left school they have become self-asserting, and grow up, for want of proper restraint and correction, to imagine that they are the salt of the earth and far superior to all their seniors—or at least equal to them in knowledge and in ability to take care of themselves. They scarcely know what gratitude is. They may or may not even thank the donor for favours or services rendered, but receive everything as a matter of course, as only their due."

THE MONTH.

THE May Meetings on the whole have been successful; well attended, with speaking up to the average.

The speech of Mr. Gladstone on the Clergy Discipline Bill probably distressed many of his supporters. The second reading, however, was carried by 230 votes against 17. A knot of Welsh members have been obstructing the Bill in the Standing Committee.

The Convocations have at length agreed to a Canon in connection with the Discipline Bill.

In the York Convocation, Chancellor Espin, the Prolocutor, referred to the articles in *THE CHURCHMAN* on the "Reform of Convocation," by Mr. P. V. Smith. It was in the course of a debate on reform (we quote the *Guardian* report), when a Proctor asked whether Convocation could reform itself. Dr. Espin, in reply, said :

The law officers of the Crown, and Lord Selborne in particular, had given it as their opinion that there was no way in which the representation of the clergy in Convocation could be in any way altered except by authority of Parliament, and of course the Convocation of Canterbury were very adverse to asking Parliament to pass a Bill authorizing them to reform themselves. The only suggestion he had seen which seemed at all likely to be helpful was one by Mr. P. V. Smith, a lawyer and a member of the London Diocesan Conference and of the Canterbury Lay House, which was embodied in a paper published in *THE CHURCHMAN* some eighteen months ago, and was afterwards described in an article by Archdeacon Sinclair, which appeared in the April number of the *Newbery House Magazine*. The plan was this : to procure from Parliament a declaratory Act, for which there were several precedents, to the effect that whereas doubts had existed whether Convocation had powers by canon duly sanctioned by the Crown to rearrange the representation of the clergy, it be enacted that Convocation should have such power, when the canon had been duly passed under the licence of the Crown. Convocation would not then be asking Parliament to give them power to reform themselves, but simply to make a declaration of that power. That was the only proposal which he had seen for getting over the difficulty which was of the least value.

In the Northern Province a House of Laymen has been formed. The proceedings at the first meeting were full of promise.

The speeches of Lord Salisbury, on the Ulster problem, in London and at Hastings, have been sharply criticised. But is there not a cause for such outspokenness ?

The deficiency which so many of the religious societies have this year had to acknowledge, says the *Record*, has in some quarters been accounted for by the sums gathered into the coffers of the Salvation Army :

But the fervent appeal just made by General Booth shows that the Army is worse off than any of its rivals. Of the £30,000 required this year for the "Darkest England" scheme only some £4,000 has been furnished so far, which, together with the deficiency of last year, has "all but brought" the General to a standstill. In addition to this "the spiritual fund is also exhausted and rapidly running behind." This seems a convenient season at which to ask what security those persons hold who, at the suggestion of General Booth, have lent their savings to the Army ?

A brief "In Memoriam" of the Rev. James Gyby Lonsdale appeared in the *Guardian* of the 4th. Mr. Lonsdale (son of the late Bishop Lonsdale, of Lichfield) contributed several papers to this Magazine.