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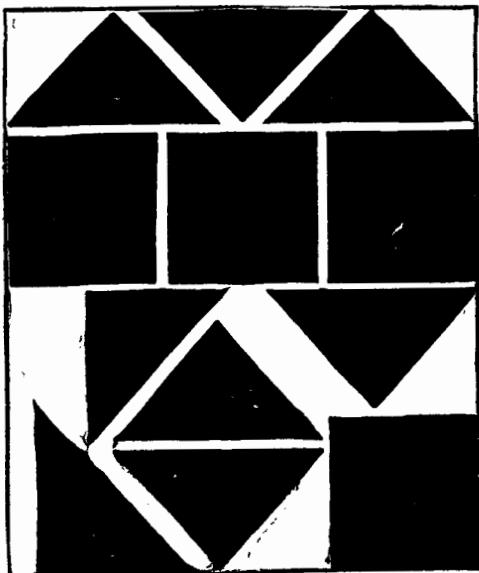
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THE
CHURCHMAN

MARCH, 1898.

ART. I.—PLAIN THOUGHTS ON THE ETHICS OF INVESTMENT.

PART II.

BEFORE tracing the moral effect of this view of our subject, it may be well to examine the texts on which it was grounded and the inferences drawn from them.

Clearly, the Old Testament passages do not condemn usury as intrinsically evil, for after saying, "Ye shall love the stranger," the law adds: "Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury." Paley warrantably infers that it was forbidden to be taken from Israelites alone, "in order to preserve the special distribution of property among the chosen people, to which many of their institutions were subservient." The Jews might rent their land, which was their chief possession; and rent seems in essence undistinguishable from interest. Looking at the context of the Mosaic prohibition, it seems plain that loans to needy brethren, not for business purposes, were specially in view; and the references in the Psalter and Prophets are doubtless on all fours with the interdictions in the law.

But the New Testament? Well, where does that condemn investment? A parable of Christ seems to commend it. "Trade ye [herewith] till I come." "Lord, thy pound hath made ten pounds." "Well done, faithful servant!" Then, to the slothful one: "Thou oughtest to have put my money to the bankers, that I might have received mine own with interest." I know it is argued that if this implies that interest is right, then it is right also to be a "hard," an "austere man." But surely that is a description of a severely equitable, if unpopular, master (to whom in the interpretation the Lord Himself precisely corresponds), drawn by a worthless

and lazy servant, and nowise endorsed by the Author of the parable!

As for "Lend, hoping for nothing again," no such text occurs in a rightly translated Bible. I know that the translation is somewhat doubtful; but even taking it as it stands in the Authorized Version, one fails to see how it condemns business loans at interest. Of course, bringing their own recompense, they establish no title to gratitude on earth or to the reward of disinterestedness in heaven; and it is self-sacrificing giving that makes us "sons of the Highest." For loving them that love us, and for doing good to our benefactors—as for lending to receive as much again—what *thank* have we? But is it suggested that to do the two first is immoral? Why, then, should the third be?

And where is taking interest mentioned by St. Paul in his numerous and exhaustive catalogues of personal and social sins?

In fact, the case drawn from Scripture against the morality of interest seems hopelessly to crumble away under cross-examination; and this was seen at last, when Reformation principles had led to the wide circulation and study of Scripture in the original and vernaculars, and to free criticism of the dogmatic glosses on it of ecclesiastical authority.

Meanwhile, it is plain that the condemnation of the remunerative investment of money, while fatal to mercantile progress, nowise made for high morality. Says Mr. Lecky: "The arms of industry were paralyzed, all expansion of commerce arrested, and the countless blessings that have flowed from them were withheld." The proscribed and hated money-lender was himself deprived by the estimate held of him, and, furtively resorted to, charged unscrupulous interest. Economy was discouraged and luxury promoted, the absence of facilities for profitable employment of money diminishing the incentive to save, and conducing to its dissipation in luxury and display. More than this, men were tempted to dishonourable evasions of a maxim opposed to the needs and instincts of social industry. Merchants compounded for disregarding it by bequests to the Church; casuists taught that interest was not evil if exacted, not as justly due, but as a debt of gratitude; or if paid of the borrower's free will; or only out of fear that otherwise loans might be refused him in future; or on special occasions (their nature being left vague); or as compensation for failure to return a loan on the day named (*damnum emergens*); or as an equivalent for diminution of a lender's income from productive enterprises (*lucrum cessans*); or when the arrangement is favourable to the borrower. Other illustrations may be found in Dr. White's remarkable

book—to the wonderful research of which my paper is much indebted—“The Warfare of Science with Theology,” vol. ii., chap. xix.

Protestants at last developed the theory that usury only means illegal or oppressive interest: albeit, there is no warrant for the distinction in Scripture terms, or the language of popes and councils. As early as Elizabeth, however, while the former was still illegal, “just rates” of interest, *under restriction*, were authorized in England.

Beginning with Protestant countries, the Church by degrees surrendered the untenable dogma altogether, Gerson, Calvin, Grotius, Simon and Cotton Mather taking a prominent part in discrediting it, and Adam Smith and Bentham following on it; the latter asking, if money was a “barren” thing when used to buy a cow? Under Pope Benedict XIV., in 1745, Rome herself gave way, and “Monti di Pietà,” for lending to the poor (at appreciable interest), were established in Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, and afterwards in France, and at last in Ireland, under the auspices of the Church.

To-day, the mediæval edicts against interest resemble empty cartridge-cases littering a position abandoned by an utterly routed enemy. In England, the legal maximum of interest has been lowered again and again, till, early in the present reign, the Usury Laws were abrogated as futile; and the word “usury” is now conventionally employed to denote interest, not above legal limit—for there is none—but at unfair and extortionate rates.

An enormous development of investment has followed, and our commercial magnificence is a consequence. In England, over £320,000,000, or a fourth of the national *dividendum*, is received annually from investments by persons who have done nothing personally to earn it; and who, we would ask, will seriously maintain that such receipts are more contrary to the moral sense and well-being of the community than those from rent of inherited land or houses, or royalty on purchased patents, or payments for the use of a diamond-drill or a threshing-machine, a plough or a plane?

The last example is suggested by Bastiat’s tract, quoted in Mrs. Fawcett’s “Political Economy for Beginners,” in which he instances James, a village carpenter, who makes a plane so as to improve his work, and earn more money. William, a neighbour carpenter, asks the loan of it for a year for nothing. James shows him this would be unfair: he must give him a new plane at the end of the time, and a plank in addition, in return for the advantage of its use; and William thankfully agrees. (Of course, the plane is capital: that helps a man to earn more money; interest is the plank.) If there is injustice

here, someone must be producible who is injured: who is it? Not the customers—they get better carpentry; not William, who borrows the plane again next year, because of the profit it brings him; while James is encouraged to invent fresh tools. The use of capital is presumably an advantage to the borrower; why ought he not to pay for that advantage? The owner goes without it—abstains from consuming it—and that abstention from his rights entitles him to compensation. Ruskin points out that James had no right to a new plane, as it would have worn out had he used it himself. Capital in money, however, does not wear out by profitable use, and the objection to the figure disappears in its application.

But it might be asked, Has the capitalist the same right to his capital that James had to the plane he made? A mighty question, but a separate one from that of the intrinsic morality of interest. My proposition assumes that capital lent is legitimately owned. And surely capital may be legitimately owned?

What is capital? As Mill taught us long ago, it is originally the product of labour, saved from consumption, and stored, through foresight and self-control, so as to be available to assist fresh production. Interest is property in this stored-up labour; and we must give the widest sense to “labour”; it must include ingenuity, contrivance, enterprise: surely there is no more immorality in taking payment for the service of these than for manual toil! A man’s property in capital saved flows from his property in the labour that produced the capital’s good, it may be rejoined; but investors in innumerable cases have not laboured to produce it; they are drones, feeding on honey others are collecting, eating bread in the sweat of another’s brow; whereas all product of labour should go to the labour which produced it, and the skill directing its production. The answer is, It does all go to these: not necessarily to the labour of the present moment, but to the stored labour of the past. It is the deferred reward of bygone labour and abstention. It is to the original saver and storer it belonged, no doubt; but if it was his, he could dispose of it; and should he barter or give away its ownership, it does not on that account cease to be legitimately owned, and may claim its dues. To deny this is to repudiate all private ownership of property. That ownership is safeguarded (I cannot admit it is altogether created) by civil law, and its recognition (on grounds, plain men believe, abundantly warranted by our knowledge of human nature) forms part of our social system. That system might, of course, be altered, but at least it is moral, and is recognised as such by Christianity. As Mill puts it, If we accept the principle of private property, we must bear with the consequences of it; and most moderate-minded,

practical men, seem to hold that its retention, if only we can temper its operation with the Christian spirit, is far more likely to benefit the world we live in than the shooting of Niagara by its sudden abolition, or even its gradual extinction according to the programme of the Fabian Society. But, in truth, we might all safely become thorough-going Socialists to-morrow, if we were only thorough-going Christians to-day! Till we are, however, Socialism's full programme would mean an awfully perilous cataclysm. For the Socialist experiment can be no "experiment" at all; if it failed, it would fail, it has been truly prognosticated, in a community of ruined paupers, with no recognisable means of self-recovery. They had no private property in the first paradise, it has been urged—but neither had they any clothes. The abolition of the latter, as things go, might prove awkward. There will be no private property in heaven, I apprehend; but then this is not heaven, but England; and the two, unhappily, are not as yet exactly the same place. All this seems digression, but it appeared impossible to discuss the morality of investing capital without some notice of the alleged immorality in most cases of having capital to invest.

Let us consider what it would mean, if profit on money might only legitimately be received by those who employ it themselves in productive work. It would shut out from all advantage from capital not only the very young, the very aged, the afflicted and disabled, and tender women, but the Christian Church, trustees for widows and orphans (who may not risk trust-money in ventures of their own), and for charities; strictly speaking, all rulers, teachers, authors, artists, healers, defenders, and tenders of children, aye, and all thrifty working folk who put by in savings banks. It is the receipt of interest on capital that alone prevents multitudes of non-producers becoming a burden on the country, and turns them into promoters of its industries. To lay it down that all non-producing investors are illegitimate, were preposterous.

On the other hand, that non-producing or merely consuming investors are too numerous in proportion, is certain. The idle rich, equally with the idle poor, are destroyers of wealth; and the former are far the worst, setting, as many of them do, an example of self-indulgent luxury certain to be envied and imitated, with pestilent result to the *morale* of the community. It is these that bring investment into disrepute with the working classes, and make it seem an unrighteous thing; and some of us are profoundly convinced of the justice of a fully graduated and progressive income tax, and of extended limitation of the right of bequest, as self-acting corrections of the evils of which we speak; most importance attaching, I think,

to the latter. But these interesting questions are scarcely germane to the subject of my paper. Suffice it to say, that a wider distribution of capital is a consummation devoutly to be wished; but to treat investments at interest as immoral is assuredly not the way to hasten it.

We close with a few plain thoughts on two further questions.

If capital may legitimately be invested at interest, what are the moral principles that should guide Christian investors in selecting, and retaining, their securities?

First, I submit that, so long as his money remains under his control, an investor is morally bound to satisfy himself that it is not, so far as he is reasonably able to prevent it, employed for the injury of his fellows.

Thus, advantage should never be taken of the misery, the excesses, or the vice of our brother, even for remunerative investment of capital. Wretchedness will be ready to pawn its health, its self-respect, its character, for present accommodation; but no moral man will take the pledge. Scripture guides us by examples: the garment of the shivering, the wife or child of the impoverished parent, the ox of the widow, the mill with which the poor man grinds the meal for his family, should never be held as security. The tender of them shows that not legitimate profit on production, but the necessities of the desperate, are soliciting the advance: the case is one for charity, not investment. Shylock took Antonio's life-blood in pledge: it was constructive murder. Taking rent from the poverty-stricken will be uncongenial to a Christian; he will rather lose, than screw pittances from the starving; yet when such rents have to be relied on for men's livelihood, distressing cases of conscience will arise, which a wise man will avoid having to face if he can, but must deal with on their merits if he must.

A somewhat different case is the letting of house property to those who, as a matter of fact, use them for objectionable ends. In Melbourne lately houses occupied amiss were found to be owned by Presbyterian Church office-bearers. They showed, I think, that they did not know it, which cleared them; but it was an embarrassing situation. In a poor parish, I served in days gone by, houses used for gambling, and worse, belonged to persons of high-seeming respectability. I interviewed them. In one case two West-End ladies were owners, to whom I brought home their duty. On being made cognizant of the facts (they should have inquired earlier), they gratefully empowered me to set things right. In another case an indolent, but well-meaning, man was owner. He allowed me to turn his houses into respectable lodgings. Other landlords laughed at my representations, and I brought a statute of George III. to

bear on them, and purged away the evil by force. Of course, in such cases reasonable facility of knowing unfavourable facts is required to establish complicity with evil: others are essentially concerned with motive and purpose. But all fair precaution should be taken and inquiry made. In East London I knew two low public-houses whose rents supported a lecturer at a London church; but the houses had been let on a long unconditional lease, and remedy was difficult. It was applied at last—meanwhile, however, the church lost heavily in repute in the neighbourhood. The Victorian Government not long since issued postcards bearing advertisements of tobacco and spirits, at enormous profit to the Post-Office at a time when the Treasury was depleted. But hardly anyone would buy them, and an outburst of disapproval from the colony generally led to their speedy withdrawal. It seemed perilously near drawing national profit from the stimulation of self-indulgence, possibly of excess. Shares in breweries and distilleries are not investments that commend themselves to most Christians, and one cannot help admiring the partner who forfeited all his shares in a leading firm of this kind because it fattened on East-End drinking; yet moderate and practical men cannot condemn as immoral all the operations of the vintner and the victualler. It is pleaded for the Gothenburg licensing system that it involves investments of this kind that benefit rather than injure the community, but weighty opinions seem divided as to its true success.

By far the largest proportion of investments are of a very indirect kind. Capital in a vast number of cases is shared by a multitude of holders, many of whom, while assuming that their business is in promotion of legitimate industry, have neither the time nor the opportunity to investigate the details of its administration. Unhappily, the presumption that all is right because the direction seems in respectable hands is not always safe, and it is one of the weaknesses of financial combination that the sense of personal responsibility, and the power of control, on the part of generally conscientious persons, becomes attenuated. No doubt responsibility in such cases must be proportionate to the opportunity of cognizance of ill-doing; but, as I have remarked already, Christian ethics prescribe all reasonable precaution to shareholders and self-dissociation from all doubtful gains. Painful cases of casuistry must arise when a man feels bound to sever his connection with a questionable investment, and has to decide whether it is right even to sell his shares to someone else. Probably he will be right to take no profit on such sale; further responsibility is then taken away from him by another who, conscientiously, takes a different view of his duty—as he has a

right to do. The individual conscience must act in each case as before almighty God. The question will generally become of high expediency rather than of actual right and wrong. "Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth." We cannot divest ourselves of all responsibility in these cases; we must not be "partakers of other men's sins" through a careless and contented ignoring of the facts. "Qui facit per alium, facit per se," and if my agent, as such, does unrighteously, I am unrighteous myself unless I repudiate and sever myself from his action. I repeat, however, that ethics are concerned with motives and purposes, and the moral character of an investment is determined in each case by these. Not a Solon, not a Moses, not a Paul would think of laying down a detailed code or "Index" specifying enterprises which may not be invested in. That reproductive industries are to be preferred to the opposite does not involve the moral condemnation of the latter. The wish to invest successfully may be perfectly innocent: not all hope of good dividends is evil. There are noble objects which money may secure through investments morally indifferent (in the scientific sense), and wishing for it with a view to attain those ends may be consistent with lofty character.

Someone has said that "philagogy," or the desire for money, for the sake of good that may be achieved with it, is a prerogative of rational men. "Thou callest me dog," says Shylock. "Hath a dog money?" The love of money for its own sake (in these days when hoarding is a thing of the past, commonly indicative of diseased intellect) really means desire for money for the sake of the applause and envious admiration of which the rich man is the object in society. If it is for this we are keen on our investments, the level of the moral thermometer is low. The same investments made with other motives may be highly moral. A poor candidate for orders in my diocese, through sagacious advice, gained splendid dividends from a claim, enabling him to secure a University education, marry a good wife, and take her round the world, thereby enlarging his ideas and becoming a more useful clergyman. Knowing this, I placed five pounds in that same adviser's hands for certain shares he recommended, consecrating beforehand all profit that might accrue to Church work. Passing to England, I forgot this. On returning, I had an envelope placed in my hands by the honest adviser. It contained my five pounds, unused. The mine he had intended it for had looked less hopeful than he had at first considered it; and that was the first and last mining venture of my life. There was no question, I think, of the morality of both of these investments.

I am assured by experts that, on the broad average, mining shares yield only ordinary interest; the fortunes made on them are chiefly by exchange and speculation.

Now, what is speculation?

Of course, all mining enterprise is in measure speculative, God having been pleased, in the way of nature, to distribute minerals out of sight of men, on a plan that cannot confidently be predicted. Hence, there can be no immorality in coveting capital in attempts to trace these—which means mining shares—a risk in the costly attempt must be involved. But by speculation we mean, I take it, investing money in shares in the hope that good luck, or the caprice of the market, or the unwariness of others, may enormously advance their selling value later on; and while no one can say it is wrong to reap advantage from what is called good luck (as, for instance, a “fossicker’s” from a splendid find), greedy fishing for speculative profits without giving any equivalent for them in thought or labour is a mode of money-making perilous to character, likely to develop in our gains that tainting effect upon our manhood which money is capable of exerting. And speculation passes into gambling when reckless risks are run with capital, with no security but chance, in the feverish hope that some wonderful good fortune may enrich us out of all proportion to the capital we invest.

The immorality of this lies in the motive and spirit of it: the desire for gain without equivalent sacrifice or toil. As a rule, men do not get suddenly rich on ordinary and unquestionable investments. Great fortunes sometimes fall to speculation and gambling, but at the cost of others from whom the money is withdrawn; and it is the restless, dreamy craving after such increase that constitutes the pestilent inspiration of the gambler and the speculator.

Mining investment, then, is moral enough: mining speculation shades off from thoughtful and judicious financing into preying upon others’ fancies and inexperience, while gambling in mining (or any other) shares is demoralizing in the highest degree.

I have said nothing about pawnbroking. Is it moral, or otherwise?

As we have seen, it originated with Christian philanthropy; but it does not smell sweet in public opinion. Still, the pawnshop and even the “dolly” shop are probably practical necessities to-day for a certain class of citizens. But it seems impossible to prevent their being availed of largely in cases where they furnish facilities for evil. Unquestionably they habituate many to unthrift, and are largely used by the vicious. In principle the pawnshop is nowise immoral; but

if a good institution "for the present distress," it is one with which society may hope to dispense some day without serious disadvantage.

Lastly, we have to consider very briefly the most difficult branch of our subject—the moral aspect of rates of interest on investments. And here we must distinguish interest from profits on working capital. What rate of interest on his capital is a non-producing investor morally justified in receiving? When does his interest pass into "usury"?

Professor Cunningham lays it down that the ethical rate of interest should be the average profit of legitimate enterprise. But this rule one finds it hard to accept: over what time and what area should the average be calculated? In Victoria for some time past enterprises ordinarily very remunerative have been yielding nothing. In the early days of a colony (as in parts of Australia now) or in out-of-the-way places, as the far West of America, it is well worth while to pay far more highly for the use of money—say 15 per cent. or 20 per cent.—than in Melbourne or New York.

Mill allots, out of twelve parts of productive gains, five to labour, three to talent, and four to interest on capital.

Surely the true ethical measure of interest is the fair mutual advantage of both lender and borrower. The case of the poverty-stricken borrower, as we have seen, is excluded, as belonging to another category. Neither party must be taken unfairly at disadvantage; it is a question of simultaneously remunerative borrowing and lending. Given workmen equitably paid, and employed under reasonable conditions, and management reasonably remunerated, if the concern prosper, the lender may fairly expect to benefit. The profits from underpaid labour, however, are usury. The fair rate of wage must be estimated in view of the current cost of living; and it can no more be ethically right for a shareholder to draw large dividends when labour is ill-paid and inconsiderately treated, than from a business intrinsically mischievous to society. Of course, as we have seen above, in proportion as his share in administration is direct and personal is his own moral responsibility.

As a rule, exceptionally high interest savours of moral unsatisfactoriness: either precarious security (which may impart the flavours of gambling on both sides into the investment) or unfair advantage taken of labour. If, however, interest falls very low, capital will naturally seek investments elsewhere, and employment diminish. The "usury law" of Heaven is still in force: "Oppress not the hireling in his wages, and restore to the debtor his pledge." All interest on

investments that hinders obedience to either of these precepts is usurious, and so far immoral.

The true correction of the love of money is that of the love of pleasure, and stronger love of goodness. Self-indulgence and money-grubbing will alike cease to be to his taste who has seen clearly what life is for and how to make the fortune of it indeed. But they will not be cured by railing at the rich, calling dividends speculation, or prohibiting all interest by law. What we want is dynamic, not mechanical, agencies, to check the economic evils of the time; and the power of moral forces and the human conscience seems, happily, counting for more and more, by degrees, in our social politics. Doubtless, "money wanteth her teeth grinded," as Bacon says; but his own suggestion for doing it is absurd. While Ruskin supports his diatribes against interest by an argument like this: "You can't eat your cake and have it too; but if you save it instead of eating it, what right does that give you to a cake and a half?" The error lies, of course, in the false analogy of cake to capital. Take the corn of which that cake is made. If that were saved and sown, would not the man who abstained from eating it be justified in looking for more than the original cake?

"Usury is the one vice," writes a recent pamphleteer, "that is never attacked in the pulpit"; but one finds, on reading further, that he means interest; and attacking that seems no part of a preacher's duty. Perhaps wise pulpit guidance on the ethics of investment is more in demand than in supply.

It cannot be denied that in the moral and spiritual sphere of thought money-making, whether by successful investment or otherwise, has a poor reputation. The greatest moral Teacher the world has seen calls money "unrighteous" mammon, and so it is from His (*i.e.*, Heaven's) point of view, so easily is it tainted with evil and falseness. "That which is least," He terms it; its sphere with Him is the "very little." Think of a millionaire's wealth so referred to! "That which is another's" He calls our money; not because it is not our's for present handling, but because it is on trust, after all. We cannot cleave to it, or it to us; unlike higher possessions, which are our very own, as the riches of our true and lasting self!

And yet, what immense moral importance, according to Christ's teaching, attaches to our right use of the ensnaring, tainted, insignificant thing, money! Like Eve's apple, like Samson's hair, what momentous issues are bound up with this trifle! "Make to yourselves friends by means of" it . . . "that they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles!"

Investment ethics tell sublimely on our immortal destinies. Oh, the best investment of our money is in "bags that wax not old"—"treasure in heaven that faileth not." A painted thing at Monte Carlo was overheard saying to another: "Me and the duchess has made a pot." The fellow-gamblers out of whom they made it will hardly be ready to welcome those two into "the eternal tabernacles." We were best to invest our money in making friends with it that will do that; not in making men our tools with it, or our flatterers with it, or our envious rivals with it, or our fair-weather companions with it; *i.e.*, making them in the end our victims with it and our enemies with it.

The reader will suspect a sermon if I enlarge on the best uses for money. But it belongs to the ethics of investment to remember that we may turn orphans into our advocates with it, make the widow's tears plead in our behalf with it, cause the famished to call down a benison on our meals with it! St. Martin invested a tattered man with half his cloak, and in the visions of the night saw Christ wearing it in the skies. Poetry, romance, no doubt; but I hope we need not empty all romance and poetry even out of our ethics!

Invest your money in doing good for Christ's sake, and you will have heaven for a safe, angels for cashiers, God for your banker, and One to welcome you when all the institutions, financial and other, of this world are "suspended, pending reconstruction," to a "city" of such unearthly wealth that jewels are laid down there as foundations for gate-posts, and gold is of so small account that they pave the streets with it, and trample it beneath their feet!

S. BALLARAT.



ART. II.—THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE PENTATEUCH.

No. XIII.

WE have now arrived at chap. xvii., which, we are told, belongs exclusively to P. It records the establishment of the rite of circumcision, and this, of course, is a "priestly" question, and must be described by the priestly writer. So obvious is this that neither Wellhausen nor Professor Driver think it necessary to give any other reasons for assigning this chapter to P than that the "promises to the patriarchs" in P are "*limited to Israel itself.*" There is, it is true, a distinct promise to the "patriarch" Abraham in this chapter, which, so far from being "*limited to Israel itself,*" refers to Ishmael.

But that, of course, goes for nothing. Then we are told¹ that the "style of this chapter is formal and wearisome. It is the style of a priest." Here is another judicial *dictum*, which it were, of course, presumptuous to question. One might ask why the style of a priest should be more "formal and wearisome" than that of another man. Or one might be tempted to indulge in unprofitable reminiscences of books written by "priests" which were neither "formal" nor "wearisome." One's memory might recur to a book written by one "of the priests that were in Anathoth," in which some benighted persons have discovered eloquence and power of a very high order. Or our thoughts might stray in another direction. They might stray, for instance, along the "formal and wearisome" pages of Mr. Fripp's "Priestly History Book," where the narrative of Gen. xvii. is given. And they might fancy that they found there some passages which were even picturesque and striking. Or one might exchange "literary" for "historical" criticism. One might ask whether it were by any chance possible that the institution of circumcision were actually handed down among the Israelites at the instance of Abraham, their forefather. One might express a wonder whether there were any trace of the custom before the return from the Captivity. And, if so, one might further wonder whether any authentic record of the establishment of the custom had been handed down, and, if not, why not? One might further inquire why, if there were any earlier and more authentic record of its establishment, especially if it were really Abrahamic in its origin, that record was not preferred to one written fourteen hundred years after the event? Some origin of the custom of circumcision there must have been. And if criticism can discover for us a more accurate one than that which P has given us, by all means let it be done. At present, however, it has *not* been done. Again, as the redactor has enriched his pages with some lively, and even dramatic, details, it might be asked what was the irresistible magic of the priestly writer's "formal and wearisome" style here which induced the redactor to quote that particular portion of his narrative *verbatim*? Moreover, one might be tempted to argue that there are frequent and unquestionable — even by modern critics — references to the custom of circumcision as existing among the Jews at an early date. The reason, therefore, why the redactor selected this particular narrative when others were open to him may not seem particularly clear. But what boots it to reason thus? "The critics are agreed." The last word of scientific research

¹ Fripp, "Composition of the Book of Genesis," p. 164.

has been spoken. This chapter is part of the "Priestly History." It is "formal and wearisome." And it was written after the return from the Captivity, and embodied, at a later date, in a history of Israel which was ultimately received by the Jewish people.

Another difficulty, however, meets us at the outset. The priestly writer is an Elohist. But the writer tells us that it was *Jehovah* who "appeared to Abram." This might seem a little staggering to the ordinary mind. But it is marvellous how easily difficulties disappear when one is properly trained in the school of modern critical research. We are to "read 'Elohim,'" says Mr. Fripp. And his masters say so, too. No reason is given; nor does it seem that any reason is needed. The obstinate literalist might no doubt be absurd enough to contend that the principle is one which, if applied generally, would be fatal to all theories about Jehovistic and Elohist writers whatsoever. But this is only another instance of his stupidity and obstinacy. "The piece is Elohistic," as Wellhausen would say (and he *does* say such things when it suits him). So *Jehovah* is a mistake for *Elohim*, and the question of authorship is thus satisfactorily settled.

Not quite, however, even yet. For, once more, it is a characteristic of the priestly writer that he is "less anthropomorphic" than JE. Professor Driver,¹ however, is good enough to admit that the latter writer speaks of God as "appearing" to men, and he labours to show that such "appearances" are "less anthropomorphic" than "angels or dreams." One would have thought just the contrary. An appearance in a dream, or a message by an inferior being, is not "anthropomorphic" at all in the sense in which the word is here used, that of God Himself assuming a human shape. But one must not dispute with a modern critic. Nevertheless, it is quite certain that "appearances" of *Jehovah* are regarded as common in Genesis, whether in JE or P, whereas after the time of Abraham it came to be believed that none could "look on God and live."² This, once more, tends to confirm the view that the sources of Genesis are older than those of any other book of the Old Testament, and even that it was really written before the rest. One almost trembles to write such a sentence in the last decade of the nineteenth century; yet

¹ "Introduction," p. 121.

² Gen. xxxii. 30; Exod. xxxiii. 20; Deut. v. 24; Judg. vi. 22; xiii. 22. It is a remarkable proof that this part of the Pentateuch is drawn from extremely early sources—that the appearance of God excites no fear until the time of Jacob. It may be noted, too, that the words in ch. xvii. 1 and in xviii. 1 are the same (וַיֵּרָא יְהוָה), no small sign of unity of authorship.

one is slightly encouraged, perhaps, by the recollection of how funny the late Mr. Matthew Arnold thought it, thirty years ago, of the "Bishops of Winchester and Gloucester" of his day (the latter, one is happy to say, is Bishop of Gloucester still) to speak of God as a Person; and how absurd it was, in his eyes, to fancy that the "Fourth Gospel" could possibly have been the work of the Apostle St. John.

The next point which strikes one as remarkable is this: God appears unto Abram at what the historian, be he Moses or P, or whosoever he may be, evidently supposed to be a critical moment, and announces that he is "El Shaddai." Wheresoever else these words occur in the Pentateuch, with one exception, which will presently be noted, they are assigned, as the reader will be prepared to expect, to P. But it is strange that the word "Shaddai" only occurs elsewhere twice in the Psalms, once in Isaiah, twice in Ezekiel, once in Joel, twice in the Book of Ruth, *twice in the history of Balaam*, and *very frequently in the Book of Job*. Now, P is, as we are told, distinctively the book of the covenant with Israel. And the word "Shaddai" scarcely appears in the exclusively Hebrew portion of the Old Testament at all. Naomi, who had long been a stranger in a strange land, uses it. It is a favourite word in the mouth of the accursed heathen prophet Balaam. And it is specially used in a book the utterances of which are placed in the mouth, not of Jews, but of denizens of the land of Uz. It appears strange that this word should be seized upon by P, of all writers, as the special title of the covenant God of Abraham, when the evidence, as Dean Plumptre, in his "Biblical Studies," intimates, points to its having been, like El Eljon, a term in use by the Semitic nations generally. It is stranger still to find a late writer, such as P, recording in Exod. vi. 3 the substitution by El Shaddai Himself of Jehovah, or Jahveh, for His former title, and to find as a fact that throughout the Hebrew Scriptures, with the exception of the Book of Job, the word Jehovah, or Jahveh, *has* supplanted it—that is to say, that the Jews have preferred a name of later origin to that which, though it was common among kindred nations, was also the special title by which the covenant with Abraham was dignified. It would be strange indeed for a post-exilic writer to assert the substitution of a well-known name of God for one which, if the critical theories are correct, never had obtained at all in earlier Israelite days. It is, of course, perfectly futile to hazard a suggestion, in view of the perfection to which the art of Biblical criticism has been brought among us. But had it not reached that pitch of perfection, one would have been tempted to see here the utterance of a very early writer indeed, who had access to sources containing some

very special and accurate information. El Shaddai was doubtless the name by which God was known to the monotheists in Ur of the Chaldees. At least, it seems to an ordinary mind as nearly certain as it can be that a late Jewish writer, composing his work with the whole of the Hebrew Scriptures before him, would hardly have represented God, at the moment of His entering into His solemn covenant with Abraham, and instituting the rite of circumcision as a sign and pledge of it, as introducing Himself to Abraham by a name by which, so far as the history bears witness, He was not generally known to the Israelitish people. If it be argued that the name here given is expressly set aside in Exod. vi. 3, we may still ask where the post-exilic historian got his facts from if he be writing authentic history, and, if not, why he sets up a title one moment only to fling it down the next?

The next point, though it is a slight one, is not altogether void of significance. In ver. 3 God is said to "speak" to Abraham. As He had just before been said to "appear" to him, the anthropomorphic character of the section is heightened. And once more the passage suggests a source of very high antiquity rather than the more spiritual conceptions of God which years of religious education and experience had developed among the Jews of the post-exilic era. Then, again, it may be well once more to point out that, in spite of the alleged composite nature of the sources of Genesis, *before* ver. 5 Abraham is always Abram, and after it always Abraham, from whatever authority the story is supposed to have been derived. The same may be said of Sarah. Now, if P here derived its history from JE, P is here not an independent narrative. How, then, does the critic know that the redactor is giving us an undiluted extract from P? And if he did not, how was it that the redactor avoided the mistakes in spelling into which he was so exceedingly likely to fall? Does not the fact that *never once*, by any chance, after this chapter, do we find Abraham called Abram bear witness to a care in treating the authorities, and in the transmission of the text, which, according to the critical hypothesis, was not actually taken; for had it been taken, it would not have been so easy, as the critic declares it to be, to point out the gaps and seams and patches in the work. Moreover, in Isa. li. 2, written *ex hypothesi* before P, we have the names Abraham and Sarah, not Abram and Sarai. Thus, P is at least not the original source of the narrative in chap. xvii.

Our next point is the actual evidence for the early origin of the rite of circumcision, and of the covenant founded thereupon. It is remarkable how very seldom indeed the rite of circumcision is mentioned in the Old Testament. It would

surprise most readers of the Bible if they were told that the direct references to circumcision are more numerous in the New Testament, after the rite had been set aside, than in the Old Testament. But this is simply an illustration of a well-known historical law, that the better known a custom is, the fewer, as a rule, are the references to it. From this it follows that the key of the critical position, the few references to the Tabernacle worship in the early historical books of the Old Testament, and to the Temple worship in the later ones, is extremely assailable. There can be little doubt, however, that the rite of circumcision, however few the direct references to it in the history, was in use among the Israelites from very early times. We are unable to cite Gen. xxxiv. because passages there which relate to circumcision are carefully assigned to P, apparently on the hypothesis that to P must belong all references to circumcision as a sign of the Abrahamic covenant. We will not anticipate the discussion on chap. xxxiv. beyond remarking on the close connection between ver. 14 (P) and Josh. v. 9, in which the critics do not appear to recognise the hand of P. It would seem that to be uncircumcised was a reproach among Israelites and Egyptians alike, and that both Gen. xxxiv. 14 and Josh. v. 9 are early

and authentic references to this fact. The word עָרֵל (uncircumcised), used as a term of reproach in ver. 14 of this chapter, is found in the same sense in Judg. xiv. 3 and xv. 18; in 1 Sam. xiv. 6, xvii. 26, 36, xxxi. 4; 2 Sam. i. 20, as well as frequently in the prophets. Thus, various authors, none of them considered of late date, record the fact that to be uncircumcised was regarded by Israelites a reproach, and seem to justify the inference that the performance of the rite imparted a peculiar character to, and had bestowed certain special privileges on, those who underwent it. The action of Zipporah, again (Exod. iv. 24-26, assigned to JE), implies that there was an obligation to perform the rite, that it had been neglected, and that serious penalties (*cf.* Gen. xvii. 14) were attached to its non-fulfilment. Thus there is every reason to suppose, from the indirect hints of the various Old Testament writers, and all the more because they *are* indirect, that P is here relating an authentic incident. If so, from whence was it derived? If JE "knew nothing" of it, who did? If it were authentic, *why* did JE "know nothing" of it? Why may not the custom of circumcision have been thoroughly well known to JE, and why, therefore, may not the narrative of chap. xxxiv. be more largely due to JE than the critics are inclined to allow? While, on the other hand, if P is romancing here, if he is making up an *ex post facto* story in order to invest the rite of circumcision, a

mere habit borrowed from the Egyptians, with a factitious sanctity, why did he not go further? How is it that he gives us the least chance of arguing that Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, all forgot or neglected to circumcise their children? How is it that the redactor, who has been, as we are given to understand, so busy in refashioning the later narratives, so as to induce his readers to believe that worship at the One Sanctuary was an ancient Mosaic precept, and not an invention of later times, has not introduced a single reference to the practice of circumcision in the subsequent history, and that even 'priestly' writers, such as Jeremiah and Ezekiel, never by any chance allude to circumcision as a sign of the Abrahamic covenant. That Ezekiel, the "father of Judaism," should so strangely have forgotten his fatherhood as to make no allusion to the most significant rite of the religion of which he was the inventor, is remarkable indeed. On the other hand, the moral significance of the rite is eloquently indicated in Deut. x. 16. The significance of this passage is striking indeed if we have here the words of the great Lawgiver, addressing, on a solemn occasion, the posterity of Abraham; while, if it be the language of a compiler in the reign of Hezekiah or Manasseh, and if it refer to a rite which was not as yet recognised as involving any sense of consecration, the language is strained and in no very particularly good taste.² Thus, the Old Testament writers, by their silence as well as by the occasional hints they undesignedly let drop, confirm the view that, by whomsoever and at what time soever this passage was written, the rite of circumcision was established under the circumstances, and for the objects mentioned in this chapter, namely, to mark out Israel as a peculiar covenant people of God. More minute criticism of the chapter must be deferred to another paper.

J. J. LIAS.



ART. III.—THE POPES INFALLIBLE TEACHERS OF MORALS.

THE Head of the Roman Church became in the course of ages a highly composite personality. He was a patriarch, a temporal sovereign, a feudal over-lord, a public patron, a private doctor, a personal Christian, the assumed or assuming Head of the West and then of Christendom, and claiming finally absolutism in things spiritual, while throughout a large

¹ We should note that Gen. xxi. 24, 25, is arbitrarily separated from JE's narrative because there is in it a mention of Isaac's circumcision.

² Jeremiah quotes this passage in ch. iv. 4.

portion of this time he asserted the right to proclaim religious wars (to say nothing of wars waged by himself for his purely temporal interests), to hold at his disposal crowns and fiefs, to cancel treaties, absolve from oaths, and release sovereigns and subjects, liege-lords and vassals, from their mutual engagements. We cannot, in estimating his morals, exclude from view any one of these relations. Moral regards enter into every one of them, and in every one of them the primary principles of morality, often in the widest fields of influence, often with unblushing effrontery and overbearing insolence, have been flagrantly violated by some pope or other. But notice first that throughout the entire series of official acts, like the spinal marrow through the vertebræ, runs the principle of coercion by violence. Such coercion, by every means at the disposal of the temporal power, was the keynote of the mediæval Papacy. Themselves temporal potentates, with a larger share of astuteness than the average of their compeer rulers, and with at least an equal share of ambition, the popes of the entire period seem, with few exceptions, to adopt without scruple the maxims of despotism and precedents of violence which they inherited from the dregs of Roman imperialism. The Church caught at the hand of the civil power and abused it as an engine of intolerance with repulsive eagerness, as soon as the decrees of Nice were signed; and Catholic and heretic were persecutors or persecuted, according as the court was Catholic or heretic and *vice versa*.

It is, indeed, one of the broadest facts of history that the nefariousness of applying temporal penalties to coerce the religious conscience was a lesson not learned until every religious body had, according to the measure of its power and its weakness, in turn both inflicted and suffered persecution. It was a lesson never learned of the popes, nor has it ever been learned by them. The doctrine of Trent upholds coercive violence, and not a few texts of leading Roman teachers anticipate or repeat the doctrine of Trent. Every bishop's oath of allegiance to the Pope still binds him to persecute and attack (*persequare atque impugnabo*) all heretics. Given the power, it will start again to energy of life. The false principle rebuked by our Lord in the memorable saying, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of" (Luke ix. 55), enjoyed unbounded ascendancy from the time of St. Augustine downwards, and, indeed, was upheld by his authority. It was in his eyes an exercise of charitable compassion to punish the disseminator of heresy by the temporal sword. He quotes the text, "Whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth," in approval of temporal potentates assuming to be vicegerents of heaven on this behalf, and urges it as a

foremost duty of the Civil State, now become Christian, to uphold that faith through the extirpation of its enemies by the carnal weapon.

Jerome, with his fiery impetuosity, goes further, and "is surprised that the bishop" of one whom he deemed a heretic "had not destroyed him in the flesh for the benefit of his soul," and urges that "piety and zeal towards God could not be deemed cruelty"; and elsewhere that "sternness is the most genuine mercy, since temporal punishment may avert eternal perdition" (Epist. cix. to Riparius; *Comment.* on Nahum i. 9). St. Leo (447 A.D.) speaks of the "severity" of the secular laws of "Christian emperors" against heresy as having been "long helpful to the mildness of the Church, which is content with such judgments as priests can pass, and shrinks from bloody penalties,"¹ but omits to notice that those secular laws were always enacted at the urgency of the bishops, who further goaded on the secular power whenever remiss in executing them. The first recorded judicial sentence of death for heresy had occurred before in 385 A.D.; but it was by authority of the tyrant and usurper Maximus upon Priscillian, a Spanish bishop, and his associates, convicted as Manicheans. This excited universal horror at the time, and especially was reprobated by St. Martin of Tours. Yet the supreme and "infallible" arbiters of morals following St. Leo, who had expressed a hardly qualified approval of the execution, built that false principle later into their policy as a main pillar of it.

Similarly, "St. Raymond of Pennaforte, the compiler of the 'Decretals of Gregory IX.' (following Gratian), who was the highest authority in his generation, lays it down as a principle of ecclesiastical law that the heretic is to be coerced by excommunication and confiscation, and if they fail, by the extreme exercise of the secular power" (Lea's "Hist. of Inquisition," p. 229). Long earlier than this, "Leo the Great (St. Leo, 440-461 A.D.) insisted with the Empress Pulcheria that the destruction of the Eutychians" (heretics of the time) "should be her highest care"; and "it became the general doctrine of the Church, as expressed by St. Isidore of Seville, that princes are bound to preserve the purity of the faith by the fullest exercise of their power against heretics" (*Ibid.*, pp. 215, 216). So that "in handing the Emperor the ring (at his coronation), the Pope told him that it was a symbol that he was to destroy heresy; and, in girding him with the sword, that with it he was to strike down the enemies of the Church" (*Ibid.*, p. 225). But his supposed duties did not end here. Later, we find an

¹ St. Leo, Epist. i. 15.

oath required of every ruler to assist the Church not merely in destroying heretics, but in detecting heresy (*Ibid.*, p. 313); and, in fact, "every prince and ruler was made to understand that his lands would be exposed to the spoiler if, after due notice, he hesitated in trampling out heresy." The penalties against it "extended to all who should neglect a favourable opportunity of capturing a heretic, or of helping those seeking to capture him. From the Emperor to the meanest peasant, the duty of persecution was enforced with all the sanctions, spiritual and temporal, which the Church could command" (*Ibid.*, p. 226). The false and revolting principle thus adopted was applied by the adopters with a refined precision and a ruthless persistency which dwarf and distance the efforts of such comparatively bungling *amateurs* in persecution as Nero or Diocletian.

Indeed, it is only in the scientific method of persecution that the great mass of the popes are supreme experts and past masters. A considerable number reach several degrees of eminence as canonists, but rather as devising church-rules to suit the times than as harmonizing in a coherent whole the highly complex system which grew up under their auspices.¹ As theologians, they are sadly poverty-stricken. St. Leo, Gelasius, Gregory I., and Gregory VII., are all that are worth naming in the first thousand years, whilst a dogmatic ignorance is the mark of many. But in persecution it is difficult to assign the palm, so wide is the competition.

Now, I venture to assert that this false principle and no mere moral teaching, *ex cathedra* or other, was for a millennium or more the governing factor in the ethics of Christendom as led by the "Infallible"—one repudiated now with all the energy of horror by the voices of the long misled and terrorized nations, as well as by the eternal test of Gospel truth. To that bloodthirsty falsehood the "Infallible" still stands absolutely pledged, and the "two swords" which he grasped so long are red to the hilt with that ferocious teaching and practice.

Here, then, the subterfuge of distinguishing practice from teaching will not serve. The case, too, is widely different from that in which it is rightly held, that the unworthiness of the office-bearer leaves untouched the efficacy of his official

¹ Sir J. Parker Deane, Q.C., D.C.L., addressing the Church Congress of 1892, is reported to have said: "We have several collections, and one collection in particular called the canon-law, which professes to be under the authority of various popes, by whom it has been sanctioned—a concordance of different canons. Anybody who looks carefully at these canons will find that the concordance is often like other concordances—a differing one. They do not agree."

acts. In morals you cannot separate the teacher from the man; besides which the practice in respect to persecution only reinforces the teaching. From persecution, to pass to other moral topics, the Pope, taken as a continuous personality throughout the ages, with all Christendom claimed as his pupils, commits in turn every enormity before their eyes, until, with the Papacy for their model, the highest places in the Church are filled with men the most deeply sunk and steeped in sensuality. Having drawn all appeals, as well as cases of "first instance" in which he cared to intervene, to himself, and become the Arches Court and high justiciary of Western Europe, his tribunal speedily becomes infamous for venality, extortion, and corruption—for every vice which can defeat justice, protract litigation, and enrich the judge and his clerical staff at the cost of the suitor. Then, as a public conscience awakens at last under the influences of the Reformation, the Papal court is the last to reform; and down to the day when the Pope ceased to be a temporal sovereign, his realm was the worst governed of all contemporary Christian Europe, unless, perchance, it were that contiguous kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which for some ages he claimed as a fief, which lay under his shadow, and had imbibed most fully the baneful contagion of his example. Unless his advocates are prepared to maintain that in matters of civil government morals are of no account, the standing rebuke of the pretence of this "infallible" moralist is to be found nowhere so largely written as in the experiences of his own sometime subjects.¹

¹ For many evidences of the woeful misrule of the States of the Church, see vol. iii. in Bohn's edition of Ranke's "Popes," *e.g.*, No. 51 in that appendix, pp. 229-233, showing the horrible growth of brigandage and bravoism under Gregory XIII. (1572-1585), and how his *laissez-faire* system fostered and intensified their outrages. No. 86, p. 315, for the detail of the heavy burdens of taxation due from the Roman barons to Paul V. (1605-1621), and from the vassals to the barons. No. 88, p. 319, showing how, in spite of heavy imposts, . . . the Papal government possessed nothing, the interest (on the debt) consuming nearly the whole of the revenue in 1605. No. 134, pp. 437, 438 (Report of the Venetian Envoy in 1663), speaking of the ecclesiastical dominions as utterly borne down by their burdens, of the voluntary expatriation of many proprietors in quest of some better-governed realm . . . imposts on all things eatable, besides personal tolls and taxes . . . oppressions and extortions studiously invented . . . of the utter misery of the inhabitants, the dearth of manufactures, etc. No. 151 (another Venetian envoy), describing the region as "desolated of her children, ruined in her agriculture, overwhelmed by extortions, and destitute of industry," under Innocent XI. (1676-1689). No. 162 (Mocenigo's Report, in 1737, to the Venetian State), p. 478, speaks of "the impediments presented by the Roman Government to the prosperity of its subjects;" states "the general government to be corrupt from the very foundation; breach of trust and dishonesty as being the order of the day; the expenditure as having exceeded the income, and no prospect of

"Why rake up the past horrors and recall the vanished nightmares?" someone will ask. The reason is that the claim to be infallible makes every crime indelible. In view of that claim the past can never bury its dead out of sight. It is, as urged above, for the purpose of that claim, as if one occupant had filled "the chair of Peter" from first to last. By claiming infallibility for the whole series Pius IX. virtually cemented their personalities in one solidarity with himself, and adopted and revived all the monstrosities which the world would only too willingly let die. Hence it happens that the cornucopie of enormities, as illustrating moral "infallibility" in the Papacy, which history presents to us is so vast and varied that it is utterly impossible to sample them in detail as they deserve. One can but cull one or two of the more rank and virulent, and at the same time more familiar, specimens of this *bouquet de mille fleurs*. One can but pick up one or two big and glaring pebbles from the shoal which lies at the feet of the historian of the Papacy, leaving who will to fathom and to drag the bed of the great ocean of intrigue, chicane, extortion, venality, simony, heathenish voluptuousness, heretical pravity, and heartless cruelty which rolls beyond.

But instead of pumping from the dregs of these tenth-century popes of the puddle, as described by Baronius,¹ let us take the

a remedy; and that the Pope (Clement XII.) had betaken himself to the *expedient of lotteries . . . the obvious destruction and ruin of the people.*" There is one only glimpse of one Papal reign during this period, in which a sound and successful attempt was made to turn to account the abundance of wool and silk by establishing a large industry at St. Michael ad Ripam; but it seems to have fallen into decay in the subsequent reigns. Now, if political virtues are moral, political vices must be immoral. Here is a thoroughly representative, if not an exhaustive, assemblage of the latter, forming an object lesson in the art and method of misgovernment, in the face of which any *ex cathedra* teaching on the virtues would sound like a mockery of the afflicted and suffering subjects.

Ranke has a special section (§ 2 of Bk. VIII.) on the "Increase of Debt in the States of the Church," showing how "the popes resorted in a manner the most reckless and precipitate" to loans, and then to augmented taxation to raise the sum due for interest. The previous section of the "Lapse of Urbino" (*i.e.* to be under Papal authority) shows the callous sharp practice of Urban VIII in order to obtain possession of it from the last independent duke. Ranke adds: "The duchy was at once subjected to the system of government prevailing in other districts belonging to the Church, and very soon there might be heard throughout it those complaints that the government of priests invariably calls forth" (Ranke's "Popes," Bohn's edit., vol. ii., pp. 299-303). For a deplorable picture of the Papal States, as misgoverned under Gregory XVI., see Mahony, better known as "Father Prout," quoted by Dr. Salmon ("Infallibility," lect. xxiii., pp. 466, 467). This brings us close to the time of the Papal sovereignty ceasing; the proof of the statement above in the text is thereby completed.

¹ Annals, 912, viii.

man who stands at a Himalayan height above them, the *facile princeps* of Papal history—Innocent III. In him the Petrine primacy coincides, as it were, in perigee with our native monarchy in apogee, as personified in John “Lackland.” This has branded his image indelibly on the memory of England. Most Englishmen who know history at all know something of that episode, since emphasized by the full vigour of Shakespeare’s genius, in which the most shameless of our sovereigns laid his crown and his subjects’ liberties in the dust of the Pope’s footstool, and can easily follow this attempt to sketch in outline the steps of that process through which our country had the happiness, for a time, at any rate, of being under “infallible” direction. Broadly put, the English Church sided with the barons’ demand for justice and freedom against a felon King; the Pope sided with the felon King against justice and freedom and the Church of the realm.

In 1207 A.D. Innocent III. proceeded to elect,¹ and later to consecrate as Archbishop of Canterbury, a cleric whom he specially favoured. This was Stephen Langton, whose patriotism rebuked and baffled his overbearing patron in the end, but who appears first as forced upon the Church and realm by this illegal intrusion. The Pope, in spite of the precedents of six centuries, overrode every undoubted right of each of the parties who claimed a concurrent voice, and treated all alike, as though conspirators against his own indefeasible claim. The parties referred to were the monks of Canterbury, the bishops of that province, and the King. This latter, therefore, was entirely within his rights in refusing to acknowledge the Pope’s nominee. The Pope, on receiving the royal letter of indignant protest, warning and defiance, at once, after consecrating his own nominee at Viterbo in Italy, placed the entire kingdom under an interdict, thus depriving all orders and degrees of men of all the ordinary resources of spiritual life, merely as a means of putting pressure on the King. The King carried on the war by oppressing, distressing and plundering the Church’s property, and outlawing the clergy of all ranks who upheld the Papal interdict. The Pope retaliated by excommunicating the King, and formally releasing all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, thus dissolving so far as in him lay the entire bond of all authority except his own (1211). Not content with this, which he ordered to be published throughout Europe, he further pronounced on John the sentence of deposition from the throne,

¹ The election was *in form* made by a deputation of the Canterbury monks, to which body it pertained; but *in fact* by the Pope’s threat of excommunication addressed to them while in Rome on that business.

and advertised the crown of England as the lawful prize of any who would undertake to seize it—an advertisement speedily answered, as the Pope of course intended and expected, by the King of France. On the intervening details it were needless here to dwell. Suffice it to say that this, coupled with a distrust of his own subjects, eventually brought King John to his knees, and (1213) discovering that, if he could make the Pope his friend, he would have nothing to fear from the French enemy, he resolved to pay the price for that protection by submitting to the Pope's terms, too well known to need recitation here. Pandulph, on his return through France, peremptorily bade the French King to desist from his expedition against England, who stormed and raged at the indignity of being thus befooled. But the wary legate kept the excommunication of John still standing until the stipulated terms were fulfilled.

Meanwhile, the magnates of the realm, finding the King and the Pope now in ominous conjunction, and dreading the unbridled violence of the former, now secure of the protection of the latter, formed the league which secured eventually under the Great Charter the liberties of their country. Their at first secret, but afterwards avowed, leader was that very Stephen Langton whom Innocent, hoping to find in him a prop to his own influence, had forced on the Church and realm as Archbishop of Canterbury. It is noteworthy that neither he nor the barons ever supposed for a moment that the protection of the "infallible" moral guide would afford them any relief from atrocious tyranny. England, in fact, had yet to suffer, and its sufferings were twofold. First came on the scene a new legate to settle the details of compensation and execute the Pope's will in spiritual matters, as also to receive, duly sealed and attested, John's formal deed of surrender. The Pope, who was no doubt well informed of every turn of events, determined to support his vassal against the demands of the latter's subjects for freedom and good government.

The crusade of extermination against the Albigenses and their neighbours the Waldenses was consummated with a mixture of treachery and atrocity to which the earlier record of heathen persecution presents but a feeble parallel—all under the direct instigation of Pope Innocent III. Then, too, arose the Inquisition, to freeze the blood of humanity and continue, in realms undisturbed by civil broil or external aggression, horrors which had derived their only possible plea of extenuation from the ferocious passions kindled by war. In the temporal disputes within his own papal realm, Innocent showed himself where no question of heresy was concerned as remorseless and unscrupulous as where the extinction of

heretics was his avowed object. Thus, interposing in a disputed succession between two noble brothers, he "instantly ordered the territories in dispute to be laid waste with fire and sword, suspended the common laws of war, sanctioned the ravaging their harvests, felling their fruit trees, destroying mills, and driving away cattle."¹ I take these examples purposely from the reign of Innocent III., because he was a man not only undeniably great—the greatest, perhaps, of the long papal line—but one guided by a strong sense of religious duty, however monstrously perverted, and capable of rigorous self-denial within limits of his own fixing, but utterly stern and inflexibly unbending against all whom he viewed as delinquents. In his own eyes he was vindicating the *læsa majestas* of heaven, represented on earth, as he deemed, by himself. This was his highest idea of government, and by its application, thorough and unflinching, he became one of the scourges of mankind.

HENRY HAYMAN.



ART. IV.—CONGREGATIONALISM :

A SKETCH AND A SUGGESTION.²

CONGREGATIONALISM was the child of the storm. It was rocked in the cradle of persecution, and was constrained to be as a man-of-war from youth up. The times were restless. The Holy Scriptures in the mother tongue had opened the gateway of a large hope. The work of Wickliffe and of Erasmus was bringing forth fruit in its season. "It was impossible to silence the great preachers of justice, mercy, and truth, who spake from the Book" (Green). "A new moral and religious impulse" went forth, and men's minds were moved as the wind moves the trees of the forest. The awakening had been slow; but it brought with it the unquenchable desire to know the mind of God directly from the authentic revelation of God, and to have a service of worship in the language "understood of the people."

Henry VIII. was the foe of anyone who did not conform to his imperious will—from the Pope who claimed supremacy in the English Church, to the Protestant who ventured to differ from the Pope and the King in the matter of the Roman

¹ Milman, "Lat. Christ.," ix., p. 184.

² Nonconformist, as well as other authorities and writers, have been consulted and freely quoted in this paper.

doctrine of transubstantiation. The royal quarrel with the Vatican was soon followed by the permission to place a Bible in the church for public reading. In accordance, however, with the intolerant temper of the time, "the King's Highness was minded to have a uniform order throughout the realm." The hanging of heretics was ineffectual to destroy heresy. To forbid without just reason is to arouse antagonism, and to provoke scruple. Dissent asserts itself, and the Protestant puts on his armour. The reign of Edward VI. favoured the Reformation, and the fires of Smithfield, kindled by Queen Mary, inflamed the energy of the truth-seeker. The Spanish Armada caused the Roman Catholic to be regarded as an enemy of the State. Queen Elizabeth had a great opportunity. Protestantism grew apace. The Bible was read in church and home, and "it wrought the wonder of the Reformation."

A new order of service suggested the abolition of the remaining habiliments. Were they not relics of Romanism? and "What concord hath Christ with Belial?" Already Hooper had refused to wear the rochet at his consecration. In those days a bishop might not dissent; he was sent to prison. Bishop Ridley regarded the surplice, etc., as "symbols of lawful authority," and persuaded Hooper to yield. Both bishops were in after days burnt at the stake. But the cleavage between Protestant and Protestant had begun. The establishment of the Court of High Commission in 1583 was the enthronement of religious despotism. "Compulsory Uniformity" was made the law of the land: dissent was criminal. The ordinances must be kept, and the official garb must be worn, or punishment for disobedience would be inflicted. Not all regarded obedience as the more excellent way: some preferred exile to conformity. Holland became the refuge of the Puritan Non-conformist, and communion with continental Churches promoted an assimilation to continental methods. Calvin was intolerant as Bonner. Division broke the ranks of the exiles, whose shield of faith was dogmatism. Dissent became sectarian.

We go back a little. The first Congregationalist "little flock" of which there is authentic information had its pasture ground in the Bridewell of the City of London. Its minister, Richard Fitz, was sent to prison, and breathed his last there. A document found in the State Paper Office records the constitution of this community. Its date is 1567. From it we learn that "the marks of Christ's Church are: To have the glorious Evangel preached not in bondage and superstition, but freely and purely; to have the sacraments ministered purely, and altogether according to the institution and good word of the Lord Jesus, without any tradition or invention of

men ; not to have the filthy canon law, but discipline only and altogether agreeable to the Almighty word of our Lord Jesus Christ " (*History of Congregationalism*, 1897). Foxe tells of certain "Congregations" in the City of London as early as 1555, but it is unlikely that they were distinctively Congregationalist. In 1580, Sir Walter Raleigh makes mention of "thousands of Brownists." This was the earliest name by which the Congregationalists were known.

Robert Browne was a clergyman of the Church of England, who held strongly peculiar views on Church government. He, with Robert Harrison, formed a Congregational church in the city of Norwich, in the year 1580. Afterwards he accepted a benefice in Northamptonshire. Impulsive and imperious, he was sent to prison for assaulting his godson. "He maintained that each separate society of Christians, whether large or little, formed a complete Church in itself; that Christ is the head of the Church, and rules it by His word and His spirit; that a true Church is constituted only of godly and believing persons . . . ; that each local church is competent under Christ to regulate its affairs, and is independent of all control but His; that its ordinary officers are a pastor, a teacher of doctrine, elders and deacons; that its officers are chosen by the voice of its members, who also have oversight of one another for the spiritual advancement of the whole; that its relation to other churches is one of brotherly love and mutual helpfulness" (*History of Congregationalism*).

Henry Barrowe, John Greenwood, Roger Rippon, John Penry the Welsh evangelist, took up the standard which Browne dropped. "Barrow and Greenwood were, in 1586, prisoners in the Clink for their Nonconformity, and contrived to get a treatise on their Nonconformist principles published in Holland" (Horton). Hence the name "Barrowists," or "Separatists," by which their followers were known.

Lord Macaulay says of them: "Their founder conceived that every Christian congregation had, under Christ, supreme jurisdiction in things spiritual; that appeals to provincial and national synods were scarcely less unscriptural than appeals to the Court of Arches, or to the Vatican; and that Popery, Prelacy, and Presbyterianism, were merely three forms of one great apostasy."

The Holy Scriptures were regarded as the sole rule of faith and practice. "We look for no laws but His Word; for no rules or forms of religion but such as He hath set down in His Word." "The grand charter of the government and power of the Keys," wrote Thomas Goodwin, "is granted, not to ministers in particular, excluding the people, but to the whole body of believers." "The autonomy of the congrega-

tion, acting with the presence of Christ, is the very constitution of the Church" (Horton). "Final decision remains with the Church meeting, coming together in the name of Christ." "A man is a minister no longer than when he has the care of a separate congregation" (Skeats). "The maintenance of the minister is the business of the Church: this provision should be honourable and comfortable" (T. Hooker). "The ideal of Congregationalism is to get back to the primitive Church. The actual spiritual life is the basis of Church unity and visible organization" (Horton).

Apart from the claim to independent Christian communion, and freedom from outside control, with the right to select and maintain the minister, the doctrines of Congregationalism were in general accord with the doctrines of the Reformed Church of England. It does not appear that Robert Browne questioned the supremacy of the Crown in matters ecclesiastical: "the magistrates' sword only wanted an eye to guide it." The confession of the congregation at Amsterdam declared it to be "the duty of princes and magistrates to suppress and root out all false ministries, voluntary religions, and counterfeit worship of God; yea, to enforce all their subjects, whether ecclesiastical or civil, to do their duties to God and man" (Skeats).

Many of the Congregationalists, or Independents, as they got to be called, rejected the use of creeds and confessions. The trust-deeds of their buildings must be referred to in order to determine exactly what the minister is bound to teach. "If we are to have the mind of Jesus and to grasp with new power the Divine truths which are revealed in His person, we must not be hampered with the symbols or the formularies of the Councils or the Synods" (Horton). The minister is the mouthpiece of the congregation. His popularity is an important element in the tenure of his office. Men of pre-eminent power are almost absolute monarchs; men of mediocrity are tenants at will. Some time ago two London ministers met. One looked pale and worn; the other was hale and strong. Said the latter to the former: "You dare not give your people a poor sermon; I dare." The deacons manage the business matters of the church. Pew rents are the chief, and, in most cases, the only source of income.

From the first the iron hand of persecution was heavy on the Brownists. Prelacy was intolerant as the Papacy, and Presbyterianism was in its turn as intolerant as either. Archbishop Whitgift had little compassion upon the peculiar sect; nor can we wonder, when Barrowe called him to his face a beast and a monster. Nevertheless, beatings and bondage and the gallows were barbarous penalties for the offence of exercising

freedom of conscience, and for refusal to join in the public worship of the parish church.

When banishment was substituted for imprisonment many of the Puritans and Nonconformists fled the country. Claiming for themselves liberty of conscience, they had not learned to grant it to others. Any lapse from uniformity among themselves was bitterly resented, and was denounced in language unbecoming Christian tongues and tempers. The Genevan exiles published a service-book of their own; and Nonconformity was divided.

After the defeat and dispersion of the Armada (1588), there was a lull in the storm. Many exiles returned to England. Some who were Puritan in principle believed it better to conform than "to break the peace of the Church." The Congregationalists and others refused to conform. "In and around London they gathered in private houses, woods, gravel-pits, brickfields, workshops, ships, and even in prisons, and worshipped God according to His Word, and the dictates of their conscience" ("History of Congregationalism").

Visions of quiet and rest raised the hopes of these brave men when King James I. ascended the throne. At the Hampton Court conference little heed was given to the Nonconformist tale of grievances. Moderate concessions would probably have satisfied the majority; but the King, despite his motto, "Beati pacifici," was despotic in temper and impatient of opposition, and threatened on two occasions to "harry them out of the land," saying that "if they did not conform they deserved to be hanged." One good thing came of the conference: Dr. Reynolds suggested a new translation of the Holy Scriptures. The King approved, and the Authorized Version was the result. Brownists and Anabaptists were driven into exile.

John Robinson was one of those who left his native land for conscience' sake in this second exodus. He founded a Puritan church at Leyden. Thence forty-one emigrants with their families went forth to seek a home beyond the seas. They sailed in the *Mayflower*, and carried Congregationalism into New England (1620). At the end of ten years they numbered only a few hundred souls. Others followed. Before the assembly of the Long Parliament, 200 emigrant ships had crossed the Atlantic, and 20,000 Englishmen had found a refuge in the West (Green). They carried with them the old-world spirit of bigotry and intolerance, and inflicted pains and penalties on any who did not conform to their own doctrines and practices. Indeed, a separation took place in the Independent Congregation at Leyden (1633), where the Anabaptists raised adult baptism by immersion into an Article of Faith.

Their brethren in the motherland suffered much under Charles I. and Laud. The Star Chamber was kept busy. To state his case in a religious pamphlet might expose the writer to whipping, branding, cutting off the ears, slitting the nose, or even more severe treatment. In the National Church under Laud's rule, to be suspected of Calvinism was to have the door of preferment securely barred. The injunction to the clergy to read the proclamation anent the "Book of Sports" (1633) was a strain on the Puritan conscience. The high-handed introduction of the Liturgy into Scotland led to tumult and disturbance, and the Solemn League and Covenant was framed and sworn. The issue of the new Canons of Convocation (1640), insisting on absolute conformity to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, hastened the conflict between the King and the Commons. Independency became a party watchword.

At the Westminster Conference (1643) the few Independents who were present were willing to be included in a new National Church on condition that power of ordination of ministers was reserved to individual congregations, and that they should be subject to Parliament, and not to a Presbytery, in regard to censures. The Presbyterians were in the majority, and "new Presbyter" was found to be "old Priest writ large."

In the Long Parliament Oliver Cromwell proposed the adoption of a scheme of toleration. "The struggle had widened into a great contest for civil as well as religious liberty, and civil war was the expression of the intensity of the strife" (Green). The Independents were now represented by distinguished statesmen. The regiments of Fairfax consisted almost entirely of Independents. In 1648 the army declared against "any restraint laid on the consciences of men for religious purposes." But the toleration of the Independents was limited. It did not include Prelacy, Papacy, and Socinianism. The "Triers" appointed to "purge the parishes of evil ministries" (1654) often made their examination to turn on abstruse points of doctrine, or on declarations of spiritual experience. The Protector was harsher than the Triers, for he forbade the employment of the delinquent clergy as tutors in families. Independents and Baptists took the places of the excluded unfortunates. The jurisdiction of the Court of High Commission and of the Star Chamber, which had so long made merciless war on Puritan Nonconformity, was abolished. Laud was sent to prison. Stafford was impeached. It should not be forgotten that the Independents of the Commonwealth insisted on the duty of Foreign Missionary effort. In 1648 the Corporation of the President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England was appointed.

After a conference among themselves at the Savoy, in 1658, the Independents published a "Declaration of Faith" on the doctrinal basis of the Westminster Catechism. This declaration has been "generally adopted by the Congregational churches" (Short).

During the reign of Charles II. Nonconformity was again called to endure hardship. Evicted Royalists regained possession of their properties, and ejected Episcopalians were restored to their parishes. With the Independent ministers of the Commonwealth, "Episcopacy refused all compromise."

In the Savoy Conference of 1661 the Independents took no part. The following year saw the passing of the Act of Uniformity, which was intended "to exclude as many of the former clergy as possible." To that end the Bill was framed with much strictness, and was made to come into operation on St. Bartholomew's Day, whereby the nonconforming clergy were made to lose the income from tithes of the previous year. The misfortunes of the Episcopal clergy during the period of the Commonwealth, the deprivation and banishment which had been meted out to them, cannot justify this harsh measure of retaliation. Whilst the Act of Uniformity was under debate, and when Lord Manchester reported to the King that its terms were very severe, Sheldon is reported to have said: "Now we know their minds, we will make them knaves if they conform" (Short).

About two thousand of the clergy of the Church of England, nearly one-fifth of the entire body, were driven from their homes, and forced into the ranks of Nonconformity. The Church of England has never recovered from that terrible blow struck by its own misguided hand. The Reformation had separated the Church of England from the Church of Rome: the Act of Uniformity severed many of its ablest and most pious sons from the Church of England.

A series of punitive Acts succeeded which cut off all hope of reunion, and rendered comprehension impossible.

Independents, with other Nonconformists, met by stealth for worship in each other's houses. There, infants were baptized; and the members of the little flock gathered round the table, which was covered with a linen cloth, in order to receive the Holy Communion. The form of service was much the same as at present, albeit "some scruple was entertained about women singing, as well as speaking," in the assembly. Prayer was extempore. The sermon was the chief thing: it was very long. It was by no means uncommon to begin the service at nine o'clock and go on till twelve; and, after a pause, begin again. Those were what Scotch people called "diets of worship."

Excluded from the Universities, the education of ministers was conducted in private "academies." Upwards of twenty of these academies were in existence at the time of the Revolution (Skeats).

With the advent of William and Mary the reign of all-round toleration began. Archbishops Sancroft and Tillotson and Bishop Burnet were alike advocates of "unlimited toleration for the Dissenters." The Toleration Act was passed in 1689. Conscience had conquered. Legalized persecution received a death-blow.

At this time the number of the Nonconformists was believed to be about 110,000 persons, or one in every hundred of the population. During the twelve years immediately following the passing of the Toleration Act 400 buildings were licensed for public worship. For a time the Independents and Presbyterians drew nearer together. A scheme of comprehension was rejected by the stricter sect after a long and acrimonious controversy.

During the reign of Queen Anne, who promised protection to the Dissenters whilst frankly avowing her decided preference for Episcopacy, the cry was raised "The Church is in danger!" Sacheverell denounced the "Schism of Dissent," and condemned the "academies" as injurious to the State. Moderate Churchmen advocated a kindly policy. Excitement ran high. Meeting-houses were pulled down; Nonconformist ministers were burnt in effigy. A few seceded. An attempt to revive legal repression secured the passing of the Schism Bill, which would have closed the academies. The Queen's death took place, and the Act was not brought into operation.

Toleration characterized the Hanoverian dynasty. The pains and penalties of punitive Acts were abolished. The Test and Corporation Acts remained to disfigure the statute-book. The *Regium Donum* was welcomed by the Nonconformists as a friendly Act on the part of the Government, and was used for 120 years to relieve the necessities of the widows and orphan children of poor ministers. The grant was renounced when its acceptance interfered inconveniently with the agitation against a rate-aided national Church.

Religious animosity does not promote spiritual health. Whilst men are fighting for existence they cannot give much heed to the amenities of life. Intolerance tends to pride. Church and Dissent degenerated. Socinianism took possession of Presbyterian pulpits; deism became the creed of fashion; the Congregationalists fell from their lofty ideal; their ministers are described as men mostly without culture, and their system of religion "a sinking cause." Wesley and

Whitfield lifted up their voices against prevailing ungodliness. The few settlements of the Episcopalian Moravian Brethren were centres of Christian life and missionary activity. These were not Dissenters; and John Wesley was to the end decided about not renouncing the services of the Church. Independent ministers like Philip Doddridge wrote and pleaded for "the rise and progress of religion in the soul" (1736). Dr. Watts published hymns and sacred songs which tended to revive the music of the sanctuary, and which are the heritage of all the denominations. He also wrote on the decay of Nonconformity, and argued that "its principles are most favourable to the growth of piety." "An Established Church," he said, "is unscriptural."

It was the rekindling of strife. Congregationalism entered on a crusade against the national Church. Doddridge dissented from Watts; but the attack on the Church as an establishment became the platform of the party. Thenceforward the leading Congregationalists advocated the severance of the union between Church and State.

The condition of the Church favoured a destructive policy. Pluralities abounded; non-residence of rectors and vicars was common; the few Evangelical clergymen who preached and laboured with Apostolic fervour were stigmatized as Methodists; the Bishops gave little or no encouragement to the establishment or to the efforts of the missionary and like societies as they successively arose; for fifteen years a controversy disturbed the religious world whether Churchmen might or might not co-operate with Nonconformists in circulating the Holy Scriptures.

The action of the Nonconformists in regard to the American War and the French Revolution greatly embittered Churchmen. Sympathizing with the revolutionary party in each case, they were regarded as republicans and levellers. The pulpits of the Church resounded with indignant denunciation of their conduct. On their part, the Nonconformists declared themselves the enemies of all ecclesiastical establishments. They naturally insisted on the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and it is to be lamented that this reasonable demand was persistently opposed by Churchmen. In 1810 the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty was formed for the purpose of securing the repeal of every remaining penal Act. The abolition of Church rates was not brought within the purview of this society—"not involving injustice to Dissenters." Eighteen years of strife passed before the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed. Ere long insistence on complete religious liberty was changed into the cry for "religious equality."

In 1831 the Congregational Union for England and Wales became the public representative of Congregationalism.

The Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty was succeeded by the British Anti-State Church Association (1844). This was not approved by all the Congregational leaders. In 1853 its name was altered to the "Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control," commonly known as the "Liberation Society." Edward Baines had said at a general convention in 1834: "Nothing less than complete separation of Church and State can secure equal rights to all classes of the people." Thomas Binney (afterwards chairman of the Union) spoke more strongly at the laying of the foundation of the Weigh House Chapel. The Established Church is "a great national evil . . . it destroys more souls than it saves." The Congregationalists, consistently with this development of view, lent their influence to the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church.

But politics and controversy have not in more recent times been allowed to absorb the energies of Congregationalism. During the early decades of this century it grew in numbers and in influence; men of power and spiritual force occupied its high places; large towns welcomed its ministrations; many of its Sunday-schools became models of thoughtful organization and centres of devout Christian instruction; its mission work among the heathen was distinguished by the services of faithful men, who "through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions." Madagascar, the South Sea Islands, South Africa, China, tell stories of heroism, endurance, and success which will adorn the annals of the Christian Church "till the Lord come." By the thoughtful pens of its cultured sons theological literature has been enriched. Works of its Puritan Fathers live and speak; and volumes of more modern writers are welcomed to honoured places on the shelves of almost every Churchman's library.

Moreover, the long and persevering struggle for freedom of worship and religious liberty has been an example, and has secured a boon, beneficial to all. The voice of Congregationalism has been prompt to plead for the supremacy of the individual conscience. It has from the first given the laymen a prominent place in the councils of its communities—too prominent, perhaps, for the independence of the ministry. But who shall say that the Church of England would not have been stronger and more powerful for good if its representative lay members had received of right admission to reformed convocations?

Evidence of the present condition of Congregationalism is somewhat contradictory. At the census in 1851 there were

3,244 places of worship belonging to the denomination in England and Wales. A contributor to the *Contemporary Review* gives 2,441 as the number of ministers at the present time.¹ A leading Nonconformist newspaper states that "in London Congregationalism stagnates," and that "half our churches in a dozen counties are languishing." The same paper, in another issue, describes its state as satisfactory. Dr. Horton, in a work recently published, says: "In the smaller towns Congregationalism holds its own. In the larger towns it has not been equal to the situation." "It has no ground of complaint, because other Churches have entered in to supply its defects. We are at present in a period of arrest."

With much that is excellent and Scriptural in the doctrines of this influential Christian community, it is deplorable that it should continue to occupy a camp hostile to the national Church. We want its alliance and aid in the warfare against national unrighteousness. The mountain of mediævalism and the abyss of the liberationist block the approach to an understanding and a truce. But mediævalism is not the authorized doctrine of the Church of England, and the Liberation Society is not the legitimate offspring of pure Congregationalism. Moreover, each owes the other some amends for undue severity and unjust treatment. The Church made cruel war on Nonconformity; the Independents retaliated; and since then neither has been always fair to the other. The Congregationalist bears the marks of oppression and animosity; the Churchman's work for God has been injured and discredited by the disestablishment and disendowment crusade; and many a parochial clergyman has been subjected to the ill-will of parishioners moved to disaffection by outside agitators, and has been compelled to expend means and strength on Church defence which should have been devoted to the furtherance of the Gospel of Christ. It is time to "let the dead bury their dead."

If organic unity cannot yet be looked for, is not a friendly approach and a brotherly understanding and a cessation of all hostility possible? The advance should be made by Churchmen, and the Lambeth resolutions should not remain a dead letter. Prayer when acted on tends to its own fulfilment. The things which separate "are things seen and temporal"; the things which unite "are unseen and eternal."

Long ago Archbishop Sancroft counselled bishops and clergy to "have a tender regard to their brethren, the Protestant Dissenters, to visit them at their homes, to receive them kindly at their own, to persuade them if possible to join the Church;

¹ 2,881 is the number just stated in a Congregationalist paper.

and, under all circumstances, to unite heartily and affectionately with them in prayer."

Thirty years ago the young vicar of a northern town was invited to attend the anniversary meeting of one of the Non-conformist congregations. He argued thus with himself: "If some of my parishioners will not meet me in church, but wish to meet me in the town-hall or in a school-room, why may I not deliver my message to them there?" He went, was welcomed, and was unconstrained in speech and sympathy. A similar welcome was offered at other anniversaries until it became a habit to attend them. Only goodwill came of it. The morning after such a meeting, an old member and former deacon of the most influential congregation of Dissenters in the town said to his minister, a strong and determined liberationist: "If you ask the vicar to attend our anniversary, you will have to give over preaching about the disestablishment of the Church."

ALFRED OATES.



ART. V.—HUMILITY.

I. "TRULY this man was the Son of God!" So said the Roman soldier, the representative of the proudest race of mankind, as he stood beside the cross of Jesus of Nazareth, and saw him die in forlorn ignominy, the object of the hatred, scorn and derision of the authorities of Church and State in His own nation. And it is one of the subsidiary thoughts which lead us to the same tremendous conclusion, that we find our Lord with such quiet, persistent, unhesitating originality always laying stress on the primary importance of the unpopular virtue of humility.

By experience and reflection man has found out this importance to be true, but it was not previously a received opinion. It is only a Christian who can say: "Humility is the greatest of virtues, for all others follow where it is found, and fly away where it is not; it is a plant that was little known among the ancients, and first grew to perfection, violet-like, in the retired and shady hills of Judæa. Without it, ambition, always aiming at great fruits, finds them, when they come to maturity, to be full of bitterness and ashes. Without it learning is full of presumption. Without it that which is called 'glory' is nothing more than inflated vanity and hollow-hearted applause. Without it we have the strange spectacle of many ancient and renowned heroes of antiquity

believing themselves to be gods, and worshipped as such, when they were little better than monsters and demons. Humility is the beauty of life, and the chief grace and perfection of the soul."

I do not mean that humility was never praised at all by ancient moralists; what is true is that it was only occasionally admired, and hardly entered into their scheme of morals. It was said, you will remember, by Bion that "Humility is a voluntary inclination of the mind grounded upon a perfect knowledge of our own condition; a virtue by which a man, in the most true consideration of his inward qualities, makes the least account of himself." It was said by Confucius that "Humility is the solid foundation of all the virtues." It was said by Demosthenes that "happy is that man whose calling is great and spirit humble." Demosthenes also remarked acutely how "pride, perceiving humility to be honourable, desires oftentimes to be covered with the cloak thereof; for if left appearing always in his own likeness, he should be little regarded." But you will remember also how one of Aristotle's ideals was the great-minded man, who values himself highly, and at the same time justly: contrasted with the man who estimates himself lowly, and at the same time justly, and is therefore merely modest; and with the man who values himself below his real worth, who is small-minded. The great-minded man is described as in the mean or fit place, as regards propriety, and everybody in excess or defect of him as more or less imperfect. And you will also remember that with Aristotle meekness, as a virtue, is only a quality of temper, not of intellectual attitude, and is a mean between anger and pusillanimity. The high estimate of self, justly founded, was the aim of antiquity.

"Come unto Me," said Christ, "all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly of heart." It has been pointed out by Lardner and Paley that this, as a primary factor in a system, as a predominant motive of action, was teaching that was unique. The Gospel did indeed bring forward virtues which possess the highest intrinsic value, but which had been commonly overlooked and condemned. I do not think that Paley is right in saying that Christ did not exemplify or emphasize friendship, patriotism, and active courage; on the contrary, he was the completest and noblest embodiment of all three. When it was necessary, He was vigorous, firm and resolute, dauntless and active, quick in His sensibilities, tender in His attachments, inflexible in His purpose, strong in His indignation at wrong and injustice. But where His mere personal earthly interests were concerned as a member of society, He was at the same

time of altogether a new type ; and that type was all the more remarkable and impressive because it was obviously the result of voluntary self-restraint, and when occasion arose He could be so very different. In personal relations He was certainly meek, yielding, complying, forgiving—not prompt to defend Himself, but willing to suffer ; silent and gentle under rudeness and insult ; ready for reconciliation where others would demand satisfaction ; giving way to the pushes of impudence ; conceding and indulgent to the prejudices, the wrong-headedness, the intractability of those with whom He had to deal.

This personal attitude, Paley rightly says, is the subject of His commendation, His precepts, His example. In emphatic paradoxes He told His disciples not to resist evil—to turn the right cheek to the smiter ; to offer the cloak to the spoiler who used the law for depriving them of their coat ; to go two miles with a man who inconveniently impressed them for one ; to love their enemies, bless them that cursed them ; to do good to them that hated them, and to pray for them that spitefully used them and persecuted them. Lardner proves, in contradiction to first impressions, to popular opinion, to the praises of orators and poets, and even to the dictates of historians and moralists, that the character that is personally humble, rather than the one that is always battling for self-expansion, self-expression, and self-supremacy, is the one that possesses most of true worth, both as being most difficult either to be acquired or sustained, and as contributing most to the happiness and tranquillity of social life. If this disposition were universal, he says, it is at once obvious that the whole world would be a society of friends ; whereas, if the other temper were general, it would produce a scene of universal contention. The world could not hold a generation of such men. And, again, even if the humble disposition be but partially realized, if few be actuated by it, amongst a multitude who are not, yet in whatever degree it does prevail, in the same proposition it prevents, allays and terminates quarrels, the great disturbers of human happiness, and the great sources of human misery, so far as man's happiness and misery depend upon man. Without this disposition, enmities must not only be frequent (as they were in the ancient world), but, once begun, must be eternal ; for, each retaliation being a fresh injury, and consequently requiring a fresh satisfaction for personal pride, no period can be assigned to the reciprocation of affronts, and to the progress of hatred, but that which closes the lives, or at least the intercourse, of the opponents. "Where there is charity," said St. Augustine, "there is humility ; where there is humility, there is peace." "It is in vain," said Erasmus, "to gather virtues without humility ; for

the Spirit of God delighteth to dwell in the hearts of the humble." "Religion, and that alone," said Robert Hall, "teaches absolute humility: by which I mean a sense of our absolute nothingness in the view of infinite greatness and excellence. That sense of inferiority which results from the comparison of men with each other is often an unwelcome sentiment forced upon the mind which may rather embitter the temper than soften it; but that which devotion impresses brings peace and delight." "If thou desire the love of God and man," said Francis Quarles, "be humble; for the proud heart, as it loves none but itself, so it is beloved of none but by itself. The voice of humility is God's music, and the silence of humility is God's rhetoric. Humility enforces where neither virtue, nor reason, nor strength, can prevail."

II. But humility is not only the truest, most hopeful, and most fruitful moral attitude for us wretched little human beings, with all our sins, follies, degradations, and imperfections; it is also our wisest and most becoming mental and intellectual posture. All the teachings of our Lord are in absolute harmony with what we know of the laws of the universe.

Conceive for a moment what we are. The globe on which we insignificant atoms crawl about for a few years is one of the smallest members of one of the smallest systems in those boundless regions of the eternal expanse of the heavens that are within our limited ken. The mighty orb of Uranus is sixty-four times our size; that of Saturn about 1,000 times; and that of Jupiter about 1,200 times. The farthest planet of our system, Neptune, which is about seventy times the size of the earth, is 2,688 millions of miles away from us. These are our neighbours. But our great telescopes can show us fifty millions of suns, at distances beyond all belief, each attended by his system of planets, which, having no light of their own, are invisible to us across such inconceivable depths of space. Sirius is about one million times as far from us as the sun, and is at least forty-eight times brighter than our great luminary. The distance of the star 61 Cygni is forty millions of miles from the sun. The light of some stars takes hundreds of years to reach the earth, though it travels at the prodigious speed of 180,000 miles a second. The 1,000 and more nebulae seem to indicate vast universes of their own, which are at too appalling a distance for us to detect more than a few points. If we could plant our greatest telescope on the farthest orb which can be detected, analogy and appearance suggest that we should see new heavens, new millions of constellations. Apparently it would be the same for ever and ever, through the endless and illimitable realms of eternal space. What an

awful glimpse does this give us into the stupendous majesty of the eternal, omnipresent Mind, in whom all things for ever and ever, in space as well as in time, live, and move, and have their being! What a glorious sense of His power, and plan, and operation, and of our allotted part in it, do we get when we are told that our whole solar system, including the sun in the centre (which, after all, is nothing but an insignificant star in the universe), with his attendant planets, and the comets, and the incredible host of minute bodies which are our solar companions, are all together bound on a stupendous voyage throughout space! The sun requires almost two days to move through a space equal to its own diameter. Every two days he is about a million miles away from the spot he occupied before; every two days the solar system accomplishes a stage of about a million miles in its terrific journey towards the mysterious constellation of Hercules. In a single year you have travelled 182 millions of miles through the awful regions of space. If you are fifty years old, you have already journeyed 9,100 millions of miles on that orderly and systematic, but most appalling route. When these facts and thoughts come before us, we may well exclaim: "When I consider Thy heavens, the work of Thy fingers, the moon, and the stars which Thou hast ordained, what is man that Thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that Thou visitest him?"

The extraordinary insignificance of man in these stupendous surroundings need not in the least distress us, when we recollect that the Eternal Spirit which originates, inspires, and controls all these indescribable, immeasurable, and unimaginable forces, is omnipresent and omnipotent, and co-relates His action to the needs, conditions, and stages of life of the innumerable results of His Divine mental activity. It was Kant who said: "Two things fill the mind with ever new and increasing admiration and awe the oftener and longer we reflect upon them: the starry heavens above and the moral law within." The one is as indisputable a phenomenon as the other. Not even the loftiest and noblest astronomer could extol the glories of his mental voyages through the brilliant wonders of space with stronger conviction or more earnest enthusiasm than the philosopher displays when he speaks of duty as the sublime and great name, merely presenting a law which of itself finds universal entrance into the mind of man, and which, even against the will of man, wins his reverence, if not always his obedience—a law before which all inclinations grow dumb, even though they secretly work against it. The inward experience is as sure a witness as the outward splendour. Both prove to us the Divine power

which is through slow but steady stages making for perfection without and for righteousness within. Just as our knowledge of the one action is incomplete, so our realization of the other is blurred by our own limitations, by the waywardness of free-will in process of discipline, and by our practical and incessant imperfections.

But while we are not stunned by a nearer view of omnipotence and eternity, we are brought in a thoroughly wholesome way to a sense of our very real restrictions. As a matter of fact, we know very little. We know nothing about the origin of all things, the birth of matter, the purpose of creation, the source of life, the essence of life, the meaning of electricity, the condition of the countless millions of orbs by which we are surrounded, the presence of organic life in other planets or constellations, the laws of gravitation, the duration of the earth, the age of man on the earth. We are surrounded with mysteries which we cannot penetrate; in science as well as in theology we are always learning. Humility is our only possible attitude, if we are not to make ourselves ridiculous to our contemporaries as well as to posterity.

Consider what mistakes we have made. Our greatest men have supposed that the earth was but 6,000 years old; they have believed that it was made in six literal days; they have held that geological deposits were placed in their strata by the Creator as a trial of our faith; they have declared that the earth was flat; that the sun moved round it; that the idea of antipodes was an impiety and an impossibility. Against such a notion Gregory Nazianzen, Lactantius, Basil, Ambrose, Augustine, Procopius, Cosmas, Isidore, brought their learned thunder. They have attacked the heliocentric theory; it was condemned not only by Papal science, but by Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Horne, Horsley, Forbes, Wesley. As late as 1616, Galileo was imprisoned and condemned by the Roman Inquisition for declaring the motion of the earth. They have denounced the discoveries of geology; they have attributed storms to diabolical agency; they have solemnly burned harmless old women as witches in league with the devil; they have combated every step of patient scientific discovery. Why have we to make these humiliating confessions? It was because all these different generations of over-confident theorists assumed a scientific certainty in regions where they had no claim to such enlightenment. They were lacking in intellectual humility. Disregarding the plain declarations of Holy Scripture as to its own scope, they arrived at the unwarrantable conclusion that it was meant to supersede and control scientific investigation. What said St. Paul? "All Scripture, given by inspiration of God, is profitable

also for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." The revelation made to the Hebrew people was moral and religious. These great men made the incautious mistake of inferring that the sacred writers were commissioned to teach ontology, zoology, geology, astronomy, and every branch of science. On mere passing, local, accidental expressions they built up severe and fantastic theories. Intruding into domains where they had no guarantee of guidance, they imperilled the character and credibility of Christ's spiritual kingdom of righteousness upon earth.

Nowhere is the attitude of intellectual humility more natural than in a great and historic university, teeming in every generation with earnest mental activity. Startling indeed are the contrasts of the opinions here vigorously maintained at different epochs.¹ Here the new learning was denounced; here it was extolled. Here Cranmer and the Reformers were condemned with every conceivable degree of certitude and solemnity; here the primitive and anti-Roman doctrines were enforced with untiring zeal. Here Calvinism was preached every Sunday, and then in their turn the larger and more reasonable theories of Arminianism. Here, in 1805, the verbal theory of inspiration was maintained against the beginnings of geology. Here the supreme authority of the Fathers has been upheld; here their natural mistakes and the errors incidental to their age have been demonstrated. Here one year Short insisted on the trustworthiness of tradition, and the next Shirley argued for its insecurity. Here different and often opposite theories have been urged on the nature of the Church, Baptismal Regeneration, the Sacraments, the theory of Holy Communion, the theory of Inspiration, the authority of the Bible, the nature of the Atonement. All this is what we should expect in a great centre of thought. It neither discourages nor perplexes us, nor drives us towards a sophisticated scepticism. It is good for us to believe with all our hearts whatever we hold to be true. Truth is eternal and unchangeable; but in the confusions, errors, streams of tendency, prejudices, prepossessions, to which we are all subject, we cannot expect that all of us should see it in the same light. We have no right to expect that all our opinions should be perfect, and free from error, so that we should give them out with joyful certitude, especially where they are of a new kind, and on tentative and hypothetical ground. The

¹ This is the substance of a sermon preached before the University of Oxford on February 27, 1897.

one great lesson of these differences is that, however firmly we hold our beliefs, we should hold them in humility, remembering our proneness to error, and should express them with gentleness, forbearance, courtesy, and charity.

Some things there are which have so high a degree of probability that we may look for a general agreement. It was likely that the Eternal, Omnipresent, Omnipotent Spirit would reveal Himself from time to time, and in particular at length through some chosen member of the human race in such form and manner as the rest of the human atoms on the globe should be able to understand His message. It was Socrates who said: "It is necessary for us to wait until someone can learn how we ought to behave towards God and towards man," with the pathetic rejoinder: "Oh, when will that time come, Socrates? and who is he who will teach us? Sweeter than anything on earth, I think, would it be to see that man, and to know who He is!" Yes, we have good reason to believe that we have seen that man, and that we know who He is. We have good reason to assure ourselves that the world has had a message in varying and increasing degrees of clearness from the Omnipresent Eternal Being.

The Bible (says Bishop Westcott) contains in itself the fullest witness to its Divine authority. If it appears that a large collection of fragmentary records, written, with few exceptions, without any designed connection, at most distant times, and under the most varied circumstances, yet combine to form a definite whole, broadly separated from other books; if it further appears that these different parts, when interpreted historically, reveal a gradual progress of social, spiritual life, uniform at least in its general direction; if without any intentional purpose they offer not only remarkable coincidences in minute details of facts (for that is a mere question of accurate narration), but also subtle harmonies of complementary doctrine; if in proportion as they are felt to be separate, they are felt also to be instinct with common spirit; then it will be readily acknowledged that, however they came into being at first, however they were united afterwards into the sacred volume, they are yet legibly stamped with the Divine seal as inspired by God in a sense which can be said of no other writings.

And, secondly, it is in the highest degree probable that when the Divine Messenger had come, and had founded His kingdom of heaven on earth, that Church, as long as it continued to be guided by His words and to rely on His Spirit, would have true notions in the main as to the will and revelation of God. The limit would be that it should not intrude into matters where assurance had not been given; that it

should be humble and charitable in all its assertions ; that it should in no case assume the rôle of absolute infallibility ; and that it should be chary of defining and commanding merely on its own authority. The creeds of the universal Church appear to fulfil these conditions, and they are certainly in harmony with the recorded teaching of the Divine Messenger and of the chosen companions whom He instructed. You will remember that it is assent to these two great creeds that is all that is required of her lay members by the branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church which is settled among the people of this country.

Thirdly, we may remind ourselves that the vast majority of Christians do agree, in spite of all their fancied differences, in plain, simple, fundamental truths ; the Fatherhood of God, the Divinity of our Lord, the work of the Holy Spirit, the redemption of the world, the initial rite of baptism, the covenanted presence of the Lord in Holy Communion, the future life with its happiness and retribution, the power of prayer, the need of Divine grace, the necessity of repentance, the acceptance of the example of Christ as our code of morals, the life by faith, the membership of the Christian fellowship, the paramount principles of benevolence and self-sacrifice. It is only by some strong individual leadership that sects have occasionally been led aside from these broad and acknowledged outlines. Codes of theology and multitudes of definitions have indeed grown out of these fundamental notions of Christianity. It is right that each of us should explain and apply them according to what light God bestows on our own consciences, and in accordance with the system which appears to us to be true ; but it would be well for us all if we at all times bore in mind that the principles themselves are simple, and the less we obtrude our own views of them upon those who disagree with us, the better it will be for ourselves and the Christian Church. Here, again, humility is of primary and momentous importance ; for in religious and ecclesiastical matters it is extremely difficult to "speak evil of no man, to be no brawlers, but gentle, showing all meekness unto all men."

Lastly, as to our own attitude in daily life and conversation. The great thing we have to avoid is ostentation, and disdainful assumption of superiority. Almost everybody thinks that he excels in something—at any rate, in regard to some few of his friends and acquaintances. What is commoner than the instinctive sneering expression, or the spontaneous note of disdain and scorn, when ignorance or inferiority is displayed in matters where we think we have knowledge or ability ? What is commoner than the bullying, overbearing disposition that is born of a sense of some eminence, however small ? Part

of the Christian ideal is to make this life smooth and pleasant for others, as well as to obtain the blessed promises of the life to come ; in all things the servant of Christ will exercise himself to keep clear of pride, and to be free from all suspicion of contemptuous arrogance.

It is only by humility that we can hope to ensure steady progress in character. A general confession of sin is of no use unless we are stern with ourselves in convincing ourselves of our own faults, investigating them, searching out their causes, and exercising ourselves diligently to remove them from our hearts and minds. If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves. If we confess our sins, we are only hypocrites if we do not earnestly claim God's promised help to cleanse us from all unrighteousness ; not merely, that is, to do away with the offence of it, but as with the kindly knife of the surgeon to purify our natures from its poisonous corruption.

"Humility," it has been said, "is not to be considered as some bitter potion which you can swallow in a large dose, once for all, and have done with it ; but rather as a long course of alterative medicine, to be taken daily, and drop by drop.

"You must study daily to be open to conviction, patient of opposition, ready to listen to reproof—even when you are not convinced that it is deserved—ready when you are convinced at once to confess an error, and glad to receive hints, suggestions and corrections, even from your inferiors in ability, and never overbearing or uncharitable towards those who differ from you.

"All this will be a more laborious and difficult task than to make speeches about your ignorance, weakness and sinfulness ; but it is thus that true humility is proved, and exercised and cultivated."

Our Lord, being perfect man, shone in this exquisite and beautiful grace as in all other virtues. "I am meek and lowly of heart." "It is the humble man," said Thomas à Kempis, "that God defends and frees ; it is the humble man He loves and comforts ; to the humble man He bends, to the humble man He gives abundance of His favour, and when he is cast down, He lifts him up to glory. To the humble man He shows His secrets, and sweetly draws him to Himself, and bids him come. The humble man, though he may meet with shame, is yet well enough at peace, because he stands on God, not on the world."

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.



Reviews.



The Life of Ernest Renan. By Madame JAMES DARMESTETER (A. Mary F. Robinson). London: Methuen and Co.

ONE might venture to call this work a biography of superlative excellence. As a literary product, and as a history of its hero, it equally fulfils its purpose. The authoress possesses every requisite for her task. She is an Englishwoman, and versed in French ways; a friend of Renan and of his religious ideas; a critic and a creator. The net result of these abstract qualifications is an "appreciation" of which it is hard to speak too highly. Not that the work is without some minor blemishes of style. To say that a man "compulsed a mass of documents" is possibly a misprint; but we must own that we spent some time in solving the problem of what "contranency" meant. To say that Renan was "officially destituted" of a post is possibly a Gallicism; but what sort of science is "Balistic" science? These are not the only misprints and uncouth words; and a defect of a different sort is an occasional tendency on the part of the authoress to indulge in vague platitudes and sounding commonplaces, as if she had lost her way in the immensity of her subject. But when all has been said, the book is a singularly appropriate and charming delineation of a great man.

And what award will posterity mete out to Ernest Renan? It seems almost likely that he will fall between two stools. He has written works on religion from the standpoint of a scientist; but the scientists say that he is not exact, and the orthodox will have none of him. The devout are not inclined to read his "Vie de Jésus," with its dilettante iconoclasm and its cheerful destruction of beliefs; and the scholarly agnostics doubt the scientific accuracy of a book which is so idealistic, and pays so little attention to the theories of erudite Germans. The fact is, that Renan aimed at writing a life which should represent our Lord as He ought to be according to Renan. This, we take it, is the sum and substance of what is expressed in different phraseology by Madame Darmesteter:

"Ever since his year of spiritual crisis, Renan had pondered in his heart a Life of Jesus unlike any yet written, which, while hiding nothing of the textual errors and apocryphs of the Gospel as we possess it, should set in high and clear relief the Divine character, the exquisite inventions in moral sentiment of the Founder of Christianity."¹ At any rate, that is the impression left on one's mind after reading the Life, beautiful and picturesque as its idealism undoubtedly is. The writer's attitude is not clear. It is certainly not Christian, inasmuch as he denies the divinity of Christ; but neither is it that of the freethinking historical student. Hence it is that Renan's future position as a thinker is not assured.

But people will always read him for his style, one might say. Well, true, if you once admit that people read books for their style alone, for Renan's literary art is supreme, arrests attention, and compels admiration. No one can help the mere pleasure of delight in the matchless grace and subtle perfection of his sentences. To our mind, some of his latest work is his best. We think that the "Histoire du Peuple d'Israel," his last work, is in some respects his finest; and we quite agree with Madame Darmesteter when she remarks that the chapters on Philo and the Essenians, which adorn the fifth volume, although it was published posthumously, are among the most vivid and the purest which we owe to

Renan's singular genius. How just, too, is the criticism which she permits herself on Renan's habit, sometimes attractive, but more often irritating, of associating objects which belong to different spheres of thought. He compares Jeremiah to a journalist of the type of Félix Pyat, Ezekiel to Victor Hugo, Hosea to a Cromwellian pamphleteer, the Book of Jonah to "La Belle Hélène"; and other instances will occur to our readers where some ephemeral modernity is serenely equalized with an age-long fact of history. This is not true art. And to refer to another point of similar nature, Renan's famous portraiture of St. Paul as a "bizarre little Jew," with halting speech, bent shoulders, and piercing eyes under shaggy eyebrows—how vivid it is, and yet with how little warrant! Such descriptions are glittering, but filmy; and it may be doubted whether even Renan's incomparable literary style will preserve his works to the attention of future times. His "Origins of Christianity," at all events, and the Life of Christ are but religious historical romances, and, as we have said, they will satisfy neither Christianity nor free-thought.

Yet no one would deny that Renan was a scholar as well as a wonderful *vulgarisateur*. After his death his wife found a slip of paper on which was written: "Of all that I have done, I prefer the 'Corpus.'" There spoke the man of learning. The "Corpus Semiticarum Inscriptionum" is not a book, but a handbook—a collection of all Semitic inscriptions on monuments hitherto discovered. Perhaps Renan's own remark will be endorsed by posterity, and men will rather study the facts collected by the scientist than the brilliant essays of the man of letters.

It is as a portrait of the man himself that Madame Darmesteter's Life is most attractive. Very sympathetically and clearly she portrays the many aspects of his complex character. There is the Kelt, dreamy, melancholy, and mystic, yet with an undercurrent of obstinacy beneath the gentle surface. But what a different Kelt from Lamennais! and what a difference between the ways in which each regarded the faith he had lost! Where is the bitter anguish, the passionate despair, of a Lamennais? Instead of all this, there is a serene, if occasionally wistful, acquiescence, which makes one inclined to doubt whether what was parted with so easily was ever very strongly held, and a calm disregard of the pain and perplexity caused to others by his writings, which makes one wonder if he altogether realized how dear faith is to faithful souls. We see Renan as the industrious scholar, with a genius for languages, and a gift of popularizing his knowledge. The chapter on his mission to Phœnicia, accompanied by his beloved sister Henriette, is beautifully told, and her whole influence on the youth and the man is very clearly brought out. Indeed, it is by no means unlikely that but for her Renan might have remained, like Malebranche, in the bosom of the Catholic Church. All his life he was the *curé manqué*. He never lost his fondness for the sensuous, æsthetic side of religion, nor a kind of vague yearning after religious sentiment. He was especially, for instance, attracted by the figure of St. Francis of Assisi, whom he called the "only Christian since Christ." And "St. Francis will save him," cried a Capuchin friar.

The story of his abortive attempt at a political life is told well, and with great discrimination. The authoress does not shrink either from depicting the curious change in Renan's disposition in late life, when he was the favourite of women of society, and wrote the "Abbesse de Jouarre." Strictly pure in his own life, he yet maintained the superiority of instinct over chastity. His curious impressionability to different ideas, and rapidity in expressing them, justify Challemeil-Lacour's remark, that "Renan thinks like a man, feels like a woman, and acts like a child."

W. A. PURTON.

BAMPTON LECTURES FOR 1897.

Aspects of the Old Testament. The Bampton Lectures for 1897. By R. L. OTTLEY, M.A. London : Longmans, 1897. Price 16s.

We have read this book with deep interest. As an elaborate plea for accepting the latest conclusions of the Higher Criticism it could hardly be bettered ; the tone is admirable throughout, and the spiritual standpoint of the writer is in noticeable contrast with the ill-concealed and often half-avowed Rationalism of the majority of the critical schools of the present day. Yet we must, from some points of view, regret its publication. The author, learned in all the lore of the Continental critics, has allowed himself to be dominated by theory, which, however brilliantly contrived, is not necessarily to be taken for the established facts of scientific research ; he lays far too great stress upon the merely literary aspects of Biblical criticism, though—to do him justice—he allows more weight to archæology than many of the extremists are prepared to sanction. Of any independent research on Mr. Ottley's part we do not find much trace, in these brilliant and persuasive lectures ; rather, his object has been to present, in as attractive a form as possible, the views of the German critics, divesting them of their most objectionable features, and so rendering them palatable to English readers. And herein we cannot but discern a chief danger in the book as a whole. You push to its logical and legitimate extent the hypothesis of Kuenen or Wellhausen, and the "supernaturalism" of the Old Testament Scriptures must be given up ; you cannot any longer regard them as differing in kind from those other Oriental Scriptures with which the labours of Max Müller, and other workers in the field of comparative religions, have of late made us acquainted. But Mr. Ottley stops short of driving matters to a logical conclusion, and the result is a book which, while full of unproved theory and unverifiable assumptions, is replete with fine thoughts finely expressed ; while, on occasions, some passage rises to a height of genuine sublimity, the style reserved and chastened, and never insulting our feeling by any display of tawdriness or affectation.

It is interesting to note what Mr. Ottley regards as the central idea, the master-thought, of the Old Testament ; he is, perhaps, justified in affirming (p. 115) that "it is belief in the providence and direct action of the living God." On the question of Sacrifice he, of course, follows the lead of Robertson Smith ; and, indeed, in most matters his obligations to that great scholar's works, specially the "Religion of the Semites," are immense. We observe with pleasure that, so far as the "crux" (as it is to some) of Old Testament anthropomorphism is concerned, Mr. Ottley regards the objections that have been formulated as of little value or weight. How can man, we may ask, hope to bring the thought of God into living contact with our own hearts, *except in terms of human selfhood?*

The first lecture is entitled "The Christian Church and the Higher Criticism," the last "The Old Testament and Christianity"; and in these we have summed up the conclusions of the distinguished lecturer. That the book is one to be reckoned with we have already hinted. Certainly, as we have already remarked, no more persuasive presentation of the theories that pass current under the title of "The Higher Criticism" has yet been put forward in this country. Time alone can show where the truth and falsehood of the extremes of criticism lie ; but this we know—that Truth must prevail in the end. And Truth cannot contradict Truth.

E. H. B.

Short Notices.

Velvet and Rags. By G. E. M. VAUGHAN. Sunday-School Union. Pp. 96. Price 9d.

A pretty and natural story of rich and poor, and family reconciliation.

Marion Harling's Awakening. By EDITH M. EDWARDS. Sunday-School Union. Pp. 190. Price 2s.

A pleasant and suggestive tale of a careless and undutiful elder sister, who is led back by trouble and the influence of a wise friendship to repentance and amendment.

The Wheel of Fate. By Mrs. BAGOT HARTE. Addison, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row. Pp. 320. Price 2s. 6d.

A wholesome and interesting sketch of modern English life, told with vigour and humour.

Making Allowances. By EDITH M. EDWARDS. Sunday School Union. Pp. 96. Price 9d.

An autobiography of a girl who, through various experiences and the influence of a wise aunt, corrects her faults. A useful little book for girls.

The Colston Grange Ghost. By A. E. D. S.P.C.K. Pp. 92.

An amusing little story of how a haunted house turned out to be merely used by burglars for storing their booty. It has a wholesome moral against betting.

Juvenile Reciters and Dialogues. C.E.T.S. Pp. 192. Price 1s.

This lively selection will be found useful for Bands of Hope and Children's Associations.

Parson Prince. By FLORENCE MOORE. Bemrose and Sons, London and Derby. Pp. 244.

An excellent picture of parish life, showing the healthy social influence that can be wielded by an unselfish, wise, and sympathetic friend of the people in an English vicarage.

The Lambeth Conference and the Churches in the East. Pp. 47. Price 6d. National Protestant Church Union, 30, Charing Cross. 1898.

A very useful and careful compendium of the principal teachings of the Greek Churches as compared with those of the Church of England, with a brief historical sketch of the Churches, and an account of their condition from competent witnesses.

Voices. By Mrs. NEWMAN HALL. Pp. 104. Price 2s. 6d. R. H. Allenson. 1898.

Mrs. Newman Hall has a keen observation of Nature, and a pleasant way of expressing thoughts in verse which could not be put into prose. The metres and subjects are varied, and the religious and moral teaching helpful. These poems are suggestive of a thoughtful, elevated, and sympathetic life.

English Church Teaching. By Canon GIRDLESTONE, Principal MOULE, and Principal DRURY. Charles Murray, 7, Paternoster Square.

This is the second edition of an excellent manual, which is rapidly becoming a standard work; 5,000 copies of the first edition were sold, and 1,000 of the new have already been taken up. The price—1s. net—does not at all represent the value of the book. The teaching of the Church of England, as settled at the Reformation, will be found clearly given on

every point of modern controversy, in a plain, constructive manner. Two valuable features are, the conspectus of Church history, and brief notes on seventeen disputed texts, and an analytical index, with notes on ambiguous words.

Chaucer: the Complete Works. Edited by A. W. POLLARD, H. FRANK HEATH, MARK H. LIDDELL, W. S. MCCORMICK. The "Globe" edition. London: Macmillan and Co. Price 3s. 6d. 1898. Pp. lv, 772.

This admirably edited and carefully printed book is a model of cheapness; and we congratulate all concerned in its production on having completed, after the lapse of over thirty years, the best and usefulest edition of Chaucer to be procured anywhere. This may safely be said, even though we have Professor Skeat's great and monumental edition on our shelves; for while the present one-volume edition can be purchased for three-and-six, the Oxford Chaucer costs nearly a five-pound note. Obviously, therefore, the two books cannot be compared.

The "Globe" edition of Chaucer is furnished with an excellent glossary, brief but sufficient footnotes to elucidate difficult passages; while the various introductions to the poems supply such information as is needful for the proper understanding of the text. In matters of textual criticism the present edition is particularly good, and contrasts very favourably with all previous editions, Dr. Skeat's work alone excepted.

Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt. By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, D.C.L., LL.D. London: Methuen and Co. 1898. Price 2s. 6d.

This brief but noteworthy book is based upon lectures delivered by Dr. Flinders Petrie, the famous Egyptologist, at University College, London. The worth of the volume is in exactly inverse ratio to its bulk. Dr. Petrie is not only an accomplished historian and careful thinker, but as a writer on matters connected with Egyptology his position is almost unique. Hence this book, unlike so many "popular" descriptions of Egypt and the great historical past of that wonderful land, comes with an authority that cannot be disputed. Dr. Petrie writes with absolutely firsthand knowledge. We have read every line of the book with profound interest, and a deep sense of its importance. The lectures are "sketches," the author tells us; but they are valuable as indicating lines of study; they help to show us religious thought in the actual making; and indirectly afford a striking lesson as to the secular development of religion and of conscience, not in Egypt alone, but elsewhere.

The Ten Commandments. By Rev. G. JACKSON. Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier.

This volume contains a short course of sermons delivered on Sunday evenings to the congregation of the Methodist Mission, Edinburgh. They are tersely and effectively written; and those readers into whose hands the book falls will certainly not be slow to admit that the preacher has delivered his message with fulness of conviction.

Footsteps of Proserpine, and other Verses and Interludes. By HENRY NEWMAN HOWARD. London: Elliot Stock. 1897.

It is an easy matter to detect blemishes and find faults in every one of the many volumes of verse which are published in a year. In the case of this book we prefer to adopt a more pleasant course. Mr. Howard is an observer and a lover of Nature. Using the word in not too strict a sense, he is a pantheist. His observation and his love of Nature have made his poems charming. In the "Footsteps of Proserpine" especially his choice of epithets is particularly discriminating, and the chief objection we make to some of the poems is that the pains he has taken are sometimes too apparent. It is not that his work smells of the lamp exactly,

although in the case of the sonnets it does occasionally amount to this, but rather that he seems to place an epithet, or a simile, or perhaps a rhyme, in front of us with the air of one who says, "Is not that very good?" Generally, we admit, it is very good; but we regret the impression left upon our mind that our commendation has been wrung from us legally, when we are only too ready to offer it freely. Nor is this hypocritical upon our part, for, as it seems to us, it is the poet's function to present old truth in new guise spontaneously; and his merit will be best demonstrated if he induces us to believe that the discovery of fresh beauty is due to us and not to himself. For the rest, this same conscientiousness has enabled Mr. Howard to produce some very finished work. "To the Uranian Aphrodite" is throughout polished to the nail, the first sonnet being especially admirable. One appreciative reader, at least, will transfer this slender volume from the well-filled bookcase where he keeps his "review copies" to the emptier shelf which holds those books to which he turns for enjoyment in his quiet moments of leisure.

The Growth of the Kingdom of God. By S. R. GULICK, M.A., Missionary of the A.B.C.F.M. in Japan. Religious Tract Society, 1897.

As a book of religious statistics this volume is highly valuable. In general, it may be termed an apologetic for Christianity, based on a view of its varied forms of growth. The substance of the book was originally written for a Japanese audience; accordingly, its aim is strictly practical rather than theoretical. Whether Mr. Gulick is not confounding the *Kingdom of God* with the extension of Christian knowledge throughout the world is a matter we will not discuss here; but he does not appear to contemplate any interpretation of the word other than his own.

Voices of the Day. By C. S. WARDLE. London: Elliot Stock. 1897.

This is an unpretentious book by an ardent lover of Nature, who takes as his text *Psa. xix.*, and preaches thereupon a pretty little sermon. It might appropriately be made a prize for school-children.

The Life of F. R. Wynne, D.D., Bishop of Killaloe. With selections from his unpublished sermons. By Rev. JAMES HANNAY. Hodder and Stoughton. 1897. Price 5s.

This book we warmly welcome. The late Bishop Wynne's life, though uneventful in the common acceptance of the term, was one of great charm and saintliness. Emphatically, the Bishop was a man who knew and valued no party save the *religious* party in the Church. Of such men we have too scant a store in these days, when party spirit runs high and all but threatens to overwhelm the religious life. This book, most carefully and wisely put together by Mr. Hannay, depicts very effectively the immense worth of a life passed in self-abnegations, and in endeavouring to impress upon others the Christ-Ideal in all its majesty and beauty.

Fight and Win. By Rev. G. EVERARD, M.A. Nisbet and Co. Price 1s.

Talks with lads about the battle of life, in Mr. Everard's well-known vein. Always good and interesting.

The Starless Crown, and other Poems. By J. L. H. London: Elliot Stock. 1897.

Love of children always inspires verse of a simple kind, and it is from this source that J. L. H. draws her inspiration. Quiet faith is the note of the first half of her modest little volume.

The Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer. By Rev. R. R. RESKER. London: Church of England Sunday-School Institute.

A book which is likely to be of permanent service to many parents and teachers. It is clear and simple in its treatment of themes which must inevitably present difficulty to young learners.

The Month.

WE regret to state that the Bishop of Bangor (Dr. Lloyd), the Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Stubbs), and the Bishop of Peterborough have been far from well during the past month. The latest reports, however, are reassuring in the case of the last two prelates, but the Bishop of Bangor's condition is still unsatisfactory.

Canon Ainger, Master of the Temple, who is now in residence at Bristol Cathedral, has been elected to an honorary Fellowship at Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Canon Ainger will return to London from Clifton on April 1, and his next sermon in the Temple Church is to be preached at the morning service on Palm Sunday.

Lord Norton has again raised the question of a bishopric for Birmingham in a set of proposals just issued, and has drafted a Bill embodying his views.

The Rev. G. F. Head, who for about thirteen years has been Vicar of Christ Church, Hampstead, and has now accepted the post of Vicar of Clifton, near Bristol, was presented, as a parting gift, with a cheque for £350 and a valuable clock, at a crowded meeting of members of the congregation, held in Bickersteth Memorial Hall, Hampstead.

Early last month the Rev. G. F. Head was instituted to the living of Clifton, Bristol, by the Bishop of Bristol, assisted by the Archdeacon of Bristol and the Rev. Prebendary Tate (senior member of the Simeon Trustees). A large number of the local clergy were present, including Bishop Marsden and Canons Wallace, Mather, and Alfold. The Bishop delivered an address, in the course of which he urged his hearers to take their new Vicar's course, "and follow him, one and all, with full and perfect loyalty."

An analysis of the Advent Ordinations shows that out of 545 men ordained, 232 received deacons' orders, and 313 priests' orders. This is a decrease as compared with 557 (231 deacons, 326 priests) last year. Of these 545, only 59 per cent. were Oxford or Cambridge graduates.

The Archbishop of Canterbury presided recently at the annual meeting of the Canterbury Diocesan Education Society, which was held in the Granville Hall, Ramsgate, and was very largely attended. In moving the adoption of the annual report, his Grace commented on the fact that out of about 450 churches in the diocese only some 240 had taken collections on behalf of the association during the year.

Judicious and well-considered plans for increasing facilities for spreading good, wholesome food for the great bulk of our people, whether in city, town, or country, are worthy of our best attention and support, and with a view to this very desirable object the Agricultural Organizing Agency has been for some time arranged for the provision of substantial, savoury, and palatable meals for the general public at a nominal rate, and the result thus far arrived at borders upon the marvellous, and makes clear the benefits derivable from a systematic course of procedure. Family meals, composed of seven pounds of solid food—meat, cereals, and vegetables—may be provided for one shilling. These are amply sufficient for a man, his wife, and four or five children. The credit of this useful and much-needed work is due in the first instance to D. Tallerman, Esq., K.F.J., and if any of our readers desire to know how to get most

excellent quantities for home consumption or philanthropic purposes they should write to him at 20, Great St. Helen's, London, for further information thereon. A Berkshire vicar is organizing a system of distribution thereof among the poor of his parish, and this system will be a boon to thousands, and as the Rev. Prebendary Harry Jones (who has tried the dishes) says truly and humorously, "I look on your family meals as calculated to become very beneficial to eaters in general who have more appetite beneath their waistcoat-pockets than money in them, and from all I know of man and his food I heartily wish you success."

In view of the somewhat reserved attitude assumed by many of the bishops, both in the northern and southern provinces, towards the Church Pastoral Aid Society, the support extended to it by the Bishop of Ripon, who has promised to speak on its behalf at the annual meeting, is especially valuable.

THE S.P.C.K.—The bicentenary of the society is announced to take place on the 8th prox., when the Archbishop of Canterbury will preach (at 11) at St. Paul's Cathedral, and a further meeting will be held (at 3) in the Guildhall, the Lord Mayor presiding.

It is now definitely announced that a life of the late Canon Elwyn is in preparation. It will probably be issued sometime during the present year.

On Tuesday, February 1, the Dean of Norwich opened a new hall at the Ipswich Social Settlement. Wholesome recreations, intellectual enlightenment, and the elevating companionship of cultured men are the special aims of this settlement; and the Sunday evening evangelistic services, illustrated by the lantern, succeed in drawing several hundreds of working men who attend neither church nor chapel. Such efforts to reach the lapsed classes, so long as they rest on a definitely Christian basis, and are kept free from sectarian and political bias, must exercise a profound and elevating influence on those numerous toilers in our cities from whose lives religious influences have almost wholly disappeared. The hall which the Dean opened is the gift of Mr. D. Ford Goddard, M.P., a generous donor to the settlement, to whom indeed the institution owes its inception. The present warden of the settlement is Mr. D. M. Panton, B.A., of Caius College, Cambridge.

The Rev. J. E. Padfield (C.M.S.) has just been appointed lecturer on Hinduism in connection with the James Long Lecture Fund; he is prepared to give courses of lectures on the subject both in London and the country. For the benefit of incumbents, we may state that no expense is incurred in securing Mr. Padfield's services, as the Fund pays all costs.

A memorial, signed by over 2,000 beneficed clergy, has been presented to the Prime Minister. It urges upon the Government that tithe-rent charge should be made exempt from rates for local purposes. The memorial has been acknowledged by Lord Salisbury, who says that, until the Chancellor of the Exchequer presents his budget to the House of Commons, nothing can be done.

The Rev. J. C. Hoare, Trinity College, Cambridge, for twenty-one years principal of the C.M.S. Training College, Ningpo, China, was the principal speaker at Canon Christopher's annual missionary breakfast at the Clarendon Hotel, Oxford, on Saturday, February 12. The continued interest in these gatherings, of which the present is the twenty-second,

was shown by the large attendance of senior and junior members of the University, the local clergy and ministers, and leading citizens, the company altogether numbering 326. Canon Christopher presided.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—A circular letter has been issued by the lay secretary of the C.M.S. (Mr. D. Marshall Lang) stating how the finances of the society stood at the close of December last: "The total income actually received for the nine months of the year was £130,396, being an increase on the previous year of £5,860. Of this amount, however, £9,615 was derived from donations to wipe out the deficit of the year 1896-97. The free income received for the current year was, therefore, only £120,781, including £20,703 of appropriated and 'Three Years' Enterprise' contributions, which are not available for general purposes. Turning to the expenditure, that showed at December 31 a total of £230,755, against £224,026 last year, the increase being of course the result of the enlarged operations of the society. In accordance with the usual custom the committee prepared in November last a very careful statement of the probable financial needs of the society to the close of the current year, which showed that the net estimated expenditure would probably be £311,214; and that £26,719, over and above the available income of last year, would be required if the current year is to close without a deficit. To secure that increased income there must be constant prayer and work during the two remaining months of this financial year. May we, then, earnestly ask the friends of the society to use every effort, so that the expenditure of this, our second jubilee year, shall be covered by its income, and that the Lord's work be not hindered?" The *Record* is authorized to say that the statement of the *English Churchman* that "the C.M.S. annual sermon will this year be preached at St. Paul's Cathedral," is absolutely untrue. Dr. Handley Moule will preach the annual sermon in St. Bride's. "The C.M.S. is making plans for the due celebration of its centenary next year. It is only right that there should be a sermon at St. Paul's, and we believe that the cathedral authorities have now assented to such a service being held. The Archbishop of Canterbury has, it is understood, promised to preach the sermon."

APPEALS AND BEQUESTS.

Many newspapers have announced that under the will of the late Rev. E. N. Pochin the Bible Society will receive a sum of not less than £80,000. As the widow, two sons, and daughter were passed over in the will, the committee have, after most careful examination into all the circumstances, and under legal advice, felt it their duty to undertake to relinquish for the benefit of the family half whatever sum the Society may eventually receive under the will.

Owing to the limited space afforded, both in the matter of dormitory and class-room accommodation, at St. Mary's Hall, Kemp Town, Brighton, and impressed with the necessity for furnishing such necessary accommodation with a view to meeting the growing needs of the school, the trustees are appealing for funds towards making the requisite alterations and enlargements. £2,000 is asked for, and of this £600 has been promised already. The school was originally opened in 1836. It has more than justified its existence during the past sixty years as an excellent training home for the daughters of the poorer clergy throughout England, and it deserves liberal help at this juncture. Contributions may be paid in to Messrs. Barclay, Bevan and Co., Union Bank, Brighton.

Mr. Gladstone has promised £1,000, and his son, Rev. Stephen Gladstone, £500, towards building a new church for the populous district of Shotton, Hawarden.

Mrs. Carus, widow of the late Canon Carus, has given £1,500 towards the St. John's Church (Boscombe) new vicarage building fund, in memory of her late husband.

SELECTED NEW BOOKS.

- The Psalms, in three collections.* Translated, with notes, by E. G. KING, D.D. Part I. With preface by the Bishop of Durham. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell.
- Religious Pamphlets.* Selected and arranged by Rev. P. DEARMER, M.A. (The Parchment Library.) London: 1898. Kegan Paul.
- Pausanias' Description of Greece.* Translated with a commentary by J. G. FRAZER, M.A., LL.D. In six volumes; 8vo. London: 1898. Macmillan and Co. Price £6 6s. net.
- For the Religion.* Being the Records of Blaise de Bernauld. By HAMILTON DRUMMOND. London: 1898. Smith, Elder. Price 6s.
- The Decian Persecution.* Being the Hulsean Prize Essay for 1896. By J. A. GREGG, B.A. London and Edinburgh: 1897. Blackwood. Price 6s.
- The Book of the Twelve Prophets.* Vol. ii. By G. A. SMITH, D.D., LL.D. (Expositor's Bible.) New edition. Hodder and Stoughton.
- Hora Novissima.* A new metrical version of the Rhythm of Bernard de Morlaix. By C. LAWRENCE FORD. London: Houlston and Sons. Price 1s. 6d. net.

Obituary.

THE death of the Rev. Dr. Moulton, which took place early in February, removes yet another member of the New Testament Revision Committee. A fortnight earlier Dr. Samuel Newth, also a member of the same Committee, was removed by death. Both Drs. Moulton and Newth were noticeable representatives of the Free Churches at all the meetings of the Revision Committee.

Dr. Moulton is chiefly known to scholars by his elaborate edition of Winer's Grammar of New Testament Greek, which is a standard work. But his claims upon the gratitude of all Christian students are considerable, apart from this book.

Cambridge sustains a real loss by the death of Bishop Selwyn, who expired at Pau, in the South of France, on February 12. The deceased, the Right Rev. John Richardson Selwyn, was the son of the late Bishop of Lichfield, and was born in 1845. After curacies at St. Alrewas, Staffordshire, and St. George, Wolverhampton, he became Vicar of the latter parish in 1871. The following year he entered upon the Melanesia Mission, and in 1877 he succeeded Bishop Patteson, the first Bishop of Melanesia (murdered in 1871), but retired from the see in 1891, when he was appointed Hon. Chaplain to the Queen. In 1893 Dr. Selwyn succeeded the Hon. A. T. Lyttelton as Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge.

We have to announce with sincere regret the unexpected death of the Rev. Dr. Hole, Vicar of Christ Church, Worthing, after only a few days' illness. The deceased, who had reached an advanced age, had a long and active ministerial career, both at home and in the colonies.