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THE
CHURCHMAN

JULY, 1892.

ART. I.—THE SERVANT OF CHRIST.

No. VII.—DECISION.

WE might have thought that, in the days of the Apostles, if at any time at all, the advice to test the different opinions which presented themselves to the members of the primitive Church would have been unnecessary. While they had the priceless advantage of the living presence amongst them of the chosen companions of our Lord, and of the very founders of the kingdom of heaven on earth, we might have supposed that they would at once, with thankfulness, refer to them every question as it arose. It was not so. Never since the Church of Christ was first founded has it been all entirely of the same opinion. Never once has it had a perfect organization. If that happy state of things should arrive, we might at once expect the second advent. St. Paul was from the very beginning of his ministry troubled on the one hand with those who wished to confine the freedom of the Gospel by the old Jewish restrictions, and on the other by men of philosophical training who were always attempting to fit the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ into their own elaborate systems. Others there were who fancied they discovered differences in the principles of St. Paul, or of Apollos, or of St. Peter, or of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself from His representatives, and who attempted to found special parties in accordance with such fancied divergencies. Amongst others who showed dangerous heretical tendencies, St. Paul was obliged to denounce Hymenæus, Alexander, and Philetus. In the later days of St. John there were already many Antichrists: there were the Gnostics; there were the Nicolaitans. St. Paul and the other Apostles did not attempt to provide any machinery for extinguishing these perilous eccentricities; they trusted each to his own personal authority, to the loyalty

of their Churches, and to the intrinsic force of truth. Once a Council met at Jerusalem to discuss the relations of the Gentiles to the Law of Moses; but in general they were content with declaring the message of God, and appealing to personal responsibility. Of that personal responsibility, even in coming to seek Christ, a man could not divest himself. On the man's personal attitude towards truth depends his power of receiving it. "If any man is determined to do the will of God," said our Lord, "he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of Myself." And so St. Paul urged his friends in those early days at Thessalonica to prove all things. So St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians that the discerning of spirits was one of the greatest of Divine gifts. So St. John wrote in later times: "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God, because many false prophets are gone out into the world." And he gave them a wide and infallible criterion: "Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God; and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God." Even in those early times we see that there were great and serious misrepresentations of truth; there were human admixtures of conceit, perverseness, of folly and stupidity. The duty of discernment lay with the individual under the inward light of the Spirit of God. That in all cases was of supreme necessity. None who approached the question of Divine revelation in an attitude of presumptuous criticism, rash independence, or patronizing self-sufficiency, would be a likely subject for enlightenment. A humble belief in the Divine Being is the first step, and then a trustful reliance on Divine illumination. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. But he that is spiritual judgeth all things."

Such a time of proving there was in the second century, after the death of St. John, when the leaders and representatives of the different Churches scattered round the Mediterranean had, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to agree together which were the writings of the Apostles that should be collected in one, as the New Testament. For a long time the Western Churches hesitated to accept the Epistle to the Hebrews, because they were not sure who wrote it. For a long time the Eastern Churches shrank from acknowledging the Revelation of St. John, because it seemed to encourage strange opinions about the millennium. And some of the writings appeared too small, insignificant, and local for general preservation. And then, again, there were spurious writings to be dis-

carded. But the intrinsic inspired vitality of each document compelled their unity in the end ; and at the close of the fourth century, in the time of St. Augustine of Hippo, the Council of Carthage finally ratified the list as it is now in our hands. But far better than any such mere formal decision by authority is the spontaneous agreement which we find in the writings of the Christian teachers in that early century which followed the age of the Apostles ; first, in the principle that true Christian doctrine must be decided by an appeal to the Book ; and, secondly, in the recognition already of the Divine authority of almost every one of the writings which form our New Testament.

Such a time of proving there was in England three and a half centuries ago, when the National Church woke up from the long centuries of darkness and slumber which she had passed under the bewitching enchantments of the Papacy. Once more our fathers returned to the simple Word of God, and restored Holy Scripture to its true position as the Rule of Faith. The usurping yoke of the Bishop of Rome was repudiated. In place of the perverted Sacrifice of the Mass was restored the primitive custom of the spiritual Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ. The worship of the Virgin, the worship of images, the intercession of saints were shown to be unwarrantable and idolatrous practices. Prayers for the dead were deliberately discontinued as having no precedent in the Bible. The doctrine of purgatory, with its attendant superstitions, was renounced. The tyrannical imposition of the necessity of auricular confession and absolution was changed into opportunities for spiritual counsel. The calamitous enforcement of compulsory celibacy on the clergy was abolished. All these things were carefully and earnestly proved ; and the National Church, purified, enlightened, healed, and revived, held fast to the simple teaching of the primitive Gospel of Christ, to the simple principles of the orderly arrangements of His Apostles.

Such a time of proving comes to each individual soul when first he begins to realize the meaning of redemption in Christ. Is it true for the world ? he asks ; is it true for me ? And God sends him an answer if he ask in faith. The time of proving may come gradually and imperceptibly with the dawn of our intelligence from our very entrance into the kingdom of heaven at our baptism. It may come to us at the serious crisis of our confirmation, when in the face of the Church we solemnly and deliberately renew our vows of faith and obedience. It may come when we first leave the shelter of our peaceful religious homes and begin to go out into the storms and scepticisms and sinfulness of the world. But,

thank God! we have the united testimony of all the millions of faithful believers who week by week worship Him in Christ, that no message can ever be sent to us more reasonable or more satisfying or more Divine than the revelation which the Bible gives us of God the Creator of the world, of His words and work for mankind in the incarnation of His Son, and of the beneficent and purifying operation of His omnipresent Spirit. Nothing can ever appeal to our consciences with the Divine force of the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ on sin and death, righteousness and life, pardon and peace, the future world, the future reward, the future punishment, on faith, on hope, and on love.

But after the duty of proving all things comes the duty of holding fast that which is good.

There probably never was an age so thoroughly steeped as the present in the spirit of criticism; never an age in which it was so completely the intellectual fashion to tolerate in an atmosphere of indiscriminate solubility any new opinion which may be the amusement of the hour, however antagonistic it must be to that on which we ought to have made up our minds. Flexibility, indifference, irresoluteness, instability, frivolity, are not these widely characteristic of our times? It would be very entertaining, if we chose, to illustrate this contemporary tendency from the practical field of public life, with all its degradations, which must be so intolerable to men of honour; to exhibit men of light and leading on both sides of our absurd and disastrous system of party warfare, not particularly in regard to any recent questions, but again and again in the course of history, ludicrously zealous and solemn in denouncing principles and courses of action which they afterwards adopt and enforce with a zeal no less ludicrously solemn; or it would be easy to exhibit the cynical paradoxes which are maintained in literature and thought by way of compliment to the fastidious spirit of culture. There are men who would persuade you that the judgment of history is wrong, and that, for example, the monster Henry VIII. was in reality an estimable statesman who was unfortunate in his relations with women; and that his daughter Mary, who justly earned her terrible sobriquet in the memory of the people, was in reality only an amiable zealot who had the misfortune to fall on times of religious change and commotion.

But we need rather to remind ourselves in our moral and religious life that though obstinacy is a fault, and though it is desirable not to be inelastic, yet flexibility when carried to an extreme is a still more perilous disease. If we are always making compromises with those who disagree from us in matters of principle, we shall soon have nothing left to

preserve. And that is the most prominent danger of an age of high and general culture. It is loosely thought to be opposed to the true spirit of liberalism if we have citadels in our minds which we decline to expose to attack. It is asserted by the men of culture that we must hold every question in solution, and consider every principle open to refutation. It is our business to remember that this habit as Christians we cannot loyally or conscientiously permit ourselves to adopt. There are certain great truths which we have found to be good, and come what may we intend to cling to them with an unflinching and imperturbable fidelity. Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.

"Irresolution and mutability," wrote Dr. Johnson, "are often the faults of men whose views are wide and whose imagination is vigorous and excursive, because they cannot confine their thoughts within their own boundaries of action, but are continually ranging over all the scenes of human existence, and, consequently, are often apt to conceive that they fall upon new regions of pleasure and start new possibilities of happiness. Thus they are busied with a perpetual succession of schemes, and pass their lives in alternate elation and sorrow, for want of that calm and immovable acquiescence in their condition by which men of slower understandings are fixed for ever to a certain point, or led on in the plain beaten track which their fathers and grandsires have trod before them." Some men will tell us that we cannot escape from the spirit of the age; but what we have to remember is that we are as free agents as anybody else, that the spirit of the age is merely made up by the contributions of units such as ourselves, and that we have the same right, the same opportunity, the same duty as others in helping to influence and modify that varying shifting chorus of parrot-cries which goes by the name of public opinion.

Be firm ! one constant element in luck
Is genuine, solid, old Teutonic pluck.
See yon tall shaft, it felt the earthquake's thrill,
Clung to its base, and greets the sunshine still.

"In matters of great concern," wrote Archbishop Tillotson, "and which must be done, there is no surer argument of a weak mind than irresolution; to be undetermined where the case is so plain and the necessity so urgent, to be always intending to live a new life, but never to find time to set about it, this is as if a man should put off eating and drinking and sleeping from one day and night to another, till he is starved and destroyed."

None sends his arrow to the mark in view
Whose hand is feeble, and his aim untrue.

For though, ere yet the shaft is on the wing,
 Or when it first forsakes the elastic string,
 It err but little from the intended line,
 It falls at last far wide of his design.
 So he who seeks a mansion in the sky
 Must watch his purpose with a steadfast eye ;
 That prize belongs to none but the sincere,
 The least obliquity is fatal here.

“Irresolution,” said another old writer of the seventeenth century, “is a worse vice than rashness. He that shoots best may sometimes miss the mark, but he that never shoots at all can never hit it. Irresolution loosens all the joints of a state; like an ague, it shakes not this limb or that limb, but all the body is at once in a fit. The irresolute man is lifted from one place to another, and hath none left to rest on. He flocks from one point to another; so hatching nothing, but addles all his actions.”¹

“Irresolute men are to be pitied, for they lead a life of perpetual anxiety and harassing doubt; and could they but resolve to pursue a purpose to the end, the obstacles they would meet with in its execution would sink into insignificance when compared with the barrier met at the start—that of resolving.”²

“Irresolution,” wrote Addison, “on the schemes of life which offer themselves to our choice, and inconstancy in pursuing them, are the greatest causes of all our unhappiness.”

“There is nothing more pitiable in the world,” said Goethe, “than an irresolute man.”

O what a thing is man ! how far from power,
 From settled peace and rest !
 He is some twenty several men at least
 Each several hour.

He builds a house which quickly down must go,
 As if a whirlwind blew
 And crushed the building ; and 'tis partly true
 His mind is so.

O what a sight is man, if his attires
 Did alter with his mind ;
 And like a dolphin's skin, his clothes combined
 With his desires !

There are many voices about us that would seduce us from the steadfastness of our allegiance to the Lord Jesus Christ. There are the false, lying, hollow charms of a meretricious Romanism. What an example of instability it is when we remember that during the past half-century some three thousand persons of the educated and influential classes in this country, not to reckon those amongst the multitude,

¹ Owen Feltham, 1610-1678 A.D.

² W. T. Burke.

have left the English representative of Christ's invisible Church for the alien and unhappy Church of Italy! There is, again, the voice that insinuates to us how easy it is to find blemishes in our national profession of Christianity, and how free and healthy it would be to have a little sect of our own. What an example of levity in religious opinion, and of waste of power in religious action, it is when we remind ourselves that the denominations in this country, outside the old Church, number no less than 255! And then, do we not find numbers of persons allowing themselves to be taken up with Theosophy, or Buddhism, or Spiritualism, or Naturalism, or Æstheticism, or Agnosticism, or Materialism, or Secularism, to be enticed by any voice which speaks with the plausible interest of novelty, but which is not the voice of the Lord Jesus Christ?

It is well to remember how St. James warns us that he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea, driven with the wind and tossed. Let not that man think that he shall receive anything of the Lord. A double-minded man is unstable in all his ways. Surely we have by this time tasted for ourselves that the Lord is gracious! Surely, having once walked in the green pastures and by the still waters of faith, we shall not willingly wander out into these grim deserts of doubt which are traversed only by the shrieking winds of despair! Surely we have found for ourselves what our fathers have told us, that the Word of God contains sufficiently all things necessary for the health and salvation of our souls! Surely nothing can ever be more lovely, or satisfying, or wholesome, than those simple truths which we learned by our father's side and at our mother's knee! Surely the Church which for so many centuries has held up the lamp of God's revelation to man, and which has made our country what it is in greatness and in usefulness and prosperity, is enough even for us! Surely our lives have been but empty and blundering if we have not yet found anything of truth and beauty and goodness worthy to be held fast! But, holding fast that which we have proved, we shall have in our hands the key of knowledge and the touchstone of truth; and all these other voices, and spirits, and tendencies, and cries which are about us will interest us only as matters which we should sift, and which may help to illustrate our central position, and we shall, as life draws on, only be more and more firmly persuaded that in Christ, and in Christ alone, are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. For He is the power of God and the wisdom of God; because the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men; for God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise,

and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world and things which are despised hath God chosen; yea, and things which are not to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in His presence. And of Him are we in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption, that, according as it is written, He that glorieth let him glory in the Lord!

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

ART. II.—THE CHURCH OF IRELAND.

THE work of Mr. Olden in the series on the National Churches,¹ edited by Mr. Ditchfield, is not, like so many manuals of Irish Church History, a mere compilation, but in every sense an original work. Mr. Olden is the rector of a remote parish in the county of Cork, but he is a scholar of wide learning, especially in Irish literature, and he is well versed in the Irish language. In this respect he has the advantage of Dr. Stokes, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin, whose most able works on the Celtic and Anglo-Norman Churches we reviewed in the *CHURCHMAN*, in the years 1886 and 1890. Mr. Olden had previously made his mark by valuable contributions to the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, by an interesting volume on "The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago,"¹ and by important contributions to the "Dictionary of National Biography." He was invited to write the story of the fortunes of the Church of his native land, and the volume before us of 440 pp. is the result.

Mr. Olden has to traverse the ground so ably occupied within the last few years by Dr. Stokes, and he lies under a distinct disadvantage in being obliged to follow one endowed with such a talent for lucid presentation of obscure historical incidents. It is almost amusing to observe that Mr. Olden, although giving a list of forty-seven works on Irish history, never alludes to the works of Dr. Stokes, except once in order to point out that the latter gives a wrong date for the building of King Cormac's chapel at Cashel. We presume that he is resolved to keep well off Dr. Stokes' lines, and he has, in our opinion, done so. His book, therefore, is a fresh contribution to the history of the much-tried and much-calumniated Church of Ireland.

¹ *The National Churches: Ireland.* By Rev. THOMAS OLDEN, M.A., M.R.I.A. London: Wells, Gardner, Darton and Co. 1892.

Mr. Olden has a new theory of St. Patrick. He believes that Patrick came to Ireland before Palladius, the missionary sent by Pope Celestine, and not after him, as popularly supposed. He discusses this question in a learned Appendix, and maintains that Sen Patrick (Patrick, senior) of the native records came to Ireland about A.D. 397, instead of A.D. 432, that he laboured in Ireland until his death, A.D. 463, and that his really wonderful work of conversion was comparatively ignored by mediæval writers because it could not be connected with a Roman mission. About the ninth century, by the liberal employment of fiction, a supposed Patrick, a missionary of Celestine, Archbishop and Apostle of Ireland, and follower of Palladius, was developed. Sen Patrick, Mr. Olden says, was the author of the "Confession," the "Hymn of Patrick," and the "Epistle to Coroticus." He was a slave in Ireland, a pupil afterwards of St. Martin of Tours, and he received episcopal orders from Amator, Bishop of Auxerre.

To many readers it will appear a matter of comparatively trifling interest to settle the precise date of the real St. Patrick; but Mr. Olden's theory, contradicting previously received opinions, is worthy of all consideration. It will probably, by those who desire to refer to the Pope the mission of the great apostle, be sharply criticised. We do not understand the position, as it must have presented itself to Pope Celestine, if Mr. Olden's theory be true. He must have sent his Palladius to the "Scots in Ireland believing in Christ" (on the preaching of Sen Patrick), as a sort of papal legate.

The general course of Irish Church history has been traced in these pages in previous reviews, and probably the most acceptable way in which Mr. Olden's work may be commended to our readers will be that of presenting briefly some of the more or less novel contributions which his wide learning has enabled him to make to our knowledge of points of detail.

In St. Patrick's "Confession" he tells how after his term of slavery in Ireland he managed to escape on a vessel bound presumably for France, and relates how, on landing, he and his party had a journey of twenty-eight days through a desert during which they were nearly starved; but a herd of swine crossing their path, they killed some and were refreshed; and then occurs the curious passage: "and their dogs had their fill." Mr. Olden suggests that the cargo was one of Irish wolf-hounds, or hunting dogs, which were in great request in Rome and the East, that Patrick had "worked his passage" in the vessel by attending to these dogs, and that, arrived in France, he would be free to leave the party, on which he must have proceeded to Auxerre or Tours, where he studied, and was ultimately ordained.

The commonly accepted place of burial of the Apostle of Ireland is Downpatrick, in the county of Down. Mr. Olden unhesitatingly states that he was buried in *Armagh* (p. 30), and on a subsequent page observes that "the body of Sen Patrick was said to have been pointed out by an angel at *Glastonbury* in 1184" (p. 255); while by a daring imposition Earl de Courcy, in 1185, contrived that Malachy, Bishop of Down, should see St. Patrick thrusting his hand from his supposed grave in the cathedral of *Down*.

Singularly enough, this Norman myth (according to Mr. Olden) of the burial in Down has held its ground ever since, and, in fact, a tomb or monument is now about being erected over the supposed burial-place in Down.¹ But even these three burial-places of the great saint do not suffice, for in 1293 Nicholas mac Maclisa, a violent opponent of the Norman invaders, made a rival discovery, and found the remains of Patrick, Brigit, and Columkille not at Downpatrick, but at Saul, in another part of the county (p. 256).

One of these three patron saints of Ireland is St. Brigit. Mr. Olden's account of her is the most vivid we have seen. Her origin was not, as Lanigan avers, noble, but of a very humble sort; but natural genius and the Divine flame of piety combined to make her the most remarkable woman whose name the Church of Ireland records. The great event of her life was the foundation of the church of Kildare, which is still used as a parish church, and is overshadowed by one of the finest of the Irish round towers. But Mr. Olden's most interesting contribution to the story of St. Brigit is connected with the remarkable fact that in the early Irish Church she occupied nearly the same position which in later times is given to the Blessed Virgin Mary. She is entitled "the Mother of the Lord," or "one of the Mothers of the Lord," the "Queen of the true God," the "Queen of Queens" ("Liber Hymnorum," vol. i.). In the "Book of Leinster" a remarkable list of parallel saints of native and foreign Churches is given (p. 370, c, d, of facsimile), and in this "Brigita" stands among Irish saints as parallel to "Maria" among the saints of the foreign Churches. In the same list of pairs "Patricius" stands parallel with "Peter, Apostle," Columkille with Andrew, and Finnian of Clonard with Paul. "The explanation of this extravagance," says Mr. Olden, "is that it is due to the rivalry between the Irish Church and the propagandists of foreign views. Whatever they said of the Virgin Mary, the Irish would affirm of their native saint,

¹ Dr. Stokes accepts the death at Saul and the burial at Downpatrick as authentic ("Celtic Church," p. 95).

and, if possible, outdo it. If they had a Mary, the Irish would affirm that they also should have one, and so they said that Brigit was 'the Mary of the Gael.' . . . The exaltation of Brigit into which the Irish were forced, as it were, by the language of their opponents, was an episode in their struggle to assert the nationality of their Church, and to prevent its absorption into the Continental Church" (pp. 47, 48). Mr. Olden considers the story of Brigit's burial in Downpatrick to be mythical, in spite of the couplet given by Cambrensis (at least in some MSS., for it was absent from Ussher's):

Patrick, Columba, Brigit, rest in glorious Down,
Lie in one tomb, and consecrate the town.

Mr. Olden has pointed out that there came a decided reaction against Christianity in Ireland after the passing away of her earliest saints. Like their Celtic kinsmen of Galatia, their fervour cooled down, and paganism threatened to reinvolve the Church in some places. This relapse was much exaggerated by the authoress of the "Life of Disibod," written on the Continent in the twelfth century. She speaks of "a huge schism and great scandals prevailing in all Ireland. Some rejected the Old and New Testaments and denied Christ, some embraced heresies, some relapsed into paganism," etc. This account is, however, too highly coloured. But that some serious tendency to relapse existed is only too certain. To restore once more the purity of religion, Ainmire, King of Ireland (A.D. 568-571), first cousin of St. Columba, is said, in the life of Gildas, to have sent for that saint to Britain, entreating him to come to Ireland and restore ecclesiastical order, for almost all the inhabitants of the island had abandoned the Catholic faith.

To the school of St. David of Wales the Irish Church owes a great revival at that time. From Whitherne also, in Galloway, a school under the influence of St. Martin of Tours, others resorted to Ireland, and henceforward constant ecclesiastical intercourse was kept up between the Irish Church and those of Wales and Scotland. Mr. Olden considers that in this revival there was an undue toleration of semi-pagan superstitions, and that the worship (for it is little short of worship) of holy wells still carried on in Ireland was a pagan custom winked at by the "second order" of Irish saints.¹ One result of this gentle treatment of native superstitions was that there

¹ A writer of the eighth century divides the saints of Ireland into three periods: 1, those who founded the Church; 2, those who revived and extended it; 3, those who dwelt in deserts in later times. The three orders are deemed sanctissimus, sanctior, and sanctus. See Ussher, vi. 477-479.

were no martyrs in Ireland. This is a serious charge brought by Giraldus Cambrensis against the Irish Church. Mr. Olden quotes an absurd flight of rhetoric from the work of Bishop Greith, an ecclesiastical writer (1867) of Germany. Both the fact and the illustration are singularly opposite to the truth: "As the hills of Ireland are planted with fruitful vines, so the Irish Church is illustrious with the red blood of her martyrs."

But this second period was famous for the establishment of great schools of learning in Ireland. To it we owe the labours in this kind of St. Finnian of Clonard (*cir.* 550), and St. Comgall of Bangor (*cir.* 559), while the missions to Northern Britain and to the Continent under Columba, Columbanus, St. Gall, and others, prove that with a revival of spiritual life there came, as is ever found in the history of the Church, an outburst of missionary zeal.

It has often been a matter of surprise that the clergy of the early Celtic Church were so numerous. Mr. Olden points out that it is a law of the Brehon code that every lawful first-born son belonged to the Church, and if any parents had ten sons the Church could claim another for her ministry. Rights like these were never claimed from the laity by the clergy of any other Christian Church. Energetic curses were launched against any youth who afterwards doubted his vocation, and sought freedom from this veritable conscription for the army of the Lord. This superabundance of clergy tended to swell the numbers both of Irish monasteries and of missionaries.

We must not linger over the record, to which our author does full justice, of the extraordinary successes of Irish missionaries in the conversion of Northumbria, Essex, Mercia, Sussex. Thirty glorious years, the brightest in the annals of the Irish Church, saw the conversion under her missionaries of the greater part of England. But then Rome pushed forward; the Celtic stiffness, in refusing to submit to Rome, turned the tide against the Irish mission, and when Colman weakly turned his back on Wilfrid at the Synod of Whitby, and retired to a wild monastery on the Atlantic, the days of Irish religious influence in England drew to a close (A.D. 634).

It is impossible to understand why Colman so readily threw up the case when Wilfrid brought his Roman interpretation forward of "Tu es Petrus." For Irish writers uniformly interpreted the Rock (as the main body of the Fathers did) of Christ, or the faith of Christ (see "*Liber Hymnorum*," part 1, p. 12, and so Dungal, master of the school of Pavia, who was termed *Præcipuus Scotorum*). But probably there was that in the temperaments of the two men which made the man who had the best reason on his side give way before him who had the most brazen front. And then there was standing by a

king, and his sympathies were with Wilfrid, and kings count for something in the adjustment of a balance of arguments.

But if Irishmen withdrew from England after the reverse at Whitby, there was a counter-emigration of Englishmen to Ireland. The life of St. Gerald of Mayo describes his coming with his brothers and a sister and many followers, who landed at the mouth of the Shannon and afterwards settled in the county of Mayo, where they erected "the Church of the Pilgrims." And still the district is known as Tech Saxan, or the Saxon's abode, and one of the prebends of the Cathedral of Tuam still bears the title, and witnesses to the truth of this strange pilgrimage of the ex-Abbot of Winchester and his 3,000 followers. One of Gerald's brothers settled in the county of Cork, where his tombstone still stands in the churchyard of Tullylease, and the place is called Tuath Saxan, in reference to the same facts. Lastly, a third brother settled near Kinsale in the same county, where the parish of Tisaxon still records the settlement, while the parish of Kilbrittain, near Bandon, once more recalls in its nomenclature this old-world migration, which seems to have been the result of the affection with which the Irish missionaries were held in some quarters in England.

Mr. Olden furnishes us with many little-known facts such as the above. Here is another. Columbanus attributed the dignity of Rome to the fact of its being the *burial-place* of SS. Peter and Paul. He places Rome *on this account* only second in dignity to Jerusalem, the place of the Lord's resurrection. The veneration of Rome was thus due, not to the theory of its being the Mistress of Churches, but from its mysterious sanctity as containing the tomb of the great Apostles. "A singular evidence of this remains in the old Irish language, where the word 'Rome' is found as a familiar term for any burial-place. The full expression is a 'Rome of burial' (*Rom admarcthi*), but generally simply 'a Rome.' In this sense Bardsey Island, off the coast of Carnarvon, was so named 'Roma Britannicæ.' . . . And so the two saints commemorated by Ængus on October 23 are said to have had Babylon for their *Rome* or burial-place" (p. 96).

The Irish Church later on revered Rome as the seat of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and a Pope of Rome is termed "the successor of Peter and Paul"—"*Comarba. Petair is Poil.*" Through them Rome was the "head" of the Churches of the world, and, as our author points out in a note, the term "head" is still in use among the peasantry to denote dignity, not jurisdiction, as, *e.g.*, "the head doctor" means the most eminent physician.

The independence of the Irish Church is shown in early

ages by many proofs besides the familiar ones of the differences about the tonsure and Easter. For example, the hereditary succession of the coarbs, or heads of the monasteries, was long maintained as an inviolable rule. The See of Armagh for fifteen generations, as St. Bernard says, was handed down in one tribe and family. The great monasteries seem to have been spiritual clans. And the coarb, or chief, need not be in episcopal orders; in fact, as has often been pointed out, the succession in such sees as Armagh is reckoned by the succession of the coarb, or head of the monastery, whether he were a bishop or only an abbot. And when we say "only" an abbot, we use modern language, for in early times the abbot was the real "lord," and the bishop was appointed, and supported, and directed by him to ordain and confirm. There was no real diocesan episcopacy till the twelfth century. And the bishops were usually monastic rather than territorial. The history of the See of Armagh, therefore, is really not so clearly, as some suppose, traceable through a succession of bishops. As Dr. Stokes says ("Celtic Church," p. 334): "The histories of the Abbey and of the See of Armagh are inextricably mixed up together, so that it is almost impossible to say whether any individual mentioned in our annals as the *Coarb* of St. Patrick was Abbot or Bishop of Armagh."

This irregularity of the Irish Church which placed the succession rather in the coarb than the bishop, and which gave no special dignity to metropolitans, was the reason why in A.D. 816 Irish clerics were prohibited from officiating in England. It is clear enough from this that Roman discipline had no currency in Ireland in the earlier part of the ninth century. It is in the eleventh century that the See of Armagh is first brought into the full light of day; and it is in the Act of Brian Boru in 1002, who acknowledged the superiority of Armagh over Munster as well as over Ulster, that the archiepiscopal dignity of Armagh, as having Primacy of all Ireland, is first publicly recognised. The English Church had serious doubts in the early Middle Ages of the validity of Irish episcopacy; see, *e.g.*, as one witness out of many, the letter (Ussher, iv. 524) from Anselm to Muriardachus, King of Ireland, A.D. 1100, where the two-fold objection to Irish episcopacy is urged by the Romanizing Primate: "Item dicitur episcopus in terra vestra passim eligi, et sine certo episcopatus loco constitui; atque ab uno episcopo episcopum, sicut quemlibet presbyterum, ordinari. Quod nimirum sacris canonibus omnino contrario est: qui eos qui taliter instituti sunt aut ordinati, cum suis ordinatibus ab episcopatus officio deponi præcipiunt."

We need not enter into the controversy as to the validity of such an episcopate; it is enough to point out, first, that it proves definitively that the Irish Church was not under Roman discipline, and, secondly, that, in spite of the irregularity, the Roman see acknowledged the validity of the succession and orders; for it did not insist on the reconsecration of such bishops when they came under canonical discipline. Their ordinations were accepted in spite of the irregularity complained of. And even Hildebrand could address his brief to "The king, the archbishops, bishops, abbots, nobles, and all Christians inhabiting Ireland." He, like all other notable Roman authorities, could not fail to acknowledge the validity of our orders, while lamenting the obstinacy which still kept the Church from accepting the Roman discipline.

Mr. Olden's chapter on the constitution of the early Irish Church (ch. vii.) is both original and interesting. He points out that the Church, as a living force, adapted itself to the civil polity in Ireland, as it did to the completely different civil polity of the Roman Empire, and that as, under the Brehon laws, the tribal constitution prevailed in Ireland, the Church took the same colour, and the absence of a central government in the country was reflected by the like defect in the Church. Each great monastery was, in fact, a spiritual clan, the head of which was the coarb, or heir, of the original founder. Thus for many generations the coarbs of St. Comgall of Bangor were the lineal descendants of the family from whom the endowment in land had been originally derived.

As bearing upon present controversies, it is interesting to note that from very early times Ireland was practically divided into North and South, the North (Leth Cuinn) occupying rather the larger portion of the island, and being separated from the South (Leth Mogha) by a line not at all comparable with existing provincial boundaries. A remarkable line of gravel hills, the result of oceanic currents in ages when the whole or part of the island was under the sea, extends from the neighbourhood of Dublin to Galway Bay.

This line of "Eskers," as they were called (and the name survives in that of a townland in the neighbourhood of Dublin), divided the whole island into North and South. And previous to the introduction of strictly diocesan episcopacy, the government of the Church was by synods of the representatives of the principal monasteries, bishops and presbyters alike, which were held quite separately in the northern and southern parts. There were no united assemblies of the whole Church. A divergence of sympathy naturally arose out of this division. The South, at a much earlier date than the North, was swayed by Roman influence. The North,

following Armagh, held out for over a century after the South had accepted the Roman Easter, and the influence of the Roman breviary on the Irish liturgies is traceable first in the South.

The origin of this partition is obscure. But it represented a real difference of character in the population, just as a real difference is observable to-day. This was centuries before the "Plantation of Ulster," and it attracted the attention of such a keen observer as Giraldus Cambrensis, who says: "The people of the North of Ireland were always warlike, while those of the South were crafty and subtle; the one coveted glory, the other was steeped in falsehood; the one trusted to their arms, the other to their arts; the one was full of courage, the other of deceit." How far Giraldus would have written in the same tone had he lived in 1892, let him who knows Ireland judge. Giraldus attributes some of these divergencies to the influence of climate, and probably he is not far wrong.

The absence of a formally preserved account of the succession of episcopacy in any bishopric, and the fact that the monasteries preserved the succession of coarbs rather than of bishops, has led the upholders of Presbyterianism to maintain that the early Irish Church had a Presbyterian form of government. But this is a rash and untenable opinion. The accusation of the enemies and critics of our orders was not that episcopal consecrations were invalid, but that the bishops were often consecrated by one bishop only. This custom, however, prevailed at times in different parts of the Church (Bingham, bk. ii., ch. xi., § 5), and was never held to invalidate orders. And episcopacy was absolutely primitive in Ireland. It is a distinctly diocesan episcopacy which was of later introduction.

Not only in the early Church, from St. Patrick and St. Columba down, is the episcopal order regarded as superior to that of the presbyter, but it is taken as combining in itself those of presbyter, deacon, sub-deacon, lector, exorcist, and ostiarius, or door-keeper.

The Brehon laws everywhere assume the existence of a *married* clergy, side by side with the celibate monks. A bishop who is married may recover his position if he has fallen into sin by performing penance within three days, but a celibate loses his position altogether. It is well known that St. Patrick was the son and grandson of clergymen. Abundant evidence is to hand of the prevalence in later times of a married clergy. The Bishop of Connor, in the time of Pope Gregory IX. (1227-1241), was the son of a priest and begotten in priesthood ("Filius sacerdotis, et sacerdotio genitum"). He was elected by the canons of the diocese, and

afterwards forced by the new Roman law to resign. The Roman Catholic writers, such as M. de Montalembert and Professor O'Curry, insist on the celibate character of the Irish saints. The latter describes, *e.g.*, "Conn of the Poor," as "a lay religious." "But," says Mr. Olden, "this eminent scholar must have known that Conn was Bishop of Clonmacnois, and that he was a married man. Not only was this bishop a married man, but his father, grandfather, and great grandfather, all of whom were in holy orders, were married men" (p. 124). The Brehon laws see nothing unfitting even in the marriage of a Pope, whom they call "the highest Bishop, the Bishop of Peter's Church."

The Irish Church, organized after its own national fashion, but retaining all the essentials of Catholic faith and order, was the solitary instance of a Church in the West outside the Empire. England was a province of the Empire, and therefore was constituted both in Church and State more nearly on the Continental model. The independence of Ireland of Roman secular influence was reflected in its independence in ecclesiastical organization, until the aggression of the twelfth century at once placed her under the power of England and of Rome. Such a free Church was a thorn for centuries in the side of all Romanizers, whether in England or on the Continent. It is absurd for Romanists now to claim Ireland as from earliest times a faithful daughter of the Roman Church. Had this been the case, we should not only have heard of none of those remarkable divergencies of order and liturgy, but we certainly should not have found Pope Adrian urging Henry II. to "*extend the borders of the Church*" to Ireland; or Pope Alexander III. entreating him to confer rights on the Church where it had none ("*Ubi nullum jus habet id debes sibi conferre*"). He is careful to conserve the rights of St. Peter to the Pope, and even if he has none there ("*si etiam ibi non habet*"), Henry is to appoint such rights and assign them to the Roman Church. These invasions of the ancient freedom of the Irish Church were most unpopular with a large part of the Irish hierarchy. We find a sullen silence on the subject of most of those synods by which the Roman yoke was imposed on the Church in so important an authority as the "*Annals of the Four Masters.*"

We have now given the reader some examples of the manner in which Mr. Olden treats his subject. His selection of topics is never commonplace, and his manner of treating his subject is never dull. He has made several new contributions to the store of knowledge available to the English reader. His familiarity with the great writers on Irish history enables him to cull many illustrations from sources not translated, to

brighten up his subject, and we shall be surprised if his work fails to find a wide circle of readers.

We purposely refrain from touching in the present article on the vexed question of the changes effected at the Reformation, and of the episcopal succession of the present Church of Ireland. It is not, we think, as fully and exhaustively treated by Mr. Olden as it might have been.¹ The darkest times of the Church of Ireland seem to us to have been those, not preceding, but those following the Reformation. The Reformed Church was handicapped in every possible way. It was English in tone and habit, and language and rule. How could it commend itself to the Irish spirit? Its canonical, legal position is unassailable as the true representative of the old Church, but in its presentation to the people it was purely English. The really foreign Church, that of Rome, with its new titular hierarchy, became the representative to the Irish heart of all that was national, while their own historical Church expressed, through the mismanagement and worldliness of its rulers, all that was of the conqueror. It is an old, sad story.

But we are not without hope that out of her countless trials and sorrows the Irish Church may yet emerge to be a centre of true spiritual life in the country. He would be a daring seer who should venture to forecast the future of Protestantism in Ireland should England in a fatal hour grant Home Rule on an extensive scale. The people are unfitted for self-government; the Romish hierarchy are unacquainted with the real meaning of toleration; the Protestant population in Munster is but *seven* per cent. of the whole;² and those who know the country best feel that the position of this minority, should a Home Rule Government be established, and priestly power prevail, will be one of very serious peril. And it would seem natural also that should Ulster resist a Home Rule government, reprisals would be taken against the loyal and Protestant minority in the more remote parts of the kingdom, which it is not agreeable to contemplate.

G. R. WYNNE.

¹ The controversy as to the episcopal succession of the present Irish Church from the ancient Church of Ireland was again revived by certain strangely unfriendly articles in the *Church Times* in the year 1891. Those who wish to see a calm and judicial statement of the evidence which remains on this important subject must consult the Right Hon. J. T. Ball's "Reformed Church of Ireland," ed. ii., 1890, pp. 70 *f.*, and Notes Q, R, S. It would be quite out of the question to enter on the discussion in this article.

² It is of Munster alone we speak. Taking the island as a whole, the Protestant population numbers nearly a third of the inhabitants.

ART. III.—RECENT CRITICISM ON THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY.

IT will be well to realize at the outset that the inquiry as to the relation of the book of Deuteronomy to the preceding books of the Pentateuch is only on the fringe of the great question now being forced upon the Church—whether almost the whole of the O.T. is to begin with shame to take a lower room than that which it has hitherto been supposed to occupy. And it is well to realize at the outset that the position hitherto occupied by the O.T. is that which has been accepted in every age of the Church, and that it has the express, reiterated, and varied *imprimatur* of the writers of the N.T. and of our Lord Himself.

The O.T. writings are consistently and continually forced into prominence; and that, not only in dealing with Jews (as if it had been an *argumentum ad hominem*), but with Gentiles. The dispersion of the Jews, the prevalence of the Greek tongue, and the existence of the LXX. translation were three co-ordinate events which made the appeal to the O.T. possible. But the appeal was more than possible. It was, as I have said, prominent and emphatic; and those were counted noblest who tested the New by the Old.

In view of this, it seems to me that the Christian student, as such, cannot have a free hand. He must start with just so much prejudice as the facts to which I have already referred create. His doing so is the purest reason, "the truest truth." Just as the astronomer starting with a settled conviction of the truth of Kepler's laws, would be thereby fitted to interpret the newly observed facts as to the perturbations in the orbit of Uranus, and to become the discoverer of Neptune, so the Christian student who sets out from a basis of established Christian premisses may prove the best interpreter of such new facts as can be established by a more rigid criticism.

One other preliminary remark may be allowed us. The great question before us is not one simply of the lexicon and of the grammar. The historical instinct, the practical instinct, and, above all, the spiritual instinct, must assert their place on the bench of judicature. It is, therefore, no presumption if the Church declines to accept as final the judgment of the Hebraists, greatly as she ought to value their co-operation, at least as assessors.

I. *The Structure*.¹—The structure of the Book of Deuteronomy

¹ I need hardly say that all that can be attempted in a paper like the present is to suggest a line of inquiry which might very profitably be extended in several directions.

is perfectly intelligible, and, in its broad features, easy to discern. But when we look at it more closely it is found to appear complex, extremely broken, interspersed with notes, laden with repetitions, and embracing within its compass, first, a collection of statutes, and then two widely differing lyrical compositions, which, however, answer in a remarkable way to the two pictures of blessing and of cursing which are everywhere presented side by side in the addresses which form the main feature of the book. And it seems to me in the highest degree improbable that any writer in a later age, and having in view an ethical purpose, should have brought out such a piece of work. He would either have disencumbered his pages of a great deal of the subsidiary matter, or he would have taken care to weld it together at the points of juncture into a more artistic whole.

As an illustration of this I might give chap. xxxi. The narrative intermingles the summons of Moses to the Tabernacle, the charge to Joshua, the address to the people, the provision for the periodical reading of the law, and for its preservation. It is not difficult to disentangle the thread of the story, nor is it difficult to account for its form. It is not everyone who can give a narrative precisely and completely in the order of events. It is easier and more common, especially if the writing be slow, or the writer interrupted, to put things down in the order in which they present themselves to the recollection. This is the secret of the breaks, and of the repetitions with additions and in different forms, of which so much has been made. It is a style, too, which is not without certain advantages as an aid to memory and a stimulus to study. But that any writer, drawing on his imagination, or digesting and compiling a narrative from a comparison of different documents, should give us such a resultant appears to me out of the question.

But to return to the consideration of the structure of the book at large. If the book is really historical, the story of its composition is easily accounted for, and may be conceived of thus. It can be shown that the histories as they stand allow thirty days for the events described between Deut. i. 1, and xxxiii. end. This will be seen from the following scheme :

	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Mo.</i>	<i>Day (of the Exodus).</i>	
The Jordan was crossed in the	- 41st	1st	10th	Josh. iv. 19.
The addresses began in the	- 40th	11th	1st	Deut. i. 1-5.
The interval between being	-	2	9	Deut. xxxiv. 8.
Leaving for the addresses				
previously, and for events				
narrated in Josh. i. 1 to				
iv. 19, subsequently -	-	1	9	

Nine days is perhaps sufficient for the events last referred to, and this gives 30 days for the addresses, etc., Deut. i.—xxxiii.

We may suppose that the addresses, which form, as I have said, the chief features of the book, were delivered at intervals during those thirty days, and were reported, more or less fully, by various Scribes; that meantime, perhaps on several occasions, the statutes deemed at the time most needful were selected, revised, supplemented, and read with running comments; and that the different contributions were put together without much attempt to join them into one. We then shall have a working hypothesis, which will be found, I think, to be very helpful to the comprehensive understanding of the book. The historical setting, the insertion of the Song and of the Blessing, which constitute the poetical presentation of the obverse sides of the teaching of all the addresses, would be added without delay; and subsequent times would supply historical and topographical notes, and such modernizing of the language as might be deemed desirable.

II. *The Style of Thought.* — Nothing could exceed the intensity and the great solemnity which pervades all the addresses, shorter or longer (twelve in number). They give one the impression of perfect sincerity and profound conviction. They tell of an almost awful realization of the holiness of God, and of the burning jealousy of His love toward His people. The speaker's own feelings are steeped in uncompromising loyalty to his Master, and are equally full of yearning affection and most tender solicitude for the people committed to his care. Everywhere we see hatred of evil, ardent affection, fearless courage, complete self-devotion. Everywhere it is the true Moses of the Exodus. It is perfectly true that in Deuteronomy we have left behind the anthropomorphism of the greater part of Genesis. That anthropomorphism was perhaps only an indication that it was true, of the world's childhood, at all events, that

Trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God who is our home:
Heaven lies about us in our infancy.

But Moses had not been trained in Egypt for nothing, had not failed to learn much during those forty years of mountain solitude, which culminated in the lesson, "Draw not nigh hither." It has been said, indeed, that the Moses of Exodus iii. and iv. could not be identified with the bold and eloquent orator of Deuteronomy. But if seven times six days could transform the Denier of Christ into the Apostle of the Pentecost, could not close on seven times six years—years which had witnessed the Exodus, had given the experience of the wanderings, and had given to two and a half tribes their inheritance—open the prophet's mouth in a degree of

which he could not himself have conceived on the threshold of his work? The magnificence of the words is exactly matched with the greatness of the occasion. They are just the words that a man like Moses, moved of the Holy Ghost, might at such a time, and amid such surroundings, have spoken. But that a man of such a moral calibre as to be capable of impersonating Moses—and that with such artful and elaborate disguise—should also have been capable of utterances such as these, utterances which stamped their impress on the whole nation for ages, utterances of which in a special manner our Lord Himself made such frequent use, appears to me incredible.

III. *The Moral and Religious Teaching.*—When we come to examine the contents of the book we find that its moral and religious teaching are not those which would have seemed most necessary in the days of Josiah. Of course, if written in those late times it would not be as a work of art, but to meet the ethical wants of the age. It was a time when the oppression of brethren, the tyranny, the covetousness, the luxuriousness, and licentiousness of the upper classes, and the idolatrous abominations and religious pride of the whole community called forth the sorrowful rebukes of Jeremiah, and later on of Ezekiel. But the writer of Deuteronomy has in his eye absolutely *no present evils*. Of course, such evils existed. But the prophet is dealing with the Future. And in that Future only one thing fills in the shadow. And that one thing is *Israel's apostasy from Jehovah*. With a view to this he recalls their waywardness in the past. He adjures them not to fall into the ways of the heathen round about them; he warns them of the hardness of their own hearts, and the terrible evils that would come from forgetfulness and stubbornness. On the one hand, he exhorts them to steadfastness, joyful worship, free-hearted and open-handed liberality, and brotherly kindness. But there is no call to repentance, no *vox clamantis* summoning them to a religious, or any other, reformation. The only approach to anything of the kind is a most remarkable, because most gentle and most loving, witness that if Israel in *the dark days of captivity and dispersion* would seek again to the Lord, He would hear their cry (iv.). The teaching of the book belongs to the whole history of Israel, but it is teaching that could only have been delivered on the threshold of that history.

IV. And the *grounds* on which this teaching is made to rest are as applicable to the time to which tradition assigns the book as are the chief points of moral and religious teaching. The innumerable but brief and scattered allusions to the precise position of the nation now on the banks of the Jordan

are so interwoven with the whole tenour of the discourses that only the highest literary art could have produced such a result, and the result of the pains taken would have been appreciated in no other age. The past, with all its varied and wondrous experiences of mercy and of chastening, of deliverance and of suffering, is the ground-colour spread over the whole canvas. And the future, far and near, is painted with that variation of "clear and obscure," which renders the perspective so admirable. Especially it will not fail to be observed that where the writer touches upon the past it is always with the definiteness belonging to near and clearly recollected historic facts, known to his audience nearly or quite as well as to himself; while if he speaks of the future, it is always in language which betrays apprehension or hope, but, (unless we must except the vivid picturing of sicknesses and sufferings), never slipping into the expressions of a man who was actually, though not professedly, writing history.¹

V. *The Choice and the Conduct of the King.*—The famous passage (chap. xvii.) about (1) the choice and (2) the conduct of the king, gives us an opportunity of observing how easily and how certainly a dramatist would have fallen into the pitfall of forgetting the *rôle* he was playing.

First as to the choice of a king from among their brethren. It was perfectly natural for Moses, from all his experience of the people and of their disposition, from all his prescience of the dangers they would encounter, to apprehend as *possible*, and all too *probable*, that they might one day put themselves under the protectorate of some sovereign of the future. History never realized his fears in this case, and no writer in after years would ever have dreamt of attributing such an idea to Israel's lawgiver. But it was still more natural for Moses, intimately acquainted with the great armies of Egypt, and knowing as we do to-day that other powerful nations, such as the Hittites, would now be Israel's no very distant neighbours, should express a fear lest Israel's sovereign should be tempted in the coming years to seek aid from Egypt; or lest, in advancing greatness, they should attempt to imitate and rival the warlike ambition or the luxurious effeminacy which Moses had so long witnessed in the great empire of the Nile.

What would be remarkable, and is, indeed, incredible, is, not that one of the apprehensions so expressed by Moses was realized in history, but the idea that a dramatist of later days

¹ A writer in after ages would have been definite in portraying the imagined future; indistinct and vague in the historical allusions to the to him, distant past. In Deuteronomy it is precisely the reverse.

should have put either of these apprehensions in the mouth of Moses, with no object whatever to be gained by either of them.

VI. *Details.*—There are a multitude of details scattered over the book which all point to its genuine historical character, and I will submit four of these by way of specimens.

1. The references to the Divine sentence by which Moses was excluded from the promised land are so frequent, so scattered, so touching, so evidently welling up out of the depths of a mighty grief, constantly breaking through and interrupting the overlying strata of thought, that it seems to me that no art could counterfeit it (i. 27, iii. 23, and iv. 21, 22, xxxi. 2). And the effort and labour would have been absolutely in vain. Connected with this display of feeling I may call attention to the glowing description of the land, the brilliant colouring with which the future is depicted, the animated and animating reiteration of the thought that they were this day going in to possess the land. Who could have so described the past experiences of Israel in the days of Manasseh or of Josiah?

2. The second point to which I refer is the selection of Ebal and Gerizim as the mountains on which the Cursing and the Blessing were to be pronounced, and at the foot of which an altar was to be erected, and the Torah inscribed. I cannot here point out how meaningless would be the geographical description of the position of these mountains (unless we are to regard it as intended to be part of a literary blind) for a people familiar with their own country; but I ask, is it possible to conceive that the writer of a fiction in the days and at the court of Josiah, should have deliberately, and without any object to be attained, placed such a mark of honour and distinction on the locality referred to? Why, Ebal and Gerizim were in the very centre of the revolted tribes (already banished it might be thought for their schism), on the very highroad halfway between Samaria and Bethel! Beyond all question, such a writer would have considered himself at liberty to draw a veil over a point so manifestly opposed to all the prejudices of his people and to the only object he could have in view, even if he had found in it the materials he was working upon.

3. I might express my surprise that no hint is found in the book of that great schism just referred to, which had rent Israel in twain. For how could a follower of Josiah, engaged in writing a religious novel, have kept silence on such a point, when such an opportunity was in his hand? But I must ask how it was that while Ebal and Gerizim were to have the distinction of being pointed out as the locality near which a temporary altar was to be erected, the writer kept absolute silence as to Mount Zion, and spoke as if he only saw in dim

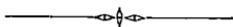
and nameless distance "the place which the Lord our God would choose to put (or to cause to dwell) His Name there." If he could name Gerizim for a temporary altar, how could he resist the temptation to name, or to give some hint of Jerusalem? The expression referred to occurs some twenty-five times. If the book is historical, all is comprehensible, and other passages (from Josh. ix. 27 onwards) are not only intelligible, but some of them forcible to a degree. But if we are not reading history, but fiction, there was abundant reason for giving the name, or at least some indication of the place, but absolutely no reason for silence. And not only are a score of passages in Joshua, Kings, Chronicles, the Psalms, Nehemiah, Haggai, and Zechariah, rendered meaningless, but the great words of our Lord, which had their roots in those old teachings,—"Wherever two or three are met together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them,"¹ are evacuated of half their force.

4. One more point only. It is that, in the blessing of Moses (chap. xxxiii.), the most extensive, the most fervent, the most splendid forecast is pronounced upon the house of Joseph. If this is history, all is consistent and comprehensible. Joseph took an oath of his brothers that they would carry up his bones into Canaan. In Exod. xiii. and Josh. xxiv. it is related that they fulfilled his request. Let us read Deut. xxxiii. in the light of this fact. First of all, we seem to watch the heads of the tribes passing before Moses in processional order at that last interview before he went up into the mountain to die. Then we hear him address to each in turn some brief word of parting blessing. At length, as they march past in due course, we see the chiefs of Ephraim and Manasseh. They are carrying the splendid chest, painted with hieroglyphics, which contains the embalmed remains of their great ancestor, the saviour of Egypt, the saviour of his own family and race. And we mark how the soul of the great prophet is stirred within him at the sight. We, too, gaze, but we cannot wonder when we hear him pour forth blessing upon blessing, as if he knew not when to stop, upon him who was once *separate from his brethren*. This is easy to realize, not difficult to believe. But that a writer in the kingdom of Judah, whether in the days of the wicked Manasseh, or of the good Josiah, or at any other time, should have gratuitously imagined, or have gratuitously imported into his fiction, such a reversal of all the ideas of his own people, and have lifted up the house of Joseph on such a pedestal of exaltation, is one of those points which seem to me historically incredible.

¹ Compare St. Matt. xviii. 20 and St. John iv. 21.

I have endeavoured to show that the structure, the style of thought, the moral and religious teaching, the grounds of appeal, and many details—of which I have noticed four—point to the genuine character and historical reality of Deuteronomy. But I must close; and, in conclusion, I should like to make an appeal to those who are pressing these questions upon us. My appeal is that they should complete their new Eddystone before they take the old one down. I will assume, for the moment, that their analysis is all correct: that "E." and "J." and "J. E." and "P. C." and "D.," etc., are to take the place of Genesis, Exodus, etc. Well, the chemist has great power; he can take a loaf of wholesome bread and put its contents before us in so many phials, starch, and gluten, and water, and what not. But let a man be ever so hungry, he will scarcely eat these elementary substances. Nor would they readily digest if he did. And the chemist who analyzed the loaf cannot re-make it. The elements are there, indeed, a scientific curiosity, but absolutely useless.

ALFRED KENNION.



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

No. VIII.

WE began last month to study the narrative of the doubt and the faith of Thomas, and remarked the strong individuality of the Apostle's character as it is indicated by St. John. It is from St. John only that we get any such information about the man; the other Evangelists and the Acts contain mere mentions of his name. In St. John it occurs seven times, and in three cases it is given with the translation, *Didymus*, *Twin*. Is it possible that the Evangelist sees a moral significance in the name, as if it suggested a certain doubleness in the mind where love and mistrust were both at once so strong? Not that duplicity in any other sense is traceable in Thomas; his was anything but a character of guile.

In two other scenes in this Gospel, as we remember, Thomas appears, so to speak, in character. In xi. 16 he proposes to the others to accompany the Lord into Judea at a dangerous time: "Let us also go, that we may die with Him;" a brief sentence, in which we see combined a resolution almost petulant, an intense devotion to his Lord's person, *and* great mistakes as to His nature and power. In xiv. 5 he seems to interrupt the Master in the midst of His words about the heavenly home and His purpose to "go and prepare" it for

His followers: "Lord, we know not whither Thou goest, and how can we know the way?" Here, again, is the mind which shapes boldly to itself, and almost brusquely expresses, the difficulty or doubt which it feels. One other mention of Thomas in this Gospel must be recalled—xxi. 2. He is there the second name in that blessed company which met the risen Jesus in the early morning by the lake-side. Is not this a beautiful and touching close to the notices of the Apostle? He has ceased to be the self-asserting, self-separating doubter. He is happy now to be just a brother with his brethren; and so he is privileged to enjoy, without delay, without reproof, that heavenly interview.

But we turn now to the narrative before us.

Ver. 24. *But Thomas, one of the Twelve, whose name means Twin, was not with them when Jesus came.*

"One of the *Twelve*": their, so to speak, official title, though, alas! they were now only eleven. This distinctive mention of the *Twelve* may suggest to us that, when just above and below the Evangelist speaks of "the disciples," he means the little company at large, and not only the Apostles.

I will not repeat what was said in our last number about the probable causes of Thomas' absence, only remarking again that in his mental frame we see, surely, the recent mental frame of all the disciples, but expressed more definitely and resolutely. He did but speak out, or rather act out, what had been deep in the hearts of all—a sense of tremendous disappointment, a deep and gloomy despondency, with the immediate impulse to separate rather than to combine.

Nothing can be more certain than that this impulse to separate would have had its way finally, and very soon, if no magnificent antidote to the despair of Friday had come into the midst of them. The shame as well as pain of having embarked in a great mistake would have made them loth to meet and see each other's faces for long together. And the terrible act of Judas must have given them for a time a sense of mutual suspicion. If Judas had proved untrue, might not another, might not others? Those who had so often misconstrued the Master might easily suspect their fellow-servants.

In short, they were ready to disperse "every man to his own." They would have diverged, no doubt, in very different moods: some sullen, some tender, some quite silent, others seeking to explain everything. And had they done so, and had some rumours of that obscure event, the crucifixion of a religious leader in Judea, reached our day from that day, those rumours, we may rely upon it, would have been conflicting. Each section of the unhappy dispersion would have had its version of Jesus and of the cross—without a sequel.

But they did not disperse. They reassembled, and in a spirit altogether new. Then after a while they did indeed part, but to preach one message, to confess and glorify one Lord. And the one solution of all this is—the resurrection. Every other explanation is a violent process; it either ignores the despair and separation of the disciples at first, or the completeness and grandeur of their moral *and mental* revolution, so prompt, decisive, and unanimous.

Ver. 25. *So the other disciples began to say to him, We have seen the Lord.*

Surely they went to seek him with the news, perhaps that very night, for probably the presence of the Lord with them that evening was brief, as it seems to have been on other recorded occasions. The one Apostle who did not yet know of the mighty joy must have been an object of strong and loving interest and sympathy to his friends. If they had been tempted before to be impatient when he withdrew, they would be more than patient now; for what can so fully calm the discords of the soul in itself and open it out in unselfish sympathy as the possession of a great spiritual joy? This now, indeed, these men had. They knew Jesus risen; they knew that He had given them His peace; they knew that He had died for them, and was alive for evermore.

“He that believeth shall not make haste.” An eagerness for religious opinions, for religious truths, which is at all harsh or bitter, is not seldom due to uneasiness, not to conviction. It is one thing to be unwavering and entirely in earnest, another thing to be heated. Peter, John, Nathanael, and the rest would not be hard upon Thomas because he had not been with them. Full of their unspeakably glad discovery, rich in the ample possession of such a Saviour, they can only have longed with sympathetic graciousness that their friend should share it to the full.

Meanwhile, the witness would be as positive as it was kind. “*We have seen the Lord*”—an absolute fact. *We*, not others; *have seen*, not guessed or dreamed; *the Lord*, identical and immortal in His love and glory.

So they would bear witness; kindly, positively, and as men who were fresh from the special benediction of the Risen One. And they were persons with whom Thomas had been long familiar, and whose concurrence of witness must to him have been impressive, for they were no mere copies of each other.

Yet all this witnessing wholly, or nearly wholly, failed. It was continued, repeated; ἔλεγον. But Thomas met it with an outspoken scepticism and refusal. Unless his own senses should assure him, *he would not believe, οὐ μὴ πιστεύσω*.

He was wrong, very wrong. The whole narrative, and the

whole Scripture, illustrate this. In Scripture the evidence of the senses is never slighted, never said to be illusory. But it is shown to be not the only evidence. Adequate testimony may fully take its place, even when a soul is in the question.

It was wrong; and yet who, that knows his own human heart, will say that it was unnatural? Who, that knows how violently *self*, in any of its forms, can warp reason or affection, when once self is allowed to have its way, will sit in superior judgment upon Thomas? For surely it was this subtle subjective obstacle that held him. If, as is so likely, grief had developed a certain gloomy pride of isolation, and then upon it had come in this news of the great joy found by those whom he had left in such a spirit, can we wonder if for the time the very thought of their certainty and happiness embittered and hardened his own resolve to doubt and to differ? A subtle sense of mortification may well have tinged the words: *Unless I see in His hands the print of the nails, and insert my finger into the print of the nails, and insert my hand into His side, I will not believe.*

Many strange but actual workings of human nature, in the absence of the peace and love of God, seem to me to be remarkably illustrated by the acts and words of Thomas in his gloom.

Perhaps we have in him an example of many minds among those which doubt or reject the Gospel. Self (to use the word in the sense not of mere vanity or shallow self-importance, but in that rather of a morbid introspection) often stands more than the doubter suspects between him and conviction. The proof which is really good for another is good for him, in itself. But it is seen distorted, for it is seen askance. We need not live long to find out how, in the practical affairs of common life, personal peculiarities interfere with apparently self-evidently beneficial and just courses of action. Even so, in the microcosm within us, reason and conscience have often to fight a hard, and often a losing, battle with some purely irrational opposition of unregenerate self. How happy, when that self is subdued, as the soul of Thomas was subdued, by the revelation of Jesus Christ as He is, living, loving, slain and risen again, my Lord, and my God!

Ver. 26. *And after eight days again the disciples were in-doors, and Thomas with them.*

"After eight days," a full week. We are left almost entirely uninformed as to the life of the disciples "between times" during the forty days. We see them, as it were, only under the illumination of their Lord's presence; He goes, and the shadow falls over them for the time. So we do not know how that week was passed, only that it must assuredly have been

a week of great, though private, gladness. "The fear of the Jews" must have been strangely neutralized by the consciousness of the victory and life of the Lord Jesus, while yet the disciples appear to have kept silence about it beyond their own circle—surely in consequence of a command from Him. On the other hand, their enemies seem to have been quite satisfied, so to speak, with the disappearance of the Master, and to have meditated no assault on the disciples. Whatever the mystery of the disappearance of Jesus was to Caiaphas and his fellows, *He had disappeared*; He had become at the most a spectre to them; and so manifest was the inferiority of His followers' power to move and to attract, that the Sanhedrin fairly, it would seem, dismissed the thought of them from their minds.

So the week passed, outwardly undisturbed, as far as we know or can guess. But *within* the little company, great was the stir. This obstinate doubter—this stubborn rejecter of the multifold witness to the great fact of joy—what was to be done in view of him? Again and again they would attack him with a loving siege; but the subtle influence ruled Thomas still. He would not believe.

It was a severe lesson to them all, though a lesson richly blessed, no doubt. For all their after-ministry it must have taught them much; it must have pressed home on them for all time the incapacity of man to 'set free by his own act and word his brother's soul; the weakness of mere evidences, however convincing in the abstract, to sway the heart and will without the eternal grace; the possibilities of doubt in another over what was to themselves so self-evident, and about which they were so greatly happy. Let us learn our lesson from theirs; we shall surely need it, sooner or later, if we at all attempt to bear witness for the Lord.

Meantime their words, though they had not convinced Thomas, had told upon him. Another "first day" at length arrived, bringing back in new realization all the circumstances of the former "first day"; and now Thomas was with them.

That week, we may be sure, had not shaken the faith of "the other disciples." Their witness to the Risen One was not less positive because their brother refused it. And even this must have told upon him. The sight of their certainty would touch, however invisibly, his convictions. The sight of their happiness must have moved his longings, even when he most freely indulged his own self-centred gloom.

They were indoors again. Thomas, in this state betwixt doubt and desire, was with them, ready, humanly speaking, to be swayed either way by what might happen. Can we doubt that, if nothing had happened, or if anything unconvincing had happened, his whole mind would have turned to

a distrust more positive than ever? Could we suppose for a moment so monstrous a thing as that his brethren had devised some illusion to work on his imagination, he was just in the mood to look it through and through, and to be irrevocably confirmed in his denial by the detection of the slightest unreality.

But now what happened?

Ver. 26. *Jesus comes, while the doors were fastened, and took His stand in the midst, and said, Peace be unto you.*

Ver. 27. *Then He says to Thomas, Bring your finger hither, and see My hands, and bring your hand, and insert it into My side, and do not become unbelieving, but believing.*

It is vain to try any elaborate "word-painting" here. The wonderful scene of mercy and joy stands out before us. There are the disciples, perhaps, in the act of some fresh effort of reasoning and witness addressed to the stubborn personality of the doubter, each trying his own way; there is Thomas, perhaps more than ever, to all appearance, argumentative, critical, resolved. Then, on a sudden, with the same miracle of silent entrance, the great Reasoner, the faithful Witness, Himself is there once more: JESUS, bringing the brief and mighty logic and demonstration of Himself revealed. We see Him extend His holy and deathless hands, each showing the cleft of the huge nail; we see Him move His robe, and disclose the yet wider and deeper chasm of the spear, that great wound which only St. John records.

There they were displayed once more, these marks of the identity of Jesus, as the Lamb that was slain. The Lord displayed them then, that we might believe on Him as such for ever. We may or may not be permitted to see them with our eyes hereafter, but to faith they are indelible; to the love which sees through tears of joy that Saviour so slain, they are in sight for evermore.

For ever here my rest shall be,
Close to Thy bleeding side;
This all my hope and all my plea,
For me the Saviour died.

How blest are they who still abide,
Close shelter'd in Thy bleeding side;
Who life and strength from thence derive,
And by Thee move and in Thee live.

So there, in the lamplight, Thomas had his will. Definitely and unmistakably he there saw the Lord risen, and the marks of His slaughter. And he heard the voice of the Risen One; it addressed him articulately and personally; it recited with strange precision the challenge which he had made so stoutly to his brethren. He was to do the very thing; to come close, to touch, to insert, to feel, and to believe.

Whether Thomas actually "brought thither his finger" we do not know. Probably he did, with tenderest reverence. But it is possible that he did not, so self-evidential was the *sight*. His own eyes, those unready eyes, now saw his own unmistakable Master, and the *contact* may have been almost deprecated. Certainly in the Lord's answer to the disciple's confession, only his *sight* is referred to.

Ver. 28. *Thomas answered and said unto Him, My Lord and my God.* Ver. 29. *Jesus says to him, Because you have seen Me, Thomas, you have believed; happy such as saw not and believed.*

The sequel of the interview is not recorded. As in every other Resurrection-appearance, except only the incident at Emmaus, and the Ascension, we do not read any detail of the Lord's *departure*. That night He may have stayed with them, to speak of the things of the kingdom, or He may have left them as silently as they came—left them to their now completed and united joy.

But for us, as we read and think, He "goes out no more." There for ever is He, this same Jesus; and there is the subdued, happy doubter, gazing on Him, confessing Him as his Lord and his God. JESUS and Thomas are immortally present before us in that upper room, "that we, too, may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that we too, believing, may have life in His name."

Thomas is there, in his confession: *My Lord and my God*. Strange sound from those lips! The perplexed and perplexing sceptic has come to utter a confession whose glorious fulness, and also whose personal application ("*my Lord*"), surpass even Peter's at Cæsarea Philippi, when the Father revealed to him the Son. "*My God*"—words impossible to explain away, for they were addressed obviously to Jesus direct, and they meant no less than proper Godhead, for they were uttered by an Israelite.

So Thomas confessed Him, and received Him. Doubt was gone, reserve broken, the soul quite released from the sullen wish to keep its old isolated position in sorrowful pride. He is one with His brethren now, and they shall know it; for he has found in Jesus Risen all his desire, all his joy.

It is no unique case. How often the most positive denials have been exchanged for the very simplest faith! St. Augustine is a memorable example, not to name Saul of Tarsus. And many a later illustration of the same phenomenon may be quoted. Never shall I forget the authentic experience of an aged man, refined and cultured, and a resolute Socinian, who had always maintained that he had never seen Priestley really answered. Late in the long evening of his

life (he died at ninety-two) his doctor one day found him, much to his surprise, dropping tears over his Bible. He had seen a new light. He had met with a Biblical phrase never noticed before, or, however, never thought of before: "*The blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth us from all sin.*" He too, like Thomas, after many asseverations of unbelief, reaching over many more days than eight, had seen THE LORD; and bowed before Him, in the light of the profound relation between the virtue of the atoning blood and the eternal nature of the Crucified.

And then, in this immortal chamber-scene, JESUS is there. He meets the confession of His disciple—how quietly, how divinely! There is no word of caution; there is no "See thou do it not; worship God." There is rather a gentle reproof that the faith so expressed had not come sooner: "Not till sight have you believed; happy such as believe without sight." Yes, Jesus, the meek and lowly, who made Himself of no reputation, accepts this ascription of Deity as calmly as a king, born to the throne, and long upon it, accepts the ascription of loyalty from a humble subject. He only bends to His Apostle in loving censure for his past reluctance, and then gives, by anticipation, a royal blessing to—ourselves.

"*Happy such as saw not, and believed.*" Not, Happy such as believed without a reason, without a ground, but, Happy they who did not create out of themselves reasons against belief. Such, surely, is the point of this precious last Beatitude. It refers to the special difficulty of Thomas, to that obstacle to faith which individualism, which self (for this it was assuredly), had raised in the way of his accepting evidence altogether adequate. The truth had looked like a phantom to him because seen through that mist. Happy they, says the Lord, who are free from that! Happy they, oh how happy, whatever else they see or do not see, who see the witness borne to Jesus with the simplicity of a soul which seeks not self's way, but pardon, and holiness, and heaven; which indulges no jealous comparison of self with others, and allows no restless, morbid discouragement to come from that quarter! That soul grudges no privilege, experience, freedom, power to other believers; but, in the unspeakably happy consciousness of the reception for itself of such a Saviour on His own terms, believes indeed, rests on Him, in perfect simplicity and with perfect reason. It demands no peculiar and privileged demonstration, for it needs none. It is happy, it is assured, it loves, it obeys; for it is emancipated from those subtle influences of the Protean spirit of self which alone can make the evidence of the Gospel pages and the glad witness of already blessed believers unconvincing.

How would the released and adoring Apostle, standing free at length from self, at the feet of Jesus, exhort us, if we could hear him, to listen every day to this Divine assurance of the blessedness of believing, and, for that purpose, to use every day the precious written record; for (ver. 31) *these things have been written that we may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that, believing, we may have life in His name.*

I would go from pole to pole
 To behold my risen Lord;
 But content thyself, my soul,
 Listen to thy Saviour's word:
 They who Me by faith receive,
 Without seeing who believe,
 Trust My word and therein rest,
 They abundantly are blest.

Moravian Hymn-book.

H. C. G. MOULE.

ART. V.—THE CHURCH AND THE GENERAL ELECTION.

I MAY conveniently initiate the remarks which I am now desirous of making by proposing the following question: "What concern has the Church of England in the pending General Election?" The answer must be, "Much every way," and it is extremely important that this fact should be brought clearly home to Church people, the more so as there is for a particular reason much risk of the fact being lost sight of. Not many weeks before the General Election of 1885 the intentions of the Radical party with respect to the Established Church were blurted forth in a now celebrated book with an ostentatious frankness which, though praiseworthy, had a most mischievous effect on the fortunes of many Radical candidates. Churchmen of all shades of opinion were suddenly and thoroughly roused, with the result that the Disestablishment party were completely routed and their cause put back several years, to say the least of it. Since then they have learnt wisdom. The Dissenting section of the Liberation party has been much less demonstrative, whilst the Atheistical section, of whom Mr. John Morley is as good a type as any, has been professedly occupied more with social and general questions, and has been rather taciturn in regard to ecclesiastical matters. Herein resides the danger to which I alluded above, the danger being that the Disestablishment question as a plank in the Radical platform will be forgotten by us and concealed by our opponents amid the pressure of more

obtrusive topics; yet ready to be forced into the fullest prominence by the Radical party so soon as they have obtained place and power on grounds of a more general and mundane character.

It must be quite evident to all who have thoughtfully and attentively watched the course of events, especially during the last three years, that the line of argument taken above is sound. Laborious attempts have been made to separate the case of the Church in Wales, and, indeed, the case of the Church in Scotland, from the greater question of English Disestablishment, and, until the Rhyl Church Congress, with some measure of success. Thanks, however, to that Congress, and in no small degree to the Archbishop of Canterbury personally, both then and previously, the minds both of the public in general, and of Churchmen in particular, are now in a much better condition for appreciating all the ultimate issues involved in the controversy. I ought not to ignore, however, in this connection the great work done by the Church Defence Institution in enlightening public opinion by its hundreds of lectures in all parts of England and Wales.

It is not the purpose of the present article to discuss the Disestablishment controversy either as a whole or even in part. I only want to look at it in its immediate bearings on the question of a General Election, and for that purpose the following words uttered many years ago by Lord Beaconsfield seem to put the whole matter in a most concise and convenient form:—"So long as there is in this country the connection, through the medium of a Protestant Sovereign, between the State and the National Church, religious liberty is secure. . . . The ultimate triumph, were our Church to fall, would be to that power which would substitute for the authority of our sovereign the supremacy of a foreign prince, to that power with whose traditions, learning, discipline, and organization our Church alone has hitherto been able to cope, and that, too, only when supported by a determined and devoted people."—*Times*, October 3, 1868. He had some months previously defined with equal plainness, though in other words, the character of the issue:—"As I hold that the dissolution between Church and State will cause permanently a greater revolution in this country than foreign conquest, I shall use my utmost energies to defeat these fatal machinations."—*Times*, April 14, 1868.

With these words of warning sounding in his ears, let no well-wisher to the Church of England approach, or worse still, abstain from approaching, his allotted polling booth under the impression that however much as a Churchman he may have especial interest in some future General Election, it is not a

matter of much importance what he does do or does not do this month in the way of voting.

Up to this point I have called attention to a few generalities connected, as it may be said, with only one of many important pending political problems. Supposing we could know that the Disestablishment question, whether in England, Wales, or Scotland, were absolutely shelved till the year 1912, it would not in the least follow that Churchmen had no duties or responsibilities this July. There are an unusual, indeed, an infinite, number of home and foreign problems awaiting solution, many of which, though not absolutely religious on their face, yet may or might have, in the long-run, a material bearing on the position and growth of Christianity in England and out of it. Moreover, there are questions pending which, though political and not religious in one sense, yet very much concern all of us as Englishmen and citizens. Were we to regard them as the Plymouth Brethren do, we should stand convicted of obvious and flagrant abnegation of duties which we owe (as is plainly set forth in Holy Scripture) to our Queen, our Country, and Society. First and foremost amongst these is the terribly threadbare subject of Irish Home Rule. Many of us probably are heartily sick of it. Nevertheless, beyond a doubt it is our duty as Englishmen, both for the sake of England and still more for the sake of Ireland, to go on with the struggle. It is difficult to understand how any man who has seriously and attentively read up the English history of the last thousand years can have any doubt both as to what is his duty and as to what is expedient herein. Not to touch a single secular point involved in the matter, look only at Irish Home Rule in the interests of the Irish Protestants, and is it not absolutely clear that if we were to grant the Parnellite (or Anti-Parnellite) demands we should be doing one, or perhaps both, of two things—handing over a million of our Protestant fellow-subjects to the unceasing tyranny of the Romish priesthood, or (and equally likely) be inviting both parties to start a civil war?

The idea involved in speaking of the tyranny likely to be exercised by the Irish Romanists over the Protestants is no mere figure of speech. It is the fashion nowadays in certain quarters to talk about the persecuting spirit of Popery being extinct. But this is not so. *Semper eadem* is still truly Rome's motto, and if the present generation has not seen so much of it as former generations, the fact is due, not to a change of principle, but merely to a change of tactics of a temporary character. Archbishop Manning truly said in 1859, speaking of the work of his co-religionists:—

We have to subjugate and subdue, to conquer and to rule, an imperial

race ; we have to do with a will which reigns throughout the world as the will of Old Rome reigned once ; we have to bend or break that will which nations and kingdoms have found invincible . . . were heresy [that is, Protestantism] conquered in England, it would be conquered throughout the world. (*Tablet*, August 6, 1859.)

A few weeks previously in the same newspaper another very able 'vert, Mr. Oakley, had said "the Catholic Church [by which he meant the Roman Catholic Church] is getting to feel its true dignity and right position in this country. What we of course aim at, in God's good time and way, is to be as we have once been, the dominant Church of England." This last statement is, of course, historically untrue, because even in the worst days of her mediæval corruption, the Church of England was never a Roman Catholic Church. I quote the sentiment, however, as being, what it truly is, a fair indication of the current hopes and expectations prevalent at this moment in Roman Catholic circles in England. Some confirmation of it came under my own notice only a very short time ago in Derbyshire. I had been announced to speak at some Church Defence meetings, and in the case of one place I went to, Ilkeston, I was told that the Roman Catholic priest had been preaching on the Disestablishment question, and in one of his sermons had said that he confidently looked forward to the time when he or a minister of his Church would occupy the parish Church of Ilkeston in the capacity of vicar. I may here add, by the way, that more than one instance has come under my notice of a Romish priest in England styling himself "Rector," and his place of residence the "Rectory"—a gross impertinence, to say the least of it. No wonder that Sir W. Harcourt in his (politically) more sober moments should have said, as he did at Oxford in 1876, that "he is a purblind politician who does not perceive that the residuary legatee of Disestablishment will infallibly be the Church of Rome." It is much to be regretted that under the pressure of trade competition in politics Sir William, like so many other partners in his firm, should since 1874 have turned his back upon the more matured ideas of his earlier years.

To return from a somewhat long but not inopportune digression, let me remind my readers that in considering their duty as electors with especial reference to the Irish question, they must not disregard such warnings as the following, which I cite from Roman Catholic authorities of repute :—"It is an act of kindness to obstinate heretics to take them out of this life ; for the longer they live the more errors they invent, the more men do they pervert, and the greater damnation do they acquire unto themselves." (Bellarmine, iii. c. 21.) Or again :—"Heretics when strong are to be committed to God ; when weak to the executioner." *Devoti*, a celebrated Roman

Canonist, thus writes respecting the "forbidden toleration of the enemies of religion," as he calls it: "Finally, there are apostates, heretics and schismatics. *That these should remain among Catholics is not to be borne.*" Again, the same writer says:—"Among our Catholics it is *certain and fixed that men are not to be tolerated* who are aliens from Catholic verity, *and that they are also to be coerced by merited punishment.*"

Perhaps it will be worth while to individualize and localize sentiments of this character close at home, and this I will do by submitting an extract from an influential Roman Catholic magazine:—

You ask, if the Roman Catholic were lord in the land, and you were in a minority, if not in numbers yet in power, what would he do to you? That, we say, would entirely depend upon circumstances. If it would benefit the cause of Catholicism he would tolerate you; if expedient he would imprison you, banish you, fine you; possibly he might even hang you. But be assured of one thing, he would never tolerate you for the sake of the "glorious principles of civil and religious liberty." Shall I hold out hopes to the Protestant that I will not meddle with his creed if he will not meddle with mine? Shall I lead him to think that religion is a matter for private opinion, and tempt him to think that he has no more right to his religious views than he has to my purse, or my house, or my life-blood? No! [Roman] Catholicism is the most intolerant of creeds.

As recently as 1886 the Romish Archbishop of Philadelphia, U.S., in an official pronouncement, said:—"The Church tolerates heretics where she is obliged to do so, but she hates them with a deadly hatred, and uses all her powers to annihilate them." And the present Pope is equally explicit. In a letter addressed to the Cardinal Vicar of Rome in March, 1879, he announced that:—"If he possessed the liberty he claims, he would employ it to close all Protestant schools and places of worship in Rome." (*Times*, April 11, 1879.)

Authoritative extracts such as the foregoing—and they could be readily multiplied—demand the most serious attention of Christian electors in deciding the question as to what they ought to do with their votes at the forthcoming General Election.

Turn we now to some of the many other matters that are within our reach and deserving of consideration. Many of these may be most conveniently got at by giving a little attention to that very notorious and objectionable body the London County Council. Having regard to the population which it governs, the money which goes through its hands, and the number of the members of which it consists, it may be regarded as, after the House of Commons, the most important elective body in England. Now, we know also that at this moment, thanks to the strange apathy of the respectable

inhabitants of the Metropolis, the London County Council is the most purely radical, democratic, or republican body in the United Kingdom, perhaps within the confines of the British Empire. It is, I suppose, the nearest approach which an English-speaking population has ever seen to the French national assemblies of the Robespierre epoch.

No sooner did the London Council become the body to manage the Metropolitan parks and open spaces (other than those under Royal control) than it set up in many of them that greatest of curses to a neighbourhood, an open-air Sunday band. I will not stay at this moment to discuss this question as a whole, but will only remark that when these bands were first established, and for long afterwards, they were defended with the plea that they only played sacred music. This plea has for some time past ceased—but I do not know for how long—to be based on fact; for as far back as four years ago I remember seeing a Battersea Park programme in which the sacred element had been reduced to small proportions, general secular music having taken its place. Apparently it had done so with results only too pronounced, for on May 31, 1892, a member moved at a Council meeting that it be an instruction to the Parks Committee to prohibit the playing of dance music in the parks on Sundays. The motion was seconded by the Rev. F. Williams, who very truly said that "the inevitable effect of allowing dance music would be to surround the bands with dancing groups of young people. He did object to their taking the one day of the week, when a large number of the people of London would be shocked and outraged by such a spectacle, and utilizing it for this purpose." The motion was opposed by Mr. Boulnois, M.P., a so-called "Conservative," and also by Mr. John Burns, the Socialist. The most significant part of the whole business was the voting; on the show of hands, 45 voted for the motion and 45 against. On a division, however, the motion prohibiting the performance of dance music was carried by the narrow majority of 53 to 49. Let us imagine a new House of Commons composed with a substantial preponderance of Radical faddists of the type which for the present, at least, has got the upper hand at the London County Council, and I make bold to say that there are no extremes of insult to Christianity, to the Church of England, and to sound principles of morality and good government to which a numerous and noisy section would not proceed.

I will not pursue this branch of the matter farther, because I wish to limit myself as closely as possible to Parliamentary considerations. It is not a little significant of the altered tendencies of the times in regard to mere party politics in connection with the House of Commons that so prominent a states-

man as Sir Henry James should have recently announced a determination on his part to dedicate his time and talents more especially to social topics. Ill-natured Gladstonians might suggest that he was going to do this because no other career was open to him as a Liberal-Unionist out of work; but, be this as it may, the fact remains as a tribute to the importance of social problems. Looked at from such a standpoint, I think it may well be said that the present Government have established very strong claims upon the sympathies of Churchmen. I say of Churchmen in particular, because the Church in general, and the clergy especially, have always been foremost in all schemes calculated to promote the home and personal welfare of the artisan classes in regard to public health, allotments, agricultural holdings, and matters of that character, the details of which are more or less familiar to most of my readers, and need not be reproduced here. The candidates who propose to support the present Government have, on these grounds, strong claims on all those numerous electors who, independent for the most part of political parties, yet are interested in philanthropic and social matters.

If the question be asked, "What has the present Government done more especially for the good of the Church?" possibly the answer must be of a somewhat negative character. The Bills passed directly in the interests of the Church¹ during the past five years have, perhaps, been neither numerous nor important, although the settlement of the Tithes question must not be forgotten; and be it remembered also that Lord Salisbury's Government collectively, and many of his followers individually, have rendered good service by blocking and otherwise obstructing scores of wild and revolutionary measures calculated to inflict not only great injury on the Church of England, but on religion at large.

There still remains one matter which I ought not to pass over, but which is obviously a delicate subject to deal with, and that is, What criticism should be passed on Lord Salisbury's ecclesiastical appointments during his tenure of office as Prime Minister? I fear I cannot answer this question, either to my own satisfaction or to that of the bulk of my present readers. If I could say that half had been satisfactory and half unsatisfactory, I should feel in some measure content; but I believe I am giving expression to the sentiments of a vast number of people of thoughtful and prudent judgment when I say that far too many dignitaries have been chosen from the extreme

¹ In the recent discussions in the House of Commons on the Clergy Discipline (Immorality) Bill, the official leaders of the Opposition, including even Mr. Gladstone himself, were for a time powerless to stem the fanatical bigotry of some of the Welsh members.

High Church party. Of Lord Salisbury's appointments during the last twelve months, it may be admitted that they have done something in recognition of the fact that there are other parties in the Church besides the High Church party, but a good many of the same type will have to be made before the balance can be deemed to be adequately redressed, and "High," "Low" and "Broad" represented amongst the higher clergy in anything approaching the proportions in which they are represented amongst the inferior clergy, and still more amongst the laity.

The foregoing observations, though perhaps they may be regarded as somewhat discursive, as in point of fact they necessarily are, do not by any means exhaust all that might be said upon the question; but they will serve, I think, to bring into tolerable relief what, after all, was the main purpose with which I sat down to write this article, namely, to submit to the consideration of the readers of *THE CHURCHMAN* that, one and all, they have duties to discharge and responsibilities to bear in connection with a General Election which they cannot or ought not to ignore, much less shirk. In other words, that so long as the precept of Holy Scripture "that righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people," is operative, so long is it the duty of Christian electors to assist, to the utmost of their power, in securing the return to the House of Commons of men who will uphold the rights and liberties and purity and freedom of the Church and people of England.

GEORGE F. CHAMBERS.

ART. VI.—GOODMAN'S LIFE OF BISHOP PERRY.¹

THIS comely volume records the successful establishment of the Anglican Church in one of the foremost of the British colonies, under one of the best and ablest prelates of the century. We demur to the opening statement of the introduction—the product, it would seem, of another pen than the author's—that the book "does not purport to be a history of the Church in Victoria." Such a history, down to 1876, is what, in fact, it furnishes, in terms of a biography of the man whose life-work consisted in his commanding share in that history. "It was a happy thought of Eusebius," says Dean Stanley, "that he would trace the history of the various

¹ *The Church in Victoria during the Episcopate of the Right Reverend Charles Perry, First Bishop of Melbourne.* By GEORGE GOODMAN, M.A. Cantab., Canon of Melbourne. Melbourne: Melville, Mullen and Co. London: Seeley and Co. 1892.

ancient Churches through the succession of the Bishops;" and biographical history, or historical biography, is the method which the Oxford Professor goes on to recommend. Canon Goodman's work is no bad example of its application. It is hardly possible to question the importance of the times and of the career which he undertook to review; and his subject loses none of its intrinsic interest in his varied, impartial, lucid, and judicious pages.

The thirty years which saw the "Port Philip Settlement," with its 12,000 scattered souls, grow into the premier colony of Australasia with its "Marvellous Melbourne" and its 800,000 of population, and witnessed the development of its chief Christian body from three clergy with six churches to 135 clergy with 200 churches fully organized on a new and original plan, adopted subsequently in other parts of the empire, and in which little alteration has been found needful since its inception, can hardly fail to yield instruction in matters ecclesiastical. And it would be strange indeed if the career of one who, when hardly of age, had carried off the three highest honours Cambridge can bestow—as Senior Wrangler and Classic and First Smith's Prizeman—had been, as Fellow and Tutor of Trinity, the intimate associate of Whewell, Scholefield, Selwyn, Blakesley, and Vaughan, and had put his whole strength for twenty-eight years into solving the problems offered by the nascent Church in the colonies, did not present much that was worthy of attentive consideration.

The present publication is singularly well-timed. An interval of nearly fifty years since the beginning of the period reviewed, and of barely sixteen since its close, has helped to make the review at once dispassionate and exact; while the Bishop himself, after designating the historian, and guiding him to accurate material—though abstaining from all share in, and even cognizance of, his work—passed away the moment it was completed.

Charles Perry was fourth child of an eminent Blackwall shipbuilder, who married the sister of Mr. Green, well known in the same industry, and died when Charles was three. At six he was at school, with Macaulay for playmate—a frail, self-mistrustful, nervous child. Passing to Harrow, he became a cricketer, but not otherwise distinguished, and was removed to a private tutor's, entering Trinity, Cambridge, in 1824. Here he took to rowing, and started the first "eight" ever seen upon the Cam. His brain-power and industry having won him brilliant University honours, he quitted Cambridge for Lincoln's Inn and studied law, gaining a Trinity fellowship meanwhile; but his health failed under uncongenial work and surroundings, and he returned to the University as a tutor.

Charles Perry's religious history was not sensational. Trained on very strict Church principles, with little or no spiritual help from pastors, tutors, or associates, he had difficulties about the Trinity, the Incarnation, and Baptism, but reached his conclusions for himself, almost entirely by study of the Bible. After disrelishing them greatly for a time, he came to value the ministrations of Mr. Simeon. "My own study and reflection," he writes "had led me, before I was acquainted with any of the so-called Evangelical School, to adopt all the doctrines of that school"—a statement not easy at first sight to reconcile with Canon Hoare's in the Introduction: "He had in him a great deal of the old-fashioned High Church prejudice against Evangelical principles . . . till 1833 or 1834. He was then brought into contact with Sir T. F. Buxton and his charming wife . . . Mr. J. J. Gurney, Dr. Chalmers, Mrs. Fry, and Charles Bridges. . . . A deep impression was made upon his mind. He had never before seen anything of the kind. His prejudices were completely removed; and . . . when he returned to Cambridge, there was no hesitation in avowing the change." Perhaps his introduction through his pupil Mr. (now Canon) Hoare to Evangelical circles confirmed him in views to which his studies had already inclined him. In loyalty to these views (with him they were principles) he never faltered till his death. Ordained, without examination, in 1830, on no "title" but his fellowship, he not only gathered classes of undergraduates for religious instruction, but by his own exertions secured the thorough re-organization of Church work in Barnwell, becoming closely associated in labours of this kind with Henry Venn, Fellow of Queen's, and with a brother tutor, the Rev. J. (now Archdeacon) Cooper, whose sister he married in 1841, quitting college in consequence for the local incumbency of St. Paul's. It was here that, in five years, the summons to Australia unexpectedly reached him.

The Mr. Perry of 1846 was a spare, fragile-looking man of thirty-nine, keenly conscientious, clear-headed, simple-hearted, humble-minded, and retiring; deficient in imaginative power, with little interest in poetry or art, not ready in expression before strangers, and in no sense a man of the world. Some of these characteristics did not point to Bush-life for him; yet no mistake was made by the two sagacious men chiefly responsible for his selection as first Bishop of Melbourne.

At this time the Bishop of Australia (Dr. Broughton) had a diocese about ten times the size of the United Kingdom, and the Colonial Bishops Council—established in 1841 through Bishop Blomfield of London—responded to his appeals by promoting the formation of fresh sees at New-

castle (north of Sydney) and Port Philip (Melbourne). In those days the Crown nominated and appointed all bishops, but Lord Grey (the Colonial Secretary) consulted Archbishop Howley and Bishop Blomfield as to a nominee for Melbourne. Meanwhile, hearing of Mr. Perry (through Lord Auckland) from Mr. Venn, he sent his name to his brother-electors, and Blomfield, who had cordially approved a pamphlet of Mr. Perry's on University training for ministers (the germ of the "Voluntary Theological Examination"), adopted the suggestion, the Archbishop heartily concurring. St. Peter's Day, 1847, saw Dr. Gray consecrated to Cape Town, Dr. Short to Adelaide, Dr. Tyrrell to Newcastle, Dr. Perry to Melbourne. In three months the *Stag* sailed for Port Philip, bearing the new Bishop and his wife, accompanied by Dr. Macartney (induced by relations there to offer himself for the new diocese), Rev. D. Newham (hitherto curate with the Bishop), Rev. F. Hales, and three laymen, Messrs. W. Bean, E. Tanner, and H. H. T. Handfield (the Bishop's orphan ward). Four months later a large concourse welcomed them at Melbourne, and that week the Bishop was installed. In a month or two he had quitted the Southern Cross Hotel for a cottage at Jolimont, and was immersed in the difficulties of his diocese, financial and other. For a staff of nine, all told, and for church ministrations among thousands of settlers scattered over an area equal to that of England and Wales, about £950 a year was all the new Bishop could rely upon! The few clergy at work were overburdened and discouraged; the people largely estranged from all religious habits and restraints; the hindrances in the way of concerted action amongst them, owing to distances and the like, incalculable. Three years later unprecedented additions were suddenly to be made to these problems, but of that none dreamed as yet, and the record of episcopal work till July, 1851, is of constant and toilsome travel, and heroic effort in gathering, posting, supporting, and counselling a staff of fit men in some degree adequate to the spiritual needs of the sheep-stations and small townships.

A charm is imparted to this section of the memoir by copious quotations from Mrs. Perry's chatty letters, which are full of animation and graphic interest. The long horseback pilgrimages through wild bush, with picturesque black escorts, the rough lodgings ("the Bishop put three fingers abreast all the way down between the slabs . . . the door of the room—as usual, the door of the house too—was a foot too short top and bottom. . . . We heard men in the tap-room spinning yarns and discussing politics, while the fumes from their pipes found their way to our noses through the cracks"), the bad

salt beef, black sugar, and straw-beds, the rain pouring down the chimney "so that they were obliged to put large tin dishes to catch it," the accidents of travel, the animals seen, "the flies past endurance," the bush-fires, are all naturally and vividly described. At one place "the four gentlemen take off their coats, and apply all their strength, with the aid of an excellent horse, to heave up the gig" with Mrs. Perry: at another, "Charles's horse fell flat down—Charles suffered no injury beyond cutting his lip with his teeth." And again: "You cannot think how amusing it was; we were constantly losing the track" (that of a ration-cart which had passed a fortnight before), "and then some of the party would find it again, and shout out his discovery to the rest. . . . It is astonishing how small the difficulties and annoyances seem when they are over." The letters at the celebrated "Black Thursday" time (when awful fires swept the country) are painfully realistic: "What shall we do? This sirocco glues up my skin and takes away my breath. We can scarcely see to do anything. The furniture is white with dust. The wind is blowing quite a hurricane, it sounds like the roaring of the ocean, and bits of stick, leaves, etc., come pattering on the veranda just like rain. . . . We drank mud, for the dust kept blowing in, and floating on the water as the glasses stood on the table. Nothing is alive above ground. . . . About one there came on a most fearful darkness—indeed, it might be called blackness, for no one could see his hand. A gentleman rode into his stable-yard as it was coming on; before he could unsaddle his horse he could see neither horse nor saddle, but was obliged to do all by touch. . . . The phenomenon can only be accounted for by the smoke rising from the tremendous conflagrations. Lightning was seen in two instances to set fire to the grass." Once more—a calmer picture: "I walked up the steep hill to save my little mare, Grace, and, sitting down half-way, enjoyed a most picturesque scene; the tall, straight, white stems of the gum-trees, with the bark hanging here and there like bundles of rags from the branches (which you have to break your neck to see, so tall do these trees grow before they send out any), and tag-rag foliage; the deep gully below . . . the bay and gray come thundering over the crazy wooden bridge, led by the trooper and policeman in their military habiliments; last, though not least, Charles leading Grace. Perfect stillness reigned throughout. Seventeen miles more brought us through the boggy gullies; we had very often to get off and lead each horse through some impassable place. I wish you could have seen Charles, whip in hand, giving each horse as it passed him a good switch, in order that it might make a desperate effort and not be bogged."

During this period a Diocesan Society is founded and pressed forward for promoting Church maintenance and extension, and a Church newspaper started, the *Messenger*. The opening article, from the Bishop's pen, in proclaiming on the part of the promoters friendliness towards all Protestant bodies, distinguished these from Rome: "They regard the latter as an apostate and idolatrous Church, the subject of the prophetic denunciations of Daniel, St. Paul, and St. John." Attacked bitterly in the daily press for such expressions, the Bishop defended himself with no little spirit and effect, yet without bitterness. His correspondence with the public journals was infrequent, but always characterized by pointedness, courage, and self-control.

Two episcopal meetings marked the year 1850-51. The Metropolitan (Bishop Broughton, of Sydney) and Bishop Perry met at Albury, on the Murray, where Mrs. Perry's pen busied itself in drawing a pleasant portrait of the former, and the Bishops of Sydney, Newcastle, Adelaide, Tasmania, and New Zealand (Selwyn) subsequently held a month's conference at Sydney. Church discipline, marriage law, education, missions, and synods were considered, and a declaration issued on the subject of baptism, to which the Gorham judgment had given prominence at the time. This Bishop Perry declined to sign, appending his views separately to the minutes of the conference. These were approved generally by the Melbourne clergy, but objection taken to the issue of any declaration about baptism. As might be supposed, the Bishop rejoiced in the "judgment" not recognising the regeneration of every baptized infant as being declared by the Church.

July, 1851, marked an epoch in Victorian history both for Church and State. Utterly dissatisfied with the attention paid to their interests in distant Sydney, the settlers of Port Philip appealed to the Crown for separation, and obtained it. A week before the "Colony of Victoria" was proclaimed the first conference of clergy and laity with the Bishop on Church finance, patronage, and synodical action was held at Melbourne. It was elicited that hitherto, of £14,000 expended in diocesan work, £10,000 had come from England. This could never last, and a stipend fund and an endowment fund were organized. Two months later the gold discoveries "broke out."

We need not rehearse the familiar details of this astounding episode in colonial history; its effect on religious work was tremendous. The population of the diocese doubled in eighteen months. In October, 1852, alone over 19,000 people entered it. Violence abounded; sudden wealth generated reckless squandering; "Van Diemen's Land poured in a steady

eam of rascality;" the police force was depleted; the price of commodities and rate of wages rose enormously; church-building was put an end to by the cost of material and scarcity of labour, while a third of the clergy were just at this time removed or disabled. The Bishop and his wife were soon upon the goldfields, the former officiating in his riding-dress from the stumps of trees, circulating tracts and Bibles among the diggers ("there is no demand for other books"), beating up recruits, and rearranging his slender force to meet the emergencies of the time. He never desponded. Confident that God designed what had occurred for some good end—perhaps the peopling of the country—he recognised as providential the recent organization both of Church and State in preparation for the change that had set in. The crisis led him, however, to waive for the time his strong objection to "concurrent" State aid to religion—albeit, he saw danger in any such aid at all. This was introduced late in 1852; and of the £50,000 per annum eventually granted, the Church took £23,000 by right of numbers, half of which was available towards buildings. The Bishop was emphatic in exhorting the wealthier parishes to regard the aid they received as reason for liberal assistance to his Goldfield Mission Fund.

This eventful year was also that of the Bishop's primary visitation, his charge at which was a very thoughtful portraiture of the Christian ministry, as it ought to be. On preaching and reading prayers his counsels were most valuable. His *dictum*—"the manner of a preacher should be . . . impressive, but not impassioned"—sounds severe, but is in keeping with his abhorrence of exaggeration and dread of all unreality. In closing, he touched on the *status* of outside Christian bodies, reckoning Anglican Church order as apostolic, but not essential. The first appointment of a Chancellor followed the first visitation.

For three years the great Ballarat goldfield seems to have been left without a resident minister, nor had any attempt been made to build either school or church there, though 25,000 inhabitants called for oversight. A remarkable letter from "A Digger" to the Bishop draws his urgent attention to the state of things: "Infidelity is gaining ground; many have cast off Christianity altogether. . . . The Church of Rome has had for more than twelve months a chapel, within the last few weeks has erected a building containing 1,000 persons. The Wesleyans also have several roomy tents. . . . Let us have a minister of the Gospel, and assuredly a building will follow. . . . I hope your lordship will decipher my letter. I find the constant use of the pickaxe and shovel not conducive to improvement in penmanship." The difficulty was to find agents. So

late as 1845 the Bishop refers to the state of the goldfields as "distressing indeed. . . Is the Lord departed from us?"

A few months later a clergyman was licensed for Ballarat, and valuable accessions had arrived in Mr. Stretch (soon made Archdeacon) and Mr. Goodman himself, now for nearly forty years examining chaplain to the Bishops of Melbourne.

In 1854 came the miners' revolt against the licenses, and the "Battle of the Eureka Stockade" at Ballarat. One reads of a clergyman lining his walls with mattresses for the protection of his family, and a judge driven from his hotel by bullets invading the sitting-room.

Not till 1857 was the first church built at Ballarat (Christ Church); a second followed in 1858 in Ballarat East, but collapsed through being undermined, leaving nothing but ruins, burdened with a heavy debt! It says no little for the people that a new and finer church was opened a year afterwards. It may be observed that a scheme for importing cheap corrugated-iron churches for the goldfields failed; they did not suit the climate.

But the pastoral districts were not forgotten in favour of the goldfields; and the story of Dr. F. Cusack Russell's apostolic mission in the western district, all day in the saddle visiting, sitting far into the night over his books, winning the hearts of high and low by his wondrous sympathy, unconventional saintliness, and rare practical wisdom, and dying in mid-ocean of paralysis, brought on by years of self-effacing labour, forms a noble chapter in the diocesan annals. The missionary journeys of Rev. J. H. Gregory form another, ending in his settlement at Bendigo, the goldfield next in size to Ballarat. Here a cyclone destroyed one fine new church, and rash expenditure overwhelmed another with debt, while the clergy at times lost heart under their burdens, and the laity allowed their zeal to ferment into strife. Up and down amidst all this passed the Bishop, or his fatherly letters of counsel, stimulating, reproofing, encouraging, guiding. And thus the years wore on, and the Church's "wall was built, even in troublous times."

There is no more interesting chapter in the book before us than that which recounts the Bishop's persevering endeavours, crowned at last with complete success, to secure the legalization of a good working constitution for his diocese. The disinterestedness, forethought, patience, and statesmanship displayed throughout this enterprise stamped him as a leader of no common gifts and influence. From the first he had rightly felt that, while the Church system of England was inapplicable in Victoria, the absolutism conferred by letters patent on colonial Bishops (in accordance with a Colonial Act,

8 Wm. IV., 5) would never conduce to the development of independent thought and action among clergy or laity, or secure their affectionate loyalty to their Church and interest in her successful management, and that it was especially to be deprecated in connection with such questions as patronage and clergy discipline. Foiled in his endeavour to get Bills regulating both of these passed through the Sydney Legislative Council, owing to misrepresentation of their true purpose, he had availed himself of the local conference of 1851 to get a draft scheme for a Representative Legislative Assembly of the Church, accepted both by clergy and laity; and when the Imperial Parliament rejected (in 1853) Archbishop Sumner's Bill for representative government in colonial dioceses, Bishop Perry, convening a second conference in 1854, submitted to it a Bill drafted by Mr. Stawell (Attorney-General) with the same object, which he proposed to get introduced into the Victorian Legislature. Dr. (by this time Dean) Macartney's speech on the occasion is worth quoting from. The Church, he said, was in the position of a boat let down from the davits, without being fairly launched. To cut the tackles, they needed legislative interference, with freedom to handle their own helm and steer their good vessel aright. The conference approved the Bill; it was brought before the Legislative Council, Mr. Childers (subsequently Chancellor of the Exchequer in England) supporting it. It was influentially opposed by Presbyterians and Roman Catholics, but passed by an excellent majority; and, lest any want of explanation should hinder the royal assent, the Bishop himself accompanied it to England in 1855. Lord John Russell, the Colonial Secretary, was adverse, but resigned office before decision was reached. Sir William Molesworth, his successor, was favourable, but advised against it by the law officers of the Crown. Before his decision was formally conveyed, however, he died, and the next Secretary, Mr. Labouchere, undertook to consult the Cabinet if a clear statement of arguments was prepared. This having been drawn up by an able college friend, the Bishop signed and sent it in just before re-embarking. He had not landed in Victoria when the despatch containing the assent reached Sir C. Hotham, the Governor, and the next year saw a corresponding assent given to a similar Act for Canada. In Cape Town, Adelaide, Newcastle, and elsewhere representative government in the Church was now established, without the intervention of the colonial Legislature; but the absence of such legislative sanction encouraged a clergyman in South Australia to defy his Bishop, while the famous case, of *Long v. the Bishop of Cape Town* grew entirely out of appellant's refusal to recognise the legal authority of the

Synod, in which the Privy Council supported him. From such dangers Bishop Perry's action had effectually saved his diocese.

The first Melbourne Assembly (of a little over 100 members)—the first Church Assembly since the Reformation—met in October, 1856—three years before Bishop Selwyn's in New Zealand—often, but erroneously, supposed to have been the first of them. It included nearly all the Cabinet, and a large proportion of the legal and Parliamentary talent of the colony. Bishop Perry's presidency was masterly. "There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth," and his surrender of power unquestionably consolidated his influence. Of course the Assembly made mistakes, and had its experience to acquire; but an effective machinery now existed for settling, one by one, all the difficulties of Church administration. A most important step was taken in the establishment of an Executive Council, with power to appoint departmental committees, which speedily liberated the Bishop from secular burdens for the more special functions of his office.

Thus equipped for self-government, the diocese could learn with indifference, in 1863, the utter invalidity of the authority that had been conferred by letters patent in constitutional colonies.

The history of the Church in Victoria now becomes largely, like that of modern England, the history of its legislation, and for any review of this, however hasty, space entirely fails us. We return to the Bishop himself, and his action on education demands notice. So early as 1851 he had published his view on primary schools. In clear, well-reasoned terms he established the duty of the Government to promote and regulate popular education, and the expediency of avoiding all compulsion as to the measure, or kind, of its religious element. He would even have acquiesced in a separate grant to Rome, and the merging of the Protestant bodies into one for education. In the matter of higher education, the Bishop's counsel was largely availed of in drafting the scheme for a Melbourne University; and the important provision made for affiliated colleges may be traceable to his suggestions. Years later he took the lead in establishing the first of these, laying the stone of Trinity College, Melbourne, in 1870. The first wing erected is called "the Bishop's Buildings"; the first scholarship endowed "the Perry Scholarship"; and the institution thus launched has developed admirably, besides furnishing a stirring example, followed already by two other Christian bodies in the colony.

In founding Grammar Schools, again, the Bishop's hand was strong. In 1856 he started that of Melbourne, which has

had a distinguished career; and in the next year another at Geelong, whose history was more chequered. Certain of the trustees mismanaged its finances, and it was closed for two years, while the Bishop was sued for a meat bill. He conducted his own case, unsuccessfully, but obtained a reversal of the verdict on appeal, when his action was emphatically vindicated by the Chief Justice. A proposal to re-open the school jointly with the Presbyterians was favoured by the Bishop, but not generally, and legal objections proved fatal to it, a further proposal to surrender the school, at a price, to the Government, meeting with the Bishop's absolute rejection. Finally, Archdeacon Stretch collected enough to make a composition with creditors, and the school, under Mr. J. Bracebridge Wilson, has flourished ever since.

We are bound to point out a defect in the chapter under review. No clear account whatever is furnished of the Bishop's attitude towards the Victorian Education Act of 1872.

A prominent characteristic of Bishop Perry's episcopate was the systematic organization of lay agency in all departments. Honorary lay "readers" received his license for conducting occasional services when a clergyman could not attend; and stipendiary "readers" for regular duty under direction of the clergy. Usually the latter were candidates for eventual ordination, and the Bishop greatly valued the practical test their employment furnished of their real fitness for the sacred office. Their duties were definitely laid down, and their studies regulated. The special training of candidates for ordination, again, received his close attention. In 1860 exhibitions were provided for preparing students from the Diocese at Moore Theological College, N. S. Wales. At first, the period of training was two years; latterly (for financial reasons), one only. Eventually the Assembly disfavoured the grants, and they were raised by special means. The establishment of a Theological Faculty at Trinity, Melbourne, was the Bishop's hope and purpose, but was reserved for his successor.

The ordinations were a deep anxiety to him. He had often, he said, regretted ordaining a man; never, rejecting one. Certain rules he prescribed to himself are characteristic: "Never to admit a clergyman who held Christ's presence in the elements on the table, or who favoured private confession and absolution; and never to recognise the existence of any 'party' in the diocese." As a matter of fact, men of all schools served in it; and the only three who failed to sign his farewell testimonial were "Evangelicals."

A second visit to England to recruit his strength and staff was unsuccessful as regards the latter object. It had set the

Bishop on the alert against "Ritualism," however, and he issued a circular against "intoning," which evoked some opposition. The Bishop's lack of all musical faculty has to be borne in mind, his indifference to art being also traceable in the architecture of the early Victorian Churches. He himself naïvely comments on their inferiority to those of New South Wales, attributing it to the difference of stone and kindred causes. Perhaps the absence of enthusiasm in his promotion of a cathedral in Melbourne (though he did not neglect it) may be similarly explained. The bold step of including lay Canons in the cathedral chapter had his powerful support. The cathedral at Sydney was consecrated in 1868, occasion being taken to hold a week's conference there, when the lines of a General Synod for Australia were laid down, and important interdiocesan regulations concerted. The General Synod scheme was heartily promoted by Bishop Perry, accepted by his diocese, and eventually carried out.

By this time the Church in Victoria, under his fostering care, had developed wonderfully. Its six clergy had become 129, its £950 of income £60,000, and the Bishop moved in the direction of forming a new see, and, when this for the time seemed hopeless, of securing a coadjutor Bishop *cum successione*. The right of succession, however, the Assembly was indisposed to tolerate, and the whole question slept awhile.

Missionary work among the heathen was not forgotten, and the survey of such efforts among the aborigines and Chinese of the diocese fills an interesting chapter in the Life. Here, as in all, the Bishop was in the lead, and his gallant vindication of missions from the cynical criticism of the leading Victorian journal, in its own columns is a refreshing sample of his skill in combining controversial vigour with dignity and good taste.

But we must not linger over this absorbing book. The chapter on church finance records the business capacity of the Bishop, and his cognizance of diocesan detail, and a good financier was needed when, in 1869, five years' notice was given of the cessation of all State aid to religion. During that interval a portion of it was prudently capitalized for future necessities. There is little doubt that, had the Bishop presided over the partition of church properties between the two Victorian dioceses in 1876, it would have been far more wisely made.

Very interesting is the record given of his views on topics of the time—always deliberate, and free from extravagance, and expressed with forbearance and precision. He preferred temperance to abstinence—discountenanced æstheticism, while urging withdrawal from balls, etc., on the clergy—declined

association with separatist bodies as such, yet cultivated communion with all Christian individuals. His love for the Church of England was at once discriminating and cordial, her moderation the theme of his constant admiration, while he avowed himself unconscious of the "fetters" she was charged with imposing. His devotion to the Scriptures was ardent; he disbelieved altogether in the practical peril of 'Bibliolatry.' "No man ever yet set the Bible up as a barrier between Christ and his soul . . . neither our Lord nor His Apostles ever uttered a caution against such a danger. . . . If anyone was ever chargeable with an idolatry of the Bible, it was (I speak it with reverence) our blessed Lord Himself." In a public lecture in Melbourne, vindicating Scripture from assault in the name of Science, before a crowded audience of all ranks, he pleaded the overwhelming cumulative evidence in support of its claims as incapable of being shaken by evidence of another kind. "I am content to believe in the Bible," was his simple answer, two months before his death, to some correspondent sending him perplexing current questions on theology.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of Bishop Perry's episcopate was jubilantly celebrated in 1872, with commemorative presents and addresses, and the next year the Assembly passed an Act for subdividing the diocese, now too large for any single Bishop. Archdeacon Stretch collected the balance needed for the endowment of the proposed new See of Ballarat; and with his journey to England in 1874 to secure a second Bishop—from which he decided, in 1876, not to return—the narrative of Charles Perry's episcopate in Victoria virtually ends.

We unhesitatingly pronounce it the career of a great man. For a fragile and retiring collegian, devoid of what are understood as "popular" gifts, and unswervingly loyal to growingly unpopular opinions, to have grasped as he did the ecclesiastical problems presented on a large scale by a totally new country, under unprecedented conditions and in times of excitement and confusion, and so brought about their solution as to win the homage and confidence of all kinds of men, swaying a large and independent community for eight-and-twenty years, and bequeathing to his successors a highly successful organization, conceived and consolidated by himself, and found worthy of imitation from east to west of the empire—all this makes up an achievement to which very few would be found equal. Of Charles Perry's private life and character the volume says but little: he was one of the most loving and beloved of men. Of his University distinctions he seemed absolutely oblivious; his personal comfort never

occupied an instant's thought. Devoted to duty, punctual almost to a scruple, ever ready to own and make reparation for fault or mistake, he was more than just—he was largely generous and tenderly considerate towards others. Characterized in early life by a passionate temper, he had mastered this so completely that he could reply at once to a bitter attack without the least disturbance of his serenity or trace of personal irritation. The "sweet reasonableness," the refined courtesy, and intelligent companionableness of the Bishop, added to his loftier qualities, drew closely to him choice Victorians like Sir W. Stawell, Sir J. Palmer, Professors Hearn and Wilson, Dr. Russell, and Hon. T. T. & Beckett. The singular purity and exactness of his public utterances were entitled to notice in the book; their language admitted of no revision. It is not meant that they were models of oratory, but they reflected the calm, well-balanced integrity of his clear and logical mind. Far from being a mere panegyric, Canon Goodman's book shuns all mention of such details as his incessant liberality. On the other hand, it not unnaturally eschews adverse criticism of the Bishop's "views" and policy. To this, of course, both are open. The day of a rigid "Evangelicalism" is generally thought to have passed away, in spite of such exponents of it as he was. His prejudice against religious endowments probably deprived the Victorian Church for ever of material leverage which might vastly have facilitated her progress. Omission to make provision in the least degree adequate for the superannuation of incapacitated clergy is unquestionably chargeable to his episcopate; while the first Bishop's entire apathy to the "aesthetics" of worship left an impress on the externals of Victorian Church life other than beautiful and attractive. Of these things the Life does not speak; and it may be held defective in its record of the "duodecade" succeeding 1856, the earlier period receiving perhaps disproportionate attention. Some will disrelish being told that "the Bishop's mind *was exercised*" by this or that; a date and a name or two are incorrect; and errors in proof-revision are by no means wanting. But high honour and deep gratitude are due to Canon Goodman for so honest, ably-written, instructive and valuable an "historico-biography" of one whose character and work will remain a priceless heirloom to all generations of Australian Christians.

SAMUEL BALLARAT.

Bishopscourt, Ballarat, April 26, 1892.

Short Notices.

The Witness of the Epistles. A study in modern criticism. By the Rev. R. J. KNOWLING, M.A., Vice-Principal of King's College, London. Pp. 446. Longmans, Green and Co. 1892.

THE writer of this book is, we believe, as yet unknown in the republic of letters, but we are much mistaken if the publication of it does not at once place him in the forefront of English Biblical scholars. The extensive knowledge of his subject and his wide familiarity with the literature of it are remarkable in so young a writer, and are the unmistakable fruit of earnest and persevering study, while the copious richness of his margin affords ample testimony to both. The argument of the writer is one of increasing importance, and also one that it can never be possible to dispense with. In days when the traditional estimate of the Scriptures is assailed right and left, and any refusal to bow down before the arbitrary assumption of every ambitious critic is ascribed to the influence of panic, it is refreshing to meet with one who is willing and competent to survey his position on every side, and to bring the diverse and conflicting opinions and statements of others to the judgment of calm and dispassionate reason.

The object of Mr. Knowling's "study in modern criticism" is to estimate the weight of evidence afforded by St. Paul's Epistles to the historic facts of the life of Christ, and with this in view he has been especially careful to examine the arguments that have recently been advanced for the rejection of the commonly received *Hauptbriefe*, and the conclusion at which he arrives is that "the description which Weizsäcker gives of the two Epistles to the Corinthians may not unfairly be extended to the four great Epistles of St. Paul: they are, he says, in an eminent sense historical, they deal with a whole series of facts and circumstances in such a way as to compensate for an historical description; for many things they are the only, and for others, at any rate, the best, source; and if we possessed nothing else than these Epistles, they would be sufficient to afford us a representation of the oldest form in which the Christian religion developed itself on Græco-Roman ground." As the book is professedly a study in criticism, it is naturally more critical in its character than definite and substantive in its personal statement; but it is a wide and exhaustive review of the opinions of German and French critics, and estimates with commendable fairness their relation to each other, and the effect of their combined weight upon the body of Christian belief. After seeing the gratuitous results of the treatment by Pfeiderer and others of the plain and straightforward statements of St. Paul, it is a relief to come back to the simple testimony of the Apostle, and the childlike witness of the Gospels, and the frank confession of St. John: "These things are written that ye might believe, and that, believing, ye might have life." The perusal of Mr. Knowling's book goes a long way to show that the difficulties and perplexities of critics are of their own creation, and arise in no small degree from their inability and unwillingness to surrender themselves to this essential condition of St. John.

Of the two volumes of Professor Wendt's work, *The Teaching of Jesus*, now translated into English, and published by Messrs. T. and T. Clark, the first volume is before us. The learned author, in his English preface, writes thus: "The question, how much of the component elements of the Old Testament revelation has permanent value for the

Christian Church, must ever be decided by the agreement or disagreement of the Old Testament ideas with the teaching of Jesus." Again: "The Holy Scriptures are not directly and indiscriminately the highest standard for our Christian doctrine; but the real touchstone is the teaching of Jesus, which is borne witness to in the Holy Scriptures." And we must seek to know the "pure form" of the teaching of Jesus; pure, says the Heidelberg Professor, as unmixed even with "the apostolic system of doctrine." These are the leading principles of Dr. Wendt's work. One more sentence may be quoted here. "In regard . . . to such a weighty point of doctrine as the resurrection and eternal life of individual saints, Jesus has decidedly taken part with the teaching of later Judaism, as it had been developed in opposition to that of the older prophets."

From Messrs. Isbister and Company we have received two volumes, each in its own way excellent: the Bishop of Winchester's *Questions of Faith and Duty*, and the Archdeacon of Westminster's *The Voice from Sinai*, sermons on the Ten Commandments preached in Westminster Abbey, of high value for young men. Bishop Thorold's papers "were mostly composed during the enforced leisure of the Sundays of the past year, when to write the Gospel seemed the next best thing to preaching it." There is a delightful mellowness about them.

The Rev. James Neil, whose works on the Holy Land are so well known and so much valued, now appears as a poet. His *Bridal Song*, based upon the Song of Solomon, shows much grace and insight. The volume is a most tasteful wedding gift (Lang, Neil and Co.).

The Archdeacon of London's Second Charge, we gladly note, is published in pamphlet form, printed in large, clear type (Elliot Stock). *The Church: Invisible, Visible, Catholic, National.*



THE MONTH.

THE reports of the proceedings at the Ulster Convention have been full of interest. The Demonstration was a complete and unequivocal success. The *Times* says:

In no doubtful or faltering accents the men of Protestant Ulster placed on record their solemn and unalterable resolution not to recognise or submit to the schemes of politicians who, under the seductive name of Home Rule, would impose upon them a hateful tyranny such as their forefathers fought against to death in 1689. No political demonstration in our time has afforded any parallel to the vast representative gathering which met at Belfast to give utterance to the pent-up feelings of Ulstermen. Nearly 20,000 persons, it is estimated, were assembled in the pavilion erected for the purpose, and of these some 12,000 were delegates chosen after full and free discussion in every electoral district throughout the province. . . . The Belfast Convention was intended to make the voice of the people heard, and in this it was entirely successful. The delegates who moved and supported the resolutions that had been adopted by their constituents represented every interest, every sect, every shade of opinion in Ulster. Landlords and tenant-farmers, great employers of labour and working men, manufacturers and merchants, Episcopalian, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Unitarians, even Roman Catholics and Orangemen, agreed to sink all minor differences of interest and opinion.

The Duke of Abercorn, having taken the chair, called upon the Lord Primate of all Ireland. His Grace said: "Brethren, with one heart and soul let us ask God's blessing on this our undertaking," and then read an appropriate prayer. The Rev. Dr. Brown, ex-Moderator of the General Assembly, requested the assembly to sing the 46th Psalm (Scotch version):

God is our refuge and our strength,
In straits a present aid.