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A table of contents for *The Churchman* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_churchman_os.php

THE
CHURCHMAN

OCTOBER, 1891.

ART. I.—EXTREME CRITICISM AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

IT is surely time that some sort of protest were raised against the audacity of a certain kind of criticism, and a warning given as to its inevitable consequences. Of course, it must be premised that, supposing the criticism to be valid and sound, it would be folly to talk of its consequences. "Buy the truth, and sell it not," is a maxim of unimpeachable wisdom, and we do not believe that, truth being good in itself, the consequences of truth can be other than good likewise. But it is time to ask, What is the function of criticism, and what are its necessary limits? Is it the function of criticism to throw overboard all the harvest of the past, and to start afresh without a rudder or a compass on the ocean of unlimited speculation? Because, if that is so, then it is absolutely certain that we can be certain of nothing else, and our knowledge will chiefly consist in knowing that there is nothing that we can know. The course that criticism is now taking with regard to the Old Testament is of a revolutionary and subversive character, and it is based on principles no less imaginary and subjective. When the bulk of the Psalms are relegated to the Maccabæan period, and all, or nearly all, the narrative portions of the Bible regarded as not historically true, it is surely time to ask, What are the grounds for these assumptions? and if they can be substantiated, what do they leave us? Is it only in the loss of antiquarian interest that the narratives of David and Elijah suffer if they are regarded as Greek or Roman myths? Is it only an unreal and imaginary value of which the Psalms are deprived if, instead of being supposed to be David's, they are assigned to the period of the Maccabees? Because, if this is so, we may perhaps console ourselves for what we lose by per-

suading ourselves that we have laid hold on truth. But is it so? and is it possible to determine whether or not it is so? As Bishop Butler says, "there is a presumption of millions to one against the story of Cæsar or of any other man"; and judged in this way, there is, of course, a presumption of millions to one against the story of David or Elijah. But as he also says, this presumption is nevertheless "overcome by almost any proof"; and the proof of the story of David and Elijah lies in the character of the records in which it is contained. The evidence for the story of David is interwoven in the national literature; and if we choose to except such a narrative as that of his encounter with Goliath, which stands alone, and is not confirmed in the same way by reference and allusion, it is, nevertheless, arbitrary to do so. For what is the rational course in such a matter? We must either say that this narrative throws discredit on the rest of the books of Samuel in which it is contained, or that the general character of these books is our voucher for the credibility of that narrative. It would seem, therefore, that this narrative cannot stand or fall merely on its own merits, but it must depend upon our estimate of the records at large. To reject these records on *a priori* grounds, however, is not worthy of the name of criticism, but is rather to be deemed prejudice or presumption. Undoubtedly the story of Elijah or of David's conflict with the giant is in the highest degree improbable in itself—it does not pretend to be otherwise; but if on this ground only it is to be rejected, it is hard to say what history may not in like manner be condemned whenever it transgresses the narrow line that separates the probable from the improbable.

The previous question we have to answer is, What is our general estimate of the documents in which these records are contained? If they are to be treated on the same footing as the mythical records of other early nations, then, of course, their doom is sealed; but it is not sealed by criticism, but by prejudging the question at issue. There is ground for distinguishing between the Scripture records and the corresponding records of other nations, and on that ground their testimony comes to us with higher claims upon our acceptance; but if these claims are not admitted, we have already foreclosed the question which was brought into the debate. The real question is, Have we valid ground for treating the Scripture narrative as an exception to other records which make similar demands on our credulity? For example, have we any valid ground for making a distinction between the stories of Herodotus and Livy, and the marvellous narratives in the books of Samuel and Kings? This must largely depend upon whether we approach them in the spirit of belief

or unbelief. The stories in Herodotus and Livy rest simply and solely upon the authority of those who relate them. There are no subsidiary reasons which render them credible. Now, in the case of the Old Testament it is quite different. The New Testament is, to a large extent, our voucher for the Old. We mainly receive the Old on the authority of the New; and the essential difficulty in the case of the New Testament is one which has already presented itself and been surmounted in the New. For this difficulty is neither more nor less than the difficulty of the marvellous, the miraculous, and the supernatural. It is not one book of the New Testament, but it is virtually all, in which this difficulty confronts us. For nearly every one of the Epistles practically assumes that basis of miracle for which the Gospels and the Acts are our direct authorities. The question, therefore, really turns upon whether or not we are believers. For it is impossible to believe in the New Testament and not accept a foundation of miracle. It is impossible to believe in Christ and not believe in His resurrection. It is impossible to believe in His resurrection and not believe in miracle; and it is impossible to believe in miracle and to decline to believe on that ground in the rest of the Gospel history. And if we believe in the general framework of the Gospel history, we cannot consistently reject narratives which were as sacred to the writers of the New Testament as their own narratives are to us, and which are at once raised to a higher position in the scale of credibility on account of their relation to the New Testament, and to the message of the New Testament, which is inseparably interwoven with the miraculous and the supernatural.

The very central fact of Christ being the Mediator of a Divine message, which is that of the New Testament, presupposes an essential miracle which not only opens the door to series of other miracles, but is not itself to be conceivably substantiated without them. If, therefore, in the Old Testament we meet with such narratives as those of David and Elijah, we cannot treat them with no more deference than we do those of Herodotus or Livy, because, in consequence of our acceptance of the central message of the New Testament, they stand upon a different footing from the first. It may be a matter of uncertainty how far they are able to endure the critical tests which on other grounds we apply to them; but there is unquestionably strong *a priori* ground for accepting them as we have received them. If, for example, the narratives can be shown to be absolutely contradictory in certain details, this must of necessity tend to modify our estimate of them so far. But even here two facts have to be borne in mind—first, that apparent contradictions may con-

ceivably be capable of complete explanation if we were acquainted with all the circumstances; and secondly, it may be a question how far the essential truth of any narrative may be vitiated or destroyed by inconsistency in matters of detail. It seems, then, that there are sufficient reasons for withholding our unfeigned assent to some of the more audacious of the assertions of that which arrogates to itself the exclusive right to the name of criticism.

But there is another and further question which demands our careful consideration, and this is, how far the acceptance of the more extreme, unconditional, and arbitrary assertions of criticism is consistent with a corresponding hearty acceptance of the Gospel message. And here I am disposed to think it will be found that the same spirit which rejects the Old Testament record on presumably critical grounds of a slender and subjective character, will, in all consistency, be compelled before long to reject also the narrative of our Lord's miracles, and will find itself unable to stop at that of His own resurrection. We have heard it asserted that the parable of Dives and Lazarus is no part of our Lord's teaching. Then, I would ask, how do we know that the conversation with Nicodemus really took place, or yet more, supposing it did not take place, how can we be quite sure that we can treat the statement in John iii. 16 as anything else than an unauthorized and ideal statement on the part of the writer of the Fourth Gospel? There can be no possible interest for *Christians* to open such questions as these, which it is simply impossible to close. Nay, more; if we are to withhold our belief in the narratives of the crucifixion or the resurrection till we have succeeded in making such a harmonious adjustment of those narratives as will commend itself to the universal acceptance of mankind, one thing, at least, is certain, that we shall never become believers. Thus the question really resolves itself into an antecedent one, What, and how much, are we to believe? There is absolutely no point at which we may not apply the solvent of destructive criticism, because there is no point at which we may not say, "I will not, and cannot, believe this or that." For ourselves, we are disposed to adopt a more earnest and practical view of the matter. With us it is not so much a question how much or how little shall we believe, but, rather, how shall we believe in the central and essential message of Scripture in such a way that we may have valid and substantial ground for "joy and peace in believing"? God knows there is enough to test faith and to strain it to the point of breaking, whether on the broadest or the narrowest basis. God knows there is sufficient reason, which may be stated with great cogency, for disbelieving everything, even the being and nature of God

Himself. And God knows also that this is the special trial of our age, which in this respect strongly resembles that of which our Lord said, "Nevertheless, when the Son of man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?" There is doubtless a melancholy satisfaction in finding out our own and other people's mistakes; but there will, one could imagine, be little pleasure in discovering that we have made the great mistake of all. And the great mistake of all is to convince ourselves and others that there is so much cause for disbelieving the whole environment of truth, that we come to disbelieve even the truth itself. It is unquestionably more important and more blessed, in an age of general uncertainty and unbelief, to get people to rally round the standard of the Cross and to help them to believe to the saving of the soul, than it is to show that there is less ground than we thought there was for believing any one of the articles of the Christian faith, that some are certainly less certain than others, and that so many are uncertain that we can scarcely be sure of any. Above all, it seems to be more than ever necessary to remind the younger clergy, and those who are contemplating admission to the office of the ministry, that one of the preliminary questions which they must answer before they are ordained, and to which, it is to be presumed, they will never as long as they continue to hold their orders give any answer but one, is this: "Do you unfeignedly believe all the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament?" and the answer is: "I do believe them."

STANLEY LEATHES.



ART. II.—ARCHBISHOP TAIT.

PART II.

THE simple and straightforward extract from the diary of Archbishop Tait, written immediately after his reception of a letter from Lord Palmerston offering him the See of London, must make a most favourable impression upon everyone who reads it. There is evidence of a natural misgiving, but at the same time it is clear that a strict sense of duty, so remarkable a feature during the whole of Tait's career, determined him to accept an office which he had not coveted, but which all his friends thought him well fitted to adorn. The letters received from Dean Stanley, the present Master of Balliol, Lords Lingen and Coleridge, and from a very different man, Mr. Golightly, must have brought to the mind of Tait an almost overwhelming sense of the responsibility he was about to

undertake. It is most interesting to note the great thankfulness expressed by Dr. Hook, arising from the conviction that Tait was a just man. Bishop Cotton, who was at that time Headmaster of Marlborough, in the consecration sermon, dwelt with special fervour on the greatness of the issues before the Church of England in the coming conflict against sin and misbelief. Indeed, it may be said that that remarkable discourse seemed almost predictive of the independent and moderate position which the Bishop at once assumed. Lord Shaftesbury, who had been alarmed at the nomination of Dr. Stanley to be the examining chaplain of the new Bishop, after hearing a sermon at St. James's, Piccadilly, expressed his earnest wishes for his future success. He began his career in London with the hearty good wishes of all who desired to see the great work of Bishop Blomfield extended and promoted.

The record of the first few years of his episcopate shows in a striking manner how desirable it is that an English Bishop should possess parochial experience. With every anxiety to be just and temperate in his dealings with all sections of opinion, it is certain that Bishop Tait did not at once fully gain the confidence of clergy and laity. He had real sympathy with the difficulties of the ministry, but he had not the power of expressing, as some well-known Prelates have had, his sense of the reality of the struggle, which so often almost overwhelms men who are oppressed with the burdens of populous parishes. He was certainly often tried by perverse obstinacy, where he might have looked for a conciliatory disposition. It is easy to be critical about the conduct of such matters as the long contest in St. George's-in-the-East, and every allowance must be made for a Prelate new to his duties. It is impossible, however, to help wishing that the Bishop had taken a somewhat different view of the situation. Two or three sermons preached by him in St. George's might in the early days of the struggle have allayed the violent rancour which took such unpleasant and revolutionary forms.

In 1858, two years after his consecration, the primary Charge to the diocese of London gave distinct evidence of the Bishop's independent attitude. He grappled successfully with the difficult problems of the day, and, in the words of Archbishop Whately, showed that he had "something to say, and was resolved to say it."

Canon Benham and Bishop Davidson have put the whole question of the "Essays and Reviews" and the Colenso controversy fully before the public. The letters which the Bishop of London received, his modest and manly replies, his anxiety to preserve old friendship, and yet to maintain unflinchingly his own position, combine to produce—we have no

hesitation in saying—a vivid picture of a mind bent upon preserving the real proportions of belief and Church order, and yet maintaining the proper liberty of a comprehensive National Church. It is perfectly clear that the Bishop saw the mistake which two of the Essayists had made, in associating themselves with men who had exceeded all reasonable bounds. When the famous Judgment was pronounced, Bishop Tait was subjected to many hard blows. It was entirely forgotten that some of the most objectionable sentences in the productions of Williams and Wilson had been softened or explained in their defence. Doubtless there was much to excuse the general panic and consternation, and the whole tone of the volume of "Essays and Reviews" was certainly not likely to disarm opposition. We are not prepared to defend every individual utterance made by the Bishop at this time, but we think that all impartial persons will pronounce a verdict in his favour. It was a time of real difficulty, and in the preface to a volume of sermons put forth by the Bishop there are calm and assuring words, which show how completely he saw the necessity for a reasonable judgment, and, it may be added, a suspense as to the issues of the Inspiration question. In the diary of 1860, Bishop Tait records some words of Bishop Thirlwall's in his famous letter to Dr. Rowland Williams: "I have for many years studied these difficulties attentively. I have felt their full force. I know all that has been written about them in Germany. I believe they are vanity and folly." Archbishop Tait made no pretension to deep acquaintance with German theology, but on more than one occasion he has been known to refer to these words of Bishop Thirlwall, as reassuring thoughts to those who were tempted to surrender themselves at discretion into the hands of the last theorist regarding the Fourth Gospel, or the origin of the Pentateuch.

We have no intention of entering upon the difficult questions arising out of Bishop Colenso's deposition, and the consequent action of Bishop Gray. The great length at which this subject has been treated in "Bishop Gray's Life," and in Sir G. Cox's "Memoirs of Bishop Colenso," made it, perhaps, necessary for the writers of Archbishop Tait's life to enter into considerable detail. The action of the Archbishop was much misunderstood at the time. He desired to postpone the hour when the link would be loosened which united the Churches of the colonies to the Church at home. But from the very first he made it clear that he had no sympathy with Bishop Colenso's views. The present difficulties as to the bishopric of Natal must lead, we think, even the warmest admirers of Bishop Gray's action to wish that there had been a little less haste in the formation of the See of Maritzburg,

and a little more of the caution to which at the time was given the hard name of Erastianism.

Popular delusions as to the ease and comfort of a Bishop's position in these days must, we think, be entirely dispelled when the account of Tait's labours in London and at Canterbury is read. The demands now made on a Bishop of the Church of England are enormous. The fatiguing routine duties largely subtract from the exercise of the judicial faculty so often in these times imperatively needed. In spite of feeble health, the Archbishop threw his whole soul into his work, and won from all who knew him the same admiration which was yielded to Sumner and Wilberforce.

The account of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church seems to us remarkably well done. We are glad that portions of the very important speech which made a deep impression on the country find a place in these pages. Although some were of opinion that the Bill might have been rejected by the House of Lords, we are inclined to think that the course adopted was, on the whole, the wisest. A prolonged agitation might have greatly injured the future of the Irish Church. The Archbishop was consistent to the last. The concurrent endowment which he had advocated many years before in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review* was proposed as an amendment to the Bill by the late Duke of Cleveland. The Archbishop gave the amendment his support, and experienced accordingly the wrath of many Protestant friends. Time works wonders, and not a few of those who have steadily opposed all concessions to Romanism in Ireland now readily admit that the evil influence of the Romish priesthood over the peasantry would certainly be lessened if some means could be found whereby their subsistence might be made more independent of the alms of their flocks.

After a severe illness in 1869 the Archbishop contemplated immediate retirement. It was certainly, however, well that he yielded to the pressure of friends, and delayed his resignation until a winter in a warmer climate had been tried. The experiment was successful, and we find him in 1871 giving thanks for his recovery in Lambeth Palace chapel, when his two brothers and his three sisters were able to be present: "a remarkable gathering," he says in his diary, "seeing how old and frail we all are."

The characteristic caution and love of moderation which distinguished him are seen to great advantage during the prolonged discussions which took place in 1871 on the subject of the Athanasian Creed. The Archbishop was placed, as usual, between two hot fires. Dean Stanley, it is well known, took one side with more than his usual vehemence. Dr. Liddon

threatened to resign his preferment if any alteration in the position of the Creed were attempted. The whole of the correspondence on this subject ought to be calmly studied and reviewed by all who have the interest of the Church of England at heart. The time has not, perhaps, yet come, but come it certainly will, when a movement declaring the Creed to be unsuitable for use in the public service of the Church will be found to be irresistible. A petition which was signed at the time by such men as Bishop Barry, Bishops Thorold and Moorhouse, Archdeacon Hessey, Mr. Kempe, of St. James's, and the late Canon Capel Cure, somewhat startled the Convocation of 1870, and the result was the declaration which probably satisfies only a very few. The conduct of the Archbishop from first to last showed him at his best. His own convictions were unaltered, but he was content to adopt the second-best alternative in the interests of peace.

Year by year the real statesmanlike ability of the Archbishop gathered strength. He was a great person in the House of Lords. It has been said of him that he really possessed the gift of winning votes in a most remarkable way. He had not the commanding eloquence of Wilberforce and Magee, but the same moral persuasion which gained for Lord Althorp the confidence of both sides in the House of Commons seems to have been enjoyed by Archbishop Tait in the House of Lords. Few passages in his life have been more canvassed and criticised than his conduct in the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act. We think that, upon the whole, the judgment of the Bishop of Rochester as to the real nature of the legislation of 1874 will be confirmed by all fair-minded persons. The Act in its final form differed much from the outline which had been approved by the majority of the English bench some months before. The principle, however, for which the Archbishop contended remained the same. It is quite true that it was "not the measure itself which pinched, but the resolution to have a measure, and to have it without delay." It is quite possible that the whole question might have been postponed to a more convenient season, and that it might have been well if the Convocations had been consulted. Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln, in a speech which commanded considerable attention at the time, declared his opinion that it was the manner of introduction of the Bill which had aroused opposition. The Archbishop himself was somewhat impatient as to details, and was hardly aware of the strong feeling which the procedure excited in the minds of many of the clergy. The imprisonment of some clergy, who refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the new court, was, to say the least, unfortunate. "As a matter of fact, there had, during the sixteen

years since the Act was passed, been only seven or eight prosecutions in all under its provisions. The clamour which these have caused has led many people to imagine that they have been, at least, ten times as numerous."

We turn to pleasanter topics. The extracts from the diary of 1874 give evidence of the Archbishop's interest in the ordination of his promising son; and, indeed, there is hardly a page in the diary of this and the succeeding years which it would be possible to spare. It is not easy for a hard-working Bishop to keep up his interest in current literature and theology, but Archbishop Tait seems to have had a wonderful power of turning from the grave occupations of his life to the thoughts of the men who were influencing public opinion. His criticisms on books are always worth reading, and the expression of his desire for a nearer and closer walk with God are stamped with reality. The shadow of sorrow again overtook him. The narrative of the death of his son and wife has been told by the Archbishop himself. The twenty-seventh chapter of the second volume contains some additions to that well-known narrative, and will deepen the feeling which was excited by the publication of the Archbishop's memoir.

It has often been said, and we think most unjustly, that the Archbishop had a fixed resolve to "stamp out ritualism." It is perfectly true that he could hardly bring himself to think seriously of the details of the ritual controversy; and the account which is given of his real attitude in the life we believe to be entirely correct. He was no persecutor, but what he did really most of all desire was that the clergy should be able to face the great questions of the day, and that the principle of authority should be wisely and firmly maintained. We believe that these volumes will be of inestimable service to the largely-increasing body of clergy and laity, who are sick of the details of litigation, and who long to see the Church free to do her great work without let or hindrance. The career of the Archbishop was, upon the whole, a great success. Bishop Moberly, one of the fairest and most judicious of critics, in the last sermon which he preached in Salisbury Cathedral, said that he believed to the last ten years of Archbishop Tait's primacy it was mainly owing that the question of Disestablishment had been indefinitely postponed. We have not left ourselves time to speak of the delightful traits of character on which Bishop Davidson dwells with loving appreciation. The humour, the kindness which never lost a friend, the unflinching sympathy in sorrow and bereavement, the real, true, unaffected piety of the daily life, make the close of these volumes intensely interesting. We cannot resist extracting a reminiscence of the venerable Bishop Whipple, of Minnesota, of a visit paid at Fulham in

the year 1864. "One night," he says, "as I was sitting in my room, Bishop Tait rapped at the door, and came in to ask me some question about a recent conversation. As he was leaving again, I said, 'Will you pardon me if I ask you a question? I know your theological views. Why do you permit the ritualism of those clergy in East London?' I shall never forget the deep feeling he showed, as with tears in his eyes he answered, 'Bishop, those men realize that those poor lost souls can be saved, and that our blessed Lord is their Saviour as He is ours. Who am I, to meddle with such work as they are doing, in the way they think best, for those who are going down to death?'" alluding, of course, to Mr. Lowder and his colleagues.

The account of the last weeks of the Archbishop's life will bear comparison with the close of Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, or Dean Stanley's account of the last day of Dr. Arnold. The letter from Dean Lake, one of his oldest friends, gives an admirable summary of the chief points in the Archbishop's character, and in his closing words we think all impartial persons will agree: "When we think of the manner in which, born and bred in a different communion, he gradually learned, in a time of great difficulty, to understand and even to sympathize with all the varieties of the English Church, and of his constantly increasing determination to do justice to them all—a determination which, I believe, would have gone much further if his life had been preserved; and when we remember his strong hold on the laity, no less than upon the affection and respect of the clergy, I cannot help believing that, in the opinion of all parties, very few Archbishops of Canterbury have for centuries discharged the duties of that great post with so much dignity, ability, and devotion."

We have already expressed our opinion as to the way in which Canon Benham and the Bishop of Rochester have done their work. We have only to add that the volumes are remarkably free from the indiscreet allusions to individuals which have unfortunately disfigured the pages of some recent biographies. We should like to see in future editions a passage in a letter of Bishop Waldegrave's omitted, which seems to reflect unfairly on the character of an amiable and excellent man, who, had his health permitted, would have been foremost in making his cathedral what Bishop Waldegrave desired it to be.

G. D. BOYLE.



ART. III.—THE MILTON MANUSCRIPT.

EVERY visitor who is shown the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, has his attention called, as a matter of course, to a small folio MS. enshrined in solitary state in a glass case of its own. This is the famous Milton MS., in some respects the most precious treasure of the Library.

Before I proceed to give any account of the MS. itself, it will be necessary to speak at some length of the way in which it is believed to have come into the possession of Trinity College, with which, it will be remembered, Milton was in no way connected, having been educated at Christ's College.

There is some doubt attaching to some of the details, but the broad outline of the story—resting in part on a kind of tradition, and in part on documentary evidence—is roughly this: There was a certain Sir Henry Newton, who took the name of Puckering on succeeding to his uncle's estates. Sir Henry's father was Sir Adam Newton, created a baronet by James I., who had been tutor to Henry, Prince of Wales, the elder brother of Charles I. He was a member of the University of Cambridge, and took the degree of Hon. M.A. in 1632, but no college is appended to his name in the registrar's book. His only son, Henry Puckering, was educated at Trinity College, and took his B.A. degree in 1657, but died in his father's lifetime. Naturally, therefore, the college would acquire a deep though melancholy interest in the bereaved father's eyes, and one can feel no surprise that, in the absence of any natural heir, he made a gift to the college of the rich and varied contents of his library.

It is traditionally stated—though I have failed to find any actual evidence for the assertion in the college books—that, in his old age, Sir Henry came into residence at Trinity, for the sake of the learned society and the use of the libraries. It is, however, a fact that in 1691 he gave a large collection of books to the college; whether this was his whole collection or whether a further collection came subsequently by way of bequest, I am unable to say. Sir Henry died in the year 1700, at the age of 83.

In the college account-book for the year 1690-91, occurs a charge of £10 paid to "Mr. Laughton [then and for many years after University Librarian, and previously, 1679-82, Librarian of the college] . . . for his paines in ordering y^e Bookes given to our Library by Sir Henry Puckering *alias* Newton." Curiously enough, there follows what seems rather an inordinate amount—£5 7s. 6d. to "Sir Henry Puckering's gentleman."

We have reason to believe that, in some way or other, various papers of Milton had come into Sir Henry Puckering's possession, and so passed into the library, but, anyhow, their existence in the library was for some time quite unsuspected. The story of the discovery is told in a short Latin note pasted at the beginning of the volume. According to this, the various loose papers containing Milton's handwriting ("miserè disjecta et passim sparsa") were by chance discovered by one of the Fellows of the college, Charles Mason,¹ and subsequently, it would seem, suitably bound ("ea, qua decuit, Religione servari voluit") by Thomas Clarke, also Fellow of the college, and afterwards Master of the Rolls. The note is dated 1736, so that, unless the binding by Clarke was long subsequent to the discovery by Mason, the MS. may have lain unnoticed in the library for hard upon forty years.

We must now proceed to speak in detail of the contents of the MS. The first three pages are occupied with the "Arcades": here Milton originally wrote the heading, "Part of a Maske," but subsequently put, "Arcades Part of an entertainment at" The blank is in the original, showing that Milton, when he wrote this heading, had no special place in his mind. The "Arcades" was actually presented at Harefield to the Countess Dowager of Derby.

Mr. Sotheby, in his "Ramblings in Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton," justly points out that in all probability this is a very early poem of Milton's, because, on a later page of the MS. (p. 6) occurs what is doubtless the original draft of the sonnet written when he attained the age of 23. As showing how fluctuating English spelling was, even in the time of Milton, it is curious in the first line of this sonnet to note the spelling, "suttle theefe."

Pages 4 and 5 are occupied with the poem, "At a Solemn Musick." As evidence of Milton's minute care in revising his diction again and again, it is worth noting that the whole poem is written out, with sundry variations, three times, and the concluding lines four times. I subjoin the wording and the actual spelling of the earliest draft of the four:

That we, with undiscording hart and voice,
May rightly answere that melodious noise.
By leaving out those harsh chromatick jarres
Of sin, that all our music marres,
And in our lives and in our song
May keepe in time with heaven till God ere long!
To his celestiaall consort us unite,
To live and sing with him in ever endless light.

The last expression Milton seems to have found it hard to

¹ B.A., 1722.

make up his mind definitely about. He has also written by the side, "ever glorious," "uneclipsed," "never parting," etc. None of these equal his final wording, "endless morn of light."

To the poem "On Time," which occurs on page 8, is added the note, "Set on a clock-case." On the following page are three sonnets. The heading to the first of these, as written by an amanuensis, originally ran: "On his Dore, when y^e Citty expected an Assault"; but this is altered by Milton himself into "when y^e Assault was intended to y^e City, 1642." The next is the one known in printed editions as that "To a Virtuuous Young Lady," but which has no heading in the MS. The last line of this sonnet, which now runs, "Passes to bliss at the mid-hour of night," previously stood, "Opens the dore of bliss that hour of night." The third sonnet is that to Lady Margaret Ley; and then followed three blank pages, followed again (pp. 13-29) by "Comus." It must be observed that the name "Comus" is no part of the title here, or in the printed editions of 1637, 1645, or 1673: It is simply "A Maske, 1634." The only remarks I propose to make in reference to the text of "Comus" are in connection with the concluding song, "To the ocean now I fly." This is given in two forms in the MS., the earlier one being crossed out. Between the two recensions we find a considerable amount of difference. The four lines, "Along the crisped shades . . . all their bounties bring," and the twelve lines, "Waxing well of his deep wound . . . so Jove hath sworn," are additions in the later text; there are also several rearrangements of the text, and details of wording were constantly changed.

After line 4, there originally stood two lines, which now appear in an altered form near the end of the poem:

[. . . of the skie,
Farre beyond the earth's end,
Where the welkin low doth bend.

Milton seems to have wavered between the epithets "low" and "cleere," though it will be remembered that he ultimately wrote "slow." For "Hesperus and his daughters three" another wording was, "Atlas and his neeces three." For the "purpled scarf" previously stood "watchet scarfe"; and the following line, which now stands, "And drenches with Elysian dew," was at first "And drenches oft with manna-dew." This was altered into "And drenches with Sabæan dew," and ultimately into its present form. One more example from this poem will suffice: the line, "Where young Adonis oft reposes," has replaced "Where many a cherub soft reposes."

In the MS. the "Comus" is followed by the "Lycidas," with the date November, 1637: It occupies two complete pages,

and also fills both sides of the following torn leaf. The first fourteen lines have been written out twice, and so, too, have the lines, "Bring the rathe primrose . . . where Lycid lies." This piece was evidently an after-thought, and is written on a blank space, with a reference to the place where it is to be inserted. It will be seen that there is a good deal of difference between the two recensions of this passage. The earlier one, which has been crossed out, runs thus :

Bring the rathe primrose, that unwedded dies,
 Colouring the pale cheeke of uninjoy'd love.
 And that sad floure that strove
 To write his owne woes on the vermeil graine.
 Next adde Narcissus that still weeps in vaine,
 The woodbine and the pansie freakt with jet,
 The glowing violet,
 The cowslip wan that hangs his pensive head,
 And every bud that sorrow's liverie weares.
 Let Daffadillies fill their cups with teares ;
 Bid Amaranthus all his beautie shed
 To strew the laureat herse where Lycid lies.

Nothing, however, in the MS. can compete in interest with what next follows, the first rough notes for "Paradise Lost," when Milton was minded to mould the subject into a drama. Three varying lists of the persons are given on page 35 of the MS., and the subject is further developed on page 40. The first list of the persons runs thus :

Michael.
 Heavenly Love.
 Chorus of Angels.
 Lucifer.
 Adam.
 Eve, with the Serpent.
 Conscience.
 Death.
 Labour,
 Sicknesse,
 Discontent,
 Ignorance,
 with others.) Mutes.
 Faith.
 Hope.
 Charity.

A few changes are made in the second list. Moses takes the place of Michael, and there are added Wisdom, Justice, and Mercy, and also the evening star, Hesperus. On the blank space between these two lists Milton has noted the titles of three other projected tragedies: "Adam in Banishment," "The Flood," "Abram in Ægypt."

Below all this is written in fuller detail the scheme of the drama of "Paradise Lost." This I subjoin at length :

[Act 1.] Moses *προλογίζετ*, recounting how he assum'd his true bodie, that it corrupts not because of his []¹ with God in the mount, declares the like of Enoch and Eliah; besides the purity of the place, that certaine pure winds, dues, and clouds preserved from corruption; whence exhorts to the light of God; tells they cannot see Adam in the state of innocence by reason of their sin.

Justice, } debating what should become of man if he fall.
 Mercy, }
 Wisdom.

Chorus of Angels, sing a hymne of Creation.

Act 2.

Heavenly Love.

Evening Starre.

Chorus sing the marriage song and describe Paradise.

Act 3.

Lucifer contriving Adam's ruine.

Chorus fears for Adam, and relates Lucifer's rebellion and fall.

Act 4.

Adam } fallen.
 Eve }

Conscience cites them to God's examination.

Chorus bewails, and tells the good Adam has lost.

Act 5.

Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise.

Presented by an angel with Labour, greife, hatred, envie, warre, famine, pestilence.

Sickness, }
 Discontent, } Mutes, to whom he gives these names.
 Ignorance, } Likewise, winter, heat, tempest, etc., entered
 Feare, } into the world.
 Death.

Faith, }
 Hope, } Comfort him and instruct him.
 Charity.

Chorus briefly concludes.

The pages which follow (36, 39, 40) are devoted to designs for other dramas. In noting these down, Milton slipped the two intervening pages (37, 38), and afterwards, as we shall see, utilized them for a different purpose. The subjects for the first-named three pages ranged from the Deluge to John the Baptist; page 37 is headed "British Trag.," and contains notes on early British and English history, arranged in thirty-three paragraphs, and evidently intended as the basis for an epic.

One or two specimens may be noted: § 12, "Edwin, son to Edward the younger, for lust depriv'd of his kingdom, or rather by faction of monks, whome he hated, together with the impostor Dunstan." § 24, "A Heroicall Poem may be founded somewhere in Alfred's reigne, especially at his issuing out of Edelingsey on the Danes,—whose actions are well like those of Ulysses." § 32, "Hardiknute dying in his cups an example to riot." Similar matter follows on p. 41, in "Scotch

¹ A word here omitted in the MS.

stories or rather Brittish of the north parts." These wind up with Macbeth, "beginning at the arrivall of Malcolme at Mackduffe. The matter of Duncan may be expresst by the appearing of his ghost."

All that now remains is the sonnets. Some of these have been written several times over, and we come across both the writing of Milton himself and of three amanuenses. There is sometimes a considerable amount of variation between the different recensions of these poems. For example, the noble sonnet on "The Death of Mrs. Catherine Thomson" is given three times, twice in the poet's autograph, and once in that of an amanuensis. The earliest draft of this was very different from what it ultimately became. Thus, in line 4, for "of death, called life," there originally stood "of flesh and sin." The four lines, 6—10, originally stood :

[and all thy good endeavour]
 Strait follow'd thee the path that saints have trod :
 Still as they journey'd from this dark abode
 Up to the realm of peace and joy for ever,
 Faith who led on the way and knew them best.

Beautiful as these lines are, who can fail to see the vastly greater beauty of the revision :

[and all thy good endeavour,]
 Stayed not behind, nor in the grave were trod ;
 But, as Faith pointed with her golden rod,
 Followed thee up to joy and bliss for ever.
 Love led them on ; and Faith, who knew them best

One more example must suffice. The sonnet to Mr. Henry Lawes also occurs three times, two of them being in Milton's own hand. Here, lines 3, 4, originally stood :

Words with just notes, which till then us'd to scan,
 With Midas' eares, misjoining short and long ;

and lines 6—8 ran :

And gives thee praise above the pipe of Pan.
 To after age thou shalt be writ a man,
 Thou didst reform thy art the chief among.

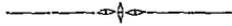
The revision is as follows :

HARRY, whose tuneful and well-measured song
 First taught our English music how to span
 Words with just note and accent, not to scan
 With Midas' ears, committing short and long,
 Thy worth exempts thee from the throng,
 With praise enough for Envy to look wan ;
 To after age thou shalt be writ the man
 That with smooth air couldst humour best our tongue.

One cannot but feel that, to any honest student of Milton, anything which shows the working of the poet's mind, even in the shaping of the mere details of his poems, anything which

lets us behind the scenes, in however slight a degree, is full of interest. Pre-eminently musical as Milton's lines constantly are, we are not dealing in his case with one, where, as with Shelley, we have music and not much behind the music. Not even Shelley has surpassed in melody the lyrical parts of "Comus," yet who would maintain that in the "Comus" there are not expressed some of the noblest thoughts of which language is capable; or that beneath the quaint fancies of "Lycidas" there do not lie the idea of the tenderest and noblest affection?

ROBERT SINKER.



ART. IV.—SACRIFICE AND COVENANT.

SACRIFICE was common to the great mass of nations, to heathens as well as to that under the special care of God, whose history is given in the Scriptures. It will therefore be necessary, in order to establish a satisfactory basis for a theory, which shall account for and explain the principles of sacrifice in general, to review the salient points of other sacrifices besides those recorded in the Old Testament. To me the true theory appears to be that the grand principle of sacrifice is one of *representation*, not one of *substitution*, the latter being but an inadequate approximation to the former, which both includes and supersedes it.

Let us begin with a matter that has been very carefully and closely investigated, in which the representative character of sacrifice has been brought out in comparatively recent times in a most clear and convincing manner.

There were two modes in which the homicide in Greece averted the penalty of blood for blood. One was by servitude, by becoming a slave, a chattel instead of a man; and here C. O. Müller remarks (on the "Eumenides" of Æschylus, *Hilasmoi* and *Katharmoi*) "that the circumstance that the Æchalian chieftain Eurytus, the father of the slain Iphitus, receives the money paid for the redemption of the slayer, Hercules, is a plain indication that the servitude represents a surrender of the life [of the slayer]." "The other mode consists in the substitution of a victim, symbolically denoting the surrender of the man's own life. . . . But in expiation for blood we find among the old Greeks the widely-diffused rite, whereby the ram represents the human being; as the goat among the Jews, so the ram among the Greeks and kindred Italic races was the principal sin-offering. The very ancient Minyan legends concerning the Athamantiades, which have been so

profoundly investigated in later times, turn entirely upon the human sacrifice demanded by the wrathful Zeus Laphystios, and the ram substituted in its place. A ram is the principal offering at all oracles of the dead, the ceremonies of which closely agree with those of expiation for blood; their object usually was to pacify the souls beneath the earth. Black rams and sheep were the customary sacrifices to the dead in Greece. Now, it was a very ancient Roman usage, and, as we are told upon the occasion, an Athenian usage also, that in a case of unintentional homicide (*si telum fugit magis quam jecit*) a ram, as a vicarial substitute for the head of the slain, was given (*uries subjiciebatur*) to the Agnati or ἀγχιστῆις, on whom the duty of avenging blood immediately devolved.¹ This was one of the peace-offerings on the return of the homicide, which are denoted by the term δολοῦσθαι, and are distinguished from the καθαίρεσθαι, the rites of purification. 'For the head of the *slain*,' say our authorities; for which we would put, 'For the head of the *slayer*.' For, as is shown by the legend concerning the race of Athamas, which was preserved from the sacrificial death by the substitution of a ram, this animal, as a sin-offering, takes the place of man, even in cases where there was no slain to be appeased. Besides, it would be very strange if the slain, whose Erinnys is the chief thing to be pacified, received a brute victim as the vicarial representative of his own life. On the contrary, it is clear that the ram was given for the man's life, precisely as, in the case before explained, the ransom paid over to the family of the slain, as the price of the slayer, represented the slayer."

Now, all this is perfectly plain and consistent, but Müller entirely departs from the theory so well developed and elucidated with regard to sacrifices of purification and atonement, when he proceeds to the "sacrificial procedures used with oath-takings and covenants, in which the slaying and dismembering of the victim has always been understood as a symbol of the fate that shall overtake the perjurer." It is true that it has been so considered, but so also, till Müller observed and corrected the error, was the sacrifice offered by the homicide considered to represent the *slain* instead of the *slayer*. Müller, in fact, has here been untrue to his own theory, under which the victims slain at making or ratifying treaties or covenants would properly represent the parties making them, who would suffer a symbolical death in their representative victims, and so retain no power of altering the engagements thus solemnly made any more than if they had been naturally dead.

¹ See also Demosthenes, "Contra Aristocratem," pp. 643, 644, where the duty of an involuntary homicide, upon his return after a temporary exile, to offer sacrifice as well as to be purified is insisted on.

The guilty person among the Israelites, when a sin or trespass offering was sacrificed, or the homicide in Greece, when allowed to go through the solemn sacrificial rites of purification, did not die a symbolical death in his representative victim in all respects, but merely with respect to the particular sin or trespass or homicide in question; and with regard to that only was he considered a new man. So upon the same principle of *representation*, rather than *substitution*, in sacrifices ratifying covenants or treaties, the contracting party or parties must have been considered as dying in the sacrificed victim or victims in respect of that treaty or covenant only, and thus retaining no power of altering their minds with respect to it. Thus God binds Himself to Abraham through a sacrifice in Gen. xv. 7-18, and, by passing symbolically between the pieces of the victims, declares Himself to have suffered a symbolical death in them in respect of His covenant and promise, which is thus guaranteed by an "immutable thing, in which it was impossible that God should lie," although the further security of another "immutable thing," an oath, is afterwards given in Gen. xxii. 16.¹

It is quite true that many writers on sacrifice have unhesitatingly and, I venture to say, heedlessly, accepted the view of those ancient authorities who considered the deaths of the victims in the case of covenants and treaties made with sacrifice to be rather symbolical of the fate that should overtake the guilty violator of the covenant, than of a death figuratively suffered by the parties at the time. Thus the death of the victims is made to denote nothing actual, but something contingent, upon certain conditions, and removed to the "dim and distant future." In proof of this erroneous view a passage is quoted from Livy (i. 24; cf. ix. 5), in which the *fecialis* prays that, if the Roman people is the first to violate the engagement made with the Albans, Jupiter will strike it, as he himself strikes the swine, which is the ratifying victim of the covenant. In Livy (xxi. 45), Hannibal is represented as going through a similar ceremony with a lamb, for the satisfaction of his Gallic auxiliaries.

It is singular that a somewhat similar curse is attached in the much more ancient writer, Homer, to the pouring out of the wine as a libation, and not to the actual death of the victim :

Ζεῦ κούδιστε, μέγιστε, καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι,
 ὀππότεροι πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ἕρκια πημήνειαν,
 ὦδέ σφ' ἐγκέφαλος χαμάδις ῥέοι ὡς ὕδρ' οἴνου,
 αὐτῶν καὶ τεκῶν, ἄλοχοι δ' ἄλλοισι δαμῆεν.

"Iliad," iii. 298-301.

¹ "Two immutable things." CHURCHMAN, March, 1890.

All-glorious Jove, and ye the pow'rs of Heaven !
 Whoso shall violate this contract first,
 So be their brains, their children's, and their own,
 Pour'd out, as this libation, on the ground,
 And may their wives bring forth to other men !

(Corrected from Cowper.)

Neither is the imprecation uttered by anyone officially employed, but by the spectators :

ὡδε δὲ τις εἶπεσκεν Ἀχαιῶν τε Τρώων τε.

Hence, I should infer that the imprecation was not *a priori* connected with the primary idea of sacrifice as applied to a covenant or treaty, but was an *a posteriori* and variable application of some one or other of its ceremonies in particular cases.

To turn to Holy Scripture.

In the important passage, Jer. xxxiv. 18-20, there is no allusion to any imprecation at all : "And I will give the men that have transgressed My covenant, which have not performed the words of the covenant, which they made before Me when they cut the calf in twain, and passed between the parts thereof, the princes of Judah, and the princes of Jerusalem, the eunuchs, and the priests, and all the people of the land, which passed between the parts of the calf ; I will even give them into the hands of their enemies, and into the hands of them that seek their life : and their dead bodies shall be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, and to the beasts of the earth."

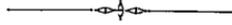
No more solemn method of reinaugurating a covenant with God could be imagined than for the authorities of a whole nation thus to suffer a symbolical death to their old sinful state, and enter upon a new life, by passing between the pieces of a representative victim cut in halves. The ceremony appears to have been copied from the sacrifice in Gen. xv., in which God, not man, is the Covenanter, and to which the imprecations above referred to are clearly inapplicable.

I think that the entire absence of an imprecation in the great and important federal sacrifices recorded in the Bible, negatively, and the disconnection of the imprecation from the death of the sacrificed victim in the passage of Homer just quoted, positively, go far to upset the popular error into which C. O. Müller fell, after triumphantly exploding another popular error, equally detrimental to the true understanding of the proper primary idea of sacrifice.

These considerations all tend to corroborate the view independently taken and maintained by Professor, now Bishop, Westcott and myself (CHURCHMAN, vol. iv., N.S., p. 594) with

regard to the difficult and much-contested passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which it is plainly stated that a death on the part of the covenanting party is essential to the validity of a covenant made with sacrifice.

A. H. WRATISLAW.



ART. V.—THEOLOGICAL TERMS: THEIR USE AND ABUSE.

THE heading of this paper is a somewhat indefinite one, and needs a little explanation. It is not our purpose to attempt any close examination of the terms proper to the science of theology—for, with the late Dean of Chichester, we have no hesitation in calling theology a science. The shortest of excursions will be made in this direction. We desire to raise this question: Is theological language the best vehicle of religious truth?

First of all, what do we mean by theology as distinct from religion, viewed theoretically? We feel there is a distinction, though we might find it a little difficult to define this distinction. To the mind of the Apostles this distinction could have no place. For they were engaged in creating a theology,¹ and

¹ Readers will not confound "the creation of a theology" with the creation of a *religion*. This latter, it need hardly be said, was within the province, as it was within the power, of no Apostle. The distinction drawn by Canon Liddon in his Bampton Lectures between the terms "religion" and "theology" is well known; nevertheless a reminder will be forgiven. "It has been maintained of late that the teaching of Jesus Christ differs from that of His Apostles and of their successors, in that He only taught religion, while they have taught dogmatic theology. This statement appears to proceed upon a presumption that religion and theology can be separated, not merely in idea and for the moment, by some process of definition, but permanently and in the world of fact. What, then, is religion? If you say that religion is essentially thought whereby man unites himself to the Eternal and Unchangeable Being, it is at least plain that the object-matter of such a religious activity as this is exactly identical with the object-matter of theology. Nay, more, it would seem to follow, that a religious life is simply a life of theological speculation. If you make religion to consist in 'the knowledge of our practical duties considered as God's commandments,' your definition irresistibly suggests God in His capacity of universal legislator, and thus carries the earnestly and honestly religious man into the heart of theology. If you protest that religion has nothing to do with intellectual skill in projecting definitions, and that it is at bottom a feeling of tranquil dependence upon some higher power, you cannot altogether set aside the capital question which arises as to the nature of that power upon which religion thus depends. . . . Religion, to support itself, must rest consciously on its object; the intellectual apprehension of that object is an integral element of religion. In other words, religion is practically

with it a language, and we are never well able to analyse our own work. They had a whole range of absolutely new truths to give to the world, and to accomplish this task they were compelled to have recourse to whatever helps existing language might afford. These helps were scanty. But one advantage Greek had for them which was perfectly unique, namely, its marvellous pliancy. Ready to hand, they found such words as *σάρξ*, *φύσις*, *λόγος*, *χάρις*, *ἐκκλησία*, *ζωή*, *πνεῦμα*. These they seized and utilized, infusing into them new meanings. Here and there they were obliged to coin; but, save in these rare instances, they availed themselves of the existing stock. Words that connoted the life and form of common things were spiritualized, and enriched with fresh significance. To a creative age they became new creations: teemed with ideas which were before in the air struggling for expression and embodiment.

The age of Apostles passes: the Patristic dawns. Heresies rise, demanding a strictly formulated belief. Creeds are constructed to supply weapons of defence; the faith, attacked, has to define itself. The necessity of definition gives birth to theological terminology. And as the conflict advances between assailed catholicism and the heresies that are perpetually seeking to disintegrate it, this theological terminology grows in bulk, and, in proportion to such growth, demands an increasingly delicate nicety of discrimination from those who use it—a nicety which our unphilosophic English renders sometimes almost impracticable.

Here comes in the danger. Notwithstanding this necessity of extreme caution in the use of the terms of this science, they are no sooner created and become the Church's proper language than they pass into the household possession of the multitude, and become the common property of all. "Terms," says Bishop Lightfoot, "like ideas, gradually permeate society till they reach its lower strata. Words stamped in the mint of the philosopher pass into general currency, losing their sharpness of outline meanwhile. The exclusive technicalities of the scholastic logic are the common property of shopmen and artisans in our own day."¹

As soon as this language is appropriated by the people, the process of crystallizing immediately sets in. The thought that gives rise to the word gradually recedes, and after a time all

inseparable from theology." In view of the allegation which the foregoing paragraph is constructed to meet, should we be far wrong in saying that in the teaching of Jesus Christ (speaking generally), theology is held in solution, in that of the Apostles, it is precipitated?

¹ Bishop Lightfoot's "Epistle to the Philippians," edit. 4, p. 130.

but vanishes. The term or phrase itself, originally the vehicle of the thought, goes on its way emptied of its freight, and rattles the louder for its emptiness. It is now a mere conventionality: everybody employs it—swears by it, anathematizes those who use it not. It becomes a charm to conjure with. The letter is worshipped, from which the spirit has fled.

And this bondage to phraseology goes on strengthening, until the letter is mistaken for the spirit, and, if any venture to state a given truth in any but the recognised phrases, the truth is not recognised—is stigmatized as error for the sake of the dress it is made to wear. If, for example, a preacher seldom lets fall in his pulpit utterances such words as “atonement,” “regeneration,” “conversion,” “substitution,” “satisfaction,” conscious that of these the first three occur each once in the New Testament, and this not in the sense often attached to them, and the last two are not found in Scripture at all, many persons amongst his hearers will consider him unsound, guilty of doctrinal hesitancy. The ring of the old story is lacking. It is in vain that he speaks forth the truth connoted by these words. The words themselves are wanting—and this is the unpardonable sin.

Perhaps it would be difficult to light on a pair of terms (both theologic and Scriptural) round which has gathered more mist than the terms “Flesh,” “Blood.” How many persons attach the Pauline sense to the first of these two terms? Some time ago quite the best instructed man in the writer’s Bible-class—a careful Bible-reader of fifty-five or sixty years of age—confessed surprise when told that the word had nothing to do with the body in many passages of St. Paul’s writings; that the spirit, not the body, was accountable in the first instance even for so-called sins of the flesh; that in the list of works of the flesh in Galatians v. are included “idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings,” none of which can be classed amongst fleshly sins; that the Apostle speaks of himself as no longer “in the flesh” in Romans vii. 5, “when we *were* in the flesh, the motions of sin,” etc.; that he tells his readers in Rome that they are “not in the flesh, but in the spirit” (Romans viii 9). The consequence of this common misconception respecting a frequently recurring term in St. Paul’s Epistles is, of course, that the physical part of us is mercilessly vilified in our popular theology, and made the scapegoat of the trespasses of the real self—the soul.

The term “Blood” presents us with a still more notorious misconception; and it is difficult to see how we shall ever get back to the simple ideas wrapt up with the word in Holy

Scripture. In Bishop Westcott's additional note to 1 John i. 7 the following sentences occur: "The interpretation of the passages in the New Testament which refer to the blessings obtained by the Blood of Christ must rest finally upon the interpretation given to the use of blood in the sacrificial system of the Old Testament. Our own natural associations with blood tend, if not to mislead, at least to obscure the ideas which it suggested to a Jew. . . . Two distinct ideas were included in the sacrifice of a victim—the death of the victim by the shedding of its blood, and the liberation, so to speak, of the principle of life by which it had been animated (for the Blood, in the general conception of it, met with throughout the Pentateuch, is the seat of life): so that this life became available for another end. The ritual of sacrifice took account of both these moments in the symbolic act. The slaughtering of the victim, which was properly the work of the offerer, was sharply separated from the sprinkling of the blood, which was the exclusive work of the priest. Thus, in accordance with the typical teaching of the Levitical ordinances, the Blood of Christ represents Christ's life (1) as rendered in free self-sacrifice to God for men and (2) as brought into perfect fellowship with God, having been set free by death. The Blood of Christ is, *as shed*, the *Life* of Christ given for men, and, *as offered*, the Life of Christ now given to men. . . . The blood always includes the thought of the life preserved and active beyond death. . . . The elements which are thus included" (so the note ends) "in the thought of the Blood of Christ, are clearly indicated in 1 John i. 9: 'God is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins' (the virtue of Christ's *death*), 'and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness' (the virtue of Christ's *life*)."

We will now examine the passages in which mention is made of the Blood of Jesus Christ in a theological as distinct from a simply historical connection. Without such a survey any exception we shall venture to take to the popular ideas associated with the word will be lacking in point.

In the New Testament there are some twenty-four references to the blood. In the Gospels the connection is confined to the mystical drinking of the blood, either in the Eucharist, or generally, as in the Discourse of the sixth chapter of St. John. There is in the Gospels no allusion to purifying, or cleansing, or sanctifying, or justifying. These ideas are encountered, subsequently, in the Epistles. The Epistle to the Romans supplies two passages: iii. 25, "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood"; v. 9, "Being now justified by His blood." The Epistles to the Corinthians contain only the allusion to the

Holy Sacrament: 1 Cor. x. 16; xi. 25, 27, quoting the Gospels. Four other references are to be found in St. Paul's letters; two in the Epistle to the Ephesians: i. 7, "In Whom we have redemption through His blood"; ii. 13, "But now in Christ Jesus ye who sometimes were far off are made nigh by the blood of Christ." The remaining two are met with in the Epistle to the Colossians: i. 14, "In Whom we have redemption through His blood"; i. 20, "And having made peace through the blood of His Cross." St. Peter has two passages: 1 Pet. i. 2, 19, "Through sanctification of the Spirit unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ"; "Forasmuch as ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, . . . but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a Lamb without blemish and without spot." The writings of St. John, apart from his Gospel, contain six allusions: 1 John i. 7, "The blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth us from all sin"; v. 8, "There are three that bear witness, the Spirit, the water, and the blood"; Rev. i. 5, "Unto Him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood"; Rev. v. 9, "Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by Thy blood"; Rev. vii. 14, "These are they which have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb"; Rev. xii. 11, "And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb."

As we might anticipate, the teaching respecting the blood is found to be the fullest in the Epistle to the Hebrews, dealing, as this Epistle does, with the sacrificial system of the Mosaic dispensation. Seven references are afforded: ix. 12, 14, 22, "By His own blood He entered in once into the Holy Place"; "How much more shall the blood of Christ purge your conscience from dead works"; "Almost all things are by the law purged with blood, and without shedding of blood is no remission"; x. 19, 29, "Having therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the Holiest by the blood of Jesus"; "The blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified"; xiii. 12, 20, "That He might sanctify the people with His own blood"; "The God of peace, Who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through (Rev. Vers. reads, "with") the blood of the everlasting Covenant." These, with one verse in the Acts of the Apostles, xx. 28, "The Church of God which He hath purchased with His own blood," are all the references in which a theological import is attached to the blood of our Redeemer. Glancing through this catena, we may thus summarize the teaching of the New Testament on the subject.

In five passages the blood of Christ is stated to be the price of our purchase; in two, it is viewed as the means of our

reconciliation, of the Divine propitiation; in one, of our justification; in one, of peace being made between God and man. In six, it is the means (externally) of our sanctification, variously described as a sprinkling, a purging of the conscience, a washing, of the person or the raiment. In one passage it is the means of atoning for transgression. Without it, according to one passage, there is no possibility of remission; in one, it is a witness of the covenant. By it, in one, final victory is secured.

In some of these passages it will be noticed that the phrase "the blood of Christ" is employed without any metaphor—"justified," "purchased," "reconciled," "forgiven" by, or through, the Blood, calls up no image, whereas such expressions as "cleansed," "purged," "washed" by the blood are pictorial. No one can understand them literally. And the very variety of the language adopted by the sacred writers shows how far they must have been from any bondage to mere phraseology. Had it been ordered that the Saviour should lay His life down in some way that had not included the effusion of blood, the efficacy of that death would, of course, have been the same. But we may confidently say that the whole of the allusions to blood, to which we have turned, would have been wanting to the New Testament, and so wanting to Christian thought. The bloodshedding was but a method; and to the virtue of the death the method was subsidiarily material. We should have escaped that confusion of ideas in which we become involved when we combine the cleansing-blood with the cleansing-spirit—the spirit, of which not blood but *water* is the outward symbol. Now contrast with this Scriptural usage that of popular theology. Here the blood is regarded as the *element* of cleansing. Look into any revivalist hymn-book, and notice how hymn after hymn speaks of this, as the main purpose for which the Mediator died—to wash us in His spilled blood. Yet what sound meaning can be attached to the phrase "washed *IN* the blood"? In the two passages of the Revelation, i. 5, vii. 14, from which the expression is taken—for we look in vain for anything equivalent to it in any doctrinal writing—the Greek for the word "*in*" is perfectly capable of being rendered "BY," and indeed, in the former of these passages, the Revisers have thus rendered it, reading also "*loosed*" (λύσαντι) for "washed" (λούσαντι). It is curious, also, that, in xxii. 14, the rival readings ποιούντες τὰς ἐντολάς, πλύνοντες τὰς στολάς should be found contending for the text, as if still further to discourage this particular aspect of the subject. The clashing of images is unavoidable in the second passage (vii. 14), as the effect of robes dipped

in blood would be, not to wash white but to dye red. "Wherefore art Thou *red* in Thine apparel? Their blood shall be sprinkled upon My garments, and I will stain all My raiment." Yet how much of our conventional references, especially those of our hymnals, gives currency to the grossest materialistic views. Recognised phrases are used, to which custom has given its unchallenged sanction, and their sound shapes itself into a lullaby to rock the reflective powers to slumber.

The review of this term has taken longer than was intended. But its importance will be our justification. We might discuss many another; *e.g.*, "person," "substance," "grace," "feeling," "nature," "substitution," some of them Biblical, some not; but to all of which, as used by the generality of Christians, the most inexact, and not seldom untrue, conceptions cling. We have space for but two of these: "grace," "feeling."

"Grace."—(a) In its original use, the word simply described "that property in a thing which causes it to give joy to the hearers or beholders of it" (Trench). For a New Testament example of this primary meaning of the term, instance St. Luke iv. 22, "And all wondered at the gracious words (words of grace) which proceeded out of His mouth." Possibly also Eph. iv. 29 may supply a second example.

(b) From connoting a quality it passed next to connote the thing in which that quality resided. So we still speak of asking or granting a grace or favour. In this secondary sense we encounter the word in Acts xxv. 3, "The Jews desired *favour* against Paul"; 2 Cor. viii. 19, "Who was also chosen of the Churches, to travel with me with this grace (*i.e.*, the contributions of the Christians towards the support of the poor brethren in Judæa) which is ministered by us."

(c) The third stage in the growth of the usage is reached, when the word is taken for the feeling and expression of grateful acknowledgment which the benefit done draws forth in return. In this signification the word occurs in St. Luke xvii. 9, "Doth he thank that servant (lit., Hath he grace to that servant) because he did the things that were commanded him?" Rom. vi. 17, "But God be thanked (lit., grace to God) that ye have obeyed from the heart," etc.

(d) Here we approach that still higher and holier virtue that lies now in the word. All favours done by man to man are done to equals, and it may at any time be conceivably possible that the person benefited may be able to do as much for the benefactor. Not so with the Divine favours. We cannot even be thankful without increasing the measure of

that for which we give thanks. Gratitude itself is a grace. Further: not only is the grace of the Almighty seen in the bestowal of undeserved favours, but becomes still more evident in His dealings with us, as delinquents; transgressors of His laws. His grace is shown chiefly in the forgiveness of our sins; and this as the issue of that preparatory work of grace, the Atonement wrought by the Son of God. For instances of this use of the term, see St. John i. 17, "Grace and truth came by Jesus Christ"; Acts xiv. 3, "The Lord gave testimony to the word of His grace"; Acts xx. 24, "To testify the Gospel of the grace of God"; Rom. v. 2, "By whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand"; Rom. vi. 14, "Ye are under grace."

(e) There is yet another application of the word. As all good motives and influences are originated by God, so the word which is employed to express the Divine goodness put forth actively upon us—outside us—is used also to express that goodness when it is energetically put forth within the heart. From grace being *upon* us, or our being *under* grace, grace is finally spoken of as being *within* us. It is this sense that is most commonly present to us, in using the word absolutely, without an article, "grace." Under this head we may cite, Rom. i. 5, "By whom we have received grace"; 1 Cor. xv. 10, "By the grace of God I am what I am"; 2 Pet. iii. 18, "Grow in grace."

There are few words in our religious vocabulary, the exact meaning of which in any given passage it is more necessary accurately to ascertain. Our search for the meaning is not made the easier by the unfortunate circumstance, that at least *five* English words have been used by our translators to render this single one ("grace," "favour," "gift," "thanks," "benefit"); and this almost promiscuously, with little or no deference to the five several senses mentioned above.

"*Feeling*."—This term, as applied to a certain condition of the emotional faculty, is distinctly of modern growth. It is the offspring of revivalist times. Persons of a morbidly introspective tendency are frequently to be met with who give themselves needless distress on the score of the absence, or the intermittent presence, of warm "feeling." They forget that as a factor in the propelling spiritual forces of our being, feeling is strongest in youth, and for a good reason. It occupies the place, and does much of the work, of "habit." In proportion as habit grows in strength does feeling find diminished scope. And only as a motive-force is feeling of any practical worth at all. The emotional faculty is too suspiciously subservient to the state of the blood to become a

reliable criterion, in the estimate of our spiritual standing in the sight of Heaven. The Christian surely rests his confidence in the comfortable fact of his personal acceptance with his God, not upon his own fluctuating feelings, but upon the inviolable Word of the Covenant, which "liveth and abideth for ever."

Now it might surprise those upon whose lips this word "feeling" is so constantly found, to learn that this pet term of theirs is nowhere to be met with on the pages of the New Testament: neither the term nor its cognate verb. In our Authorized Version the noun does occur twice, but in neither passage does it appear in the Greek, its use in our translation being merely paraphrastic; and in neither passage is there the remotest allusion to so-called religious feelings. The phrase, "past feeling,"¹ in Ephesians iv. 19, describes the callous condition of a hardened sinner's slighted conscience; the beautiful words, "touched with the feeling of our infirmities,"² in Hebrews iv. 15, refer to the sympathy of the exalted Mediator resulting from His acquaintance with human nature. So little Scriptural encouragement is given to this modern reliance on feeling for our assurance.

This last word "assurance" is found in three passages of the New Testament, always qualified by the adjective "full." In Colossians ii. 2, we read of the "full assurance of understanding"; in Hebrews vi. 11, of the "full assurance of hope"; in Hebrews x. 22, of "the full assurance of faith."³ Our faith, our hopes may be confirmed by the weight of intellectual conviction, and by means of this "three-fold cord," not quickly to be broken, we may have "a strong consolation"; but we look in vain for any account afforded in New Testament usage of the present popular conception of assurance as involving strong feeling. Fuller and fuller, as the life-sands run down, grows the assurance of the faith, the hopes, the understanding of the believer, and as he looks back to the early day-dawn of the soul, and contrasts with its strong present rest the evanescent feelings belonging to that long-past prime, that contrast is not too partially drawn in the glad question, "What is the chaff to the wheat?"

This paper might, without difficulty, be indefinitely lengthened. Instances might be readily multiplied, where the original significance of the term or phrase has been modified or altogether let slip; or where a term or phrase has little to recommend it save its general acceptance, being as a vehicle

¹ οἴτινες ἀπηγηκότες.

² δυνάμενον συμπάθῃσαι ταῖς ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν.

³ In the last two passages the Revised Version has "fulness," relegating "full assurance" to the margin.

of theological truth either inexact, or inadequate, or misleading. Enough, however, has been offered to indicate the responsibility that attends the handling of the subject; enough to draw attention to the hazard of a slipshod use of the terms of this sacred science.

In view of the present difficulties of their task, it would appear expedient that preachers and teachers should, in their public utterances to a mixed audience, be very guarded, and even sparing, in their use of theological language, and clothe the truths they have to present in as unconventional a dress as possible, avoiding abstract terms where they may be dispensed with without lowering the dignity of the theme. The writer remembers how once, years ago, when he was called to preach to a north-country congregation, the old rector cautioned him on the previous Saturday evening: "We want," he said, "the concrete here." We suspect other folds besides the one referred to need a similar diet. Whenever another treatment is indispensable, let the preacher select his phraseology with the carefulest discrimination, defining at every step. No mean part of his duty should be to insist upon exactness, first of thought, then of its expression. The majority in every community will, we fear, always be satisfied with clap-trap; but it lies upon the teacher to ensure that they do not get it. Besides which, as a brilliant writer says, "A paper currency is employed, when there is no bullion in the vaults." It is our high service to see that the currency of our divinity shall be gold, and not paper; and that each several piece we trade with shall be stamped with the image and superscription of Heaven's truth.

ALFRED PEARSON.

ART. VI.—THE VALLEY OF THE NAP.

TWO hours by rail from the capital of Austria brings us to one of the loveliest valleys among the Tyrolese mountains. The whole country, indeed, is celebrated "for its airy beauty, rocky mountains, smooth green valleys, and swift-rushing streams." Odorous pinewoods clothe the steep mountain slopes, crowned by battlements of gray rocks, and little villages inhabited by a simple-hearted and kindly peasantry, mostly engaged in wood-cutting and toy-making, lie sheltered here and there under the shadow of the glorious hills. Lakes, waterfalls, woods, deep ravines, brightened with lovely ferns, and grim-looking castles with a story attached to them, give a rare picturesque aspect to the whole scene.

In the midst of this beautiful country is the rocky valley of the river Nap, in which is situated the little hamlet of Napwald (Forest of the Nap), the home of one of the two sole Protestant communities to be found in the outlying districts of this province of Lower Austria. Up to the year 1782 there were but few scattered huts in Napwald. The inhabitants lived their lonely life—

The world forgetting, by the world forgot—

seen of none, we may say, save God only. At length this apparently worthless corner of the empire, bestowed centuries before on the Counts Hoyos, of Spanish descent, as their hunting-ground, began to have a marketable value. The neighbouring Imperial iron works needed fuel, and in 1799 entered into a contract with the proprietor for a supply from the primeval forests of the Nap. The peasants set to work, trees were felled, and in the course of some months an immense quantity of wood lay ready for transport to the iron-works. But now the serious question presented itself which should have long before engaged their attention, namely, how the wood was to reach its destination. From the nature of the country the difficulties of transit were enormous. It took more than four hours to walk the distance, and not one of the Imperial engineers or architects could devise a plan to transport the wood through the valley, choked by *débris* of rocks, whirlpools, and rapidly-flowing rivers. In this emergency a man was raised up, as we may well say, by God for the work. George Hubmer, the son of a wood-cutter of Gosan, near Salzburg, undertook the Herculean task. He and his brother were already noted for daring enterprise in their arduous calling. With their axes alone, using only wooden nails, without scaffolding, fastened by a rope which might at any moment be cut by the sharp rock, causing them to be dashed headlong into the depths below, with the aid of a few comrades bold and energetic as themselves, they succeeded, in the year 1782, in getting the 4,000 klaftes or cords of wood agreed upon safely to the Imperial works.

But our object in this paper is to say something about the Protestantism of these poor people of the Tyrol. How did they become Protestants? It was said that the Reformation had not gained access to them or to their neighbours, the Bavarians, or at least had made no great progress amongst them. The learned Canisius compared the Tyrolese and the Bavarians with the two tribes of Israel, "who alone remained faithful to the Lord." No doubt this is in great measure true. But from their proximity to Germany it was unavoidable that they should receive some sprinklings of the great "showers

of blessing" which God was pouring out over that favoured country. Luther's Bible and occasional German hymns crossed the border, and found admission into the valleys. And the poor wood-cutters met secretly in the forest and in caverns and ravines, and under the shadow of great rocks,

In wet, black passes, and foam-churning chasms,
And God's free air and hope of better things,

to read the wonderful Book which had fallen into their hands, and to pray and sing and talk to one another of the new Evangel that had come to their ears. They might say in the words, slightly altered, which the Poet Laureate puts into the mouth of Sir John Oldcastle :

Heaven-sweet Evangel, ever-living word,
Who whilom spakest to the south in Greek
About the soft Mediterranean shores,
And then in Latin to the Latin crowd
As good need was, thou hast come to our vales.

In this way they imbibed Reformation principles, and the mild sway of the Archbishops of Salzburg during the Thirty Years' War caused the heresy which had crept in amongst them from Germany to spread and increase. They did not, however, dare to meet publicly for religious service. They had no churches. In quiet lonely places they used to assemble to worship God. They read His Word on these occasions, they prayed to Him, they sang hymns to His praise; and then, when their simple service was over, they buried their Bibles in the ground, or hid them in trees, or in holes of the rocks, or behind waterfalls, till the appointed day of meeting again came round, when they took their axes, as if to fell wood, disinterred their spiritual treasures, and listened to the words which were as balm to their wounded spirits. A rock spread with white linen, or covered by the hand of Nature with edelweiss and Alpine roses, became their Communion-table, and needed but a simple wooden cross to be completely furnished; and so they feasted together, to the strengthening and refreshing of their souls, in memory of their dear Lord's love and death. Sometimes they sailed away on a lake among the mountains, and its silent waters resounded with their prayers and praises. "The Invisible Church," they called themselves. For many years these simple people of the Tyrolese Alps lived and worshipped in this way, good workmen, as all who write of them testify, and blameless in their lives.

In 1728, however, persecution commenced. Prince Eugene's troops were sent into the Province of Salzburg, but, proving too merciful, they were superseded by others more cruel and unscrupulous. In the depth of winter, with the snow on the

ground, and the keen winds biting in the valleys, barefoot, and with scanty clothing, and equally scanty provisions, the unfortunate peasants were hunted by the fierce soldiers over the mountains into Bavaria. In a touching chapter of his history of Frederick the Great, Carlyle tells us how, about this time, some twenty thousand people of those parts emigrated to Prussia, where they were received with ready and generous hospitality by the reigning sovereign. "More harmless sons of Adam," says the sympathetic historian, "probably did not breathe the vital air than those dissentient Salzburgers; generation after generation of them giving offence to no creature." Perhaps there is no sadder chapter in the history of Protestantism than that which records the compulsory emigration of those poor peasants of the Tyrol from their beloved homes. Men, women, and children are there. Old tottering grandsires, and infants at the breasts of their woe-begone mothers, swell the dreary cavalcade. With tears in their eyes, and hearts lifted up in prayer to God, they look on their beautiful valleys for the last time; and then, "staff in hand," and wallet slung upon their backs, they go forth.

Good Heaven! what sorrows gloom'd that parting day,
That called them from their native walks away;
When the poor exiles, every pleasure past,
Hung round the bowers, and fondly look'd their last.

"A pilgrimage like that of the children of Israel; such a pilgrim caravan as was seldom heard of in our Western countries." All along the march after they had entered German territory they were warmly welcomed by all classes of the people. "On their getting to the Anspach territory there was so incredible a joy at the arrival of these exiled brothers in the faith, that in all places, almost in the smallest hamlets, the bells were set a-tolling, and nothing was heard but a peal of welcome from far and near." And when the first body of the emigrants reached Berlin, the king himself, Frederick Wilhelm, father of Frederick the Great, went out to meet them: "stoutish short figure," so Carlyle describes him, "in blue uniform and white wig, straw-coloured waistcoat, and white gaiters; stands uncommonly firm on his feet; reddish, blue-reddish face, with eyes that pierce through a man." And "her majesty was charity itself, charity and grace combined, among these pilgrims." They settled in Lithuania, and there they found, through the king's generosity, everything ready for them—"tight cottages, tillable fields, all implements furnished, and stock." And they set to work with such zeal and industry and trust in God, that they prospered much, and their influence on every side, like that of the Huguenots in the previous century in England, was beneficial in a very marked degree.

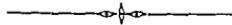
And what of those who remained behind in the valleys of the Tyrol? They were not convinced of their errors, they remained faithful to the truth, and still met in secret to read and pray and sing; but they were obliged to exercise more caution. The Romish partisans were, however, on the alert; and those who were discovered felt the heavy hand of the enemy. At length Maria Theresa took pity on the hunted fugitives, and, having heard of a child being carried for hours in the snow for baptism, she permitted them to create a parish. It was rapidly succeeded by others. By-and-by the Emperor Joseph II. issued an edict of tolerance, and there was a lull in the storm of persecution that swept over the troubled valleys. Foremost amongst the thousands who thanked God on bended knee for this great mercy were the wood-cutters from the archbishopric of Salzburg, and the brothers Hubner, of whom we have spoken. In Gosan, the birthplace of the Hubners, nearly 1,000 out of 1,100 inhabitants declared themselves Protestants; and in Napwald a community was constituted, headed by the two brothers. The elder, John, died in 1799, in the faith of Christ. The younger, George, carried on the good work with unflagging energy and zeal. "Patriarch of Napwald," as he was called, he erected a school and church, sent for a schoolmaster, a Protestant shoemaker who could sing psalms and read aloud the Bible, prayers, and religious books. At first the services were held in Hubner's own house, then and now called the Reithof. On great occasions all the congregation still crossed the Alps to the mother-parish, Mitterbach in Styria; but in 1826 Hubner, with something of the faith of our own George Muller of Bristol, took courage to buy part of the Oberhof, in Napwald. There he built a stately house, part church and part dwelling for the master, a bold undertaking in heretics, who lived merely on sufferance. He then obtained permission to lay out a Protestant burial-ground, put up a wall round it, erected a large cross, and the first who was interred in this "God's acre" was the noble and devoted Hubner himself. Mourned by the whole community, who felt they had lost a father and a friend, he died in 1833.

After his death things went badly with his poor people. Many who had contrived to put together a miserable hut were driven from it as standing on ground not their own. At last better days dawned upon the valleys. Now, the Tyrolese Protestants are recognised as a factor in the land. They are permitted to worship God in peace. Still they are wretchedly poor, spending the whole week in the woods, and only Sunday with their families. When the railroad at last approached their lonely valley, they were visited by a pastor

from Vienna at Easter or Whitsuntide. This was always a time of joy and blessing.

A rich merchant of the city, Mr. Rudolph Arthaker, once strayed to Napwald, and was so struck with the simple service there, and the devout earnestness of the people, that he thenceforth became their constant benefactor. In the year 1840 the house which George Hubner had built was enlarged, so as to accommodate the pastor in the first floor above the church, and the schoolmaster's dwelling, all under one roof; and close beside stands the quaint, low, wooden belfry, with its three bells, "Faith," "Hope," and "Charity." The first minister was installed in 1861; and Mr. Arthaker constituted a society called "The Napwalders," whose good work it is to aid the poor community. Every Christmas the school-children are clothed; once a year a bride is furnished with an outfit; and near the church a refuge has been erected for the poor children, who come from long distances. From the middle of November till the middle of March about twenty are housed and fed there, going home for Saturday and Sunday. In summer the house is let to visitors, to defray the expenses. The present parish, scattered over four square German miles,¹ contains about 600 souls; and nearly 100 children attend the school, eleven of whom are Roman Catholics. A good and blessed work, which deserves the sympathies and prayers of all true disciples of Christ, is carried on; and we trust that many English Christians who visit the Continent may be stirred to direct their steps to this remote valley of the Nap, and while feasting on its glorious beauty, and thinking of the sad associations connected with it, may be moved to minister out of their abundance to the necessities, temporal and spiritual, of its interesting people.

WILLIAM COWAN.



ART. VII.—THE MEDIATOR,

"For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus."—1 TIM. ii. 5.

THIS verse has often been employed in controversies between those who are commonly called Protestants and other Christian Churches which, in the words of our XIX.th Article, have erred "not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith."

¹ About sixteen English.

"You make too much of the ministry of saints and angels," it is urged; "you give them a share in the salvation of men to which they are not entitled; you put Christ out of His true and right position, and put the saint in His stead. In the case of the Lord's mother, you pay her a worship which is idolatrous, for practically the worshipper who bows the knee to the Blessed Virgin is not aware of the verbal distinction between Latria, Dulia, and Hyperdulia. Certainly in your system she is one mediator, and one as important as any; and yet here St. Paul says quite plainly, 'There is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.'"

Such is the contention of the Church of England, and of all Churches in full communion with her; of the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, and of all so-called Orthodox Non-conformists who are separated from the Church mainly on questions of Church government, establishment, and patronage.

Of course the reply is that there is a sense in which Christ, being Divine as well as human, *is* the one supreme Mediator, as He is the only begotten Son; but that His supremacy does not deprive us of the ministry of others who in God's economy act as mediators in their place and degree. To take a plain illustration. It was God Who fed the multitudes in the desert. It was the Divine power in Christ the Mediator which multiplied the loaves and fishes; but it was in the hands of the disciples that a fragment of a loaf grew and increased so as to suffice for a thousand men. In a sense they were mediators also.

But the passage is of interest not only from the place which it has in this controversy between those who accept the creeds of the Church, but also for another and very dissimilar reason. There are those who deny the accuracy of St. Paul's statement. They affirm that as a matter of fact there are countless mediators between God and men, and that Christ is but one among the rest. Much of the negative theology of the day, and that system especially which is commonly called Unitarian, denying the Deity if not the divinity of Christ, is here at one with the other opponents of what I venture to call Evangelical doctrine, in denying the supremacy of the mediation of Christ.

But there is a question asked by some, it may be in a captious and disbelieving spirit or it may be in all earnestness and longing after truth, "What need of any mediator at all?"—and, "Why, and in what sense, should this office be restricted to *one*, namely, Christ Jesus?"

The question is of interest, not alone to settle a controversy,

but as affecting the spiritual life of those who seek access to their heavenly Father by the new and living Way.

What, then, is a mediator? The word itself will tell us something. *Μεσίτης*, literally, a go-between, is, I think, unknown in classical Greek. Once only it occurs in the Septuagint, Job ix. 33, as the equivalent of the now obsolete "daysman" or umpire. It is, however, used by later writers occasionally, and bears a variety of meanings. It is sometimes an ambassador, a messenger, an intercessor, an arbitrator, an umpire, a peacemaker, a reconciler of differences, a surety, a guarantor.¹ We recognise practically the need of a mediator, a go-between, in this general sense, in every-day life.

In love, in war, in litigation, in countless transactions between man and man, there is need of one who is in some respects in the confidence of both parties, and more or less empowered to act or speak for both.

But is there any need of a mediator between God and man? *Can* there be any such mediator? "In God we live and move and have our being." "We are His offspring." We are ever in His presence; we are the subjects of His influence, which has no limit; of His omnipotence, which cannot be diminished or controlled. We confess that He puts into our minds good desires; that He enables us to bring the same to good effect. By His inspiration alone we think those things that are good, and by His guiding we perform the same; we are as the clay and He the Potter. And yet, how do we know about God. If the life of man is different from that of "sheep or goat which nourish a blind life within the brain," how has the spiritual perception been quickened and taught? God might have given us knowledge (as He has given instinct to the brute), but He has chosen to make teachers the medium, without whom knowledge would be impossible. The whole framework of society is a system of mediation in which we are receiving from another what God might have supplied directly. There is nothing strange in the general notion of mediation. Nay, it is involved in the very obvious fact that man is intended to be a social being, giving to and receiving from others; and being in all the agent of God, *consciously* it may be, if the will is engaged in His service, but *certainly*, for "the Lord hath made all things for Himself." We need not trouble ourselves with asking, as some have done, Why is this? God, it may be said, might have made each plant, each animal, each man, each woman, as a separate, complete, and perfect creation,

¹In one remarkable passage the corresponding verb is used to mean "to lie in the middle."—Jo. Damasc. See Lexicons—Liddell and Scott and Grimm; also Grinfield's "Scholia Hellenistica."

but He has ordered it otherwise. It would be a totally different world if each creature were a solitary.

Now, if God uses mediation in dealing with man as a creature, there is clearly nothing strange in His taking a similar course when dealing with man as a sinner. We need not ask why God did not reinstate fallen man in His favour without the intervention of a mediator: "as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive"—so argues St. Paul. The mystery of permitted evil is here side by side with the mystery of redemption. But, indeed, we may venture to say that sin, more than anything else, has made mediation a necessity. In a state of innocence we might perhaps conceive of God holding communication with His creatures directly. This seems to be intimated in the Scripture itself; for it is hard to suppose that anything else is meant by the walking of God with Adam and Eve in the garden. But sin put a new barrier between the creature and his Creator. It "separated between us and God."

True that, after the fall, the Spirit of God still spoke to man, as it still strove with man, and that some men are said to have walked with God, which may be taken to mean, led lives of singular holiness, purity, and devotion, before the revelation of a Personal Christ. But the first thought of sinful man is to hide, as Adam, in the trees of the garden, or to say, as Simon in the boat said to his Divine Master, "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord." Scripture shows us what our experience abundantly justifies. It represents man, at the beginning, meeting his Maker without fear. But sin brought a change. Sin made man seek a place to hide from the face of God. And the sentence pronounced upon him gave confirmation to his fears by banishing him from the presence of God. But he is not thrust out of paradise until the promise of the one Mediator had been given, the "seed of the woman." Because of the gulf which sin had made, mediation became necessary to worship. By the mediation of man, sin was brought home to the conscience. By the mediation of man, pardon was proclaimed and messages of wisdom and grace, as well as of warning, came from God, Whose Spirit spake by the prophets. One man was no more fitted than another, save by God's appointment and selection to enforce His laws as King; to proclaim His message as Prophet; to celebrate His worship as Priest. But God appointed mediators for these offices, to keep up in men's minds the sense of their sin, their folly, their alienation from God; to give them renewed hope and present comfort and guidance, and to shadow forth the coming of that great Mediator, the true Prophet, Priest, and King. And here we

note the place of the law, given by Moses, "ordained by angels, in the hand of a Mediator" (Gal. iii. 19).

Moses is thus expressly called a mediator. "Go thou near," the children of Israel said, "and hear all that the Lord our God shall speak unto thee, and we will hear it and do it." God sanctioned the proposal. "He led His people, like sheep, by the hand of Moses and Aaron"; and so Moses says, in his farewell words, "I stood between the Lord and you."¹ The whole system of types and symbols and sacrifices, the whole machinery of the sacrificial ritual, the law given not to be broken, the whole progressive revelation by the mouths of the prophets, and preserved to us in that sacred book which is called emphatically the "oracles of God"—all this was intended to teach man to look forward to a "better covenant" at the hands of a more perfect Mediator.

That Mediator ordained from the first, appointed in the counsels of God before the foundation of the world, was the man Christ Jesus, God as well as man, by Whom we have the atonement, and Who has taken the manhood into God.

Thus St. Paul (Gal. iii. 19) insists that those who are Christ's are Abraham's seed and heirs according to the promise. The law was parenthetical and temporary, intervening between the promise and the fulfilment in Christ. The whole passage is not without difficulty. But St. Paul's argument plainly presupposes Christ's God-head, otherwise He would be a mediator distinct from God, as was Moses.

Not like other mediators, whose knowledge was but partial, confined to a special revelation or message, but One Who is the Truth. Not the wielder of a merely earthly sceptre even if the statute-book was of Divine inspiration. Not the Aaron or even the Melchisedeck to offer a typical sacrifice on a material altar. No bright angel merely, an ambassador from God, in whom we might suppose the feeling of pity, but not of sympathy. Not *only* man, and so qualified to act for us, and speak to us, though with more wisdom and authority than any other, but also One who is a sinless Man, between Whom and God no separation exists; and Who as Man could walk with God, with no mediator to intervene.² In this sense He

¹ It were easy to multiply instances of the work of Moses as a mediator, and in Heb. viii., ix., xii., the more excellent ministry of Christ is contrasted with that of Moses, He being the Mediator of a new and better covenant.

² The prayerful life of the Son of Man on earth is much to be noted in this connection, and His recorded prayers deserve reverent and careful study, as being the utterances of One who had no sin to deplore, to confess, or to guard against. This is the more remarkable in that repentance and confession as conditions of pardon are so strongly insisted on in the case of those who would be saints.

is a fitting and a worthy Mediator. But He is Divine as well as human: "God and man is one—Christ." Here is the "daysman" that Job wished for, or believed in, that can "lay his hand upon both (Job ix. 33).¹

There is, however, another aspect of the work of the Mediator which is here glanced at by St. Paul, and which may not be overlooked. He says that the Mediator "gave His life a ransom for many." We may not take these words as merely a figure of speech. The sacrifices under the old covenant were tests of obedience; they appealed to that feeling in the heart of sinful man that mere sorrow for sin will not save a man from its penalties or give him holiness for the time to come. They affirmed, too, that "the wages of sin is death." In the sense that life was accepted for life, the sacrifice might be regarded as a price or ransom. The state of a sinner is one of bondage. That marvellous chapter, Romans vii., sets forth in touching language the struggles of the better nature of the man against the law that brings into captivity to the law of sin; and as the captive has his price, or ransom, which the Redeemer pays on his behalf, so the mediator, Divine as well as human, purchases the Church "with His own blood." Into the mysteries of the atonement, the redemption of fallen man, the mediation of the great High-Priest, Who "put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself," even the "angels desire to look." For fallen angels there is no Mediator. But He became man, even to death, that He might consecrate the entrance to a new and high and perfect life. And so the way was opened by which we may come boldly, not with doubt or hesitation, to the throne of grace, being assured that the justified and sanctified saint shall stand before God in that day, not pardoned merely, as one who gets off a punishment, but cleansed from sin.

And for the present the Mediator's work goes on. "He sitteth at the right hand of God" to intercede until the time of the perfect consummation, when God shall be all in all. We use the word "intercession" in too narrow a sense when we

¹ It will be observed that I have not referred to the one passage in the New Testament in which the *verb μεσιτεω*, to mediate or interpose (Heb. vi. 17), or act as mediator, is employed. Here it is God Himself who is spoken of as intervening (not *confirming*, A.V.) by an oath between Himself and Abraham. It has been suggested that a still better translation would be "gave security." See CHURCHMAN, March, 1890, p. 290; comp. Josephus, Ant., iv. 6, 7, and Philo, de Spec. legg. ii. 7:

"These things they said, swearing oaths and making God *guarantor* of what they were promising."

"An unseen God undoubtedly acts as guarantor or surety (*μεσιτης*) to an unseen matter."

take it to mean no more than pleading or praying. The word is almost exactly the same as "mediator."¹

In the above remarks I have not attempted to explain, still less to explain away difficulties; I have simply tried to set forth a fair though brief statement of the Mediator's work. The general idea of mediation in the New Testament is definite and precise, and I have endeavoured to present it clearly, unencumbered by disquisitions as to the exact meaning of "covenant" and "testament," "the ordinances of angels" (Acts vii. 53), and other matters which offer expository difficulties.

We do not know why sin was permitted. We do not know how God will deal with those who have never known His salvation, nor can we say much about those who have wilfully rejected it. We cannot say how far the ransom may extend, or who may come "from the east and from the west" to sit down in the kingdom with the children of faith. We may not interpret the faithful saying that "Christ is the Saviour of all men, specially of those that believe." But we do know how He is revealed to us, and that through Him we "have access to the Father," who plead in His Name. The saintly life is one that speaks for itself, and those who have made but small advances in godliness yet know that the ways of true wisdom are pleasantness and peace.

And therefore we can see how dangerous, perhaps how deadly, it is, not to set His Name above every name, and to put other mediators between us and Him. True that the fervent prayer of the misguided though earnest worshipper of the Deipara, or the saint, is heard by the Almighty Father. Yet we cannot tell what loss to our own spiritual life, what damage even to our moral character, may result if we put the creature in the place of the Creator.

That the caution is required will appear from the following quotation from "The English Catholics' Vade Mecum," bound up in one volume with our Book of Common Prayer, a hymn addressed "To my Guardian Angel":

Sweet Angel of Mercy, by Heaven's decree
Benignly appointed to watch over me!
Without thy protection so constant and nigh,
I could not well live, I should tremble to die!

All thanks for thy love, dear companion and friend,
Oh, may it continue with me to the end!
Oh, cease not to keep me, blest guide of my youth,
In the way of religion, and virtue, and truth.

¹ In popular language "to mediate" is a larger word, including acts as well as speech, but there is no real difference in the meaning of the two words.

When I wander in error, my footsteps recall ;
 Remove from my path what might cause me to fall ;
 Preserve me from sin, and in all that I do
 May God and His glory be ever in view.

Oh, thou who didst witness my earliest breath,
 Be with me, I pray, in the hour of death ;
 All glowing with love may I gladly depart
 With faith on my lips, and with hope in my heart ;

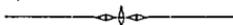
Nor then do thou leave me angelical friend !
 But at the tribunal of judgment attend ;
 And cease not to plead for my soul, till forgiven
 Thou bear it aloft to the Palace of Heaven.

Sad is it that words so beautiful should be the vehicle of a sentimentality so sickly and so delusive.

Is it not written, "Cursed is he that putteth his trust in man, and whose heart departeth from the Lord"? We may not despise the "communion of saints," we may not undervalue the ministrations of angels, which perhaps we sometimes forget. It is not because we deny the mediation of men that we insist that there is but *one* Mediator. Neither saints in heaven nor saints on earth have any merits to plead either for themselves or for others. We are by no means sure that they can hear us if we address them in prayer, when we no longer can speak to them face to face. But whether or no, that system must be false and foolish which persistently tries to foster the feeling in the mind of the worshipper that it is easier, more safe, and more efficacious to approach God through the saints than to do that which is our highest privilege—to seek boldly our Father's presence in the name of His Son.

Yet there is a sense in which we all may be mediators, for we are allowed to be fellow-labourers with Christ. Christ calls all the members of His Church to be saints, and countless are the ways in which—if we act up to our profession—we shall be striving for the spiritual edification of others. We should live with this object in view. It should be in our thoughts and in our prayers. The babe in Christ may sometimes succour the experienced believer. The very humblest work may be done for God, and if it help our fellow-men and fellow-sinners to repent more truly, to believe more fully, or to worship with more reality, it is a work of mediation. And by bringing souls nearer to God we may fulfil our part in that Body of which Christ is the Head ; and if so our prayer should be that we be "found in Christ, not having our own righteousness, but the righteousness which is of God by faith."

E. K. KENDALL.



* * In the interesting article, "A Plea for the Cycle," in the last CHURCHMAN, a slight error appeared. The real inventor of the velociman was Rev. Robert Charsley, brother of the late Master of Charsley Hall.

Notes on Bible Words.

No. XIII.—"IMAGE."

THE word "image" in the N.T. is εἰκών: figure, likeness (Cf. Jas. i. 6, εἰκώ: *to be like*).¹

Matt. xxii. 20: "Whose is this image and superscription?"
Rom. i. 23: "into an image made like to corruptible man"—*ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνοσ;* R.V., "for the likeness of an image," *what was shaped like an image of a perishable man.*—Meyer. Cf. Ps. cvi. 20. Sept., *ἐν ὁμοιώματι μῦθου,* "they exchanged (*bartered*) . . . for the likeness of an ox." Rev. xiii. 14: "that they should make an image to the beast."

1 Cor. xi. 7: "Forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God."

In Heb. x. 1 εἰκών is opposed to σκιά, a shadow, as in Cic. de Off. 3, 17, *solida et expressa effigies* is opposed to *umbra*.² Bengel interprets: *Imaginem archetypam et primam, solidamque.*

This is the Sept. word for שֶׁטֶף, as in Gen. i. 26, v. 3. שֶׁטֶף, first, *a shadow*, Psa. xxxix. 7; second, an *image*, "likeness" (so-called from its shadowing forth).—Gesenius.

Gen. i. 26, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness"—*κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν* (Vulg., *ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram*); 27, "in the image of God created He him."

Dean Alford ("Book of Genesis": 1872) comments thus:

The distinction between these two phrases, much maintained of old, viz., that the former applies to the physical, the latter to the ethical side of man's likeness to God, appears to be groundless. They are far more probably synonymous. Luther has rendered them "an image which may be like us." That the two words do not differ in meaning is shown by their indiscriminate use, the former in verse 27 and in ch. ix. 6, and the latter in ch. v. 1, where the same thing is evidently meant. This likeness . . . consists in his superior spiritual nature, which he has by direct communication from God, as the parallel account, ch. ii. 7, gives it. This spiritual nature, when free from sin, reflected in small the spiritual nature of God Himself. When sin intervened, it lost its purity and dignity, its holiness and blessedness, but not its basis and form.

Mr. Moule ("Outlines of Christian Doctrine," p. 157) writes:

What is the Image? Is it reason, in its highest sense? or power to know God? or

¹ In Heb. i. 3, A.V., "the express image" is *χαρακτήρ*: ("the exact impress," Dr. Kay). The R.V. renders "the very image;" but this is the rendering of *ἀντην ἑαύτου εἰκόνα* in x. 1.

² In contrast to εἰκών, the bodily form of a thing, σκιά denotes the mere outline. —Dellitzsch on Heb. viii. 5. (*Umbra and adumbratio.*) The Law "only furnished a shadowy outline of the good things to come."—Kay.

actual holiness, positive sanctifying knowledge of God? or immortality? or sovereignty over the creatures? We reject the last as inadequate. And as to the theory of positive holiness, it is a fact against it that *fallen men* are viewed in Scripture as "made in the image of God" (Gen. ix, 6, Jas. iii. 9); the original making of men in that image is a fact permanent for all men.

The solution which seems to us most comprehensive is that the Image lies in the mysterious gift of Personality, bringing not only mental, but, much more, moral capacity, and true free will and free agency, such that man within his sphere becomes a true self-guiding Cause, as God is in His sphere.

The beasts are not so . . . God, the Archetype of all Personality, supremely self-conscious, self-acting, moral, has made man to be, in the remarkable words of the Apocrypha, "the image of His own peculiar nature" (Wisd. ii. 23: *εἰκόνα τῆς ἰδίας ἰδοτητος*).

Rom. viii. 29: "Conformed to the image of His Son." 2 Cor. iii. 18: "Are changed into the same image;" *τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα, are transformed*; grow liker and liker, iv. 4; "Christ, who is the image of God."

See a learned article on "The Divine Image in which Man was Created," by the late Rev. A. C. Garbett; CHURCHMAN, vol. ii., n, s., p. 644.¹

On Col. iii. 10, "after the image of Him that created him," Bishop Lightfoot writes:

The reference is to Gen. i. 26. . . See also Eph. iv. 24. This reference, however, does not imply an identity of the creation here mentioned with the creation of Genesis, but only an analogy between the two. . . The allusion to Genesis . . . requires us to understand τοῦ κτίσαντος of God, and not of Christ, as it is taken by St. Chrysostom and others.

Col. i. 15: "Who is the image of the invisible God"—*εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου*. On this Bishop Ellicott writes:

The image of the invisible God; not "an image," Wakef., or "image," Alf., the art, is idiomatically omitted after *ἔστω* . . . Cf. 2 Cor. iv. 4, Heb. i. 3. Christ is the original image of God, "bearing His figure and resemblance as truly, fully, and perfectly as a son of man has all the features, lineaments, and perfections belonging to the nature of man," Waterl.

Christian antiquity has ever regarded the expression "image of God" as denoting the Eternal Son's perfect equality with the Father in respect of His substance, nature, and eternity.

Christ, as God, and as the original image of God, was, of course, primarily and essentially *ἀόρατος* . . . , but as the Son that declared the Father (John i. 18) as He that was pleased to reveal Himself visibly to the saints in the O.T. . . . He was *ὁρατός*, the manifestor of Him who dwells in *φῶς ἀπρόβουτον*, and whom no man hath seen or can see (1 Tim. vi. 16).

Beyond the very obvious notion of *Likeness*, says Bishop Lightfoot (Col. i. 15), the word *εἰκὼν* involves two other ideas: first, *Representation*; second, *Manifestation*. As to the first, the word is—

allied to *χαρακτήρ*, and differs from *ὁμοίωμα*. In *ὁμοίωμα* the resemblance may be accidental, as one egg is like another; but *εἰκὼν* implies an archetype, of which it is a

¹ A single sentence may be quoted: "Aquinas, accordingly, is quite right when he sees in the human body only what he sees in all the other creatures of God's hands—the marks of the Creator's workmanship, but not the image of Himself—*vestigia non imaginem Dei*." "Summa," p. 1, qu. 93, art. vi.

copy. . . . The εἰκὼν might be the result of direct imitation (μιμητική), like the head of a sovereign on a coin, or it might be due to natural causes (φυσική), like the parental features in the child, but in any case it was *derived* from its prototype. . . . The word itself, however, does not necessarily imply *perfect* representation.

On *Manifestation*, Bishop Lightfoot says that this idea comes from the implied contrast to "the invisible God"; and, replying to St. Chrys. and other Fathers, he points out that the underlying idea of the εἰκὼν, and, indeed, of the λόγος generally, is the manifestation of the hidden. The Word, whether pre-incarnate or incarnate, is the revelation of the unseen Father. Cf. John i. 18 and xiv. 9, 10.¹

The complete "redemption," the consummation, is given in 1 Cor. xv. 49, "as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly" (Philipp. iii. 21).

* * * In the September CHURCHMAN the Vulgate in Acts xv. 3 was copied as *conversationem*. This misprint, by an inadvertence, was not corrected. The Vulgate word, of course, is *conversionem*. There are no various readings.

Short Notices.

The Story of the "Imitatio Christi." By LEONARD A. WHEATLEY.
Elliot Stock. 1891.

HOW is it that the "Imitatio Christi" has attained such a marvellous circulation? Different answers to this question are given by different persons; but the statement contained in it is never disputed. It is certain that after the Bible no book has been so much read or enjoyed so extended a fame. The late Dean Church, for example, wrote that "no book of religious thought has been used so widely or so long." In the little volume before us, upon this as upon many another point, clear testimony is presented in a very interesting manner. Throughout the "story" is well told.

Mr. Wheatley has taken up the theory, and with no small measure of success has worked it out, that the four treatises now known under the name of "The Imitation of Christ" had their origin in the "Rapiaria," or books of extracts recommended by Gerard Groot to his followers the Brethren of Common Life. An interesting paper on the German mystics who preceded Thomas à Kempis, by the Rev. William Cowan, appeared some time ago in the CHURCHMAN.

The Throne of Canterbury; or, the Archbishop's Jurisdiction. By the Rev. MORRIS FULLER, M.A., Vicar of Bishop's Tawton. Pp. 320. Griffiths, Farran, Okeden, and Welsh.

Mr. Fuller is known as a writer of ability and judgment; and upon this question, the Archbishop's jurisdiction, he has the special learning

¹ On ὁμοίωμα (and ὁμοίωσις) see Trench, N. Test. Syn.

which entitles him to set forth his opinions with some authority. He recently contributed a paper to the CHURCHMAN on one branch of it; and we are pleased to recommend the volume in which the various lines of inquiry are followed with adequate fulness.

Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East.
Ninety-second year, 1890-91. London: Church Missionary House.

We earnestly recommend the reading of this Report. The noble Society is doing, at home as well as abroad, a blessed work.

In the Report this year many new improvements will be noted. "One of the most interesting (we quote from the *Intelligencer*) is the separate printing, in the list of missionaries, of the names of the wives. Now that we have so many (seventy-six) single ladies on the roll, it was impossible to let the wives, many of whom do as much work as they, or more, be merely indicated by an (*m*) after their husbands' names as hitherto. This adds to the list 219 names. Independently of these, there is an increase on the year of forty-six names (after deducting deaths and withdrawals); so that the list has to find room now for 655 names, besides 293 of country-born and native clergymen, or 948 in all: and it now occupies twenty-six columns.

"In the contribution lists there is a very important addition. The detailed lists are given as hitherto, by Associations, but arranged under rural deaneries or not, as preferred by local friends. But instead of one summary at the end, under counties, there are now two summaries, one under counties, and one under dioceses. This latter has long been asked for, notably by our honoured friend the Bishop of Liverpool; and we doubt not it will excite general interest.

"The relative amounts received from the various Dioceses, now shown for the first time, are an interesting subject of study. Of course only the sums received under the head of Local Associations can be thus compared. Contributions paid direct to the Society cannot be thus separated. So that the comparison only applies to £148,493 out of the total income of £239,418. Such as it is, however, it is full of interest. London Diocese stands easily first, although it suffers more than any other from the necessary exclusion of direct contributions. Its figure is £17,964. Then comes Rochester (*i.e.*, in the main, South London), £9,904. Then York, £8,241; Canterbury, £7,890; Winchester, £7,440; Chichester, £6,578; Gloucester and Bristol, £6,373; Southwell, £6,263; Norwich, £6,217; Manchester, £5,954; St. Alban's, £5,514; Worcester, £5,382; Bath and Wells, £4,977; Exeter, £4,656; Liverpool, £4,167; under £4,000 and above £3,000, come, in order, Peterborough, Ripon, Oxford, Durham, Ely, Lichfield, Chester; under £3,000 and above £2,000, Carlisle, Salisbury, Newcastle; under £2,000 and over £1,000, Lincoln, Wakefield, Hereford; under £1,000, St. David's, Truro, St. Asaph, Llandaff, Bangor, Sodor and Man.

"This comparison invites comment, but we cannot enlarge now. The influence of great C.M.S. centres like Bristol, Bath, Brighton, Tunbridge Wells, Cheltenham, Reading, in the south, of Birmingham and Nottingham, in the Midlands, and of Sheffield in Yorkshire, is very

"manifest; and so is that of well-worked County Associations like East Kent, East Herts, Derby, Norfolk, and Durham.

"The statistical tables in the Report show that there were 436 European Missionaries on June 1st, viz., 303 clergymen, 57 laymen, and 76 single women. Adding 219 wives, the total is 655. The native clergy are 278 in number; lay teachers, 3,085; female teachers, 706; total, 4,069. The native baptized Christians are 154,673 (of whom 50,005 are communicants); catechumens, 23,239; total adherents, 195,463. There were 3,250 adults and 7,241 children baptized in the year 1890. There are 1,720 schools, etc., with 70,311 scholars."

Those Three; or, Little Wings. A Story for Girls. By EMMA MARSHALL. Nisbet and Co.

We are pleased to see another story by Mrs. Marshall. It is a fair specimen from an excellent and almost unique library shelf. Lady Victoria and "those three" daughters are particularly well drawn. The volume is a tasteful present.

Morning Chimes. Readings for our little ones for every morning in the month on our Lord's Sermon on the Mount. By G. R. WYNNE, D.D., Archdeacon of Aghadoe. S.P.C.K.

A charming little book. It may be hoped that the esteemed Archdeacon will do something else in this way. There is a real need.

The Book of Psalms, according to the A.V., metrically arranged, with Introductions, various renderings, explanatory Notes, and Index. Pp. 280. The Religious Tract Society.

The present volume is in the main, we read, a reprint from the new and enlarged edition of the "Annotated Paragraph Bible," which edition, by-the-bye, we have as yet not seen. We welcome the book before us; it is a piece of good work, and will be found useful.

In the Introduction appear some very sensible remarks upon what the Dean of Canterbury has called the craze of placing the Psalms in the later periods. The arguments of an adverse criticism, says the author, "are vitiated by the excessive claims which they make on behalf of the insight of modern expositors as against the witness of antiquity. It may be added that the widely differing results to which this criticism leads must weaken confidence in its methods. Its conclusions are often mere conjectures; and every critic supersedes the guesses of his predecessors, as ingenious and baseless as his own." This is well and truly said. He gives instances. Thus: Ewald lays it down that David is the king referred to in Ps. cx. Dr. Cheyne, however, sees in this Psalm the glorification of Simon the Maccabean. As to that glorious marriage Psalm, the forty-fifth, Hitzig applied it to the nuptials of Ahab and Jezebel, Ewald to the marriage of some King of Northern Israel, and now Dr. Cheyne refers it (as well as the seventy-second Psalm) to Ptolemy Philadelphus. *Ptolemy Philadelphus!* It is certainly, says our author, no blind conservatism which restrains sound thinkers from paths of conjecture, in which almost every critic thus wildly differs from his predecessors.

The Psalms, of course, are printed thus :

8 O taste and see that the LORD is good :
 Blessed is the man that trusteth in Him.
 9 O fear the LORD, ye His saints :
 For there is no want to them that fear Him.

There are frequent references to the R.V., and to the Prayer-book version. The reference on Ps. xxvii. 14, will recall to some readers the story of the eloquent Nonconformist who, after working out during the week a sermon on "O tarry thou the Lord's leisure," could not find his text in the Bible, and was reminded that these words are the Prayer-book rendering of "Wait on the LORD." Such commentators as Perowne and Delitzsch have been carefully consulted. The Notes, as a rule, are judicious and helpful; but we are inclined to think that not a few among those who will value the book would be glad to see a little more in the way of exposition. Thus, for instance, the meaning of "In Thee do I put my trust" (Ps. vii. 1), *take refuge*, "hide myself," might well be given. Some choice bits of poetry appear here and there. For example, on "Rest in the Lord," is the following, "To a Christian man dying":

Rest in the Lord ! although the sands
 Of life are running low,
 Though clinging hearts and clasping hands
 May not detain thee now !
 His hand is on thee ! death's alarms
 Can never work thee ill !
 Rest in the everlasting arms,
 Rest and be still.

The Acts of the Apostles. By the Rev. G. T. STOKES, D.D. Hodder and Stoughton.

This is a volume of "The Expositor's Bible" series, and in many respects one of the best of that series. The Preface is interesting, and each chapter is full of good things. A passage, which for some of our readers will have a special interest, deals with the Diaconate question, and a portion of it may well be quoted here. Professor Stokes refers to an inscription over the door of a Marcionite church, A.D. 318, "*The Synagogue of the Marcionites*," and he thus proceeds :

"Now seeing that the force of tradition was so great as to compel even
 "an anti-Jewish sect to call their meeting-houses by a Jewish name, we
 "may be sure that the tradition of the institutions, forms, and arrange-
 "ments of the synagogue must have been infinitely more potent with the
 "earliest Christian believers, constraining them to adopt similar institu-
 "tions in their own assemblies. Human nature is always the same, and
 "the example of our own colonists sheds light upon the course of Church
 "development in Palestine. When the Pilgrim Fathers went to America,
 "they reproduced the English constitution and the English laws in that
 "country with so much precision and accuracy that the expositions of
 "law produced by American lawyers are studied with great respect in
 "England. The American colonists reproduced the institutions and
 "laws with which they were familiar, modifying them merely to suit
 "their own peculiar circumstances; and so has it been all the world over

“wherever the Anglo-Saxon race has settled—they have done exactly the same thing. They have established states and governments modelled after the type of England, and not of France or Russia. So was it with the early Christians. Human nature compelled them to fall back upon their first experience, and to develop under a Christian shape the institutions of the synagogue under which they had been trained. And now when we read the Acts we see that here lies the most natural explanation of the course of history, and especially of this sixth chapter. In the synagogue, as Dr. John Lightfoot expounds it in his *Horæ Hebraicæ* (Matt. iv. 23), the government was in the hands of the ruler and the council of elders or presbyters, while under them there were three almoners or deacons, who served in the same capacity as the Seven in superintending the charitable work of the congregation. The great work for which the Seven were appointed was distribution, and we shall see that this was ever maintained, and is still maintained, as the leading idea of the diaconate, though other and more directly spiritual work was at once added to their functions by St. Stephen and St. Philip.¹ Now just as our colonists brought English institutions and ideas with them wherever they settled, so was it with the missionaries who went forth from the Mother Church of Jerusalem. They carried the ideas and institutions with them which had been there sanctioned by the Apostles.”

The Pulpit Commentary. Romans. Exposition by Rev. J. BARMBY, B.D., Vicar of Pittington; Homiletics by Rev. Professor J. RADFORD THOMSON, M.A.; Homilies by various Authors. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.

We are much pleased with this volume. Mr. Barmby's exposition is exceedingly good; clear, judicious, and suggestive. Altogether, the commentary is quite up to the average of this popular series.

Doers of the Word. Thoughts on passages of Scripture bearing on daily Christian life. By E. T. WHATELY. Elliot Stock.

A notice of this admirable little work, sent to us by a valued contributor, has somehow failed to appear. The book contains twelve suggestive chapters. Miss Whately writes with her usual point.

In *Murray's Magazine* appears an interesting paper on “Calvary and the Tomb of Christ,” by Rev. Haskett Smith. We give an extract from it, as follows:

“It is certain that the identity of Calvary was unknown in the earlier part of the fourth century A.D., and the Tomb of Christ had then been entirely lost; for when Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine, undertook the pilgrimage to the Holy Land for the express purpose of discovering sacred sites, she could find no one in Jerusalem to point out the places where Christ had died and been buried. She was compelled

¹ “Bishop Lightfoot, in his well-known *Essay on the Christian Ministry*, from which we have already quoted, does not admit any likeness between the office of the diaconate in the Church and any similar office in the synagogue. He refuses to recognise the Chazzan or sexton of the synagogue as in any sense typical of Christian deacons. But he has not noticed the three almoners or deacons attached to every synagogue, whom his seventeenth-century namesake, Dr. John Lightfoot, in his tract on synagogues (*Horæ Hebr.*, St. Matt. iv. 23), considers the origin of the Christian deacons.”

"to have recourse to a miraculous vision, upon the strength of which she
 "fixed upon the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The three
 "Crosses were discovered in a marvellous manner; though, even sup-
 "posing the first disciple had carefully concealed the Cross of Christ, we
 "have no ecclesiastical explanation why they should have equally
 "respected the crosses of the thieves. The Empress Helena was, un-
 "doubtedly, a very pure-minded and earnest believer, and was moved
 "by feelings of intense devotion and reverence in all that she did; but
 "knowing as we do the ignorance, superstition, and unreasoning credulity
 "which prevailed at the time when she lived, and from which she herself
 "was by no means free, it is impossible for us to accept as trustworthy
 "evidence for the identification of the sites into which we are inquiring
 "the illusory visions of a devotee. Surrounded as she was, moreover, by
 "unscrupulous sycophants, whose business it was to gratify her devo-
 "tional aspirations, it is a matter of no surprise that her researches should
 "have been crowned with what she believed to be a miraculous
 "success, nor that her discoveries should have been handed down by
 "ecclesiastical tradition as irrefragable matters of undoubted truth.
 "Such traditions, however, are obviously worthless, so far as critical
 "inquiry is concerned, unless they can be shown to have been based
 "upon some other foundation more solid and trustworthy than miracles
 "and visions.

"Now, the first cardinal point of which we are certain, with regard to
 "the question before us, is that Calvary and the Tomb of Christ must
 "have been situated *outside* the city. Everyone agrees upon this point;
 "not only because it is well known that no criminals were allowed to be
 "executed, and no bodies to be buried, within the walls; but also because
 "we are expressly told in the Bible itself, that 'Christ suffered without
 "the gate,'¹ and that Calvary was 'nigh unto the city,' but not inside it.²
 "Almost all of the most reliable authorities, who have investigated the
 "matter carefully, are of opinion that the site of the present Church of
 "the Holy Sepulchre was within the walls of Jerusalem at the time of
 "Christ. Those who incline to the contrary belief are compelled to con-
 "struct the plan of the walls in a most improbable and eccentric manner,
 "in order to exclude the site; and it is evident, from the very result of
 "their endeavours, that they have been actuated by the natural and
 "meritorious desire to uphold, if possible, the Christian tradition of
 "centuries. They were well aware that, if they failed, the question would
 "be at once settled, so far as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre itself
 "is concerned. I do not propose to enlarge upon the arguments concern-
 "ing the direction of the walls of Jerusalem, for it would carry this
 "paper to an inordinate length; but those who feel interested in the
 "matter, will find the whole question thoroughly discussed in the large
 "volume on Jerusalem in the *Memoirs of the Palestine Exploration Sur-
 "vey*. Suffice it to say that the weight of evidence and opinion decidedly
 "preponderates in favour of including the Church of the Holy Sepulchre
 "within the *second* wall, *i.e.*, within the city at the time of Christ.

¹ Heb. xiii. 12.

² St. John xix. 20.

"But, even if we admit that the site may have been outside, this by no means proves that the Empress Helena and the subsequent ecclesiastical tradition were right in locating Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre there. It simply makes it a *possible* site. It appears to be considered that the whole question turns upon the direction of the second wall. This is very far from being the case. It merely raises the claim of the present site from the sphere of impossibility; it does not prove that it is probably, much less certainly, correct. There still remains the question of comparing it with other localities outside the walls and in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and of inquiring whether there may not be some other spot which presents superior claims.

"And we believe that there is, at least, one such spot. Just outside the present Damascus Gate, at the angle formed by the two main roads, the one from south to north, and the other from west to east, there stands a low hillock of remarkable appearance and shape. This is the mound which many people, myself amongst the number, now believe to be the true and original Hill of Calvary."

The *Church Missionary Intelligencer* contains two or three papers of special interest. Among Editorial Notes appears the following :

Our friend Canon Tristram, who has lately returned from his six months' journey round the world, writes to us that he spent two months in Japan, visiting nearly all the stations with his daughter, our missionary at Osaka, Miss K. Tristram; that he had three weeks in China, chiefly at Shanghai and Ningpo; and that he paid a flying visit to Colombo, Coita, and Kandy, in Ceylon. "Of all I have seen," he writes, "I can only say, the half was not told me. The solid reality of the work far surpassed my expectations. Quality rather than quantity is the great feature. Of course, there are difficulties; but what a noble set of men our missionaries are!"

We thought in our simplicity that Japan had been well reinforced lately, and feared the jealousy of India on account of it! But Canon Tristram demands for Japan "eighteen more clerics and thirty more ladies"!

The *Bible Society Reporter* for September opens with some verses which we do not remember to have seen before. The title is, "I have a life with Christ to live." We quote the piece as it is given :

I have a life with CHRIST to live,
But, ere I live it, must I wait
Till learning can clear answer give
Of this and that book's date?

I have a life in CHRIST to live,
I have a death in CHRIST to die;—
And must I wait, till science give
All doubts a full reply?

Nay, rather, while the se of doubt
Is raging wildly round about,
Questioning of life and death and sin;—

Let me but creep within
Thy fold, O CHRIST, and at Thy feet
Take but the lowest seat,

And hear Thine awful voice repeat
In gentlest accents, heavenly sweet,
Come unto Me, and rest :
Believe Me, and be blest.

J. CAMPBELL SHAIRP.¹

1868.

¹ Late Principal of the United College, St. Andrews, and Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. By permission of Messrs. Macmillan and Co.

The September number of the *Foreign Church Chronicle and Review* contains several interesting papers. This little quarterly gives matter which one cannot find anywhere else, and we are always pleased to notice it. It is edited with marked ability and judgment. (Reginald Berkeley, 29, Paternoster Row.)

From the *Newbery House Magazine* we take the following two paragraphs of comment :

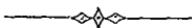
The Wesleyans have lately been in Conference. Amongst other signs of the deep unrest amongst the denomination, there was one of large significance. The "three years" system is evidently doomed. All the younger ministers are against it, and many of the members of the Society. The "class meeting" is in equal disfavour, and is equally doomed to depart. Methodism with a stationary minister and with feeble class meetings, is indeed a "forward movement," but some of the older and wiser men are asking, "whither?"

The International Congregational Council has been and gone. It had many features of interest; but whether Congregationalism has gained much by it is quite a matter of dispute. The Council revealed some very grave theological differences in International Congregationalism. In America that sect is still largely Calvinistic, and one notable English Congregational preacher had to "fumigate" his pulpit after the representative preacher from American Congregationalism had delivered his mind and soul from it. Another equally significant fact came out. Congregationalism, we have been told, "made America English," and in the far West Independency has had the most favourable field for its growth and success. Yet, to-day, it is in "a minority of millions when compared with younger denominations." Why is English Congregationalism more vigorous and broader than American Independency? Here it is partly political; and the influence of the Church has told immensely even amongst this sect against Calvinism.

In the *Cornhill Magazine* appears a paper on "Advertising in China." It opens thus: "In the 'Voyage of the *Sunbeam*,' the late Lady Brassey translated from Brazilian newspapers certain advertisements of slaves for sale, remarking that the presence of announcements of such a kind in journals of standing showed, not only that the sale of slaves was carried on freely and openly in Brazil, but that Brazilian public opinion found nothing to object to in the practice. There can be little doubt, indeed, of the value to an inquiring sociologist of the advertising columns of a leading paper. Advertisements give unconscious, and therefore trustworthy, evidence of the current standards of intelligence, morality, and refinement, quite as much as of the prosperity or poverty of a country. It is not time wasted, then, to take up the advertisement sheet of that comparatively modern institution, the Chinese vernacular press, and see what light it throws on Chinese manners and morals.

"In China proper there are at present four daily papers—one published at Canton, one at Tientsin, and two at Shanghai. Of these, the first is the only one not under foreign protection, and probably for this very reason its advertisement-sheet contains little of interest. It is largely occupied, in fact, by the puffs of an enterprising English druggist. The most characteristic advertisements are to be found, for those who have patience and eyesight, in the *Shên Pao*, or *Shanghai Gazette*. This paper was started in 1872 by an English resident as a commercial speculation. The native editor was given practically a free hand, while immunity from mandarin resentment was secured by the foreign ownership. In consequence the new venture, when its merits were once understood, became a Cave of Adullam for all Chinamen with a grievance. It took, in fact, the place of the indigenous 'nameless placard.' What that was (and is) the unfortunate foreign settlers in the Yangtse Valley know only too well. If a Chinaman considers himself wronged, and believes that the wrongdoer has the ear of the 'parent of

“his people,” the local magistrate, he does not—for that were folly—go to law. Nor does he lie in wait for his adversary and knife him surreptitiously—your true Chinaman is far too prudent for that. Early some morning appears on a convenient and conspicuous wall, by choice in the near neighbourhood of the offender, a full and particular, though possibly not over-true, account of his transgression, the whole professedly written by a Friend to Justice. Precisely how far in the direction of scurrility the writer will venture to go depends on the amount of support he can expect from public opinion. If the party attacked be the self-denying Sisters of Mercy with their hospitals and *crèches*, or the Catholic missionaries (who, *pace* the correspondent of *Truth*, are not beloved by the Chinese), then any amount of filthy abuse may be indulged in with comparative impunity. Officialdom, on the other hand, must only be impugned in general terms. To say that “every civilian has three hands, every army officer three feet”—in other words, to impute venality to the magistrates and cowardice to the military—is a stale truism which no official would venture to confute by a beating; but if the Friend of Justice indicts some individual magistrate by name, as he sometimes does, then matters will be made serious for him—when he is caught. Now, it very soon occurred to the Friends of Justice aforesaid that, all things considered, it would be much more satisfactory if the necessary reviling could be performed without any of the unpleasant consequences usually found to result from manuscript placarding. Accordingly they hastened to patronize the new press, protected as it was by the still powerful foreigner. Of course, the obscene lies directed against foreign missionaries were inadmissible, and too luxuriant abuse was pruned down. Still, enough remained to furnish forth a crop of libel actions had China been blessed with a Lord Campbell, and to keep several deserving barristers from starvation if the genus had been known in China. For many weeks the columns of the Shanghai paper a few years ago were adorned with the portrait of a bespectacled and befathered mandarin. Above the portrait appeared the legend, “He still wears a red button and a peacock’s feather”—as who should say, He still styles himself a Right Honourable and a K.C.B. Below the portrait was the indictment, commencing with this promising sentence: “Behold a cashiered Intendant of Hupeh, a man without a conscience, an avaricious schemer, one whose vileness is patent to all!” Then followed names and details, which it were tedious to repeat.”



THE MONTH.

THE friends and supporters of the Church Missionary Society, it is probable, will regard the result of the Lambeth inquiry as eminently satisfactory. The document which states the facts of the case as between Bishop Blyth and the Committee, gives also the “advice” of the Prelates: “We, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, and of Carlisle, in the vacancy of the See of York.” The *Record* says that the document “amounts to a complete vindication of the C.M.S.”

The Bishop of Rochester, in a letter to the Archdeacons of his diocese, writes as follows:

From the Census returns of last April it would appear that the population of the diocese of Rochester is now about 2,000,000, a larger population than is to be found in any other diocese in England; or, perhaps, the world, London only excepted. In these

circumstances I have, as you are already aware, felt it to be my duty to apply to the Crown for the necessary sanction to the consecration of a Bishop Suffragan. The sanction has been given, and Canon Yeatman, now Vicar of St. Bartholomew's, Sydenham, will, I hope, be consecrated at Michaelmas as Bishop Suffragan of Southwark.

A communicated article in the *Guardian*, touching Church Congresses (should one be held every year?), "probably expresses the secret conviction of many."

In the newspaper with "the largest circulation in the world" appeared the following :

People often speak of the emptiness of the City churches. On Sunday week, a correspondent to the *City Press*, I formed one of a party of visitors to Lichfield Cathedral, when, during Litany, there were only five other people in the place ; total of the congregation, eleven.

Free Education came into force on the 1st. Among the rural clergy, probably, the feeling is general that gain rather than loss will result from the new system ; but managers of voluntary schools in towns may at first, at all events, find themselves in some difficulty. Increased efficiency is the great need.

Archbishop Maclagan was enthroned in York Minster on the 15th.

We record with regret the death (apparently from over-work) of the Right Hon. Cecil Raikes, Postmaster-General, one of the Members for the University of Cambridge. Mr. Raikes was an earnest and judicious Churchman.

The Liberation Society have decided to join hands with the Welsh Disestablishment Campaign Committee. The Rev. H. Granville Dickson, general secretary of the Church Defence Institution, has addressed a timely letter to the clergy on this subject, and good work, we hope, will soon be done. The Earl of Selborne has written, in a letter to a Carlisle correspondent, as follows :

The agitation for Disestablishment in Wales means, of course, the general disestablishment of the Church of England, and nothing else ; it being, apparently, thought more easy to succeed by dividing the operation and taking Wales first. There is no separate Church in Wales (as there was in Ireland and is in Scotland), but only four dioceses of the Church of England ; the most ancient, and (from their representation of the early British Church) certainly not the least interesting. I have treated the subject in the concluding chapter of my book in "Defence of the Church of England against Disestablishment and Disendowment," and need not, therefore, now do more than refer you to what I have there said, and to what Mr. Gladstone said in 1870, which is quoted there. . . . As to the countenance given by Mr. Gladstone to this movement, I prefer not to say what I think. You ask whether I think there is any chance of its being successful if English Churchmen resist it as becomes those who care for their Church (for so I interpret your words). I am no prophet, and in this and some other things I may, perhaps, give my countrymen credit for knowing the value of the good institutions which they have inherited from their ancestors beyond what the event (which is in the hands of God) may justify ; but I can say with confidence that if English Churchmen do their duty they have power to prevent the success of this movement, and of all that would follow its success against their Church ; and I should hope that their resistance will be conducted in a manner more worthy of the Christian name than the attacks.

At the age of eighty-seven, Canon Carus, the friend and biographer of Simeon, has entered into rest.

The Rev. Canon Eliot, preaching in Holy Trinity Church, Bournemouth, from the words, "Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve Him day and night in His Temple" (Rev. vii. 15), said :

"There are occasions when the realities of another world and

“another life are pressed home close upon us. The veil between here and there is never indeed drawn back, but we are made conscious that it is only a veil, as someone from among us passes within. We do not see with bodily gaze what was granted to the Apostle, but the vision granted to him stands out before us with sharper distinctness. This I believe is the case with many in the congregation this morning. One who took a lively interest in the early history of this church and parish, and who was a member of this congregation for several years, has just been called within the veil. The late Canon Carus was one of the few remaining links with a generation that has passed. His career at Cambridge was a distinguished one: it was marked not only by conspicuous learning, but by the devotion of a holy life and the attraction of a consistent example. He felt and he strove to extend the great influence of the life of Charles Simeon. In those days the blessedness, the force, the usefulness of spiritual as distinguished from nominal and formal religion was but little recognised. Canon Carus lived to see the day when the spiritual religion of a Simeon was widely appreciated, not only in that section of the Church with which his sympathies were more particularly enlisted, but also in the ranks of those from whom on important points he differed. His genial manner, his affectionate spirit, his firm, clear grasp of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus commended that truth to those who had the privilege of his friendship. I cannot speak from a long and intimate acquaintance with him, but my short and comparatively small knowledge of him makes me regret that I had not seen and felt more of the influence of that holy life. And now that life, full of years, of honour, and of devotion to the Master whom he loved, has closed! In the calm quiet of a spirit kept by the peace of God, he gently fell asleep; but he, ‘being dead, yet speaketh.’”

The Rev. Canon Christopher, of Oxford, sends the *Record* the following reminiscences:

It was in October, 1839, fifty-two years ago, when I was a Freshman at Cambridge, that I first saw and heard one of the most genial and attractive of cultured Christian men, the late much-loved Canon Carus. I was asked by another Freshman to go with him to Mr. Carus' rooms one Sunday evening. His reception-room was over the gateway of Trinity College, of which he was Dean. His rooms were those which had been occupied by Sir Isaac Newton, and so had an interest of their own to Freshmen and to many others. There were about thirty undergraduates present. We each had a cup of tea before the Dean gave us an interesting and very profitable Christian address, the reverse of anything dry and tedious. But the number of undergraduates attending the meetings increased, and the Dean obtained the leave of the College to build at his own expense a large room behind the chapel which would hold about a hundred and fifty men, and this room was generally well filled. The cup of tea was dispensed with, and the usual address began at once. Mr. Carus always preached in the morning at his own church, Trinity Church, where he had in previous years officiated as the curate of Charles Simeon, whom he greatly loved and honoured. In the evening he always preached as lecturer in St. Mary's, the University Church, to an ordinary town congregation, which, however, included, as did the morning congregation at Trinity Church, many undergraduates. In the morning not a few undergraduates were in the habit of attending the instructive ministry of Professor Scholefield, the Regius Professor of Greek; but in the evening many of those who valued faithful Gospel teaching, and were not engaged at Bible readings in their respective Colleges, went to St. Mary's to hear Mr. Carus. Immediately after the service in St. Mary's, he hurried off to address his meeting of undergraduates in Trinity College.