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THE
CHURCHMAN

SEPTEMBER, 1899.

ART. I.—THE WITNESS OF THE HISTORICAL SCRIPTURES TO THE ACCURACY OF THE PENTATEUCH.

No. II.

IN the last paper stress was laid on the fact that we have learned nothing from historians of the critical school beyond the fact that little, if anything, is known about the development of Israel's religion. They claim, indeed, to have established the fact that the Law, as we have it, was not given in the wilderness, but that its most important features were gradually evolved during the after-history of the Jewish people. But of the successive steps of that evolution the German school has no information to give. Their statements are vague, and, what is more, they tend to become more vague as time goes on. As has already been stated in the first paper of this series, the Germanizers of the English school have definitely withdrawn from the position occupied by Wellhausen and Kuenen. The result is that the definite historical conclusions of these writers are no longer offered for our acceptance. In the place of them we have nothing but absolute uncertainty. We cannot explain how Moses acquired the character history has hitherto invariably assigned him of being the founder of the Israelite polity. We do not even know when the so-called "Book of the Covenant" originated. We are altogether in the dark about the history of Judaism, with its lofty ethics, its noble conception of God as a righteous Father and King, its system of centralized worship at the one sanctuary, beyond some suggestions that it somehow—nobody knows how—evolved itself from fetichism and animism, through polytheism, and that this development was in some way aided by a discovery of a volume in the Temple,

of the origin of which no man knows anything for certain, but which was somehow—again, no man knows how or why—mistaken for the original law of Moses. It has escaped the notice of the critics that the ready reception in the reign of Josiah of this volume as the work of Moses, if such reception be indeed an historical fact, distinctly proves that a tradition was prevalent at the time that Moses *had* given a law of the kind contained in Deuteronomy, and thus, so far as it goes, supplies an argument against the very theory of development the incident is supposed to establish. Anyhow, I repeat, we are at present without any clear information concerning the course of this alleged development, or of the previous religious condition of a country which could produce such a volume as Deuteronomy at the time it is declared to have been composed, or have secured its reception at the time when it is supposed to have been received. We are, in fact, absolutely without information as to the religious belief of the twelve tribes in the days of the judges of Samuel and of the early kings. All we know for certain is that we must not believe what the Bible tells us. In other words, though we dismiss our existing accounts as unhistoric, we have nothing but speculation to substitute for them.

Nor is this the only uncertainty in which modern discovery has left us. In silence and secrecy, as we have seen—for not a single hint has been given of the serious modifications of the theory to which I now draw attention—the English followers of Wellhausen and Kuenen have been making a strategic movement to the rear. Professing to accept the guidance of these critics on some most important points, they have quietly repudiated it.¹ There is no ambiguity in the attitude of the German and of the Dutch critic. The former regards the whole story of the tabernacle in the wilderness as an invention, Deuteronomy as a fabrication in the reign of Josiah, the Priestly Code as developed during the Exile, and published shortly afterwards. The latter says, in language which cannot be misunderstood, that Ezekiel was “the first designer, so to speak, and in so far the founder of Judaism” as we now have it. This can only mean that the religious system of the Pentateuch was not in existence at the time when Ezekiel lived. Professor Driver is somewhat reticent about the tabernacle. Apparently, he has hardly made up his mind whether it is historical

¹ Professor Robertson (“Early Religion of Israel,” Preface, pp. ix, x) has not failed to note the significance of these modifications. And he adds: “Statements such as those I have quoted amount, in my opinion, to a set of critical canons quite different to those of Wellhausen, and Dr. Driver would have been no more than just to himself if he had (as König has done) accentuated the difference.” The italics are mine.

or not.¹ The Priestly Code, according to him, is no longer to be attributed to Ezekiel as its author. It is a codification of "pre-existing temple usage."² This course gives him a considerable advantage in controversy. If it is shown—as it can be shown—that a considerable part of P was in existence before the Exile, the critic is enabled triumphantly to retort, "Have I not said it?" But then the whole theory on which P has been elaborated depends on the assumption that its contents were *not* in existence before the Exile. What evidence but its previous non-existence can we have for its post-exilic publication?

But even this is not all. The area of the above-mentioned indefiniteness is beginning to extend. In his Introduction Professor Driver has told us that "it is probable that the composition of Deuteronomy is not later than the reign of Manasseh."³ He has already found it necessary to modify this assertion. In a more recent work he has spoken of Deuteronomy as a "compilation" of that date. It is true that he states in his Introduction that "the laws of Deuteronomy are unquestionably derived from pre-existent usage."⁴ But he does not in that work go so far as to call Deuteronomy a compilation, though he admits that laws of pre-Palestinian origin are repeated in it—for what reason is not quite clear—and that even the law of the central sanctuary "only accen-

¹ "Introduction," p. 34.

² "Introduction," p. 135. Stade, he adds in a note, points to Lev. i.-vii., xi.-xv., Numb. v., vi., ix., xv. xix., together with the "Law of Holiness," as "embodying for the most part pre-exilic usage." But he says (p. 129) "the pre-exilic period shows *no indications*" (the italics are mine) "of the legislation of P as being in operation." Thus we have no historical evidence to guide us, and the critics are not agreed in regard to the pre-exilic portions of P. We shall see hereafter that Professor Driver's dictum is very wide of the mark, if we may rely on our authorities. But their statements, as we know, may be regarded as later additions whenever it is found convenient.

³ "Introduction," p. 82. Doubt on this point seems to be increasing. Some recent critics of the German school are beginning to think that it must be referred to the closing years of Hezekiah. Professor Ryle has lately, as we have seen, suggested the reign of Ahaz as the period when it was composed. And, indeed, the strong admonitory tone of its contents, if we are no longer permitted to regard them as prophetic, would best fit in with a reign such as that of Ahaz. I do not know whether it is fancy, but I cannot help thinking that Mr. Ottley, in his recent volume on "The Hebrew Prophets," has dropped the secure tone of bold assertion with which the German theory of the origin of Deuteronomy used to be put forward, and seems rather to insinuate it in a manner which is half apologetic. Whether this be so or not, there are plenty of signs that criticism is beginning to reconsider its position in regard to the so-called "Books of Moses."

⁴ P. 85.

tuates the old *pre-eminence* in the interests of a principle which is often insisted on in JE, viz., the segregation of Israel from heathen influences;" and this because "it was impossible to free the local sanctuaries from contamination by Canaanitish idolatry."¹ There are plenty of avenues here for retreat when hard pressed by the logic of facts. But it seems not unreasonable to suppose that Jehovah—especially if He be the Being to whom the writings of the Old and New Covenant alike bear witness—had foreseen these dangers, and had instituted the law of the central sanctuary, however ill that law might have been kept, in order to provide against them. This much, at least, is clear. If Deuteronomy is a "compilation," it must have been compiled from some previously existing authorities. Yet if we ask what these authorities or records were, what is their date, and what institutions or ideas they embodied which were older than Deuteronomy, we again get no reply. Thus, criticism has apparently not as yet "planted its foot" upon any solid "realities." At present it has but replaced a positive and definite history of the religion of Israel by a very negative and indefinite one indeed.

Nor is the uncertainty in which this criticism leaves us as to the actual history of religion in Israel the last consideration we have to urge against it. I have elsewhere pointed out the precisely similar methods adopted by modern German criticism in the case of the New Testament—the breaking up of Gospels and Epistles into fragments; the assignment of almost every single book to later dates and other authors than those to which tradition has uniformly assigned them; the wholesale repudiation of the early authorities quoted in their favour. The principle assumed by critics of this school in Old Testament and New Testament alike is that facts may be manipulated by subjective criticism into any shape the critic pleases. I remarked on the manner in which the assailants of the New Testament had been driven step by step backward until there was no longer any practical difference between them and their antagonists in regard to the date of the documents of which they treated, and I called attention to the fact that Old Testament critics were being driven back from their positions in precisely the same way.² But since then a rather sensational event has occurred. Professor Harnack, who a short time ago published a volume in which he endeavoured to show that the creed of Christendom was a later development of the original Gospel of Christ, has since very candidly confessed that this view cannot be maintained. Professor Sanday, in commenting on this remarkable surrender, has fairly enough pointed out that,

¹ Pp. 86, 87.

² "Principles of Biblical Criticism," pp. 183-185.

as the case of the Old Testament is by no means identical, it would be premature to assume that the same result is to be expected in the latter case. But the Professor has overlooked one important fact : he has forgotten that Professor Harnack's open confession inculcates not only the *results*, but the *methods*, of the criticism the conclusions of which he has renounced. Thus, the principles adopted by Wellhausen and his followers in their criticism of the Old Testament are discredited by Professor Harnack's admission, and the critics of the subjective school can only maintain their position in the face of that admission by the abandonment of their purely subjective method, and by the production of some positive evidence in favour of their conclusions.¹

¹ Professor Ramsay's words on this point are deserving of careful study. He says : "For a time the general drift of criticism was to conceive the book [the Acts of the Apostles] as a work composed in the second century with the intention of so representing (or misrepresenting) the facts as to suit the writer's opinion about the Church questions of his time. . . . Such theories belong to the pre-Mommsenian epoch of Roman history : they are now impossible for a rational and educated critic ; and they hardly survive except in popular magazines and novels of the semi-religious order." "St. Paul the Traveller," p. 10 : "Warned by the failure of the older theories, many recent critics take the line that Acts consists of various first-century scraps put together in the book as we have it by a second-century redactor. The obvious signs of vivid accuracy in many of the details oblige these critics to assume that the redactor incorporated the older scraps with no change except such as results from different surroundings and occasional wrong collocation. Others reduce the redaction theory to a minimum. . . . In the latter form the redaction theory is the diametrical opposite of the old tendency theories ; the latter supposed that the second-century author coloured the whole narrative, and put his views into every paragraph ; while, according to Spitta, the redactor added nothing of consequence to his first-century materials except some blunders of arrangement" (*ibid.*, p. 11). If we put "Pentateuch" here for "Acts," is not the reasoning precisely the same ? Is it reasonable to suppose that the logic which applies to the New Testament is inapplicable to the Old ? Are critical theories more likely to retain their position permanently in consequence of the fact that Professor Driver, for instance, combines together in one the *two* exploded theories of the Acts mentioned—and rejected—above, and of which Professor Ramsay writes (*ibid.*, p. 12) that one "disproves the other" ? Then, alluding to Clemen's dissection theory, which, rejecting the "bald scissors and paste" theory" of Spitta, elaborates one of six narratives, combined or expanded by three redactors—only a trifle more complicated, be it observed, than the Wellhausen-Kuenen-Cheyne-Driver theory, which it is the object of these pages to controvert. Professor Ramsay says (*ibid.*, pp. 12, 13) : "We shall not at present stop to argue from examples in ancient and modern literature that a dissection of this elaborate kind cannot be carried out. . . . A partition between six authors, clause by clause, sentence by sentence, paragraph by paragraph, of a work which seemed even to bold and revolutionary critics like Zeller and Baur in Germany, and Renan in France, to be a model of unity and individuality of style, is simply impossible." He appeals to "the recognised principle

I might say a good deal about the intrinsic improbability that the Hebrew history should have been refashioned in the manner postulated by the critics, that the history so refashioned should have been accepted by the Hebrew nation, and that the earlier and more authentic records should have so entirely disappeared. But I will not repeat here what I have said elsewhere.¹ I will only add a few words on the effect of this kind of criticism on the estimation in which the Bible and the Christian religion are held by men capable of drawing a rational conclusion from the premises before them. The Bible as a whole will be generally felt to be discredited if it is believed to be so fabricated and patched together. On January 31, 1897, an American Sunday newspaper displayed the opening words of Genesis in the various colours in which certain recent critics have thought fit to array it. The heading was as follows: "It is a mere patchwork, and is not the first book of the Bible." And an aged working-man wrote to me in despair because his son had been led, by arguments such as these, to abandon public worship and the profession of Christianity, because, as he expressed it, the Bible he had been taught to reverence was "all a make-up."² It is not to be wondered at. If the Italian Mission in this country is tortuous in its methods and unscrupulous in its statements, it is very largely because its claims are founded on forged decretals, and a religion founded on a fraud, however pious, is a religion on an insecure moral basis. So with Christianity. If the statements of the critics be true, the Old Testament history is largely founded on forgeries— forgeries no doubt resorted to with the very best of motives, but forgeries all the same. For "idealized history," as the history of Israel has been called, is not only, according to the plain meaning of words, the opposite of real history, but it

of criticism, that where a simple theory of origin can be shown to hold together, properly complicated theories must give way to it." It would be going too far, of course, to pretend that the Pentateuch, or any particular book of the Pentateuch, displayed features of "unity and individuality" at all comparable to those which characterize St. Luke's treatise. But there is quite enough in the story of the Pentateuch, when examined by anyone who approaches it free from preconceived ideas, to make the dissection theory extremely improbable. Well may the *Spectator* (January 11, 1899, p. 38) say that "destructive criticism is blundering criticism, and that the legends of history usually rest on some solid basis." We who have striven to arrest the tide of destructive criticism of the Old Testament have for years been despised and ignored. But we may appropriate the words of Disraeli in his first speech in the House of Commons: "You will not hear us now, but a time will come when you *will* hear us." That time is now close at hand. I should add that the italics in the quotations from Professor Ramsay are mine, not his.

¹ In my "Principles of Biblical Criticism," ch. v.

² A "pious make-up," as Wellhausen felicitously expresses it.

also is a very different thing even to the embodiment of tradition existing when the history was drawn up. To idealize is to create; to record tradition is to relate. The authors of the existing histories of Israel did not, so we are told, confine themselves to handing down the traditions of earlier times; they designedly refashioned them in order to confirm the impressions they desired to produce on the minds of the men of their own generation. Now this, whatever its motive, is plain falsification. And we use the writings which contain it in our approaches to God. What effect will this produce on our characters? When we hear the Old Testament read, we shall continually, on this hypothesis, be compelled to correct the statements read in our ears. When we are invited to sing the Psalms in the course of our Church's offices, we must do so with a mental reservation. We now know, if the critics are right, that God did *not* "establish a testimony in Jacob" nor "appoint a law in Israel." He did *not* "command the fathers to make it known unto their children." There was no "tabernacle" for Him to "forsake" or "refuse." The solemn feast-days of which we read in the later books were *not* "statutes for Israel" nor "ordinances of the God of Jacob"; they were *not* "appointed to Joseph for a testimony" when he went forth from Egypt.¹ There was a "certain germ" of moral teaching and ceremonial enactment, and no more. The "Book of the Covenant" might have been in existence, but the "law" of which the Psalms speak as existing from the beginning was evolved at a later period. Such a religious position does not conduce to transparent truthfulness. It seems likely to promote a habit of mental accommodation which has hitherto been confined to the Church of Rome. Nor does it make our position any better to be obliged to admit that the writers whose words we use when we approach God in the language of devotion knew as well as we do that they were stating what was false. Of course, if all this be demonstrated fact, we must perforce accept it, and either cut the Old Testament adrift altogether or make the best—and a very bad best it must needs be—of its imperfect morality and lack of scrupulous honesty and veracity. But those of us who value truth above all things may be excused for desiring to wait until these conclusions have been established beyond all possible risk of mistake, and even for hoping and believing that they may never be established at all.

Another consideration which makes against them is not unworthy of notice. The history of the Christian Church is opposed to it. There is, so to speak, a family likeness between Judaism and Christianity. Both have the same

¹ Ps. lxxviii., lxxxii.

marked features, and come from the same Almighty Hand. In each case we meet with a law which far transcends both the mental and moral capacities of those to whom it is given. Centuries elapse in each, on the traditional theory, during which the law given is very imperfectly kept. And yet, by their very failures, the people of God are gradually brought to a higher appreciation of the beauty and dignity of that law than they ever had before. Every advance which Christianity has made has been, not an evolution, but a reformation—that is to say, it has proceeded from an appeal to truths *already revealed*, not to discoveries made by the light of nature, deductions from a scanty and insufficient “germ” of truth. Nor have we in history any instances of such moral and spiritual evolution as is postulated by the German critics in the history of Israel. Teachers of religion there have been in various nations, such as Zoroaster, Confucius, Buddha. Reformers, too, there have been—men who have recalled to the minds of men in a degraded age the purer conceptions of days long past. But the general tendency of mankind, apart from revelation, has been rather to religious retrogression than religious advancement. From all which we may safely draw the inference that if men like Hezekiah, Josiah, Jeremiah, and the prophets at large, had been religious discoverers instead of religious reformers—men who pointed to the neglected precepts of a law given by God—their whole position and history would have been a solitary exception in the history of mankind. But if such a picture of the Divine education of man and its results as the Old Testament Scriptures give us is unique, it is because the Israelites, and the Israelites alone, were under the special training of the Almighty. Progress of a certain kind there doubtless was among heathen nations; but it was not progress in the evolution of religion. If ever there was a time when religious conceptions had completely collapsed on all sides, when men had only to choose between the barest and blankest Atheism and the grossest, most irrational, and most inconsistent superstition, it was the period when God Incarnate came down to save a lost and benighted world. Thus, the conception of education by revelation, as distinguished from the religious education of man by the light alone of his own nature, is confined to the pages of the Bible. It is to be found only in Judaism and Christianity. Both Judaism and Christianity are thus marked out as successive stages of God’s special training of mankind. Cast aside the Old Testament as untrustworthy history, and you find you have relapsed into the Marcionite heresy. Christianity no longer appears before us as the last and crowning stage of the Divine development of man, but is a sudden, abnormal, astonishing interruption of the hitherto

unbroken course of God's dealings with His creatures. While Christian neglect of and resistance to the Divine Law, instead of being the normal result of fallen man's incapacity to understand the ways of God, becomes an altogether new feature in the relations between God and man—an altogether unwonted and not easily explainable step in his spiritual evolution.

Let me now turn to another view of the question. I have been immensely struck of late with the amazing similarity between the methods of controversy adopted by the new critics and those of the Church of Rome. There is the same tendency to dogmatism, the same preference of authority to fact, the same incapacity to see any side except their own, the same lofty disdain for opponents, the same impatience of contradiction, the same *penchant* for ultra-refinements of argument of the *Nisi Prius* order, the same habit of ignoring the main points of the discussion, of leading opponents to diverge into some side issue, scoring a victory upon that, and then posing as victors on the whole question. As Canon Gore says of Roman Catholic controversialists, "candour, an attempt fairly to produce the whole case [I venture to transpose two words in this sentence], a love of the whole truth—this seems to have vanished from their literature, and its place is taken by an abundant skill in making the best of all that looks Romewards in Church history and ignoring the rest."¹ *Mutatis mutandis*, these words apply to Biblical critics of the German school. There is no disposition to treat those who are unable to abandon the traditional view of Bible history as fellow-workers in the cause of truth. If these last venture to discuss, to question, to suggest difficulties, they are annihilated by a sarcasm, an insinuation, or, as in one or two recent instances, are treated with downright insolence. If the work of Biblical students of this school, who may be presumed to have at least *some* knowledge of their subject, *some* desire to contribute to the elucidation of a difficult question, is quoted, it is quoted only to be misrepresented or sneered at.² If they desire to ascertain the

¹ Gore, "Roman Catholic Claims," fourth edition, pp. 13, 14. See also the passage cited by him from Newman's "Tracts Theol. and Eccl.," III., pp. 88-91, 96, in regard to Hippolytus: "I grant that that portion of the work which relates to the Holy Trinity as closely resembles the works of Hippolytus in style and in teaching as the libellous matter which has got a place in it is incompatible with his reputation." One fancies one is reading Wellhausen, or Kuenen, or Professor Driver. The theory is first assumed, and then the facts are squared into accordance with it.

² Thus Mr. Harford-Battersby supposes himself to have annihilated "Lex Mosaica" in a sentence (see *Guardian*, November 11, 1896) by calling it a "monumental mass of irrelevant reasoning." But, to judge from appearances, though he may have skimmed through some of its pages, he has never *read* a line of it. At all events, he has not the

principles on which a complex question like this is to be discussed, their challenge is not accepted. The sole test of competence for the task of investigating Bible history is assumed to be an acquaintance with the latest theory—some persons would say eccentricity—of the latest German school of Biblical criticism. I venture respectfully, but most emphatically, to say that though these methods are admirably adapted to win the adhesion of the unthinking multitude, they are *not* the methods which should be used in the interpretation of any historical document—certainly not those on which we ought to deal with records which lay claim to Divine inspiration, and that on no slender grounds. It is true that there has been a time when honest efforts in the direction of a freer criticism were met by violent and vociferous abuse. That time has now entirely gone by. The recent advocates of the new criticism among us have been treated with marked courtesy and respect. Their right to inquire has been universally conceded. Their industry, ingenuity, good faith, sincere religious earnestness, have been repeatedly recognised. It is only exemption from criticism which has been denied them. But if they are told that the task of minute analysis they have set themselves is one in which it “passes the wit of man” to attain to certainty, or any near approach to certainty; if any attempt is made to analyze their analysis, to criticise their criticism, they regard it as an affront, and turn on those who dare to question their infallibility with ill-disguised anger or withering scorn. Now, there is really no reason whatever why we should lose our tempers in dealing with these matters. Fair and reasonable criticism, free and full discussion, are absolutely necessary to the attainment of truth; for no one is infallible, everyone may make mistakes. And if any mistakes are pointed out to us in a becoming spirit, we ought to be thankful to those who have done so. Any display of sensitiveness suggests, not that we are conscious of the strength of our position, but that we are in reality a little uneasy in our minds about it. Patience,

slightest idea of what, in the first page or two, it professes as its object. He imagines the question with which “*Lex Mosaica*” undertakes to deal to be “at what time the Pentateuch was written.” This is not the case. “*Lex Mosaica*,” as its introduction plainly states, was written to show that the German theory of the “working over” of the whole history in the interests of a later development of religion, and the substitution for that reason in our present books of unhistorical for historical statements, will not bear investigation. It is shown to be contrary to the phenomena presented by Israel at every step of its history. But to investigators of Mr. Harford-Battersby’s stamp there is no need to read what is said on the other side. “*Lex Mosaica*” is a big book, and it is written in defence of views he has been taught to consider exploded. Therefore, of course, it is a “monumental mass” of irrelevance, if not worse.

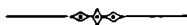
modesty, courtesy to fellow-labourers in a good cause, sound principles, and unimpeachable methods, are as necessary as ingenuity, industry and erudition, in the great work of investigation into the history of revealed religion.

I may add that, personally, nothing but a sense of duty would have led me to take the part I have taken in this discussion. I may appeal to the history of my whole life in support of this assertion. My desire from my earliest essay in authorship has always been to bring Christians together, to limit the area of controversy between them as far as possible. It is true, as I have said, that I do not believe either in the methods of German criticism or its results. It is too arbitrary, too self-confident, too fanciful, too unscientific, in my belief, to make any approach to certainty in its conclusions, and so far as I have had an opportunity of examining it, it is altogether one-sided. I therefore believe that the theories which now hold the field about J's and E's and D's and P's and redactors are doomed ultimately to disappear. Nor do I think that they add much to our reverence or even respect for the Bible. But even considerations such as these would not have induced me to enter into the controversy. I would willingly have left matters relating to the date, composition, and authorship of the books of the Bible to University professors and their pupils. And I should have done so, had they not asked us, on the basis of what I firmly believe to be as yet their very incomplete and one-sided researches, to believe in the falsification of Hebrew history by the writers of the Old Testament. I feel that such falsification as is imputed to those writers by our modern critics, however the conclusion may be disguised by special pleadings, however much in the circumstances of the time may be urged in palliation of it, was, if it ever occurred, an *immoral act*, and I am quite sure that English people will agree with me when the question at issue is fairly before them. I am further quite sure that the honour and reputation of the Hebrew Scriptures cannot be maintained among the English-speaking peoples if this view of their *genesis* be established. Consequently, if I think, as I do think, that this view has not been established, and never will be established, I feel bound to say so, in view of the grave evils which its acceptance appears to me likely to produce on the religion and morality of our country and race. I am growing an old man now, and would fain have done with controversy. And I would have done with controversy, had it not appeared to me that Englishmen were teaching their fellows that the Old Testament, as we now have it, rests on a system akin to that of the Forged Decretals.

There is yet one reason more which weighs with me in this

matter. It has been found impossible to dissociate the conclusions of the disintegrating critics from the doctrine of the Person of our blessed Lord—a most significant fact, especially as it is not the conservative critic who has raised this question, it is the *Lux Mundi* school, which having in an unguarded moment, as I must believe, committed itself to the theory of an “idealization” of Old Testament history for the furtherance of the object of a school of ethic monotheists existing at the period of the decline of the Jewish monarchy, has found itself compelled to support this theory by hazardous assertions concerning the person of Christ—theories opposed to the best traditions of the Catholic Church and contrary to the teaching of her wisest doctors. I will not now pursue this subject further than by saying that, though it does not seem that the manhood of Christ shared the full omniscience of the Godhead—indeed, there are well-known passages which show that this was not the case—yet our Lord displayed on many occasions a Divine wisdom which could hardly have failed to discern the fact, if it be a fact, that the Jewish Scriptures display the most obvious signs of having been tampered with in order to support a view of the Jewish history which is altogether unfounded. But whether I am right in this or not, I must at least think that a theory is open to grave suspicion which compels the scholars who adopt it to revise very considerably their conceptions of the Person of their Lord.

J. J. LIAS.



ART. II.—THE ALBIGENSES (*continued*).

THE decree of Lucius III. issued in A.D. 1181 against those who “falsely describe themselves as Cathari, Patarini, Humiliati, or Poor Men of Lyons, and whose errors mostly concerned the Sacraments,” throws no fresh light upon the Albigensian heresy, although it is a document of considerable interest, in that it specifies in greater detail than any previous authority the *methods* by which the heretics are to be detected and punished.

Two years later (A.D. 1183) we meet with a book whose title promises to the student of this question much fruit for his labour in perusing it. It is a book written by Alan de Insulis. His birthplace was Insulæ, in Flanders, although Demster states that he was a native of the island of Mona. A monk under the great Bernard of Clairvaux, he was made Bishop of Antissiodorensis in 1151, and was present at the third Lateran Council. The work with which we are now

concerned was written by command of, and is dedicated to his "most beloved lord, William, by the grace of God, Prince of Montpelier." The full title of the book is "*De fide Catholica contra Hæreticos sui temporis, præsertim Albigenses.*" But what the Albigenses taught we can only get at by the principle of exhaustion, because the Albigenses are never mentioned *by name* from the beginning of the work to the end. The whole work is divided into four books or parts. Book I. contains nearly eighty chapters, bearing titles from which we obtain an idea of what the unnamed "heretics" said and taught. Book II. is directed "*contra Waldenses*"; Book III. "*contra Judæos*"; and Book IV. "*contra Paganos seu Mahometanos.*" Since, therefore, the work was written "*especially against the Albigenses,*" it is only reasonable to conclude that the unnamed heretics of Book I. are the Albigenses—a conclusion which is strengthened by the reflection that these "heretics" hold the first place in the author's mind. The statement of each heretical doctrine is followed by a refutation of it, and a defence of the "Catholic faith." These doctrines were as follows:—Chap. ii.: There are two beginnings of things, a beginning of light and a beginning of darkness. The beginning of light is God, from Whom (or which) are things spiritual, viz., souls and angels; and the beginning of darkness is Lucifer, from whom (or which) are things temporal. Chap. ix.: The souls in human bodies are none other than apostate angels who have fallen from heaven. Chap. xi.: Demons in human bodies are punished. Chap. xv.: The souls of saints do not ascend with Christ into heaven, and Christ did not descend into hell. Chap. xix.: Christ did not take a true body, neither did He eat or drink. Chap. xxxiii.: Christ took a heavenly Body, and the blessed Mary was created in heaven, and had neither father nor mother. Chap. xxxv.: The Mosaic law was given by the Devil. Chap. xxxvii.: The Fathers of the Old Testament were wicked, and are damned. Chap. xxxix.: "The opinion of some" that baptism does not benefit little children, and that little children have not sin. Chap. xli.: Baptism benefits nobody before years of discretion. Chap. xliii.: Baptism has no efficacy either in little children or adults. Chap. xlv.: Baptism does not benefit without imposition of hands. Chap. xlvii.: After remission of sins which is given (*fit*) in baptism, penance (*pœnitentia*) has no place. Chap. l.: Penance is of no avail for the remission of sins. Chap. lii.: It is sufficient to confess to God alone. Chap. lvii.: They deny that the bread is transubstantiated into the Body of Christ. Chap. lxii.: Marriage is to be condemned. Chap. lxvi.: Confirmation has no efficacy.

Chap. xlvii.: Ordination is not a Sacrament. Chap. lxviii.: Extreme Unction is not a Sacrament. Chap. lxxiv.: We ought not to eat flesh.

A glance at these headings of chapters will show at once that the several doctrines could not possibly be held together by the same person, and therefore that it is more correct to speak of the Albigensian *heresies* than *heresy*. Alan differentiates these heretics dealt with in Book I. from the Waldenses, whose opinions he sets himself to refute in Book II. He derives their name from the heresiarch Waldus, "who, led by his own spirit, and not sent by God, founded a new sect, so that he presumed to preach without the authority of the bishop, without Divine inspiration, and without learning (*sine literatura*)." But the same inconsistency marks the belief of the Waldenses as that of the Albigenses. Thus, in chap. ii. Alan says: "They assert that no one should obey any *man*, but God only;" whereas in chap. v. he states it as "their opinion that only good prelates should be obeyed"; and in chap. vi. that "only the imitators of the Apostles should be obeyed." In the two next points (chaps. viii. and ix.) the Waldensian view coincided with the Albigensian, viz., that ordination did not confer power to consecrate or bless, to bind or loose; and that it was not necessary to confess to a priest, if a layman were present to whom confession might be made. They also maintained that on no account should men take an oath (chap. xviii.), and on no account should a man be killed (chap. xx.).

Bernard, Abbot of Fontcaud, and a member of the Præmonstratensian Order, wrote a book "against the sect of the Waldenses," but it affords us no assistance in solving the Albigensian problem (A.D. 1190). A year or two later Bonacursus, who had seceded from the Cathari, describes the opinions of some heretics whom he does not name, though probably of those whom he himself had left. We notice some similarity to those ascribed above to the Albigenses. He says that some heretics declare that *all* the elements were made by God; some others by the Devil. The cross is the mark of the Beast. No one who is married can be saved. The sun is the Devil, the moon Eve, who each month have unlawful intercourse. No one can be saved without themselves. Christ is not equal to the Father, and did not rise from the dead. They do not believe in the resurrection of the flesh. No one ought to eat meat, eggs, etc.

Our investigation now leads us to perhaps the most important authority of all, viz., the "History of the Albigenses," written by Peter of Vaux-Sarnai, and dedicated to Innocent III. Unfortunately, it is marred by expressions of the most violent

prejudice and hatred against the Albigenses. There is, however, this redeeming feature about it, that this bias is so intense that the impartial reader will not be misled by it—at any rate, in that part of the work which is devoted to tracing the history of the struggle between the Albigenses and the Crusaders. We have need to walk more warily when we follow him in his statements of their doctrinal opinions, inasmuch as he would be inclined to lay to their charge views which *they* may have never held. Some of his statements lack confirmation from any other authority, and are so blasphemous that only loyalty to the office of historian impels us to allude to them. According to Peter of Vaux-Sarnai, the Albigenses, as we shall see, strongly resembled the Manichees of Eymericus (*vide supra*). They believed in two creators, good and evil, to whom respectively they assigned the New and Old Testaments. They repudiated the whole of the latter, except some parts which are quoted in the New. The evil creator was a liar, because he said man should die if he ate of the tree: whereas man did not die. He was also a murderer, for flooding the world. John the Baptist was one of the greater demons. They say “amongst themselves” (*in secreto suo*) that the Christ born in Bethlehem and crucified in Jerusalem was evil (and here follows one of those shocking blasphemies referred to above). For the good Christ never ate nor drank, nor assumed true flesh, nor ever was in this world, except spiritually in the body of Paul. They imagine a new and invisible earth, and there, *according to some*, the good Christ was born and crucified. They say the good god had two wives, Colla and Coliba, and from these were born sons and daughters. But *other* heretics say that there is one Creator, and that he had as sons Christ and the Devil. Some say also that both the creators were good, but through the daughters mentioned in the Apocalypse all things were corrupted. . . . Almost the whole Roman Church is a den of thieves, and is *meretrix illa* which is spoken of in the Apocalypse. On the seven “sacraments” they held the same views as those attributed to the Manichees by Eymericus, “instilling this blasphemy into the ears of the simple that though the Body of Christ had been as large as the Alps, it would long ago have been consumed by the partakers thereof.” They are at one also with the so-called Manichees on the questions of the resurrection of the dead, the transmigration of souls, and vegetarianism. Images in churches they denounced as idolatry; the sacred bells were the trumpets of devils. Our author gives us some interesting particulars about their customs and regulations, but these will be collected and presented together later on. Of the Waldenses Peter Vaux-

Sarnai speaks in much higher terms. "They are evil," he says, "but are by no means so perverse as the other heretics: for in many things they agree with us, in some they differ, but they are free from many of the errors of the others." Unfortunately, he does not specify the points of agreement with and disagreement from the Church of Rome.

This favourable account of the Waldenses is, at first sight, very materially damaged by a tract published by Gretzer in his twelfth volume, entitled "Ermengard against the Sect of the Waldenses"; because in the nineteen chapters of which the work consists the author argues against opinions which, according to nearly all other evidence, were held by the Albigenses, but not by the Waldenses. The solution of this difficulty is that this title "contra Waldensium sectam" is the title given the book by the *editor*. The real title is "contra Hæreticos." The Waldenses are never mentioned by name, either in the original title or in the tract itself. Although he mentions one or two new arguments drawn from Holy Scripture, by which the "heretics" supported their contentions with reference to Baptism and the Eucharist, he throws no *fresh* light upon the doctrines themselves.

The same criticism must be passed upon the title and contents of a work by Ebrard, published about A.D. 1212, and entitled "contra Waldenses."

Another important source of evidence will be found also in vol. xii. of Gretzer, to wit, that of Reinerius Saccho, who, according to his own account, had been a Catharus (not a Waldensian), but recanted, and subsequently became an Inquisitor. The work, which was published in A.D. 1254, accuses the Waldenses, "who are also called the Poor Men of Lyons," of thirty-three errors. Amongst these the following may be mentioned: (a) Belief in Traducianism ("anima hominis primi facta fuit materialiter de Spiritu Sancto, et aliæ ex aliâ traduce per illam"). (b) Neither the Body of Christ nor any other creature, nor images nor crosses should be adored or venerated. (c) Death-bed penitence (*finalis pœnitentia*) profiteth nothing. (d) The punishment of Purgatory is nothing else than present tribulation. (e) Prayers for the dead avail nought. (f) Tenths and other benefactions should be given to the poor, and not to the priests. (g) They deride music, canonical hours, and prayers in Latin. (h) The Roman Church is not the head of the Church. It is a Church of malignants. (i) None can be saved, except members of their sect. (j) Infant baptism avails nothing. (k) Priests in mortal sin cannot consecrate. (l) Transubstantiation does not take place in the hand of him who consecrates, but in the mouth of him who worthily receives; and consecration may

be made at a common table (quoting Mal. i. 11). (*m*) Mass is nothing, because the Apostles had it not. (*n*) No one can be absolved by a bad priest, but a good layman has the power. He may do this by the imposition of hands, and may confer the Holy Spirit. All the laity, male or female, have the right to preach. (*o*) Holy Scripture has the same power in the vulgar tongue as in Latin. (They knew by heart the whole of the New Testament, and a great part of the Old.) (*p*) They reprobated public penance, especially for women. (*q*) Orders, tonsure, extreme unction, decretals, excommunications, indulgences, relics, canonizations, and so forth, they held of no account. (*r*) There were no saints but the Apostles. The doctrine of Christ and His Apostles was sufficient for salvation, without the statutes and decrees of the Church. Reiner then proceeds to describe the Cathari. According to his account, they were divided into three parts: the Albanenses, the Concorenzes, and the Bagnolenses. All these were in Lombardy. The other Cathari, however, whether in Tuscany, the Marquisate of Trevisano, or in *Provence*, did not differ in their opinions from the aforesaid Cathari. This "in *Provence*" brings his evidence into line with our subject, a conclusion which is further justified by his observation that the Cathari had sixteen churches, of which four were in France, viz., "the Churches of France" (*i.e.*, in the kingdom of France proper), Toulouse, Cahors, and Albi. These are the opinions which Reiner attributes to these Cathari: (*a*) The Devil made the world and all things in it. (*b*) All the Sacraments of the Church are of the Devil. (*c*) There is no such thing as a resurrection of the flesh. (*d*) There is no such thing as Purgatory. (*e*) Matrimony, killing animals, eating eggs, punishing heretics and malefactors by the secular arm are mortal sins. (*f*) There are four Sacraments—imposition of hands, benediction of the bread, penance, orders. For a fuller account of these, see below. (*g*) The world will never end; judgment is past, and Hell is in this world. (*h*) The Devil was the author of the Old Testament, except Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Twelve minor prophets, *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*. They also held some Donatist and Valentinian ideas of the Incarnation. Reiner also gives some very entertaining information about their demeanour, zeal, numbers, etc., but this must be reserved, as we are dealing now only with their doctrines.

We need not be surprised that modern writers have discussed the question whether the Albigenses and the Waldenses were one and the same or not, for we find that the same point is raised by such a man as Limborch in his "*Historia Inquisitionis*." The question is discussed at great length in

chap. viii., and he is strongly of opinion that the Albigenses and Waldenses were different bodies, although "he cannot doubt that they had many dogmas in common." Under the head of "common" he places (i.) Oaths, unlawful and sinful; (ii.) the Roman Church is corrupt, and cannot excommunicate; (iii.) Penance (*pœnitentia*) useless. Under the head of "diverse" he assigns the following opinions to the Albigenses, but not to the Waldenses: (i.) Belief in two gods; (ii.) All sacraments of the Roman Church are null and void; (iii.) The Eucharist is not the body of Christ, but only plain bread; (iv.) No real Incarnation; (v.) No Resurrection; (vi.) The Cross is not to be adored;¹ (vii.) Souls are spirits fallen from heaven on account of sin. The following opinions are attributed to the Waldenses, and not to the Albigenses: (i.) All judgment is forbidden by God; (ii.) Indulgences are worthless; (iii.) Prayers for the dead useless; (iv.) Penance avails only in this life; (v.) The Church has but three orders, viz., bishops, priests, and deacons; (vi.) Matrimony is sinful only when persons marry without hope of offspring. The constitutions of the two bodies were not the same, the Albigenses having Perfecti or Consolati (*vide* also Vaux-Sarnai's account) where the Waldenses had Majores. The latter had nothing corresponding to the former's Convenenza and Endura (*vide infra*). The differences of the Waldenses and Albigenses are well brought out by a comparison of the inquisition or examination of Stephen Porchéri, of Lyons, which took place A.D. 1314, and of Peter Autéri, a notary, of Aix, but arrested in Toulouse (A.D. 1310). The former confessed that he had been a member of the sect of the Waldenses, or Poor Men of Lyons; the latter that he held the faith of those who asserted that they alone were good Christians, whom the Holy Roman Church persecuted and condemned, and called heretics, "perfectos seu consolatos, immo vero, desolatos."

Pegna and Eymericus both apparently recognise a difference between them, while Ivonetus, on the other hand (A.D. 1320), attributes many things to the Waldenses which, in Limborch, are ascribed to the Albigenses. We need not, however, extend our investigations beyond the end of the thirteenth century. By that time the religious aspect of the Albigensian war had practically vanished, and the struggle was continued for political or territorial reasons. Indeed, it may be truly said that the real motive power of the French interference was extension of the kingdom of France, and not extension of the kingdom of heaven. Enough material, we trust, has been

¹ "For no man worships the gallows upon which his father was hanged."

laid before our readers to enable them to form some idea of what is meant by the Albigensian "heresy." It will, we think, be generally admitted that it was neither all tares nor all wheat.

We now pass on to say something about the organization of these sectaries. We have already seen the independent attitude which they assumed in relation to the Roman Church. They were a self-contained body, their teachers and leaders receiving their authority from their disciples and followers. There were two classes: the Perfecti, or fully-qualified members; and the Credentes, who were catechumens or probationers. The government was vested in four orders: (i.) the bishop; (ii.) the elder son; (iii.) the younger son; (iv.) the deacon. On the death of a bishop, the younger son ordained the elder son to be bishop; and he (the bishop) in turn ordained the younger to be an elder son, and the vacancy thus caused was filled up by the bishop and some subordinate (*subditi*) Perfecti electing someone to the rank of younger son. Some, however, disliking this procedure on the ground that it was unseemly for a son to appoint a father (bishop), had enacted that a bishop should, before his death, himself appoint his successor, such successor to be chosen out of the elder sons.

Their most distinguishing ceremony was that of the laying on of hands, called amongst themselves Consolamentum. Only a member of one of the four orders had authority to administer the Consolamentum, although in cases of urgent necessity even a female might perform the ceremony. It was believed to convey the gift of the Holy Spirit.¹ It seems to have been used on three occasions: (i.) Admission to membership; (ii.) ordination; (iii.) mortal sickness. The ritual was the same in all three cases, except where the special circumstances of the last made some modification necessary. The fullest account of this is preserved in the Archives of Toulouse (A.D. 1238), which describe the "consolation" or "heretication" (as it was sometimes called) of one Pontius Guilebert. White cloths were placed on a table, and upon them a book, which was called "The Text." The candidate was asked first whether he wished to receive the "ordination of the Lord." Upon answering in the affirmative, he was to surrender himself to God and the Gospel, promising never to be alone, or to eat without a companion or without prayer; never to eat flesh eggs, cheese, and such like; never to lie, or swear, or indulge in any lust. These promises taken, he approached the table nearer than before, and on bended knees said "Benedicite"

¹ No one in "mortal sin" could convey the Consolamentum, but must himself be first "consoled."

thrice. Then he kissed the book of the aforesaid heretics. Which things having been duly performed, they placed the book and their hands upon his head, and read the Gospel (viz., St. John, chap. i. 1-17 inclusive). He was then clothed in black, and the whole assembly gave to each other the kiss of peace. One or two additional particulars are furnished by Ermengard in the tract already referred to. He says that the bishop, or other qualified person, conducting the ceremony, washed his hands first, and that the candidate, when the book was placed upon his head, said the Lord's Prayer seven times; and then he was exhorted to put all his faith in that Consolamentum. As with Baptism in the early Church, so with this Consolamentum, some postponed submitting to it till just before their death. The Consolamentum was then called *La Convenenza* or the *agreement* to receive it. The recipient was prepared for it by certain abstinences. The person bestowing the "sacrament" held the hand of the sick person in his own; lifted a certain book over him, out of which he read the Gospel of St. John (as above); and then delivered to him a thin thread, "*quo pro hæresi cingeretur.*" This ceremony was believed to save the soul, and was called "spiritual baptism," "consolation," or "good end." No woman must touch the person so consecrated and sanctified. Those admitted during sickness were urged to practise the "*Endura*," which consisted in blood-letting, bathing, and drinking a deadly potion made out of the juice of the wild cucumber and broken glass, which would tear the intestines to pieces, and so hasten the person's end. (For this "*Endura*," see M. C. Molinier, in the "*Annales des facultés de Bordeaux et de Toulouse.*") Another "sacrament" was that of the "*Benediction of the Bread.*" All stood at a table and said the Lord's Prayer. Then the first in rank, holding the bread, and saying, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with us all," broke the bread and distributed it to all, Perfect and Probationers alike. The Albigenses did this at frequent intervals, but the Waldenses only once a year.

When undergoing penance, they made a public confession of their sins to their bishop. Holding the Gospel or New Testament upon his breast, the penitent bowed down before the bishop, and said, "We come before God and you confessing our sins."

They held the New Testament, and some (perhaps the Waldenses) the Old Testament also, in the highest honour. According to Reiner Saccho, the heretics had rendered both Old and New Testaments into the vulgar tongue. Some of them knew the whole of the New Testament by heart. He had

come across an ignorant rustic who could say the Book of Job word for word. All men and women, high and low, were most untiring in teaching—"they never ceased day or night." As an instance of their zeal, he mentioned that a man swam the river Ibis every night in winter to make one convert. He charges their version with many errors, but from the examples he adduces they are not, it is evident, mistranslations, but slips of the pen, *e.g.*, "sues" for "sui," and "harundinis" for "hirundinis."

H. J. WARNER.



ART. III. — THEORIES OF ECCLESIASTICAL INERRANCY.

A WELL-BALANCED Christian faith may be likened to a sacred tripod of which the supports are the Scriptures, the Church, and the illumined individual conscience. To the New Testament age our reason turns for logical proof of all doctrine. Our ideal of a living Church satisfies our social instincts by contributing historical illustration and regulative system. On the Divine instinct within we rely not only for individual realization, but for all new methods of development.

Withdraw any one of these three supports, or assign to any one a work that is not its own, and the result is loss of equilibrium.

In the time of the Apostles there was no need for such differentiation. From one point of view the New Testament itself is only the outcome and expression of a corporate faith and life. From another, again, it is the adoring record of certain dominant individual influences. But, whichever view we take, we are face to face with a quite exceptional influence of the Holy Spirit, one which had from time to time operated in the Old Dispensation, and which gives us our concept of miracle and even our popular idea of "inspiration."

The next generations continually confess themselves to be on a lower level. The aim now is to record accurately and hand down the substantial proofs of the faith, and to adjust to these whatever regulative system is best suited to the times. For controversial purposes, the great Christian writers¹ turn to the Scriptures as of paramount authority, even as we do to-day.

¹ For the Apostolic Fathers, *cf.* Westcott, "Canon of the New Testament," Part I., chap. i., § 2. For the Fathers at the close of the second century, *ibid.*, Part II., chap. i.

The age of the great Fathers, in fact, recognises broadly our three factors: authoritative Scriptures coming from a time of peculiar inspiration; a regulative but expansive ecclesiastical system; and powers of individual appropriation and development which are no less to serve the needs of the community.

Church history and the needs of the spiritual life can alike only be done full justice to as we realize this triple play of forces. The Bible, the Church, the inner light—according as these are adapted harmoniously to the wants of the day, there is utility and moral progress. Just as any one of the three is exclusively pressed will there be loss of balance, perversion of moral principle, arrears that have to be dealt with in the future.

This ideal of Christendom necessarily connotes a life of continuous spiritual advance. There have doubtless been periods when the tide of intellectual and moral progress ebbed as if never to flow again under conditions that violated this law of harmony. But the norm of true ecclesiastical life, as of the individual spiritual life, is progress. The Church was intended to recognise cheerfully whatever ore should be brought to light by intellect or spiritual discernment, to hallmark it, and convert it into current coin. Even in the stagnation of the Middle Ages there was recognition of this purpose on the moral and spiritual side. But from the intellectual aspect medievalism lies cramped and benumbed in its procrustean bed of deductive philosophy. Its theologians are to us arid pedants; ever spinning new inferences, indeed, but from postulates which are often more than questionable. It is the theology of Roman lawyers, ever harping on precedent. The lawyers Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine have each done much to give it its peculiar features. It breathes the spirit of the conquering race of old, and it has the defects as well as the merits of its lineage. Admirable for organization and discipline, medievalism pens up the free winds of heaven in the narrow conduits of a Christianized Roman jurisprudence. The result is a theology marvellously contrasting with that of the great Greek Fathers, Justin, Clement, Origen, or Athanasius—a theology incapable of induction, feeding evermore on its own vitals, unable to absorb the nutriment of advancing thought.¹ To this age belongs of right the fiction of ecclesiastical infallibility.

Progressive thought is now expressed only in the smothered

¹ Cf. Heard's "Alexandrian and Carthaginian Theology contrasted," Hulsean Lectures, 1892-93; also Allen, "Continuity of Christian Thought," §§ 1-3.

protests of a few—"rari nantes in gurgite vasto." It speaks, and speaks in vain, from such mouthpieces as John Scotus, Roger Bacon, Massiglio the author of the "Defensa Paris," or our own "invincible" schoolman William of Ockham. Ockham, however, is the spiritual parent of Wyclif, and from Wyclif we pass rapidly to the sixteenth century Reformation. The Reformation leaves our Church not only severed from Rome (whose biddings Professor Maitland shows us had been the real statute law of the English clergy for centuries), but henceforth not debarred from attainment of truth by that former conceit of "inerrancy" or "infallibility." Scripture is reinstated as the source of all saving principles. And Scripture exegesis is not for our Church, as for Pius IV., that interpretation "according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers," which you have only to read the Fathers to find to be a mere figment. The Church, too, is relegated to a conviction that though the "keeper and witness of Holy Writ," it is possible for her "authority in controversies" to be used woefully amiss. "General Councils" themselves may "err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining to God."

My object in this paper is to justify this admission of ecclesiastical fallibility. Reaction from that narrow type of Evangelical pietism which suppressed the ideal of corporate Christian life altogether, and hedged in our study of the Bible itself with the irritating pedantries of Scribism, threatens to reinstate an equally senseless ideal of the ecclesia. "*Simeon and Levi are brethren.*" Bibliolatry and ecclesiolatry are, indeed, more closely connected than is generally supposed. The vice in each is usually a practical denial of the Divine Immanence in its true fulness, and of men's progressive realization of Christianity under the Holy Spirit's guidance. Consistently, then, the same type of unintelligent clericalism that I can recollect breathing threatenings and slaughter against scientific Biblical exegesis, and claiming with Baylee and Burgon¹ Divine authority for "every verse, every word, every syllable," now sets to the chimera of "ecclesiastical inerrancy." Let us confront to-day's idol of the market-place. Let us search for its credentials. Let us see the effect its adoration has had in actual history.

There are, for my purposes, two quite distinct forms of this theory of Inerrancy. The one I will call the "practical"—that which existed in rather nebulous form before the Reformation, and in July, 1870, was condensed and bottled in the dogma of Papal Infallibility. The other, the "hypothetical,"

¹ Baylee, "Verbal Inspiration," p. 48; Burgon, "Inspiration," p. 89.

the product of a narrow English school of thought, relegates ecclesiastical inerrancy to the bygone age of a united Christendom. "There was infallibility in the unbroken Church a thousand years ago," this school assumes, "and if Christendom were reunited there would be infallibility again."

There is much virtue in an *if*. "But a living dog," one may say with the wise man, "is better than a dead lion." The Roman reply to these hypotheses of Tractarianism is alike obvious and crushing.¹ "It is easier to believe that the gift of infallibility was never bestowed at all than that the Church has practically ceased to be infallible for twelve centuries out of nineteen." Or, "If ecclesiastical infallibility be what was intended by Christ's promise, your hypothesis admits that the Holy Ghost has failed of His mission during two-thirds of the lifetime of the Church." Let us, then, treat first the more pretentious theory. Let us apply to the medieval ideal of infallibility the light of common-sense and of experience.

I. Test this ideal, and it crumbles at the touch of any scientific analysis. Jeremy Taylor, more than two hundred years ago, could show that Council had contradicted Council, and Pope Pope, and that Councils had dethroned Popes and undone their edicts.² To-day the Vatican Council rules it that the Pope is infallible, and by adding to the pile of inconsistencies makes Taylor's argument against all infallibility stronger still.

"*Fide Catholica tenendum, concilium esse supra Papam,*" said Basle, as had said Constance, and suspended Pope Eugenius IV. accordingly.³ Need I stay to contrast Basle and Constance with the Vatican Council of 1870, where, in defiance of really learned divines like Döllinger and Hefele, the supple Italian majority vested in the Pope himself the extremest pretensions of "inerrancy"?

Or take another modern illustration of the subject, the dogma of the Virgin's Immaculate Conception. It was certainly denounced by the medieval luminaries Bernard and Aquinas. It was only kept from absolute extinction in the Middle Ages by the Franciscans in their jealousy of the Dominicans. To-day, by the Papal decree of 1854, it has to be regarded as "a truth contained in the original teaching of the Apostles," and this it is heresy to doubt.

¹ See Dr. Salmon's "Infallibility of the Church"; "Dr. Pusey's Theory of Infallibility, and Harper's Criticism on it," Lecture XV.

² "Liberty of Prophesying," §§ 6, 7.

³ The decrees of the Council of Constance were confirmed by Pope Martin V., who also convened the Council of Basle, which was recognised by Eugenius IV. himself, and confirmed in part by Nicholas V., but rejected by Leo X. two generations later.

Are we happier as we work back and find that the astronomical truths revealed by Copernicus and Galileo were branded by the ecclesiastical oracle as "absurd, philosophically false, and formally heretical"? There is no possibility of wriggling out of the dilemma in this case. As Dr. Salmon shows, the new teaching was condemned as "expressly contrary to Holy Scripture," and of the sense of Holy Scripture the Church is, by the Creed of Pius IV., the true interpreter. It is here, as in the case of the Jansenists, a claim *de fait* as well as *de droit*. Educated Romanists have yet to come to terms with Galileo, and to-day they must do it with their hands fettered by the dogma of 1870.

Are we happier as we go another century back and consider our oracle's pronouncements on the canon of Scripture? Here, if anywhere, is its proper province. Yet the Fathers of Trent are so little up to the level of the scholarship of their day, that they rule that the Old Testament Apocrypha is to be received with the same veneration (*pari pietatis affectu*) as the Holy Scriptures. Such had doubtless been the general opinion of the Western Church for a thousand years. But, alas! advancing scholarship and research have made havoc of even our own Church's temperate approbation of the Apocrypha. We now regard the Fourth Book of Esdras as an outcome of post-Christian Judaism. No longer do we read publicly Tobit or Bel for "example of life and instruction in manners," as in my days of boyhood. It is perhaps fortunate that our Church's formularies are not primed with these notions of inerrancy, or shotted with anathema.¹

It may be replied here that the pronouncements of Trent or Pius IV. or Pius IX. are nothing to us Anglicans. But at least let us face truly all that is implied by that modern panacea of ecclesiastical unity. Had the Western Church remained unbroken, there is no reason to doubt we should be committed with our Continental brethren, first, to acceptance of the Fourth Book of Esdras *pari pietatis affectu* with the four Gospels, under penalty of an anathema; secondly, to a pronouncement that the diurnal motion of the earth is an "absurd" proposition, "philosophically false," and "theologically considered at least erroneous in faith"; thirdly, to all those contradictions involved by the dogma of Papal Infallibility established in 1870.

II. Before I pass to that presumably golden age of a united

¹ Cf. Trent Decree of Fourth Session, Appendix, 1546: "Si quis centem libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus . . . pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit . . . anathema esto."

Christendom, the first seven centuries, I notice two forms of the medieval theory which might seem at first to lead to more substantial results. The first is expressed in the celebrated Propositions of liberal Gallicanism in the seventeenth century. Broadly, the inerrancy of the Church, while still maintained, is here made dependent not on the decrees of Popes or Councils only, but also on the "general consent" of Christendom. I have much sympathy with the school of Bossuet and Pascal; but surely this theory shades off into Protestantism of the worst type. The "inerrancy" is no longer that of presumably learned divines, but of the probably ignorant majority. "General consent" does, of course, give attestation to the uneducated who have no means of investigating the true reason of their belief. But to vest the opinion of the man in the street with "authority" on that account is a sheer confusion of cause and effect. Further, if this is all the authority the ecclesiastical luminary can claim, it becomes at once, as Dr. Salmon so wittily puts it, "a lantern that can only cast its rays backwards and not forwards," an arbiter that can only speak when men have made up their minds. Augustine's postulate in regard to authority of Councils, "Concurrente universali totius ecclesiæ consensu,"¹ is, I suppose, the keynote of Gallicanism. Broadly, this gives us a rough test of sound doctrine. But we may notice that the great Church of Alexandria never accepted the dogmas of Chalcedon at all. It would be hard to say from the Gallican standpoint how or when those dogmas become "inerrant."

The other definition of inerrancy attempts to adjust it to that hackneyed dictum of St. Vincent, "Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus," and lands us in that rigid conservatism with which Rome itself has found it necessary to break. I think these words of Vincent's are probably more familiar to us clergy than their history and first application. They are used in his "Commonitorium"² against certain innovations of doctrine. The innovator, however, was Augustine, and that gloomy Carthaginian's ideas of God's dealings prevailed. "Sin Agostino nul predigo," says the Spanish preacher still, and the Calvinistic sects owe him almost as great an obligation. To my mind, Nazianzen and Vincent were quite right in opposing the dogmatism of that great Father, from whose thrall our own generation is only at last making its escape. But a Catholicism which sits at the feet of Augustine can hardly cite Vincent's dictum as a test of ecclesiastical inerrancy. Its own history is the confutation of the saying.

¹ Augustine, *De Bapt. contr. Donat.*, Lib. I., c. 18.

² Chap. ii. : "In ipsa item Catholica ecclesia magnopere curandum est ut id teneamus quod ubique quod semper quod ab omnibus creditum est."

The truth is this "Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus," is little better than an ecclesiastical bogey. It sounds grand to insinuate that all who differ from you are "nobodies" and "nowhere." But as a fact, every Church has accepted as of essential consequence much that Vincent's dictum really excludes, unless we are merely playing with words. Take Infant Baptism, for instance. We hold that in adopting it we interpret best the mind of the Apostles and of Christ, and we may quote proofs of its early and general adoption. But the usage was certainly not accepted in the fourth and fifth centuries "ubique" nor "ab omnibus." Among children of Christian parentage whose baptism was deferred till nonage were Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory Nazianzen, Jerome, nay, Augustine himself. There are many grounds a pædobaptist may take in arguing his is the better way. But whatever the line taken, we certainly part company with Vincent's dictum as a test of inerrant orthodoxy.

III. But now let us quit these theories of working Infallibility and approach the great Tractarian hypothesis, with its conception of the dead or "sleeping" lion. It is assumed that in the age of great Councils and unbroken unity the Church spoke with infallible authority; and what I have called the "hypothetical" theory infers that, were all branches of the Church united, it would do so again. Conversely, I may add, many of us, if we find this doctrine was not propounded, say, in the first four centuries of Christianity, will not care to read it into Christianity at all. Does examination, then, of the first four centuries warrant this confident hypothesis? I answer, "Not in the least." Men evidently had in those days to steer their course between the Scylla of ecclesiastical Toryism and the Charybdis of neologian vagary, even as we have now. They had only the same lights that we have. Indeed in the absence of critical scholarship and printed books they contended against difficulties we can scarce conceive of. We all know something of the great Councils of the fourth and fifth centuries. This period is sometimes called the age of great Councils, and our Church has accepted what four of those Councils propounded *de fide*. But we must note the caveat of Jeremy Taylor.¹ She does so not because those Councils were infallible, but because they decided "wisely and holily" and well. It is a simple truth that these Councils neither claimed inerrancy nor were credited with it, and we cannot give them powers their own generations were unconscious of. Both for the Councils and the Church at large it was by the intelligent study of the

¹ "Dissuasive," Part II., Book I., §§ 1, 4.

Apostolic records that those problems *de fide* were decided. Those Councils that interpreted the New Testament teaching rightly after times made much of. Those that interpreted them wrongly were forgotten or branded as heretical. The test, in short, becomes a purely intellectual one. We are led on to the saying Taylor quotes approvingly: "In matters of faith the opinion of a single individual is preferable to the dictate of a Pope or of a whole Council, if he be guided in his decision by better arguments."¹

When we speak about the inerrant voice of the Church in this age we are apt to forget that perhaps the largest expression of that voice ever given was that which denounced the Homousians at Ariminum and Seleucia and made Athanasius a fugitive and a heretic. Lengthened investigation proved that Athanasius' interpretation of the Apostolic teachings was right—that he was, in fact, Taylor's "single individual, guided in his decision by better arguments." Athanasius thus becomes a saint and the Council of Ariminum an assemblage of heretics. Now, when once we have grasped this experimental test of authority we shall see that all the glamour of infallibility is simply a posthumous colouring. The age of the four Œcumenical Councils never claimed it. After ages honour those Councils, not for their own sake, but because rational investigation confirms their interpretation of the Scriptures.

Was the Council of Nicæa recognised as infallible? No. The majority of Christians sent their Bishops to disavow the Homousians at Ariminum and Seleucia. A long and bloody warfare raged before Arianism was finally extinguished.

Was there infallibility at the Council of Constantinople? Certainly no one thought so at the time. Apart from any opposition its decrees encountered, it was a small Council which no one reckoned as œcumenical till seventy years after its assemblage.

Was infallibility claimed for the Council of Ephesus? On the contrary, we find this assemblage broke up amid disturbance and mutual anathemas, in consequence of Cyril's disgraceful attempt to rush a verdict in his favour.

Or was infallibility recognised at Chalcedon? Pope Leo himself, whose pretensions it favoured, denounces this Council's inconsiderate temerity. It did not stop Monophysite Bishops being appointed even to the great Patriarchates. In fact, Egyptian Christianity never recognised it at all.

The fact is, this romantic Anglican theory, with its dread of strong lights, has succeeded in colouring the Bishops of

¹ "Liberty of Prophesying," chapter on "Uncertainty of Councils."

the so-called age of unity with tints by no means discernible to the best men of that day. We may be thankful to the Councils for doing, by dint of much wrangling and even bloodshed, the sort of constructive work which is really done to-day by our leaders of thought by means of printed books. But if anyone supposes that the arguments of the orthodox prelates were invariably sound, or their behaviour in Council up to our ideal of Christian and gentlemanly deportment, they should study contemporary testimony on the subject. Gregory Nazianzen, who himself took a prominent part at the second of our Œcumenical Councils, has left a pathetic record of his experiences. I venture on a metrical translation of his elegiacs and his hexameters. Here is a testimony from his "De falsis Episcopis":

Heaven grant I may never foregather where synods episcopal sit,
Where cranes discordantly blather, and ganders retort with their wit;
'Tis to battle, not synod, one's bidden, where wranglings and tumults
resound,
And calumnies heretofore hidden are dealing destruction around.

And here is the more bitter invective of his "Ad Episcopos." A herald thus summons Bishops to an imaginary Council:

Ride hither all stains to our species, ride hither on vice as on horse-
back;
Gluttons with mouths wide distended, immodest, of pompous demeanour,
Wine-bibbers, too, and demented, vain jesters and men of soft raiment,
Liars and insolent braggarts, most happy to swear to all falsehood.

Truly, if this be our golden age of ecclesiastical inerrancy, one may hope our men of convocations and congresses will long be content to confess themselves fallible beings.

If we turn from theory to fact, we find that for that Age of Councils, even as for us, the appeal in essential matters is ultimately to the Apostolic teaching. Read Athanasius. His argument is continually this: that the doctrine of the Homœousians is deducible from *θεία γραφή*. I find a good instance in the "De Synodis,"¹ where he points out how the Nicene Bishops, while attaching the term *ἔδοξε*, or "decretum est," to their own canons, did not venture in the case of the Homœousians to appeal to any authority of their own. "This," he says, was "to show that their own sentiments were not novel but Apostolical, and that what they wrote down was no discovery of theirs, but is the same as taught by the Apostles." There is the contrast. On the one side the regulative canons of the

¹ Migne, § 5. Also cf. Nicen. Def., v., § 21; vi., § 27; and Disc. III., chap. xxvi., § 7, Newman's translation.

Council, which served their day and are now universally infringed¹; on the other the essential verities of the faith, which, whether elicited by Councils or by individual discernment, are binding, because shown to be attested by the authority of the Apostolic times. Dr. Salmon illustrates this feature from Augustine's admission in his argument with an Arian opponent somewhat later: "I must not press," Augustine says, "the authority of Nicæa against you, nor you that of Ariminum against me. I do not acknowledge the one, as you do not acknowledge the other. Let us come to ground that is common to both—the testimony of Holy Scriptures."²

The fact is that it was only when corruption was very rife and fallibility most obviously apparent that this claim to ecclesiastical inerrancy was openly propounded. It is just on the principle that a bankrupt sometimes asserts a pretended solvency by lavish expenditure and profuse display of wealth. We do not find inerrancy claimed at the first Council of Nicæa. But the second Council, four and a half centuries later, is far bolder. Here it is we first have the rule that the bare authority of Fathers and Councils is to be recognised as a warranty for doctrine apart from sanction of Scripture. By that time mechanical ecclesiasticism had fairly taken the place of godliness. Lying wonders and pious forgeries were rife. Image-worship was more and more shutting out the realization of a spiritual Deity. Intellect was beginning to be shackled. Milman descants on that moral perversion which makes the monk historian, Gregory of Tours, eulogize every blood-stained scoundrel who had chanced to fight on the side of Frankish orthodoxy.³ Such ideas of duty have taken the place of those high Christian principles which influenced an Ambrose or a Chrysostom. It is suggestive that at such a time the ecclesiastical polity and the individual clerical office are alike inflated. The one gravitates more and more to the principle of central autocracy, or Popery. The other has long substituted a *sacerdos* for the primitive *presbyter*, and his stereotyped system of pattered services and mechanical absolutions will oust in due course all true ideas of worship and of moral discipline. And so we have worked round again to medievalism and the climax of ecclesiastical inerrancy. Read how for justice we get the judicial murders of the sacred ordeal; for appeal to conscience the perfunctory pronounce-

¹ *E.g.*, the Nicene canons forbidding translations of clergy, and the practice of praying kneeling on Sundays.

² *Contr. Maximin. Arianum*, ii., 14.

³ "Hist. Lat. Christianity," Book III., chap. ii.

ments of confessors, or later the traffic of the licensed *quæsterarii*, with their pardons, as Chaucer says, "come from Rome all hote." Read of the many thousands of godly persons who are burnt and tortured by the Church in its defence of this imaginary attribute. Study its accompaniments at headquarters. At one time it is the fifty years "pornocracy," or rule of the harlots, at the sacred centre; at another the forty years of warfare between two rival lines of Popes; at another it gives us the Pontificates of sensualist Borgias and agnostic Medicis. Study its social influences. It is an age of incessant protest against acknowledged moral evils; but saints and prophets and preachers only succeed in founding institutions that catch and spread the general corruption. It is the admission of the Romanist Bellarmine that for years before the Reformation there was "in morals no discipline, in sacred literature no erudition, in Divine things no reverence; religion was almost extinct."¹ And, in regard to "erudition," at least, we Gloucestershire clergy may clinch Bellarmine's general statement with the particular evidence of our own diocese, where Bishop Hooper finds "scores of clergy" who are unable to tell him who the author of their oft-repeated *Pater Noster* was, or where it was to be found in Scripture.²

Such is the *dossier* of ecclesiastical inerrancy.

That fatal conception was sapped and fell; and the world passed from impracticable theory to an ever-developing life of true Christian progress, led throughout the world by Reformed Christianity, followed limpingly, sometimes most unwillingly, where medievalism still has hold. Contrary to what we might have expected, perhaps, the more Christendom has freed itself from ecclesiastical dogma, whether Protestant or Catholic, the higher has been its moral aim; and socially our own century, with all its seeming indifferentism, has won for Christianity almost its greatest victories. Torture, judicial murder, slavery, duelling, drunkenness, cruelty to prisoners, to children, to animals—these terms speak of evils once accepted, or at all events vainly combated. To-day Reformed Christianity brands them with a verdict which, if not that of a Church, is that of true religion. One by one they become the barbarisms of the past. And here, at least, the verdict is so far "infallible" and "inerrant" that we never retrace our steps. It is, I say, the influence of Christianity

¹ Concio XXVIII., Opp., vi., 296.

² I quote from Archdeacon Sinclair's article on Tyndale, THE CHURCHMAN, January, 1896.

that wins these victories. It is the guidance of the Holy Spirit, albeit the old order has given place to new, and God fulfils Himself in many ways.

My paper has been a long one; but before I close, I venture on the suggestion that it is mainly in this province of Christian principle and advancing civilization that the Church might speak to purpose.

Did the clergy really show themselves as zealous in promoting whatsoever things "are true, are honest, are of good report," as they do in vindicating exploded superstitions, and in testing the infinite and many-sided truths of Christ by the six-inch gauge of their theological seminaries, we might hope for a revival of the regulative action of our national Church, in harmony with the best traditions of primitive Christianity. Substitute for our chimeras the ideal of a progressive, liberal-minded Church, which shall ever appropriate the best thought, the highest spiritual discernment of its day, and dedicate them to God's service, and for hypothetical "inerrancy" we get something like real guidance; for conflicting Roman infallibilities a truly progressive *civitas Dei*.

The spiritual life would not then be bid batten on the husks of canons and rubrics of some age of half-enlightenment, or worse.

Holy Orders would not then be the refuge of men intellectually disqualified for success in any other calling.

New scientific truths would not be first suspected and persecuted by the clergy, and then, as Mill complains, forced hypocritically into consistency with old dogma with the disingenuous cry, "Oh, the Church" (or "the Bible") "said so all along."

The world's mature years, and not its petulant youth, would then receive the respect due to age and wisdom. For our twentieth century, in short, we should claim as true workings of Christ's Spirit in the world as for any age since those exceptional gifts of the Apostolic time were in His Divine wisdom withdrawn.

Lastly under such conditions that panacea of the clerical busybody, and that clerical journalism which supplies him with ideas—the "corporate unity" of the different Christian bodies—will cease to attract, to tantalize, to pervert the faith of some, to irritate others to iconoclastic frenzy.

We are told that when Mr. W. Palmer, primed full with Tractarian dogma, paid a visit of investigation to the "Holy Orthodox" Church of Russia, he was shocked to hear from her dignitaries, not a doctrine of mechanical Apostolical succession, but a large conception of all Churches and sects moving like so many planets around one and the same centre,

and "without difference in kind."¹ The "orthodox" and "catholic" Church of the East was, of course, assumed to be the nearest planet to the central Sun. Substitute intelligence and spirituality and consciousness of our expressing the best life of our race for those stale contentious terms "orthodox" and "catholic," and the Russian dignitary's conception will satisfy our need. If there be still cavilling as to which Church is nearest the Divine centre, we shall have the Master's warrant for the test: "By their works shall ye know them." We shall not, indeed, so get to theories of "inerrancy"; but we shall get as near all necessary doctrinal truth, and all high ideals of godliness, as is possible for the Church militant as distinct from the Church triumphant.

ARTHUR C. JENNINGS.



ART. IV.—THE WITNESS OF THE BEAUTY OF NATURE.

"Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin. And yet I say that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. . . . Wherefore be not anxious."—*ST. MATT. vi. 28.*

AT a time when many have left the dusty towns (and the majority of the population of England is urban) for the fair sights and sounds of the country, I would like to give my readers a few hints from our Lord's own thoughts which may be useful to them as a guide in the interpretation of those beautiful things which they have gone out to see.

Any glimpses of the personal tastes and habits of our Blessed Lord in His human nature are extremely interesting to us His worshippers and followers who are called by His name. We count up these little things about Him. As the true Son of Man, He is intensely human. He went to the wedding-feasts, and helped the harmless enjoyments by making an enormous quantity of wine. He describes Himself as coming eating and drinking, so unlike John Baptist, that the Pharisees scornfully and slanderously call Him a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber. He went to a Pharisee's entertainment on the Sabbath-day. Martha and Mary and Lazarus were His friends. When He saw the grief of the sisters at the death of their brother He wept. Twice He shed tears over the city of His fathers. He liked John, the son of Zebedee better than the other disciples. He was fond of

¹ Palmer, "Visit to the Russian Church," p. 271.

being alone on high mountains. He took great notice of things in Nature, the sky, the wind, the hills, the birds, the sower, the trees, the plants. And here He speaks deliberately and calmly of the flowers of the field, with a warmth of love and feeling after which the strongest compliments which could be paid them by poets would seem tame. "I say unto you that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these." "Study deeply the lilies," He says, for that is the meaning of the word. It is stronger than the word "consider." Think of our Lord sitting there on the grass of that mountain in Galilee, talking to the people, and calling their attention to these lovely emblems of God's pity and care. We know even quite well what flowers they were at which He would be looking. The hillsides of Galilee in spring are very rich in their heavenly clothing. There is the crown imperial, with its gorgeous hues and delicious scent; the golden amaryllis standing up amongst the long glossy green shafts of its leaves, and crimson tulips, such as we delight to have in our hot-houses and on our lawns and in our rooms, and brilliant anemones of all shades, from scarlet and yellow and blue to white, to say nothing of the commoner buttercups and dandelions and daisies. All these our Lord means when He speaks with a sweep of His hand of the lilies of the field. All these, with what we may reverently speak of as a love of Nature, the Lord tells His disciples to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest; to study as it were by heart, till they have realized every beauty of structure and form and hue.

God might have made the earth bring forth
 Enough for great and small,
 The oak tree and the cedar tree
 Without a flower at all.
 He might have made ten times enough
 For every want of ours,
 For luxury, medicine and toil,
 And yet have made no flowers.
 The clouds might give abundant rain,
 The nightly dews might fall,
 And the herb that keepeth life in man
 Might yet have drunk them all.
 Then wherefore, wherefore were they made,
 And dyed with rainbow light,
 All fashioned with supremest grace,
 Upspringing day and night?
 Springing in valleys green and low,
 And on the mountains high;
 And in the silent wilderness
 Where no man passes by?
 Our outward life requires them not;
 Then, wherefore had they birth?
 To minister delight to man,
 To beautify the earth,

To comfort man, to whisper hope,
Whene'er his faith is dim ;
For Who thus careth for the flowers
Will much more care for Him !

Such are shortly some of the things we may learn from this small part of the beauty of Nature—the beauty of God's mind and thoughts, His loving-kindness to man in giving us such sweet company, His delight in order and beauty even in the smallest things ; the lessons of comfort, hope, trust, content, peace, humility, tranquillity, serenity.

The true secret of the Creation is given us in those few words of the Book of Genesis: *God saw everything that He had made, and behold it was very good.* It was the expression of His own thought, the realization of His own ideal. And so we are led to think of the created universe as only the veil which covers the true and living God, the expression of His thoughts, the outcome of His will, the sign of His presence, the vesture of His mind ; and we remember with what deep wisdom and meaning St. Paul wrote: "The invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made." All Wordsworth's life and poetry, which made such a turning-point in our times, were one long commentary on this thought of St. Paul's. From moor and lake, from wind and cloud, from tree and flower, from rock and brook, he tried to catch the thought which God had in creating it, and arranging it in such beauty as he saw it. Thomson, too, in his "Seasons," and Sir Walter Scott and Coleridge and Southey, and in our own times, Kingsley—they all were earnest with the same purpose. And though their interpretations of Nature may sometimes seem fanciful and forced, and more than the particular view or passing phase of Nature would bear, still their object was a lesson which we should all do well to take to our hearts ; because if the natural world is the revelation of an all-thoughtful and all-wise and all-beautiful Creator, there must surely be, in much of what we see, that which will comfort and console and inspire us, as well as the mere scientific explanation of the laws and the causes by which all these things are worked in God's government and machinery. It is this wealth of perfection, this meaning, this message from the Divine and the Unseen, that our landscape-painters, who are the glory of the English school of painting, are always doing their best to interpret.

I said just now that people in the country are more open to this kind of influence than we of the town, and that it is good for us at times to seek that influence again, and to speak with Nature. It has been said that the country-people in general

have little or no feeling for its beauty. But the contrary is strongly upheld by an eloquent Scottish writer.¹ "They have eyes and ears in their heads, and all the rest of the seven senses: and is it denied that they have hearts and souls? Only grant that they are not all born blind and deaf, and that there is a correspondence between the outward and the inward worlds, and then believe, if you can, that the song of a bird and the scent of a flower is not felt to be delightful by the simplest, ay, rudest heart, especially after a shower, and at the coming out of the rainbow. They do not flee into raptures at rocks, like town folks: but they notice all the changes on Nature's face, and are spiritually touched, believe me, by the sweet and the more solemn, the milder or the more magnificent, for they never forget that Nature is the work of an Almighty hand, and there is no poetry like that of religion. And all the Christian world alike more dearly loves the lily of the field for the sake of a few Divine words. Simple folk never think of expatiating on the beauties of Nature. A few touches suffice for them; and the more homely and familiar and common, the dearer to their hearts. The images they think of are never far-fetched, but seem to be lying about their very feet. But it is affection or passion that gives them unwonted beauty in their eyes, and that beauty is often immortalized by genius that knows not it is genius, believing itself to be but love, in one happy word."

If it will not burden this paper to quote a little more poetry, here are a few more lines which put very plainly these thoughts about the way in which God wishes Nature to affect our minds. They are not by any of those poets whom I have already mentioned, but by a Scottish peasant.

The seasons came and went, and went and came,
 To teach men gratitude; and, as they passed,
 Gave warning of the lapse of time, that else
 Had stolen unheeded by: the gentle flowers
 Retired, and, stooping o'er the wilderness,
 Talked of humility and peace and love.
 The dews came down unseen at eventide,
 And silently their bounties shed to teach
 Mankind unostentatious charity.

With arm in arm the forest rose on high,
 And lesson gave of brotherly regard.
 And on the rugged mountain brow exposed,
 Bearing the blast alone, the ancient oak
 Stood, lifting high his mighty arm, and still
 To courage in distress exhorted loud.
 The flocks, the herds, the birds, the streams, the breeze,
 Attuned the heart to melody and love.

¹ Professor Wilson.

Mercy stood in the cloud, with eye that wept
Essential love ; and, from her glorious bow,
Bending to kiss the earth in token of peace
With her own lips, her gracious lips, which God
Of sweetest accent made, she whispered still,
She whispered to Revenge, "Forgive ! forgive !"

The sun rejoicing round the earth, announced
Daily the wisdom, power, and love of God.
The moon awoke, and from her maiden face
Shedding her cloudy locks, looked meekly forth,
And with her virgin stars walked in the heavens ;
Walked nightly there, conversing as she walked
Of purity and holiness and God.

Fear God, the thunders said ; fear God the waves ;
Fear God the lightning of the storm replied ;
Fear God, deep loudly answered back to deep !

But after all, what words could give us clearer sanction for using the wonders of the universe as signs and teachers, than that sublime language of David of old : "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth His handywork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge. There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard." In the glowing words of that other Psalmist, "O Lord my God, Thou art very great ! Thou art clothed with honour and majesty. Who coverest thyself with light as with a garment ; Who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain ; Who layeth the beams of His chambers in the waters ; Who maketh the clouds His chariots ; Who walketh upon the wings of the wind ; Who maketh His angels spirits, His ministers a flame of fire. O Lord, how manifold are Thy works ! in wisdom hast Thou made them all : the earth is full of Thy riches ! The glory of the Lord shall endure for ever ; the Lord shall rejoice in His works !"

Nature still is as fair as when the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy. Let me paraphrase some thoughts on the interpretation of the loveliness of Nature from a novelist who died last year, and whose love for phases of scenery will be his lasting title to fame. I mean William Black. I shall not quote him word for word, but adapt his ideas. "Fall'n all beside," says Keble. In this our strange journey through the world, from the unknown to the unknown, where may we most naturally look for safe and close companions, whose intimacy cannot be torn away from us or altered by the changes and chances of this mortal life ? Surely in those grand and beautiful things around us which we know to be lasting. Of course, our first interests are human, in going about doing good like our Master, and in loving our neighbour as ourselves. But the longer we live the more we

shall find how imperfect human nature is at its best ; we shall all of us meet with much of ingratitude and disappointment and discouragement. Nature has not fallen ; man has fallen. Nature is like God, is like heaven. Our time is all too short for probing the mysteries of the human heart. We are very likely grasping a Will-o'-the-wisp in staking our happiness on anything so fleeting and unstable as human affection. What is there so variable, so liable to change and to cease ? But in loving God in His works and in studying deeply His beautiful gifts we are in some sense loving and studying Him. "If the beautiful things of nature can become our friends and loved ones, then securely year after year can we greet the reappearance of the flowers. We shall grow old, but year after year there will come up the snowdrop and the crocus, the primrose, the hyacinth, and all the long and glorious pageant of the ever-young flowers. They will be peeping forth as young and fresh centuries after these bodies of ours have become mould, and have been turned up again and again by the ceaseless toil of the earth-worm, to make the soil for their roots. Day after day we can welcome the wonder of the dawn. However bitter our griefs, we can be soothed by the murmuring voice of the sea, or roused by the healthy joy of its roaring tumult. The friend whom we have trusted may disappoint and betray us ; loving eyes may grow cold and find others more responsive than our own ; but he who has chosen the winds and the seas and the colours of the hills for playmates and constant companions need fear no change. The most beautiful human face will fade—nay, death may step in and rob us of our treasure ; but the unworldly tender loveliness of the sunrise remains, and the scent of summer woods, and the ripple of the rivulet down through the spacious meadows. Only this companionship has to be wooed as a gift of God before it can be won ; this secret voice has to be listened for ; the eye must be trained by the love of all that is Divine and pure to know this wonderful beauty that does not fade." Happy those who live in the country and can see the changes month after month ! But even we of the towns may look for it. We can from time to time bring the thought of it into our minds. "Friends may prove false ; but there is no discordant note in the music of the lark. The suspicions and envies and enmities and follies and madneses of mankind may appal, but there can be nothing to doubt in the heavens upbreking from the earth beneath when the hyacinths clothe the golden oak-wood." And even those who, like us townsfolk, have to linger in the fight until perhaps we are sore stricken with toil and wear, may find solace in retiring to these solitudes and seeking out these secret companions, in considering the lilies and musing

on the wonderful and glorious works of God; "letting the seasons, that each speak of Him, go by peacefully to the appointed end, when we, too, shall see the new heavens and the new earth, and the heavenly city of which all earth's loveliness is but the type and foreshadowing—'Then are they glad because they are quiet: so He bringeth them unto their desired haven.'"

William Black has reached his desired haven: the green pastures and the still waters of that ideal paradise which he saw and read behind the manifold changes of the glorious face of material nature. We are still here. And we of the town cannot be always amongst the works of God. Human friendships and interests, human sympathies and experiences are very dear to us as well as streams and woods and flowers and the voice of the sea. But all the same, the world is too much with us. The human interests press too strongly. The unrest of an age of ceaseless activity affects us with its own nervous excitability. It is imperative that we should be sometimes far from the madding crowd, and from the roar and bustle of the vast social machine. God has given us the hillside, and the sweeping river, and the blessed flowers for the very purpose of tranquillizing us, and leading us to destroy all care and anxiety by putting our trust in Him. Only let us take with us the true spirit. It will be most unwise to seek the same amusements, the same occupations, the same ceaseless employments, as crowd upon us here. We will take with us rather the spirit of contentment and peace, the spirit of awe and reverence, the spirit of love and gratitude. So the days of recreation will fulfil their purpose, and make up to us for all that we have lost of thoughts of God by living in the busy turmoil of the town.

Alas! of thousand bosoms kind
That daily court you and caress,
How few the happy secret find
Of your calm loveliness!
"Live for to-day! to-morrow's light
To-morrow's cares shall bring to sight;
So sleep like closing flowers at night,
And Heaven thy morn will bless."

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.



Reviews.



A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel. By HENRY PRESERVED SMITH. ("International Critical Commentary.") Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1899. Price 12s.

AN understanding of the two Books of Samuel is, says Professor Smith, a first necessity to the scholar who would correctly apprehend the history of Israel. This is undoubtedly true; it is equally true that, from a variety of causes, such an understanding is not easy to attain. Many difficulties confront the student—a seriously corrupted Hebrew text, a complex literary development (probably extending over a considerable period of time), and a jumble of conflicting theories, none of them adequate, yet all claiming the sanction of the "higher criticism," which demand cautious treatment at the hands of a thoughtful commentator. Then, again, the duplication of certain incidents, and the notable divergencies, not only of style, but of point of view, require attention. Adjustment of such difficulties is no easy task; possibly, indeed, finality is unattainable. We therefore welcome any serious attempt to grapple with these critical and exegetical problems, and a word of appreciation for Professor Smith's painstaking volume is certainly due. On the whole, it may be safely said that the criticism of this portion of the Old Testament has been advanced a step by the commentator's labours. Professor Smith would deserve our thanks, if only for the fact that he has conveniently grouped together a number of useful critical annotations, tabulated in the small-type sections that occupy no inconsiderable space among the more purely illustrative and explanatory matter. The introduction is meagre, in our judgment; much of the explanatory commentary might with advantage have been curtailed by so enlarging the scope of the introduction as to contain such necessary items. Excellent are connecting paragraphs, giving the "argument" of the various chapters and sections of the book; less adequate, we think, are the "notes" proper, which might well have been increased by introducing more illustrative quotations from external sources. Comparison is the soul of criticism. The index is remarkably jejune; in fact, it affords little real help of any kind to the busy student.

Aids to Belief; being Studies on the Divine Origin of Christianity. By the Rev. W. H. LANGHORNE, M.A. Elliot Stock. Pp. 194.

There is much instructive matter in this book, but we cannot regard it in its entirety as likely to be of much assistance to an anxious doubter. A series of studies on the Divine origin of Christianity, intended as an aid to belief, might well have included much apologetic matter which Mr. Langhorne does not seem to have collected. A propagandist aim, too, would have justified some warmer exhibition of feeling than we can find here. Present-day doubt is not likely to be healed by eighteenth-century temperateness or nineteenth-century academicism. Apologetic requires animus, unless it is taken up as an intellectual exercise—a "study" not intended to be an "aid." A propagandist writer intending to help one to believe in the Divine origin of Christianity would hardly devote twenty of the 194 pages of his book to such a quasi-exkursus on the spurious Gospels as we find in Mr. Langhorne's third chapter. The excursus is interesting, but its apologetic utility, and indeed the value of the whole book, is marred by the want of a strong demonstration of the unmythical temper of the Evangelical records. The quotation from Renan on pages 46 and 47, and that from Graetz on pages 184-186, seem to raise points with which the text does not cope.

Short Notices.

The Sacrifice of Christ : its Vital Reality and Efficacy. By HENRY WACE, D.D. London : Seeley and Co. Pp. 93.

The doctrine of the Atonement has been handled times without number by scientific theology and personal sentiment. Dr. Wace, in the brief collection of sermons before us, presents his great subject with winsome calmness, not as a theological theory, or a kind of formal and material transaction, but as a vivid, present, personal fact. Upon this plain but very useful account of the facts of Holy Week Dr. Wace builds what he has to show respecting the efficacy and effect and sufficiency of the sacrifice, and the testimony to it. The sacrifice was efficacious because in it God Himself, in human form, vindicated the moral law and suffered instead of men, and because the Cross exhibited a supreme love as an object for the attraction of men. The effect, therefore, of this mighty fact—which was no mere paying a ransom, but the result of “the personal, living, and mutual action of the Father, the Son, and of human beings”—may be chiefly represented by the assertions, “We have an Advocate,” and “We love Him.” Dr. Wace’s treatment of the “historical situation”—if we may introduce such a phrase—of the Passion, suggests an answer to the question as to our share in the guilt of it that may be added to that usually given. We commonly think of the deed of those who crucified our Lord as one of such uniqueness and monstrous blackness that we cannot easily realize our own complicity. Yet, fairly considered in the character of a crime, the guilt of these men was representative of humanity’s indifference to truth and righteousness, and humanity’s hatred of the claims made upon it by truth and righteousness incarnate. From this guilt none of us can feel entirely free. We are as really guilty of, and in need of the power of, the Cross, as the people who shouted, “Let Him be crucified!” Only the Cross can rid us of our complicity, and only love for the Crucified can make us love what these Jews hated. We are not good enough to rejoice in the claims which truth and righteousness make upon us ; but the love of Christ may constrain us to live not unto ourselves, but unto Him who died for us. It would be difficult to name an equally good brief exposition of the doctrine of the Atonement. It presents its great case in a light required by the times.

In the Hour of Silence. A Book of Daily Meditations for a Year. By ALEXANDER SMELLIE, M.A. London : Andrew Melrose. Pp. 397. Price 5s.

Many readers might use this collection of earnest, if sometimes quaint, thoughts with profit. The active worker could usually find in the daily page something to ponder over before going forth to his labour, and something to give dignity and spiritual security to his ordinary pursuits. And the invalid—for whom perhaps the book is more especially intended—would almost always find some comfort, or stimulus, or direction, or sympathetic communication in the daily portion. The theology of the volume seems sound, and its tone bracing and wholesome.

Unset Jewels ; being Simple Thoughts for the Christian Year. By the late ARTHUR WILLIAMSON, D.D. Skeffington and Son. Pp. 162.

This volume comprises a number of selections from the unpublished manuscripts of the late Vicar of St. James’s, Norlands. Its title was selected by a member of Dr. Williamson’s family, and its interesting

Prefatory Notes have been written by the Bishop of St. Andrew's (Dr. Williamson's Vicar for seven years at Eaton Square), and by the Rev. Charles Green, of Beckenham. The thoughts are plain and practical, and, for the most part, of a kind to be welcomed by all schools of Churchmen. One continually meets evidences, as one passes through the book, of the valuable ministerial traits mentioned by Dr. Wilkinson in his prefatory appreciation of his old curate, especially a strong and practical belief in God the Holy Ghost, and in the Christian's privilege of casting all anxieties upon God in prayer. To those who, in the days of his ministry, came into contact with the strong and devoted character whose thoughts are here presented to us, this volume will be very precious.

"*I Promise.*" *Talks on the Christian Endeavour Pledge.* By F. B. MEYER, B.A. The Sunday-School Union. Price 1s. Pp. 76.

From these practical "talks" we gather that the Christian Endeavour Pledge is a sort of Nonconformist substitute for the promise which the Church has long associated with the ordinance of Confirmation. The chapter on Prayer is particularly vigorous: "How often, missing the point of the injunction to pray in Christ's name, we pour in a pile of prayers into the Divine nature, much as an applicant for charity will pour a sackful of letters into the letter-box, hoping that some may bring a response, but not counting on more than, say, one in ten!" This is—saving the words "into the Divine nature"—an excellently wise warning. To minds trained in the English Church this little book will probably seem likely to produce in its readers, together with much that is ardent and progressive, an occasional disposition to sit down and review the personal situation, after the manner of "Little Jack Horner." Physical health is not most lovely when one frequently thumps his chest and exclaims, "How healthy I am!" and spiritual health is more attractive and better assured when it is partly unconscious and predominantly positive, and mainly engaged in delightful and dutiful living.

On the Nature of the Resurrection Body. By the Ven. J. HUGHES GAMES, D.C.L. James Nisbet and Co. Price 3s. 6d. Pp. 204.

This is a careful inductive treatise upon a subject which the great majority of educated Christian people seem to be content to leave in obscurity. After some useful preliminary considerations, the teaching of the Old and New Testaments, and especially that in 1 Cor. xv., is dealt with. This is followed by five chapters dealing with the "resurrection body." The two concluding chapters are concerned with the question of recognition of one another in the resurrection state, and the nature and conditions of life in the resurrection state. It is much to be desired that this very readable monograph on a great topic which is often seriously misunderstood, may be widely read.

Getting Ready for the Mission. By the Ven. Archdeacon DONNE, M.A. New Edition. With a Preface by Canon MASON, D.D. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Pp. 72.

Clergy who are preparing for a mission in their parishes will do well to familiarize themselves with these "suggestions." The preparation for a parochial mission is in most cases more important than the mission-preaching. It not only enhances the effectiveness of the preaching—that, after a while, may, however well prepared for and given, be forgotten, like anything else that is done for us; but the preparations—the plans, the prayers, the appeals—that spring up within the parish, that are, humanly speaking, the parish's own work, cannot fail, when they are earnestly undertaken, to leave results. Even in cases where, as the author of this book reminds us, missionaries have not kept the congregations that

were so eager to welcome them, it has sometimes been subsequently found that the long prayerful preparation for what seemed to be a failure has brought forth a harvest after the missionary's departure.

The Gospel in Baptism. By Rev. F. AUGUSTUS JONES. London: THOS. H. HOPKINS, 16, Gray's Inn Road. Pp. 128. Crown 8vo. Paper, 1s. net; cloth boards, 2s.

Mr. Jones has aimed, he tells us in his Preface, at writing a "devotional, not controversial," book. He has succeeded in writing a highly controversial book without acrimony. This is no small success in a volume which aims at showing that the majority of Christians are in error in regard to what is, for Mr. Jones, a truth that pervades the whole Gospel. This little book gives one the idea that in the mind of the author of "The Gospel in Baptism" there is nothing of great moment in the Christian religion unless it can be forced within the grasp of the distinctive "Baptist" formula. The circumstances described in Acts viii. 14-17, xix. 1-6, are, under this treatment, only allowed to sound the Baptist note, Confirmation and much besides being suppressed, in order that Baptism may have room and verge to swell to "Baptist" dimensions. The view of the body of Christians with which the writer appears to be connected is presented with clearness and an evident desire to be charitable.

The Doctrine of Justification according to Scripture and the Church of England. By the Rev. W. B. RUSSELL CALEY, M.A. Elliot Stock. Pp. 63.

The need, means, and effect of justification, and a comparison of the Anglican and Roman views regarding it, are put forward by Mr. Caley in a manner which some minds, at present disturbed by the "crisis" (which appears to have inspired this little volume), may find encouraging. The Dean of Norwich has written a warmly commendatory Introduction.

"Have I?" and other Sermons. By the Rev. WILLIAM ADAMSON. The Rock Office. Pp. 62.

These four earnest sermons on Jer. ii. 31, xv. 18, xv. 12, and Ps. xxxviii. 6 contain many quaint thoughts tellingly expressed. The poetical quotations—a couplet appears with almost unfailing regularity on each page—suggest the regular and conscientious use of a respectable Thesaurus.

A Manual of Intercession and Thanksgiving for the Work of the Church in the Colonies and Mission Field. By Two Priests of the Diocese of Ely. S.P.C.K.

A small volume "for those who pray and give thanks for the missionary work of the Church." It has met with the approval of a number of our Bishops, among them the Bishops of London, Lichfield, Bristol, and Wakefield.

Hereafter: an Essay on the Blessed Hope. By the Rev. W. Q. WARREN, M.A. Stock.

The object of the book is to support the view that for the Christian sudden death means sudden glory, and, therefore, that there is no room for any intermediate state. We do not think the author has proved, or indeed *can* prove, this; the whole tenor of Scripture appears to us antagonistic to Mr. Warren's view. And what are we to think when we are told (p. 61) that, inasmuch as we are now enjoying "the benefits of a temporal millennium," Satan is to be considered as at length "bound"? *Credat Judæus Apella!*

The Church's Opportunity, and other Essays. By the Rev. MORDAUNT CROFTON. Elliot Stock. Pp. 76.

Mr. Crofton writes as a member of the not inconsiderable party among the English clergy which is theologically "Broad," and politically "Liberal"—a party which, as, indeed, the writer of these Essays assures us, carefully disclaims the party style.

The essay which gives this little volume its title is an earnest onslaught on "Clericalism," "Church Toryism," "the policy of sectarianizing the National Church," and a plea for a proclamation by the Church of her social gospel.

Mr. Crofton seems to underrate the social value of ordinary parochial work, and to magnify sociology as the only form of wisdom that can win "the people," and to think that if the Anglican clergy "would be ardent social reformers—as they are bound to be as national Churchmen"—they could "rivet the Church into the hearts and consciences of their fellows." Only less striking than this sanguine view of possibilities is his sad but, we think, fanciful picture of the dull "other-worldliness" of the present custom-gripped race of clergy. There is a great deal of variety to be found among the English clergy.

"God First"; or, Hester Needham's Work in Sumatra. Her Letters and Diaries. Arranged by MARY ENFIELD. The Religious Tract Society. Pp. 320.

This is a remarkable record of the last seven years of a devoted life. Miss Needham had evidently remarkable social and intellectual gifts, all of which she consecrated with great willingness to the service of God and her sisters, first in London, then for these closing years, undeterred by much bodily weakness, in Sumatra. It is touching to read the affectionate appreciation which the late Miss Stock wrote as a Preface to this volume only two months before she herself was called to her rest.

The Articles of the Apostles' Creed. By Professor THEODORE ZAHN, D.D. (Erlangen). Hodder and Stoughton. Price 5s.

Professor Zahn is one of the foremost theologians of Germany. Next to Professor Harnack, author of that great monument of erudition "A History of Dogma," no writer on New Testament problems commands so wide a hearing as does he. To English people, who are constitutionally conservative, and dislike to go running after every new theory or fancy of any theological school, Professor Zahn is acceptable by reason of his massive learning, his sobriety of judgment, and his reverent adherence to the great doctrines of the Catholic faith. Accordingly, the present volume—a portion of which has already appeared in the *Expositor*—is sure to find a very warm welcome among English students. It is popular without being unscientific, scientific without being dull, learned without being pedantic. Not all modern criticism is destructive of the ancient acceptance of the Christian creed, and for that we are thankful. The trend of the best criticism of to-day is away from the negativism of the Tübingen school towards a just appreciation of the unalterable value of the traditionary belief.

The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews. By Rev. G. MILLIGAN, B.D. T. and T. Clark. Price 7s. 6d.

This is in every way an excellent piece of work, whether regarded from the critical, exegetical, or doctrinal standpoint. The author—rightly, we think—rejects the Pauline authorship; indeed, few commentators nowadays would venture to maintain it. He is content to admit that we do not know from whom this most majestic of all the New Testament writings proceeded. Bishop Westcott is surely justified

in claiming this anonymous Epistle as a positive witness to the spiritual wealth of the Apostolic age. This Epistle was no doubt written for a special purpose; but what we ought to note, in the light of the past experience of the Christian Church, is the wonderfully *universal* bearing of the Epistle, its immediate relation to modern life, the valuable sidelights it casts on many a present-day problem. Above all other claims upon our attention is the prominence given in this Epistle to Christ, not only as One who *was* the Son of man, and *lived* an earthly life, but as One who *is*, who *lives*, the Son of God, source of man's spiritual blessedness and hope. All this is admirably dwelt on and illustrated in Mr. Milligan's commentary.

Religion. By the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT. Longmans. Price 5s.

The "Oxford Library of Practical Theology" begins well. In many—very many—directions Canon Newbolt's essays on religion in its diverse aspects, which have been here co-ordinated and unified by reference to the fundamental signification of religion itself, are admirable. Due stress is laid on the fact that religion has a personal equation, looks to and derives strength from a Person; that it is an ideal possible to be realized in all life's concerns. Nor are the obstacles to religion inadequately disposed of; they are fairly met; and most eloquently does the writer emphasize the *need* of religion, as typified and glorified by Christianity, in the heart of every true man. In his chapter, however, dealing with the Church (and elsewhere in this book) Canon Newbolt reveals the weakness of his position: he claims for sacramental Christianity (if we may use the phrase) more than is legitimate. The leaven of Judaism is here working, and underlies all his arguments in favour of sacerdotalism. And that is *not* the religion of Christ.

Human Immortality: Two Supposed Objections to the Doctrine. By WILLIAM JAMES, Professor of Philosophy at Harvard University. Westminster: A. Constable and Co. Pp. 125.

This lecture—the Ingersoll Lecture for 1898—has many merits. Its author professes to lack the inspiration of keen personal interest, and to be pampered by a lay official uniform, and his opening words rather lead one to expect that his topic is to be used for a display of detached academic wit. But the lecture, as it proceeds, passes into climates of wistfulness and triumph, where it is difficult to recognise the gentleman who sighed, when he faced the footlights, for "a prophet clad in goat-skins" or some unofficial personage to take his duty off his hands. His plea for an escape from our soon-tired and saturated imaginations and sympathies to a vision of God's inexhaustible capacity for love, and His sympathy that can never know satiety or glut, is as warm-blooded and rapturous as anything that we should anticipate from the alternative in goat-skins. From the point of view of apologetic efficiency, perhaps the two chief virtues of this little book are its humble concentration of great force on only two objections, and its honest effort to demonstrate their essential subjectivity. The objections treated are (1) that based on the formula, "Thought is a function of brain," which Professor James is content to admit for the sake of argument; and (2) that relative to the intolerable number of beings which, if immortality be true, we must, with our modern reach of knowledge, believe to be immortal. The first objection is met by showing that it unreasonably confines "function" to productive, and excludes permissive and transmissive function, while the second is made to stand convicted as the paltry induction of a fatigued imagination and too narrowly limited sympathies.

Two important inferences that may fairly be drawn from Professor James's argument are (1) that "matter" should be regarded (as Mr. F.

C. S. Schiller has put it in his "Riddles of the Sphinx") as a machinery for regulating, limiting, and restraining the consciousness which it encases, rather than as that which produces and illuminates consciousness; and (2) that though our modern knowledge has given us a certain democratic conception, we still retain an aristocratic heart. Rationally, we have become persuaded that, if immortality be true, a numberless multitude—some of its members possibly arboreal in habits—must be styled immortals: but, practically, our sense of superiority to the rudimentary part of the crowd, and our desire for a more distinguished destiny than seems proper for our prehistoric forebears and some of our Australian contemporaries, make us refuse to stand candidates with them. The man of to-day who rejects the belief in immortality probably does so—this appears to be Professor James's contention—either because he does not see how he can reserve immortality for the types that his sympathies select, or because his imagination exercises an unfair influence upon his reason in view of a multitude which passes numbers. It is his imagination, not his reason, which makes him take his stand outside the hope of immortality.

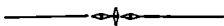
Professor James, and, we should add, Mr. Balfour and Mr. Illingworth, are entirely right in seeking to study and uncover the imaginative element in current unbelief.

An Apostle's Correspondence. By the Rev. H. G. D. LATHAM, M.A. S.P.C.K.

A pleasing little volume, dealing with the Pauline Epistles in an untechnical manner, which will be acceptable to the reader who wishes for information clearly put. The book consists of four chapters, and a brief appendix on the order and dates of the Epistles. The book may be recommended for use in schools.

True Limits of Ritual in the Church. Edited by the Rev. R. LINKLATER, D.D. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

This book contains learned and earnest discussions on various points of controversy by the editor, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, and the Revs. C. F. G. Turner, John Wylde, H. Arnott, T. A. Lacey, W. F. Cobb, and H. E. Hall. The main purport of the essays is to present the irreducible minimum that is acceptable to the Neo-Anglican party in the Church, although it is portrayed as a series of suggestions for agreement. The tone and temper of the book is admirable, and Mr. Hall's suggestions for a basis of agreement in matters liturgical and ceremonial in the final contribution are marked by much sobriety and common-sense. Having said so much, we must add regretfully that a permanent solution of our present difficulties does not seem probable on the lines indicated.



The Month.

THE Dreyfus trial is not expected to be finally closed and the verdict reached till August 31. The sensation of the hour in connection with this *cause célèbre* is the attempted assassination of M. Labori, Dreyfus's counsel, by some ruffian hired for the purpose. This attempt to frustrate justice is a scandal of the worst sort. Unhappily, too, it has become increasingly evident that the Court at Rennes is unfavourable to Dreyfus; hence an adverse verdict would not altogether come as a surprise. For the rest, not a tittle of real evidence against Dreyfus has

been brought forward, though there has been plenty of malicious gossip floating about.

The Paris correspondent of the *Times* has recently stated that the Russian Emperor is tired of the Throne, and contemplates abdicating. The Tzar is deeply vexed at the failure of the Peace Conference, for one thing; and, for another, he is a prey to melancholy, and regards the future with continual apprehensions. The story has not been confirmed; on the other hand, it has not been satisfactorily disposed of, official denials of the stereotyped kind going for very little.

The crisis in the Transvaal recently reached an acute state; but it is improbable that war will be declared, provided the Boers are firmly convinced of England's determination to carry her point. Any misunderstanding on this score, through apparent weakness on the part of one of our responsible statesmen, might bring things to a head at once.

The decision of the Archbishops was published on July 31 as to the "lawfulness of the liturgical use of incense and of processional lights." Both incense and lights are declared illegal. The grounds on which the Archbishops' decision is based are the obligations of every clergyman to use "the form in the Book of Common Prayer and none other," and the fact that the Book of Common Prayer does not, in fact, order liturgical incense and processional lights. Omission, some have tried to argue, is not prohibition. The Archbishops very justly waive aside such an attempt to evade a clear ruling, and their decision ends with the following earnest appeal to the clergy: "We have now given our decision as the Prayer-Book requires us to do. We entreat the clergy, for the sake of the peace of the Church, to accept our decision thus conscientiously given in the name of our Common Master, the Supreme Head of the Church."

The decision of the Archbishops is so eminently temperate, sane, and just, that we are not surprised it has called forth the commendation of all law-abiding Churchmen. The question now is, Will the decision be obeyed? A brief time may, indeed (as Sir Theodore Hope asks), be allowed to the "recalcitrants" to make up their minds on the point, but not too long a time. This would enable these clerics and their lay supporters to arrange for systematic rebellion. Sir William Harcourt, in his letter on the subject in the *Times* of August 8, very properly says that, in cases of obstinacy and disobedience, the offending clergyman should not be allowed the cheap martyrdom of a short imprisonment, but simply be deprived. "Deprivation, not imprisonment," ought to be writ large. We do not want the old errors of the Church Association repeated.

Anyhow, resistance would not only be illogical, but disastrous to the Church's peace and best interests. Also, it is abundantly clear, as the *Record* says, that the decision of the Archbishops is absolutely destructive of the Neo-Anglican position.

The Bishop of London has offered the living of Brompton, in succession to Prebendary Covington, to the Rev. A. W. Gough, Vicar of St. John's, Highbury Vale. This is an excellent appointment, and will be thoroughly appreciated. Mr. Gough is a powerful preacher, and a most able organizer and untiring worker.

The Bishop of Worcester has conferred the Hon. Canonry in Worcester Cathedral held by the late Canon Wilkinson upon the Rev. A. J. Robinson, his successor as Rector of Birmingham.

The Bible Society's ninety-fifth annual report has just been issued. We learn from it that there is a deficiency for the year of £4,769, but it is encouraging to find an increase of £3,579 in the free contributions from auxiliaries at home and abroad. It is also satisfactory to find the translation and revision work of the society continue to grow. Since its foundation in 1804, the society has issued copies of the Scriptures in 350 languages, to the total extent of 160,000,000.

The Keswick Convention this year has been larger than ever. The Bishop of Sierra Leone seems to have made a deep impression on those who heard him speak—not least on the young men who were present in considerable numbers. One of the practical results of the Keswick movement is seen in the great revival of interest both in Home and Foreign Missions. The special "missionary meetings" in connection with the Convention were addressed by Mr. Eugene Stock, the Bishop of Mombasa, and others.

The Bishop of Ripon recently unveiled a window which has been placed in Haslemere Parish Church as a memorial to the late Lord Tennyson, who lived for so many years in the neighbourhood. The subject of the window, which has been adapted from a design by the late Sir E. Burne-Jones, is "The Attainment," and represents Sir Galahad at the little chapel where the vision of the Holy Grail first comes to him. Behind him stands one of the Grail angels with a silver plate and a spear in his hands, and in the chapel is the Holy Grail on the altar with an angel kneeling behind it. Above is a crimson cloth, which is represented as having been removed from the Grail itself, and three drops of blood are dropping from it. Beneath the window is the following inscription: "To the glory of God, the inspirer of prophet and of poet, and in memory of Alfred, Lord Tennyson, Poet Laureate, in thankfulness for the music of his words and for that yet more excellent gift whereby, being himself schooled by love and sorrows, he had power to confirm in the hearts of many their faith in the things that are not seen, their hope of immortality, this window is dedicated to some friends and neighbours in Haslemere in the year of our Lord, MDCCCXCIX."

A preliminary meeting of the committee formed to promote a memorial to Simon de Montfort at Evesham, has been held at Worcester. It is proposed to erect an equestrian figure in aluminium, on a suitable base and under a canopy, on the spot where Simon de Montfort was buried—that is, close to where once stood the high altar of Evesham Abbey, of which there is now no trace. Permission has been obtained from the owner of the land Mr. E. Charles Rudge, who is lord of the manor, and Mr. R. A. Briggs, F.R.I.B.A., has been appointed architect. The monument is estimated to cost about £2,500.

The University Extension Summer Meeting was opened at Oxford early in August, nearly a thousand students being present. An inaugural address was delivered by the Hon. G. C. Brodrick, Warden of Merton College, who took as his subject "Half a Century of University History," and said that on the whole the University was worthier of preservation and of higher value than ever in our democratic and utilitarian age.

News has been received at the Royal Geographical Society that the section of the famous mpundu tree at Chitambos which marked the place where Dr. Livingstone died has been successfully removed by Mr. Codrington, the Deputy-Administrator of Northern Rhodesia, and will be sent to England for preservation.

The Wesleyan Conference has now received the report of the Twentieth Century Fund. Of the million guineas hoped for 669,214 have been promised. Almost every circuit has now been organized for the purpose of the fund.

DONATIONS AND BEQUESTS.

The Church Pastoral Aid Society has received a donation of £500 and one of £250 from two friends of the society.

By his will Mr. Thomas Lockwood, of Bilton House, Harrogate, who died on April 11, aged ninety-two, bequeathed to the Church Pastoral Aid Society, the Church Missionary Society, the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, the Clergy Daughters' School at Casterton, the Poor Clergy Relief Corporation, the Clergy Orphan Corporation, the S.P.G., the Victoria Clerical Aid Society, and the Church of England Central Society for Providing Homes for Waifs and Strays, £2,000 each. Besides these munificent bequests, Mr. Lockwood allotted to the Vicar of Bradford for a mission-house, £1,000; to the Mayor of Harrogate and the Vicars of the parish churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's, £2,000 in trust to apply the income for the benefit of the poor of those two parishes; and to the Vicar of Almondbury, Huddersfield, and the churchwardens of Christ Church, Sinthwaite, near Huddersfield, £1,000 to increase the endowment of Christ Church, Sinthwaite, upon condition that the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty or the Ecclesiastical Commissioners shall contribute a like amount.

The long-delayed volume "Church and Faith," which Messrs. Blackwood are publishing, will definitely be published in September, in time for the Church Congress (which begins on October 9). Two fresh writers have consented to contribute to its pages—Sir Richard Temple and the Lord Bishop of Hereford, who is to write the preface.

Until lately it was supposed that no sound text of the apocryphal Book of Ecclesiasticus existed. The rendering generally in use was the result of Rabbinical versions and quotations pieced together. Recent discoveries have brought much of the original Hebrew to light; and the result is now given us by the Cambridge University Press. Dr. Schechter, of London University, and Dr. Taylor, of Cambridge, edit this most interesting publication. It seems that the MSS. that enabled its preparation were found at Cairo.

Messrs. Methuen announce for early publication the Bampton Lectures for 1899, by Rev. W. R. Inge, M.A. The title of the book will be "Christian Mysticism."

Messrs. Macmillan and Co. announce for publication in October the first number of their new quarterly to be called the *Journal of Theological Studies*. It will be edited by Mr. C. H. Turner, of Magdalen College, Oxford, with the assistance of Rev. Dr. Barnes, of Peterhouse, Cambridge. An editorial committee, comprising all the divinity professors of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, with Dr. Robertson, Principal of King's College, London, and Canon Armitage Robinson, will exercise a general supervision of the periodical, which is intended not only to be a serviceable organ of communication between students of theology, but also to appeal to those who, without being professed students, yet take a keen interest in Biblical and theological studies.

NEW PUBLICATIONS, ETC.

- Authority and Archaeology: Sacred and Profane.* Edited by D. G. HOGARTH, M.A. Murray. 16s.
- [Includes contributions from the Editor; Professor S. R. Driver; F. Ll. Griffith, M.A.; Rev. A. C. Headlam, B.D.; Professor E. A. Gardner; F. Haverfield, M.A., F.S.A.]
- Naturalism and Agnosticism* (Gifford Lectures. 1896-98). By Professor JAMES WARD, Sc.D. A. and C. Black. Two volumes. 18s. net.
- From Comte to Benjamin Kidd.* By Rev. R. MACKINTOSH, D.D. Macmillan. 8s. 6d. net.
- Physiology and Life.* By Professor HUGO MÜNSTERBERG. Constable. 6s. net.
- The Sources of Archbishop Parker's Collection of MSS., at Corpus College, Cambridge.* By M. R. JAMES, Litt.D. Bell and Son. Price 5s.
- The Archbishops' Decision as to the Liturgical Use of Incense and the Lawfulness of Carrying Lights in Procession.* Delivered at Lambeth Palace, July 31, 1899. Macmillan. Price 1s. net.
- A Constitutional and Political History of Rome.* By T. M. TAYLOR, M.A. Methuen. Price 7s. 6d.
- Destination, Date, and Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews.* By H. H. B. AYLES. Cambridge University Press. Price 5s.

 Obituary.

WE regret to have to record the death, at the age of fifty-six, of the Right Rev. Daniel Lewis Lloyd, seventy-first Bishop of Bangor, who retired from office only last year. He was a brilliant educationalist, a finished Welsh scholar, and a man of power and energy. Unfortunately he suffered from ill-health for some years past, and this was the cause of his resigning the Bishopric of Bangor, which he had only held for eight years. He was one of the most remarkable Welshmen of his generation.

The diocese of Lincoln has lost one of its best-known clergy in the person of the Rev. Canon Arthur Robert Pennington, who died on the 19th inst., at Utterby, near Louth, aged eighty-five. He graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, as eighth Junior Opt. in 1838. After serving as curate of St. Peter's, Colchester; St. James's, Walthamstow; and St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, he was presented forty-five years ago to the vicarage of Utterby, which he occupied till his death. In 1882 Bishop Christopher Wordsworth made him a prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral. He was a considerable writer on subjects connected with the Reformation. His "Life of Erasmus" appeared in 1875, and he published a biography of John Wycliffe in connection with the Wycliffe commemoration of 1884. His latest work, "The Papal Conclaves," was issued when he was eighty-three years of age.

Among recent deaths we have to record those of Professor A. B. Bruce, of the Free Church College, Glasgow, well known for his apologetic and other works on the Christian religion, and of Dr. David Johnson, ex-Professor of Biblical Criticism, Aberdeen. Dr. Bruce was in his sixty-ninth year, and was one of the chief representatives in Scotland of the *Vermittelungs Theologie*. He was Gifford Lecturer at Glasgow in 1897-98, when he delivered his discourses on "The Providential Order of the World."

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