For their sympathetic co-operation during another circle of twelve months, I have the pleasure of thanking the writers and readers of the CHURCHMAN. From many sources gratitude has been expressed for the line which it has attempted consistently to follow. Loyalty to the written Word of God is our chief watchword; next to that, a discriminating attention to the practices and teachings of the Primitive Church; thirdly, a profound confidence in the wisdom, candour and learning of the English Reformers. The truth, fulness and importance of this line is in some degree shown by the weekly invectives of the Roman press in this country against the Review. With such principles the Church of Rome is, unfortunately, at variance. The Council of Trent set Tradition on an equality with the inspired Scriptures as an authority. The practice and teaching of the Primitive Church are, according to the Roman theory of Development, defective. No words are too bad for them to employ in describing the English Reformers. From such a Church we, as English Churchmen, do not think we have anything to learn but by way of warning. Time was when the Roman Church was justly the admiration of the other Churches of Christendom. When once again it has divested itself of its cardinal errors of Universal Dominion, Tradition and Development, it may once more gain that high place—which may God in His own good time grant! None will rejoice more heartily than the descendants of those Anglo-Saxons to whom Bishop Gregory sent Augustine the Monk.

The controversy on the criticism of the Old Testament has been watched by writers in the CHURCHMAN with an inclination to cautiousness against any hastily-drawn assumptions. As the Old Testament is the foundation on which the New is raised, anything like rashness or presumption is unspeakably out of place. Nothing can be accepted except what is demon-
strated beyond all possibility of question. No care is too great in handling matters of vital and essential importance to the hopes and happiness of mankind.

With regard to internal controversies, the attitude of the CHURCHMAN appears to be unassailable in taking its stand on the theology of Hooker, Jackson, Field, and the other characteristic divines of the reformed English Church, and in firmly refuting everything in Dr. Newman’s movement which is not in harmony with the patient and exhaustive learning of these great exponents of Holy Scripture and the History of the Church. It is exactly with a view to such points that the Counter-Reformation, which is now in full operation in the Church, is being so vigorously urged; and, at whatever cost, it appears to be our duty to set forth the progress of that movement, and the overwhelming reasons which are against it.

With politics we have, of course, little to do; but all reforms that are well considered in ecclesiastical and social matters we desire to study with intelligent and sympathetic interest.

Never was literature so much occupied as at present in theology and philanthropy. The field that lies before us every year is vast, varied and fertile.

When great issues are at stake, help and co-operation are welcome from all quarters. Believing heartily in our own principles, we earnestly desire to see them prevailing in many directions. The CHURCHMAN is prospering, but it is hardly necessary to add that the more numerous our readers the more hopeful will be our outlook. In many circles of men of moderate or of evangelical views the CHURCHMAN does not seem yet to have made its way. We cannot but think that our readers will be helping the cause of the maintenance of those Reformation principles that are dear to them, if they will endeavour to make it known more widely and to promote its circulation. Amongst the multitude of ecclesiastical papers a review of modest dimensions and of no long standing runs the risk of being unrecognised.

May God, in these days of difficulty, grant to both writers and readers an abundant portion of the Holy Spirit, which may show itself in meekness, forbearance, candour, loyalty, truthfulness, learning and charity!

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.
ART. I.—PAPAL AUTHORITY IN PRIMITIVE TIMES.

The source from which Mr. Puller’s book dealing with the Papal authority emanates, gives it a double interest. When the Tractarian party broke up, on its desertion by Dr. Newman, the greater part of its members fell back into the ranks of the National Church, resolute now to defend her not only in her Catholic, but also in her Protestant aspect. A smaller section, unwilling to efface itself as a party, maintained certain shibboleths of distinction, and became known as the Ritualist party. Some of the members of this party, while desirous of a more elaborate ceremonial, have shown themselves warmly attached to the Church of England; but in others the spirit of disloyalty which animated Newman has exhibited itself and has made them depreciate everything Anglican and give their approval to Roman doctrines and practices whenever they are opposed to Anglicanism. The fact of Mr. Puller belonging to the Cowley Society and calling himself “Father,” proclaims him an advanced high Churchman; the tone of his book, we are happy to say, shows that he is not in favour of Romanism. We should be glad to see a more general return, on the part of the section of the Church to which Mr. Puller apparently belongs, from a morbid admiration of mediævalism to a healthy love of primitive truth and practice, such as characterized the divines of the seventeenth century, who never forgot to be thankful that they belonged to a Church which, if it was Catholic, was also, and for that reason, Protestant.

1 “The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome,” by F. W. Puller, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley, with a Preface by Edward Lord Bishop of Lincoln. (Longmans, 1893, pp. 423.)
Mr. Puller goes over little new ground, and we may be tempted to ask, Why say again what has been so well said already? It may be wearisome to well-read students to do this, but it is necessary. Rome keeps her ground by dogged reassertion in spite of refutation, and her reassertions must be met by renewed refutations, else she will boast herself victor and mislead simple souls. A great part of Mr. Puller’s argument may be found in Allies’ “Church of England Cleared from the Charge of Schism,” and a considerable portion of it is an expansion of an article that appeared in the Christian Remembrancer in 1855, in reply to R. I. Wilberforce’s “Principles of Church Authority,” an article referred to at page 60. Nevertheless, Mr. Puller’s work is far from superfluous; it is well-arranged, and well-written, and it restates the case in a temperate manner, which may gain an audience for it where words of a sharper or severer tone would not find entrance.

Everyone who maintains the tenet of the Papal supremacy, and everyone who refutes it, has to appeal to a series of historical events bearing on the subject, which must be shown to be in accordance with the theory that he holds, except, like Manning, he shall have in despair rejected the appeal to history as “a treason.” We propose to recount some of these events, submitting to our readers the conclusions which Mr. Puller draws from them.

1. The first of these events in the Quartodeciman controversy.

The Christians of Asia Minor had inherited from St. John the custom of keeping the feast of Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon, as the Jews did. Most of the other Churches of Christendom kept it on the next Sunday. In the middle of the second century Polycarp proceeded to Rome to persuade the then Bishop, Anicetus, to adopt the Quartodeciman usage. He did not succeed. Either Bishop treated the other with honour and courtesy, but the various usages continued, the variety being regarded as indifferent. At the end of the same century the question arose again. Victor, a man of overbearing temper, was then Bishop of Rome; and when Polycrates, of Ephesus, wrote in defence of the Quartodeciman practice, he tried to persuade the other Churches of Christendom to cut off the Asiatic from the common unity, on account of their non-conformity in this matter; probably he did break off the communion between his own local Church and the Church of Asia Minor; but he entirely failed to persuade his brother Bishops to follow his example, and they sharply reproached him for his intolerance. The difference in usage continued down to the Council of Nicaea.
The following is Mr. Puller's just comment on the subject:

From the point of view of the Vatican Council, Polycrates' letter was a wicked act of rebellion, and all the Bishops of Asia, by assenting to that act of rebellion, became partakers of the Metropolitan's guilt. But the Fathers of the Church were wholly unconscious of that view of the matter. When St. Jerome writes a short life of Polycrates he says nothing about rebellion or any other wrongdoings, but quotes the most important part of Polycrates' letter, including his refusal to conform himself to Victor's decision, as a proof of the ability and weight of the man. Moreover, St. Irenæus, and numbers of other Catholic Bishops took the same view. No doubt, they thought that there had been wrong-doing, but in their view, not Polycrates, but Victor, was the culprit. They "very severely upbraided" Victor. As far as we know, they said nothing to Polycrates. But perhaps, for our purpose, the most important point to notice is that nobody seems to have supposed that communion with the Catholic Church depended on communion with the Roman See. Victor wrote letters in which he announced that all the Asiatic brethren were "utterly separated from communion." The other Bishops objected to Victor's proceeding. They refused to withdraw their communion from Polycrates. He therefore remained united to the common unity of the Catholic Church, although cut off from the communion of the Roman Church. A very important principle underlies this fact. Evidently in the second century the Church was in no way the born handmaid of the Roman pontiff. The theory set forth in the Vatican decrees was unknown. The Roman Church was not held to be the necessary centre of unity.—P. 30.

Mr. Puller adds that judging by the examples of St. Irenæus and other holy bishops of his time, the way to meet Papal claims is "to inveigh against the claimant strongly, and to upbraid him severely, and to refuse to give in to his claim."

2. In the middle of the third century far the greatest prelate in the West was Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. As such, he was appealed to by the Spanish Church for advice and help in the matter of the Bishops Martial and Basilides. The latter, Bishops of Leon-Astorga and Merida, had been canonically deposed because they had lapsed in time of persecution. Unwilling to acquiesce in the judgment of the National Church, Basilides hurried to Rome, and by an ex parte statement induced Bishop Stephen to embrace his cause. Returning to Spain, the two deposed prelates demanded reinstatement. The Spaniards, feeling themselves unequal to a contest with the Bishop of the imperial city, appealed to Cyprian for help. Cyprian gathered a synod of thirty-seven Bishops which examined into the question. Finding that the Spanish Church was in the right, they wrote a letter to Leon and Merida, reassuring the Spaniards, telling them to disregard Stephen's interference, who had acted without proper circumspection, and had allowed himself to be imposed upon by Basilides, and bidding them regard Martial and Basilides as deposed and the men who had been appointed in their place the legitimate occupiers of the sees.
Papal Authority in Primitive Times.

The whole incident (says Mr. Puller) illustrates admirably the Catholic system of Church government. The sentence of the synod of the province is held to be final. The Pope's decision in regard to a matter which had taken place outside his jurisdiction is considered to have no force in itself. It is neither able to reverse nor suspend the decision of the province. The Spanish churches are exhorted to ignore it; but all who act upon it are warned that they will share in the guilt and in the punishment of the miserable men whose action had caused all the trouble. We learn also from this incident that when any Church was in trouble it could apply for help to any foreign Church which it might select.—P. 70.

3. Cyprian of Carthage and Stephen of Rome held different views as to the efficacy of baptism by heretics. Which view was the more correct is unimportant for our purpose. Cyprian, firmly maintaining his own side of the question, held that each might be tolerant of the other's opinion. Stephen, a successor of Victor, threatened his opponent with excommunication. Cyprian, lamenting that Stephen should be so "proud," "impertinent," "rash," "improvident," "obstinate," called a council of eighty-five African Bishops, who confirmed the Cyprianic view. Stephen carried out his threat and cut off the African from communion with the Italian Church. St. Firmilian, contemplating this act of violence, expressed the sentiments of Eastern as well as Western Christendom by turning upon Stephen and crying out, "How great a sin have you heaped up against yourself when you cut yourself off from so many flocks! for you cut yourself off; don't deceive yourself. For he is truly the schismatic who has made himself an apostate from the communion of the unity of the Church. For while you think that all may be excommunicated by you, you have excommunicated yourself alone from all" (Opp. St. Cypr., p. 150).

Here we have the judgment of St. Cyprian and St. Firmilian on the modern Papal claims, and to them must be added St. Augustine, who, while agreeing with Stephen in opinion, has left the record of his approval of Cyprian's conduct, who, he says, would no doubt have yielded to a Plenary Council, if it could have been held.

Mr. Puller comments:

If the Pope be by Divine appointment all that the Vatican Council has declared him to be, what words could be too strong to denounce St. Cyprian's attitude towards Stephen? On that hypothesis he was an insolent rebel, and his eighty-four colleagues, who made no protest, were sharers in his sin. . . . St. Augustine is absolutely unconscious of any taint of rebellion or impropriety in St. Cyprian's attitude. Why should Cyprian need to wait for a Plenary Council when the infallible Pope had spoken and had threatened to excommunicate those who differed from him? The answer, of course, is that nobody dreamed that obedience was due to the Pope. . . . St. Firmilian's are doubtless strong words,
and it was quite time that the prelates of the Church should speak out in no faltering terms of Stephen's arrogant attitude and action.—P. 86.

At the beginning of the fifth century Apiarius, a presbyter of the Church of Sicca, in North Africa, was deposed for crime. He fled to Rome, and there accused his Bishop, Urban. Pope Zosimus took Apiarius under his protection, and sent him back to Africa, accompanied by Faustinus, an Italian Bishop, and two Italian presbyters, who were to demand his restoration and the excommunication of Urban, and to make some general claims on behalf of the See of Rome. A council of African Bishops having been summoned, the Italians brought forward a canon of the council of Nicaea, on which they based the Papal claim of interference. The African Bishops replied that they knew no such canon—that their copies had it not, that they did not believe in its existence, but they courteously added that they would write to the other great Church centres and get authenticated copies of the Nicene decrees and canons. They did so, and it was found that no such canon existed. An excuse was made for the Pope that he had confounded together the acts of the councils of Nicaea and Sardica, but as copies of the acts of all the councils were deposited at Rome, he could not have done this, except he wilfully closed his eyes. The act illustrates the crooked policy by which the See of Rome has constantly sought to justify her ambitious courses. Apiarius, praying for forgiveness, was allowed to continue in the ministry, but was desired to remove from the diocese of Sicca. He went to Tabraca, and here he again was guilty of conduct which caused the people once more to demand his deposition. Again he fled to Rome. Again he was taken by the hand by the Pope—Celestine was now Pope—and again the Pope sent him back to Africa with Faustinus, who again demanded his restoration. His spontaneous confession of guilt relieved the African Church from further trouble on his score, but it would not pass by the incident without administering a sharp though dignified reproof to the interfering Italian primates. Already it had been led to pass a canon ordering that anyone appealing to a court the other side of the sea (Rome) was not to be readmitted to communion by anyone in Africa. Now, an African council writes to the Roman Bishop desiring him in future not thus easily to admit to communion men coming to Rome, who had been excommunicated in Africa. “Let your holiness,” they say, “reject, as is worthy of you, that bad practice of taking shelter with you which priests and the inferior clergy have, both because by no ordinance of the Fathers has this right been withdrawn from the African Church, and the Nicene decrees have most plainly committed the inferior clergy and the Bishops themselves to their Metropolitans. For they have
ordained with great prudence and justice that all matters shall be terminated in the places where they arise; and they did not think that the grace of the Holy Spirit would be wanting to any province, by which grace the Bishops of Christ would discern with prudence and maintain with constancy whatever was equitable; especially since any party who thinks himself wronged by a judgment may appeal to the synod of his province or even to a general council [of all Africa], unless it be imagined by anyone that our God can inspire a single individual with justice, and refuse it to an innumerable number of Bishops assembled in council." There is more to the same effect, every word of the letter being condemnatory of the modern Roman system. Mr. Puller speaks with refreshing directness and vigour on this case as well as those recounted above.

As honourable men (he says), let Ultramontane writers refrain from pretending that the Church of North Africa in the time of St. Augustine believed in the principles laid down by the Vatican Council. Such a pretence is an impertinence and an act of folly which must alienate every person of good sense and Christian simplicity who is cognisant of it.—P. 203.

We have no hesitation in saying that the manner in which the Quartodeciman controversy and the controversy between Cyprian and Stephen was conducted, and the way in which the cases of Basilides and of Apiarius were dealt with, disprove for ever the theory not only of the infallibility and universal bishopric of the Pope, but of his supremacy over the Church in any form, however modified. And every student of ecclesiastical history knows that they are but illustrations of the tone and temper everywhere prevalent in the Early Church.

What, then, was the origin of that supremacy which undoubtedly prevailed in the Middle Ages, and has in modern times only increased in intensity where it has not been rejected in toto? Mr. Puller does well to insist upon the immense effect of the imperial rescript in establishing it. There were various other reasons which helped the rise of the Papacy to the height that it attained, but that eminence would not have been reached but for (1) the grant made by the Roman Emperors, (2) the deceit passed upon the Church by the False Decretals.

There is a general agreement of historians that the Papal monarchy took a new departure and development in the time of Damasus. Why was this?

In Damasus's pontificate a synod was held at Rome A.D. 378, which petitioned the Emperor Gratian, a young man nineteen years of age, to grant to the Bishop of the imperial city a wider jurisdiction than he had hitherto possessed. It was an
understood thing that when the King or Emperor was a Christian, the Bishop of the royal or imperial city should partake of the dignity and power which was enjoyed by the King or Emperor. In Spain, for example, Toledo was not at first even of Metropolitan rank, but when Leovigild transferred thither the royal residence, and when his son Reccared became a Catholic, the Bishop of Toledo at once became Metropolitan of half the province of Carthaginensis, and soon afterwards, by an edict of King Gundemar, he was made Metropolitan of the whole province. Next he was lifted up above his brother-metropolitans, and finally was constituted Primate of Spain. All this because he was Bishop of the royal city. So it was at Rome on a larger scale. Gratian resolved that his Bishop should hold a higher position than the other Bishops. He willingly, therefore, listened to the petition of Damasus's synod, and enacted that all Metropolitans of the Western Empire, and all Bishops who chose, were to be tried before the Bishop of the imperial city in case of any charge being made against them, and he commanded the secular officers of the empire to bring the Metropolitans to Rome by force if they were unwilling to accept the new yoke. Papal jurisdiction outside of Rome and the Suburbicarian Church was therefore derived from the State, and granted by the State to the State-Bishop. By the imperial will this jurisdiction was made conterminous with the Western Empire, that is, it was extended for the first time over North Italy, Illyricum, Gaul, Britain, Spain, and Africa. The Council of Chalcedon—an ecclesiastical, not a civil authority—gave a like pre-eminence to the Bishop of Constantinople over the Exarchate of Pontus and "the East." Having tasted the advantages derived from the favour of the imperial power, the Popes anxiously sought an increase of their authority from the same source. In 445 Leo I. asked the Emperor for enlarged powers, and Valentinian III. granted them as readily as Gratian, for was he not honouring himself in honouring his own Bishop? But Leo was wiser in his generation than Damasus. He would conceal the secular source from which his authority came, and attributed it (after he had safely obtained it from the Emperor) to the fact of his being a successor of St. Peter—a notion which sprang out of the (heretical) Clementine Romance, and was adopted as their own from Leo's date onward by the Popes.

The basis, then, of the Papal authority outside the district of Southern Italy is Erastian, not ecclesiastical. The Papal efforts to give it an ecclesiastical foundation would have failed of success had it not been for the enormous forgery of the False Decretals, composed by the pseudo-Isidore in the ninth century, and supposed to be genuine for six centuries. These
forgeries, which represented Popes acting with plenary authority before the decrees of Gratian and Valentinian, served to throw an ecclesiastical cloak over the political and social system established by the Emperors on the petition of the Popes. But the Ecumenical Councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon, as well as all ecclesiastical history, remind us that any pre-eminence recognised by the Church in Rome and Constantinople was allowed them solely because those cities were imperial residences.

Mr. Puller proceeds to recount the cases of Meletius and of Acacius, both of which are as incompatible with the existence of Papal supremacy, at the date of their occurrence, as the cases of Basilides and Apiarius. Those who are still unconvinced may with benefit trace the subject further under Mr. Puller's guidance.

F. MEYRICK.

ART. II.—CAIRD'S ESSAYS.

PART II.

PASSING over, for the moment, any discussion of the most elaborate of all the essays contained in the first volume—"The Problem of Philosophy at the Present Time"—we may now proceed to examine the second volume. This is entirely devoted to philosophical problems, and is divided into two main divisions: (1) Cartesianism, (2) Metaphysics. Both of these have seen the light before, in the pages of the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," and both are, we regret to say, reprinted without alteration from that great but cumbrous "Thesaurus." This regret is all the more keenly felt because, since 1883 (the date of the first publication of "Metaphysics"), several excellent pieces of criticism have appeared which merit deep attention. Not to speak of Seth's "Hegelianism and Personality," a book no metaphysician can afford to neglect, we have had various searching papers in Mind and elsewhere, and two or three books of capital importance, notably Dr. Martineau's "Study of Religion" in 1888, Dr. J. H. Stirling's Gifford Lectures in 1890, Professor James's most suggestive volumes on "Psychology" in 1891, and Dr. W. T. Harris's monograph on the "Logic of Hegel" in the same year. Accordingly, most admirable as is Professor Caird's luminous and subtle contribution to the knottiest problem which can occupy the intellectual faculties of man, one naturally misses

1 To these must now be added Mr. F. H. Bradley's "Appearance and Reality," a brilliant and thoughtful essay in metaphysics.
many side-touches of that penetrating criticism of the thought of the time, which no one knows how to employ better than Caird himself. As I am anxious to proceed to this study of metaphysic, it will be enough if a rapid glance alone is given to the essay on "Cartesianism," which occupies the first hundred or so pages of the second volume.

The subject matter of Cartesianism naturally divides itself into three major divisions, according as we deal with the founder of that philosophical system, Descartes himself, or his immediate disciples, Malebranche and Spinoza. The debt which modern philosophy owes to the impetus given it by Descartes can hardly be overrated; from whatever aspect we view it, and no matter how much we differ from the deductions drawn by Descartes from his own principles, we cannot deny him the credit of having broken down the barriers, raised by the pseudo-Aristotelianism of the schoolmen, against the development of a living thought as realized in close contact with the actual world. His "Cogito, ergo sum," Gassendi notwithstanding, contains the germ of a sound philosophy, though it may be doubted whether Descartes ever realized the fulness of meaning wrapt up in his celebrated aphorism. In his own developments and counter-developments, explanations and counter-explanations, Descartes often lost sight of the main issue; he often failed to bring forth from his treasure-house the stores contained within; he was for the most part unable to render explicit the truth implicitly contained in those few words—"I think, therefore I am." For his mechanical view of nature, his imperfect grasp of the relations subsisting between subject and object, and his arbitrary conception of God—dragged in, it would seem, as a sort of Deus ex machīna, to clamp together the unyielding elements of his imperfect thought—ultimately landed him, in ethics as in metaphysics, into an explication of things which, instead of being a reconciliation of diversities and antagonisms, is a dualism which can give no rationale either of mind or matter.1 "At best," says Caird, "his unity is a unity which is the result of abstraction.

Caird's running commentary upon the dogmatism of Spinoza (pp. 332-383) is very useful in throwing light upon the distractions and irreconcilable elements of a philosophy which, despite all the severe criticisms passed upon it, has ever retained an undoubted fascination over the minds of many. "Spinoza's ethics," says Dr. Stirling,2 "have deeply influenced the progress of philosophy, especially since Jacobi recalled

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attention to it in Germany; but after all, perhaps, his work of the greatest historical importance is the 'Tractatus Theologico-Politicus.' The latter work has constituted the very arsenal of the Aufklärung whether French or German." Doubtless our interest in Spinoza is not weakened, when we realize that his bent towards philosophy was not conditioned by motives purely intellectual. Some true and abiding object of love, something in which he could find a perfect and eternal joy—this was his primary search. True, the lines of thought tracked out in his logic lead to something quite different. His intent was so to correlate the finite things of time and sense, as to make them intelligible only in and for an infinite intelligence; the actual sum of his philosophic achievement is to "dissolve all things in an ultimate abstraction of Being." This logical failure affords Caird the text for an instructive sermon, though his interpretation of Spinoza's doctrine does scarcely adequate justice to it as a foreshadowing of that truth which Spinoza himself seemed to gaze upon with an almost rapt vision. His whole philosophy is simply to make explicit those views of God and man which were implicit in his own mind. The attempt failed; for it was precisely in its lack of subjectivity that his system was ultimately found wanting. And yet we cannot but discern, as Principal Caird points out, a singularly profound meaning in those apparently mystical utterances in which Spinoza seems to gather up the final result of his speculation—"God loves Himself with an infinite intellectual love;" "the intellectual love of the mind to God is part of the infinite love wherewith God loves Himself." And he can say this, with an entire conviction of its truth, notwithstanding the fact that his whole philosophy is a virtual denial, on the one hand, of any reality to independent finite existence; and, on the other, is content to define God as simply unbroken extension, unbroken thought—thought and extension being at the same time the dual attributes of a single infinite substance. Hence, for Spinoza, true knowledge consists merely in seeing things under the form of eternity; for him, too, no living God remained; seeing the word "God" was really nothing beyond a term in a geometric series, robbed of spiritual content and glowing with no moral fervour. And yet, of all antitheistic writers that have lived, it is upon him that our eyes love oftenest to rest with a lingering affection, and dwell with a strange repose.

The essay on "Metaphysic," which we may now deal with, occupies some 150 pages, and contains a great deal of hard reading. Yet no one, having once started on his voyage of

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1 Of. the remarks of the Rev. Dr. Caird on p. 9 of his luminous monograph on "Spinoza" (1888).
discovery over the "perilous sea" of metaphysical problems here presented to the serious student, would lightly abandon the quest—so full of infinite interest is it to grapple with the intricacies of thought, piercing them to their depths, so fascinating a thing is this iron toil of speculative endeavour.

After an introductory sketch of the origin of the term "metaphysic," and of Aristotle's account of it as a science of the first principles of knowing and being, Caird proceeds to consider the subject under four main relations—the relations, that is, of Metaphysic (1) to Science in General, (2) to Psychology, (3) to Logic, and (4) to the Philosophy of Religion. What we note as of special interest in the first part is a searching criticism of Aristotle, to whom every branch of human science is so profoundly indebted. Less suggestive, in some ways, than Plato, less exquisitely alive to the poetic interpretation of Nature's stern facts, Aristotle was assuredly the first who fairly grappled with the problems of knowing and being, and essayed to define the relations existing between intelligence and the intellectual world. If he failed finally to solve those problems, if he was at last unsuccessful in his interpretation of those relations in their fulness and complexity, he at least indicated the method by which his successors must set about the mighty task. His philosophy was the first attempt at presenting a systematic as opposed to an abstract theory of the world; it avoided, too, that stumbling-stone of the a-priorist, namely, the withdrawal of philosophy from a healthy contact with actual experience. He failed chiefly in his reduction of "being" to a mere form, in which all differences, in place of being correlated and explained as necessary factors in the living web of existence, were simply absorbed. Abstract identity was for him, in point of fact, the last stage of being, instead of that "concrete unity of differences" which receives the particulars into itself only to their reaffirmation. With Aristotle, moreover, the pure intelligence, which is the *prïus* of all things, is merely regarded as theoretic; while it was left for Hegel to discern that for it to be anything it must be conceived of as a living principle, capable in self-consciousness of accounting for itself. "In this way," remarks Caird (vol. ii., p. 520), "Hegel was enabled to understand the necessary unity of thought or self-consciousness with the world, and to heal the division of physio from metaphysic which Aristotle had left unexplained."

But it was this inherent dualism in Aristotle which, when his speculative theory fell into the hands of barbarians and schoolmen, helped to bring discredit on philosophy at the hands of...
modern scientists and disciples of the *Aufklärung*. Nor is that breach between science and philosophy yet healed, as everyone knows; in our day science has done so much for our bodies that we, utilitarians to the finger-tips, are quite content to think that enough. But (to use Hegel's words) philosophy must supplement the scientific manner of knowing by another manner; because a scientific manner of knowing does not satisfy the whole demand of intelligence. This is to many a vexing and puzzling thing, this proper comprehension of the relations between science, as popularly understood, and philosophy; and I cannot but think Caird's commentary just here is most helpful, if duly pondered; nothing, for example, could be more satisfactory than the following (p. 442):

Philosophy goes beyond science just because, along with the idea of the relativity of things to the mind, it brings in the conception of organic unity. Its highest aim is, therefore, not merely (as Kant still held) to secure a place for the supersensible beyond the region of experience. It is to reinterpret experience, in the light of a unity which is presupposed in it, but which cannot be made conscious or explicit until the relation of experience to the thinking self is seen—the unity of all things with each other and with the mind that knows them.

Side by side with these words we may set another passage, where, after pointing out how the principle of subjectivity in religion, and the objective principle in science, correct and supplement each other, Caird excellently sums up as follows (p. 464):

What is wanted to clear up the confusion on both sides is the growth of the perception among scientific men, that the objectivity they are seeking cannot be mere objectivity (which would be unmeaning), but an objectivity that stands in essential relation to the intelligence; and, on the other hand, the growth of the perception among religious men, that the subjectivity of religion only means that God, who is the objective principle by whom things are and are known, is a spiritual Being, and can, therefore, be revealed to the spirit.

If it is true—and the contrary I hold to be unthinkable—that thought, which is self-consciousness, is the key to unlock the secret of the universe, then not less true is it that "self-consciousness is something which makes us individuals in a sense in which individuality can be predicated of none but a self-conscious being." But this truth, simply considered in its metaphysical aspect, has but a speculative interest until it be shown that, upon this very universality of consciousness, rests the possibility both of science and morality. Caird, who appears to put the matter in a nutshell, concludes the argument thus: "All science is just a contemplation of the world *in ordine ad universum*, and not *in ordine ad individuum*; and all morality is just action with a view to an interest which belongs to the agent, not as this individual, but as a member
of a greater whole, and ultimately of the absolute whole in which all men and all things are included."

Regarded in this way, we see that only so far as man is viewed as a self-conscious being can he relate himself to God, the absolute self-consciousness, the infinite genetic pulse into which all individual self-consciousness is retracted, but never for a single instant lost. In this (the Christian) view, God ceases to be the abstract unity in which all difference is swallowed up, but is found the living Spirit which relates all things to Himself, and in whom and for whom all things are.

To go into further detail as regards Caird's most pregnant and suggestive essay is not possible; an adequate notice would run well-nigh to as great a length as the original essay. I have marked for special mention an excellent critique—pp. 486 sqq.—on the Aristotelian view of thought in its relation to the world. A single sentence which declares that "the esse of things is not their percipt, but their intelligi" shuts a vast deal in a small space. It is, indeed, well to remember that an analysis of an object in no case exhausts its meaning and content; for it is as true to say that the object of thought becomes mediated by, and changed in, thought, as to say that thought is determined by the object to which it submits itself. Without thought finite things simply become emptied of all meaning; they are, strictly, unintelligible. And yet, obvious as this is, how many so-called thinkers either ignore the truth or remain unconvinced of it! One is tempted to suppose that Ovid's lines must find a place in the thoughts of some of these gentlemen, on occasions:

Video meliora proboque,
Deterior sequor.

Caird's "Metaphysics" closes with a brief commentary upon the Hegelian method, as employed to bring about the solution of the problem of existence,—that ζητησεις ζητησεων of all earnest men. The references to Hegel by name are not numerous throughout the essay, but Caird is more deeply indebted to that prince of thinkers than to any other philosopher of any country or any age. It was Hegel who, having mastered (as no one else had mastered) the teaching of the "Critical Philosophy" of Immanuel Kant, set himself to supply its deficiencies, and to complete the work which Kant had only begun. What the world owes to the dialectical method pur-

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1 Hegel's use of the words "abstract," and "concrete," admirably philosophical as it is, requires to be attended to with care, inasmuch as it differs from the ordinary usage. Dr. Sterrett, in a volume of rare insight, "Studies in Hegel's Philosophy of Religion," comments (p. 36) very clearly on this very matter.
sued by Hegel can never, perhaps, altogether be estimated; science, history, aesthetic, philosophy, ethic, religion—all have, in their turn, been profoundly affected by his masterly activity in their several provinces, and his almost superhuman insight into the principles which underlie the life of the world. For all that, prejudice is still rife against him, coming not least from the hands of those who have battened on him most. Dissatisfied with those systems which ended in an avowed or covert dualism, and, at the same time, fully conscious that a philosophy drawn from the springs of Eastern mysticism could never solve the mystery of Nature and spirit, inasmuch as it sanctioned the practical diremption of spirit and matter by withdrawing spirit from matter, and by regarding the latter as but a time-worn illusion of the finite sense-consciousness, Hegel resolutely set to work to find what that genetic pulse of the universe might be, which should be at once self-determined, and also capable of finding in itself its own justification and affirmation. Such a genetic pulse—such a living, active principle—must (to borrow Caird's own words) "be a unity at once self-differentiating and self-interpreting, which manifests itself in difference, that through that difference it may return upon itself." In other words, the object of all Hegel's iron toil was to get at the Concrete Notion. Nature must be shown not as something exterior to God—merely externally depending on Him, so to say—but as that in which He has chosen to manifest Himself; and the spirit of man must be shown to be vitally related to God, who works in and through the finite spirit. Thus will God appear to us as He veritably is—not an "absentee" Deity, sitting on the confines of space beyond the ken of man; that is a fallacy which Agnostics and the antitheistic mob had better keep to themselves; but—the universal focus of all life, the centre of all thought, all will, and all conceivable relations; no mere external Cause of

This mighty sum of things for ever speaking, but the internal life, fulness, and energy of the grand Whole.

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1 "Philosophy of History" (tr. by Sibree), pp. 163, 177. The absolute of Indian thought is the emptiest of abstractions. Compare Dr. W. T. Harris's "Critical Exposition of Hegel's Logic," chaps. ix., x., and see Hegel's "History of Philosophy" (tr. by E. S. Haldane), vol. i., pp. 146-148.


3 The ordinary undifferentiated belief regards God as having manifested Himself to man; the intellectual consciousness as having manifested Himself in man; while the Christian synthesis—thereby declaring its true philosophic import—looks upon God as having manifested Himself both in and to man.
Caird is (apparently) disposed to regard the following as the weightiest objection to a metaphysic like Hegel's—namely, that it seems to involve a claim to absolute knowledge, whereas we are only too painfully conscious of the actual limitations of our intelligence. But in the same breath, almost, he is enabled to dispose of that objection; for, as he says, what the Hegelian metaphysic does is to give us the assurance that the problem to be solved in human life and thought is not insoluble—as it is, for example, when we attempt to bring in any dualistic philosophy to untie the knots and unravel the confused strands of that problem. Where, perhaps, one does at times feel qualms is in the fact that the Hegelian dialectic seems too easy. How will it explain that hardest of the riddles of the Sphinx—sin? Can it exorcise that grim phantom? Hegel, indeed, clearly recognises sin and its consequences; but his philosophy seems, in some ways, to give an inadequate rationale of its presence in a divinely-ordered universe. The mystery of evil we cannot allow to be insoluble to finite thought; but, so far, it has assuredly baffled speculative thinkers.

I have reserved till the end the essay on "The Problem of Philosophy at the Present Time," though in Caird's collection it is placed in the first volume—not the most suitable place, however, in my opinion. Though perhaps open to criticism in more than one direction, it must be regarded as a lucid and admirable performance, taken in the bulk. But before we can assume the task of discussing the "Problem of Philosophy," we must first ascertain what philosophy itself is. To this very difficult, but amply pertinent question, various replies have been accorded. After Hegel's mighty labours, one cannot but believe that any proposed solution of that question must be futile which does not realize that, in the very being of philosophy, is involved an unwavering search for one idealistic principle—the radical of thought—applicable to all things that are in heaven or upon earth, and adequate to its own complete realization. In other words, philosophy is simply the struggle to put thought into things.

Now that we have arrived at some definition of philosophy,

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1 See a striking passage in the "Logic" (ed. Wallace, p. 47): "The doctrine of original sin is a profound truth; though modern enlightenment prefers to believe that man is naturally good, and that he acts right so long as he continues true to nature."

2 No student of Plato will need to be reminded how different all this is from the Platonic idea, which presents us with no nerve of thought whatsoever, but, transcendental and removed from the ken of man, remains in cold isolation from the concrete. Plato's ideas never move. As for his "secret," it is, in a sort (as Dr. Stirling notes), simply generalization. Cf. Grote's "Aristotle" p. 560 [2nd ed.].
we may pass on to a consideration of what that problem of philosophy is which we have to face. Science, negative, analytic, and more or less destructive in its methods as it must inevitably be, is totally insufficient to satisfy man's aspirations and his higher life. The province of science is the finite and the things of the finite; it asks no more. But it is just when science has reached its term and limit, and there appears nothing beyond the wall of visible fact but a realm of blank immensity and darkness unfathomable, that philosophy steps in and shows us that "all our knowledge of the things of time is, so to speak, on the background of eternity itself." If it be true (and it is true) that God hath set eternity in men's hearts, then the dominating philosophy of the modern schools never can, never will, satisfy man. Alone and unreconciled, science can but deal with series of facts, which it is its business to collect and classify, while these are bereft of all meaning so long as they stand alone. And so, to use Caird's words (vol. i., p. 191),

The need for philosophy arises out of the broken harmony of a spiritual life, in which the different elements or factors seem to be set in irreconcilable opposition to each other; and the task of philosophy is to regain such a view of things as shall reconcile us to the world and to ourselves.¹

Modern Agnosticism can never really harry or distress men with a feeling that perhaps, after all, God—if there be a God—is an unknowable something, if once they realize that without the deep underlying thought manifested in things, the infinite in the finite, all existence ceases (for us, at least) to possess any significance. A true philosophy takes the facts of the various sciences, co-ordinates them, gives them their place in the boundless economy of Nature, and relates them to Him, the immortal and invisible God, to whom and for whom and in whom all creation exists. The very thought of God is that which cannot not-be. What knowledge, indeed, were worthy the name if God were unknowable? Such a synthesis supplied by Christianity alone is objective, and no mere piece of empty subjectivity such as was the synthesis set forth by Comte. The fact is, the positivist clique nourishes a philosophy which seems (to me, at least) one huge abstraction; for it is a divorce of the finite from the infinite, the material from the spiritual. Truly, for the spiritual no room is found at all; and an arbitrary limit is set upon man's thought beside. But to be conscious of a limit is ipso facto to

¹ This view has been admirably dealt with, and sympathetically expounded, by Prof. Henry Jones, in a recent paper in Mind (N. S., vol. ii., No. 6), on "The Nature and Aims of Philosophy." See esp., p. 170.
transcend it; and you cannot separate the finite from the in-
finite, as is proposed, any more than you can separate the two
ends of a stick. Such a separation is only possible by an
effort of abstract thinking, based upon no reality in actual fact.
Caird's concluding remarks upon the contrast evinced between
Greek religion and Christianity are valuable. He shows how
striking an analogy the modern movement from faith to reason
bears to the movement of ancient thought. But Sophistic
failed because it was purely destructive and analytic, without
root in itself; Christianity can fear no overthrow, notwith-
standing the vain babble of some idle folk just now, because it
has not merely beautified certain types of human nature, but
actually brought down the Divine into the world under the
form of an individual life. Thanks to Christian philosophy
men may feel that no longer are they isolated units, with their
lives nought but

A watch or a vision
Between a sleep and a sleep,

but that they are, through the reconciliation achieved by Christ
Himself, indissolubly bound together in the unity of the
Divine life, and that their freedom consists in individually
furthering an "increasing purpose" perpetually running through
the ages. This is the only view under which, fallen as we are
on evil and pessimistic days, we may hope to bear up under the
burden and mystery of life. Christianity, too, has shown us
God, not only as the self-conscious reason of all that really is,
but as the inspiring Life of all that is noble, all that is true, all
that is lovely and of good report in the world. Thus do
religion and philosophy join hands in immortal fellowship; for,
as Hegel triumphantly proclaims, logic is in the main a
theology; the philosophy of history a vindication of God in
history; and the philosophy of religion the vindication of God
in the minds and hearts of men. I cannot do better than con-
clude this imperfect sketch of a great subject than in the
eloquent words of the late Dean Milman from a sermon
preached before the University of Oxford in 1865:

I cannot and will not believe but that the advancement of mankind in
arts, in science, in knowledge, in the knowledge of itself, the history of
our race, the limits of our intellectual faculties, the powers of our
language, in the intercommunion of family with family of nations, in
civil and religious liberty, and in all that expands and elevates our being,
will eventually harmonize and enter into closer fellowship with the
religion of Christ.

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VOL. VIII.—NEW SERIES, NO. LXI.
ART. III.—THE CLERGY FOR THEIR OFFICE.

Where is the parson? The question is not so superfluous as it may at first sight appear. Theoretically his whereabouts is pretty definitely fixed. He is to be found either in his parish church, engaged in the performance of the high ministries of his office, or he is passing from house to house through his parish visiting the whole and the sick, carrying the influence of pure religion wherever he goes, or he is in his study engaged in meditation and the prayerful preparation of his sermons. These three departments of activity severally connected with the church, the parish, the study, make up his ideal day, with the exception of such intervals as may allowably be conceded to his family, his friends, and his own refreshment and recreation. The somewhat exacting requirements of George Herbert himself might be in these circumstances fairly satisfied.

This, however, is unfortunately in the largely preponderant proportion of cases nothing more than an unrealized ideal. A clergyman is ordained to perform certain acts which are peculiar to his vocation, and which cannot be performed without such ordination. Practically, his time is in thousands of instances mainly occupied in performing such acts as are only indirectly associated with the clerical office, and which laymen might better carry out than himself.

The problem, How is the Church to touch the masses? presses for solution. One recognised help towards a solution is undoubtedly lay-co-operation. But there is one field of lay-co-operation hardly yet occupied, and the object of the present paper is to urge the desirability of such occupation without delay. Would not the clergy welcome it as the greatest possible boon, if it were utilized to set them free from the ever increasing and bewildering mass of secular and semi-secular toil which is daily drawing them off from the sacred work to which they have been called? How can the Church deal with the masses as they ought to be dealt with while the agents who should be in the van in the crusade against vice and ignorance find one half of their days filled with the desk-work of a City clerk? The English clergy are not, indeed, quite in the position of those of Jersey, who are ex-officio members of the 'States,' and may be seen inspecting road-makings, taking harbour-soundings, presiding at committee-dinners, or entangled in litigation in that hyperlitigious community. But there is a deplorable disparity between the ministerial opportunities and the actual ministerial labours of only too many urban incumbents amongst us; and the mental friction occasioned by the recognition of this disparity will be proportioned to the
sense of pastoral responsibility. The pastor who tries to live for his people will be weighted distressfully with the thought of the hundreds, perhaps thousands, who seldom or never come in contact with him, while he is immersed in his day-school accounts, or organizing some one of the dozen parish-charities of which he is secretary and treasurer and sole correspondent.

Our contention is not that the beneficed clergy have too much to do; but that too much presents itself to be done by them, which they cannot even attempt to do. The main objects for which their order exists have day after day through a large portion of the year to yield to others connected with pursuits not essentially allied to the Christian priesthood. A typical case may be cited. Through the hands of the Vicar of a parish of eight thousand souls, situated in a midland manufacturing centre, £3,000 a year passes, for the expenditure of every shilling of which he has to account in print. Thousands of circulars and notes issue from the Vicarage annually, the inditing or folding and addressing of which have to be done by himself and his curate and family. He has an abundant supply of lay-agency for distinctly religious work; but one only amongst the number of his Church-workers assists in the salvation of his time from being frittered in the pettinesses of ignoble detail. It will not surprise to hear that he visits twenty or thirty cases a week, where he might, and gladly would, visit sixty or eighty; and the supreme work of addressing himself to the deeps of his holy office has too often to be hustled into a hurried hour or so instead of engaging the major part of his day.

Enviable exceptions might, we are ready to allow, be quoted. One such we know, where everything of the nature of secretarial employment is undertaken by laymen. But this is in a parish largely inhabited by people of leisure.

It is certainly far from desirable that the clergy should hold themselves aloof from all but strictly ministerial labours. "Humani nihil a me alienum puto" is becoming more and more fully recognised to-day as a working motto for the Church, whose mission is intended to touch life at all points. To the Christian life has no secular side, even as to the worldling it has no sacred. And to abandon to hopeless secularity the major part of the earthly course of ordinary men and women is to accept the false assumption that religion is an occupation rather than a principle, and so comes into competition with, instead of assisting to fulfil the duties of, "the daily round, the common task." Granting that the commonplaces of life admit of consecration, the clergy must have something to say about them, something by way of practical dealing to do with them.
Our contention is not that they should decline to touch any but strictly ministerial work, but that it should be rendered possible for them to assign a more adequate portion of their time to that ministerial work by their being relieved of the pettinesses of mere detail to a greater degree than they now are.

The pastoral office stands alone among callings in respect of the indefiniteness of its requirements. It will surely be conceded on all hands that that which a clergyman is alone competent to do ought to engage him, his time, his thought, more than anything else. That he should be compelled by the pressure of circumstance daily to do what others could do, and probably more efficiently than he, appears to be an element of weakness in the Church's discipline and organization.

Another peculiarity marks the clerical lot. In all other careers, the drudgery of detail is mainly confined to the earlier stages. With the responsibilities of position there comes exemption from the more mechanical duties incident to an apprenticeship. The reverse is oftener than not the case with the most spiritual of all employments. A curate's time is often more worthily distributed than an incumbent's. The ever-growing mass of accounts and correspondence has not yet become a weariness to his younger flesh, a still more wearing weariness to his more buoyant spirit. His precious visiting hours are not broken in upon two or three out of the six days of the week by imperious calls summoning him in other directions. If "A's" son seeks admission to an asylum, "B's" daughter wants pupils, it is, of course, always the incumbent who is to cater for the votes or write to his friends. And the frittering of time in such matters becomes more and more serious, the better known, and therefore, presumably, the more efficient the beneficed clergyman becomes, until he hopelessly degenerates into an instrument ("agent" is too good a word) but little removed from a parochial automaton, well furnished through long habit to scratch off his twenty or thirty letters a day, and four times a week talk twaddle for exactly fifteen minutes, which the indulgence of his flock is willing to accept in lieu of a sermon.

We all know that there are notable exceptions; that men specially endowed are to be met with, on whose broad shoulders all this burden of detail sits lightly—pastoral and episcopal Wilberforces who can preach sermons the hearers will never forget, at the close of a week of herculean grappling with multifarious work; ministerial Broughams who can give their fourteen hours a day, and go to rest without a headache. But our plea is not for mercy for the giants, who need none, but for the rank and file of ordinary men; and not for their sakes only or chiefly, but in behalf of the Church whose servants they are,
and whose influence for good in the land depends so largely upon the way in which they husband their opportunities.

The question, How to meet the difficulty, and free the clergy for the great work of the priesthood, is eighteen centuries old. The Apostles summarily disposed of it. Finding themselves burdened with the cares of the daily doles of the poor, they created the diaconate—originally, be it remembered, an order called into existence for purely lay purposes. Is it out of the question that a corresponding solution of the difficulty before us should be found in the formation of an organization, co-extensive with the Church, for providing lay-brothers to be associated with all clergy who have above a certain population in their charge, who might relieve them of much of this weight of detail? The laity are stepping to the front at the present time, as never before, and with an alacrity that must gladden the hearts of the clergy. Are we, however, sure that quite the best and wisest kind of work is being assigned them? Is not their evangelistic work too often defaced by the crudities of unseasoned ardour? Are not Sunday-school teachers chosen without the slightest reference to their teaching capabilities, oftener than not with next to no guarantee of their personal knowledge of the dogmas of the faith? In any case, the laity are admitted at once to fellowship in spiritual work. That which should be the climax and culmination of an arduous novitiate is leapt into at a bound, while the priests and deacons are kept all their lives at work which robs them of half the legitimate scope for the exercise of their functional powers.

The ministers of other religious bodies that might be named decline to be thus hampered in the discharge of ministerial duty. In the Presbyterian Church of Scotland “serving tables” is entirely taken out of the hands of the presbyter: all collections, both for religious and philanthropic objects, are made by elders, or other agents, who form the kirk session, committees, or sub-committees. Treasurers and secretaries are elected by them, and the entire management of the funds entrusted to them.

Such a system would doubtless need safe-guarding to render it acceptable to the English clergy. In many cases, the position of the minister suffers by the transfer of business to other hands. But that its advantages have been recognised by the clergy who are in the best situation for judging is evidenced by the fact that the Episcopal Church of Scotland has largely adopted it. The vestries have real power; they manage all the church finances; they are responsible for collecting the funds necessary for the sustentation of all church work.

The benefit is not confined to the clergy. The laity feel that the welfare of the Church is no mere clerical matter.
They recognise that it depends upon them to maintain its ministrations and its works of charity with efficiency; that while it rests with their Rector to originate, organize, promote, and infuse with the true spirit, it devolves upon them to keep the machine in working order.

Will the writer be forgiven if he puts in a plea for individuality? All treatises on the pastoral office, all instructions to ordination candidates, make much of personal influence. Too much, we are inclined to think, cannot well be made of it. The effects of a ministry stamped with a strong personality are nearly certain to be lasting. Now, if we run all our clergy into one mechanical groove, we render the due development of personality an impossibility. Water that might flow in a natural channel, stagnates to a pool in a rut. And it is becoming a question of moment whether, with all our parochial ramifications of work, we are not deepening the ruts instead of clearing the channels. The freest possible expansion of individuality, compatible with corporate unity and collective activity, appears to be desirable. But as long as we persist in cramping the independent personality of our clergy with the fetters of hyper-organization, we must be content with universal clerical mediocrity.

In his racy chapter on “Individuality, as One of the Elements of Well-being” John Stuart Mill has the following: “Customs are made for customary characters. ... The same strong susceptibilities which make the personal impulses vivid and powerful, are also the source from whence are generated the most passionate love of virtue, and the sternest self-control. It is through the cultivation of these that society both does its duty and protects its interests. A person whose desires and impulses are his own—are the expression of his own nature, as it has been developed and modified by his own culture—is said to have a character. One whose desires and impulses are not his own has no character, no more than a steam-engine has a character. Whoever thinks that individuality of desires and impulses should not be encouraged to unfold itself, must maintain that society has no need of strong natures—is not the better for containing many persons who have much energy—and that a high general average of energy is not desirable. ... Already energetic characters on any large scale are becoming merely traditional. The greatness of England is now all collective; individually small, we only appear capable of anything great by our habit of combining; and with this our moral and religious philanthropists are perfectly contented. But it was men of another stamp than this that made England what it has been; and men of another stamp will be needed to prevent its decline.”
In the formation, the unfolding, the correction of national character, the Church has, or ought to have, no mean share. "He who would understand the English," said Carlyle, "must understand their Church." And our plea in this paper is leisure for influence for her clergy—leisure from the lower and dispensable in work in order to secure freedom, time, and scope for the higher and the indispensable. Transfer that which is transferable, that the untransferable may no longer be dwarfed to the dimensions of a πάρευρον—a mere subsidiary by-work, taken up in chance interstices of the clerical day. In order that influence—than which hardly anything can be mentioned more subtle and delicate, and in its constituents more complex—may be really telling and penetrating, we repeat that leisure is needed. The fussy, preoccupied man is not the man to draw to himself the confidences of his flock. Nobody likes to feel himself reduced to a decimal fraction.

And it is here that the Church of England encounters on such unequal terms the agents of the Church of Rome. Her priests are never in a hurry. Their very gait as they tread the streets suggests that they have limitless time at their disposal, and, if you will please to avail yourself of it, at yours. If you would seek their guidance, they will not be found catching the next post with pressing letters. They will not tell you, when you call, that they can give you just ten minutes, before the Society meeting in the neighbouring assembly rooms calls them away. They will instil the persuasion that nothing in the wide world is more engrossing than the particular matter touching which you seek their counsel. Do they, in this, as in divers other respects, or do they not, show us a more excellent way?

Our present protest gathers force from another reflection, and with this it closes. The Church, and if possible the world outside the Church even more so, calls for a learned clergy. By this is not meant a pedantic clergy. But the men who will be able to attract and retain the thinkers in their congregations must themselves be thinkers. Shallow verbiage may draw for a time, but, will sooner or later cease to feed. "Will you be diligent in studies?" is a question put by the Bishop to the candidate for the priesthood. How many thousands, re-reading the Ordination-service in after-years, reach this question with a sigh? Students they have long ceased to be. There was a time when learning was a monopoly of the Church. A learned layman was indeed a rara avis in terris. The danger to-day is that knowledge, while embraced by the laity, should desert the clergy. Some wise words of the late Bishop Wilberforce may well be considered pertinent here. Thus he
addresses his ordination candidates (Address X.): “I would earnestly press upon you the duty of forming early in your ministry, and steadfastly maintaining throughout its course, real habits of theological study. You cannot with full efficiency perform the work God has set you to do without such habits. Even if your whole ministry is to be spent amongst a few unlettered people, you cannot ‘make full proof’ of it unless you are evermore a student. The mind which is not thus enriched will very soon become sterile. You will, unawares, be perpetually producing from it the same crop, and evermore with a feebler growth; you will become a mere self-repeater; your ministry will grind on, in a single groove, on a track of the dullest uniformity. Your people may be too unlettered to reason upon the causes of this barrenness in their teacher, but they will feel it; and its impression will most assuredly be marked in their feeble irretentive perception of the mighty truths which your drowsy monotone has made so dull and commonplace to them.”

And if this be the effect of an unstudious ministry amongst the uncultured, its effect must be far more disastrous when the preacher’s lot is cast amongst men of more active minds, trained to reason out religious and social questions for themselves.

These considerations appear to render a revision of the duties of the pastor’s office, to say the least, desirable. That a certain amount of non-ministerial labour must devolve upon the parish priest is doubtless a necessity. That all has been done that might be done to minimize this, and set him freer for the calm, patient, and thorough discharge of his true functions, admits of question. ALFRED PEARSON.

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ART. IV.—WILLIAM COWPER.

ANOTHER biography of William Cowper has lately been added to those already in existence. The author of the new life is the Principal of Cowper School, Olney, and he has consequently had exceptional advantages in living on the spot associated with so many years of the poet’s lifetime. Mr. Wright has, we believe, been engaged for some time on the work, and his intimate knowledge of the district has enabled him to throw fresh light on many interesting details in the poet’s career. He has further consulted many and important documents unknown to previous biographers, and he claims to have discovered “a large number of new facts.” He has certainly succeeded in producing a volume to which all lovers of the poet will turn with interest, although regarded simply on
its merits as a biography, we regret that we are unable to speak of it in terms of unqualified praise. The method of dividing the volume into a series of paragraphs, each with a conspicuous heading, is objectionable, and the author lacks those higher literary qualities which the biographer of so charming a poet and so perfect a letter-writer should possess.

The most important of Mr. Wright's discoveries is undoubtedly what, rightly or wrongly, he calls "the central incident of the poet's life—the incident that coloured and made wretched the whole of his last twenty-seven years."

Many have been the conjectures as to the exciting cause of Cowper's misery. The death of his mother, his treatment at school, the influence of Newton, the loss of his brother, the climate of Olney, have all been held responsible in turn. But Mr. Wright tells us it was none of these things. In reading through the poet's correspondence he has discovered that "the thing that caused him to believe that he was damned was a dream—a dream which he had at the end of February, 1773."

This is what Mr. Wright says about it: "Hitherto, despite the distressing state he has got into, Cowper still buoyed himself up with hope that God had not forsaken him; but one night towards the end of February he crossed the line that divided a life of hope from a life of despair. He had a terrible dream, in which 'a word' was spoken. What the dream was he does not tell us, nor does he tell us 'the word,' though from his various references to it and to his malady we know its import. 'Actum est de te peristi'—'It is all over with thee, thou hast perished' was the thought ever uppermost in Cowper's mind."

Twice at least does the poet refer to the fatal dream. Writing in January, 1784, he says: "Nature revives again; but a soul once slain lives no more. . . . The latter end of next month will complete a period of eleven years, in which I have spoken no other language. It is a long time for a man, whose eyes were once opened, to spend in darkness; long enough to make despair an inveterate habit, and such it is in me." And again a year later he writes: "I had a dream twelve years ago, before the recollection of which all consolation vanishes, and it seems to me must always vanish." Perhaps, too, the following passage, in a letter to Lady Hesketh, may refer to it: "In one day—in one minute I should rather have said—she (Nature) became a universal blank to me; and though from a different cause, yet with an effect as difficult to remove as blindness itself." Henceforth, says Mr. Wright, Cowper was a doomed man. God had forsaken him for ever; he was destined to everlasting torment. And this fearful delusion, except for very brief intervals, never left him. Once, in 1785, the cloud lifted for three days; but it was only, as the poor poet expressed it, "a flash in a
dark night, during which the heavens opened only to shut again."

There is doubtless something in this new discovery; but it must not be forgotten that the attack of religious melancholia which followed the fatal dream was not the first from which the poet had suffered. Ten years before he was visited with a similar derangement, when he was firmly convinced that he had committed the unpardonable sin. "Oh, brother, I am damned!" he then cried. "Think of eternity, and then think what it is to be damned!" It was on that occasion that he wrote the fearful lines: "Hatred and vengeance, my eternal portion." Several times he attempted to commit suicide, and once almost successfully. His cousin, Martin Madan, chaplain of the Lock Hospital, was sent for to comfort him, but his uncompromising Calvinism only made confusion worse confused. After this Cowper was removed to Dr. Colton's Collegium Insanorum, where he stayed two years.

Much has been written about Newton's influence over Cowper, and it is impossible to consider the question of the poet's dream without referring to it. That it was bad for a man of Cowper's temperament, with his highly-strung nerves and morbid sensibility, to be forever engaged in religious exercises is evident. He was even called upon to take a leading part in the extempore prayer-meetings. His customary walk had to be given up, for "now," he tells Lady Hesketh, "we have sermon or lecture every evening, which lasts till supertime." His sensible cousin clearly saw that this "eternal praying and preaching" was too much for his "wounded yet lively imagination." But more than this, bearing in mind the former period of religious madness, it seems to us, to say the very least of it, a most unfortunate occurrence that Cowper should have been subjected to the deadly influences of Calvinistic theology. And when we say Calvinistic theology, we do not so much mean its distinctive tenets as the general view of the character of God which it presents. "Your God is my devil," said John Wesley to George Whitefield, when the latter was once setting forth some hard dogma of Calvinism. This God was, alas! the God of Cowper's imagination during long periods of his unhappy existence. For years the poor man never uttered a prayer, holding that it would be impious to do so. "Prove to me," he once said to Mr. Ball, "that I have a right to pray, and I will pray without ceasing; yea, and pray too even in the 'belly of this hell,' compared with which Jonah's was a palace." He would not even ask a blessing upon his food, but used to sit down during grace and take up his knife and fork to signify, as he said, that he had no part in the exercise. His case, he held, was hopeless: the promises of
Scripture were not meant for him; the God that made him regretted his existence, and had irrevocably doomed him to the endless agonies of hell. This terrible condition was, according to Mr. Wright, the result of the fatal dream of February, 1773; and the passages we have quoted from Cowper's correspondence certainly lend weight to the theory. But behind the dream was the decretum horribile of Calvinism, without a belief in which the dream itself could hardly have been possible, or at any rate would only have been regarded as the outcome of a disordered digestion. Having carefully examined the fresh evidence which bears on the poet's derangement, we are more than ever confirmed in our belief that, as Canon Benham has carefully put it, "the Calvinistic doctrine and religious excitements threw an already trembling mind off its balance, and aggravated a malady which, but for them, might probably have been cured."

Mr. Wright has also much to tell us about the influence of Samuel Teedon, the infatuated schoolmaster of Olney, over the unhappy poet. The diary of this eccentric personage has been lately discovered, and for the first time use has been made of it in the history of Cowper. Mr. Wright tells us that "the influence of Newton, Unwin, Lady Hesketh—any you will—over Cowper was as nothing compared with that of Samuel Teedon." That the poet was for a time under the wretched influence of this self-conceited enthusiast is beyond question true; but when we remember that the Teedon period did not apparently cover more than three or four years, towards the end of the poet's lifetime, when his mind was hopelessly unhinged, and after Mrs. Unwin had been stricken with paralysis, we can hardly agree with Mr. Wright that the influence of Teedon was greater than the influence of Newton.

This poor and egotistical schoolmaster came to Olney in 1775, and was introduced to Cowper by Newton, who held him in high esteem. He was certainly a religious man, and specially favoured, he believed, of heaven. He was accustomed now and then to spend the evening with the poet, who was amused at his egotism and vanity. The following extract well illustrates Cowper's opinion of his eccentric friend: "Mr. Teedon, who favours us now and then with his company in the evening, was not long since discoursing with that eloquence which is so peculiar to himself on the many providential interpositions that had taken place in his favour. 'He had wished for many things,' he said, 'which at the time seemed distant and improbable—some of them, indeed, impossible. Amongst other wishes, one was that he might be connected with men of genius and ability; and, in my connection with this worthy
gentleman,' said he, turning to me, 'that wish, I am sure, is ampley gratified.' You may suppose that I felt the sweat gush out upon my forehead when I heard this speech; and if you do you will not be at all mistaken. So much was I delighted with the delicacy of that incense.'

But in after-years, when Cowper had removed to the neighbouring village of Weston, we find Samuel Teedon elevated into the position of a prophet and an interpreter of dreams. The poet now shared his friend's belief that he—Teedon—was specially favoured by Providence. Whenever Cowper was in doubt, or heard voices, or saw visions, or dreamed dreams, he had recourse to Teedon; and Teedon interpreted the voices, and revealed the will of the Almighty. When, for instance, the poet was asked to undertake the editorship of Milton, he consulted the oracle, to whom it was revealed, after much wrestling in prayer, that the work should be undertaken. So Cowper accepted the offer, and the following note was despatched to Olney: "Mr. Cowper desires Mrs. Unwin to acquaint Mr. Teedon that his anxiety did not arise from any difficulties he apprehended in the performance of his work, but his uncertainty whether he was providentially called to it or not. He is now clearly persuaded by Mr. Teedon's experiences and gracious notices that he is called to it, and is therefore perfectly easy." The Teedon diary, discovered in 1890, is a small manuscript volume, 6 inches by 3¾ inches, of 122 closely written pages, and dating from October, 1791, to February, 1794. During this period no less than ninety-two visits of Teedon to Cowper are recorded, while almost three hundred letters passed between Olney and Weston. "The squire" and "madam," as Cowper and Mrs. Unwin are usually styled, are the central figures in the little world which the diary reveals; but we also get a glimpse of the schoolmaster's household, of his school in the upper part of the old Shiel Hall, of his money difficulties, and other matters of detail. We sometimes see him in his best coat and breeches trudging along the muddy road to Weston to receive his quarterly allowance of £7 10s., of which Cowper was the almoner, but not the author. But more frequently the squire has again heard voices, and Teedon is on his way to interpret the same, or a fresh revelation has been given, and must be speedily delivered. The squire's "voices," together with the schoolmaster's "interpretations," were carefully committed to writing, but fortunately the manuscripts have not been preserved. Teedon further prescribed for the poet the prayers he should use and how long he should continue at his devotions, promising relief within a stated time. Painful, indeed, are the poet's letters to his presumptuous adviser. He has
used the specified prayers, he writes to Teedon, he has kept to his devotions as long as, and even longer than the time mentioned; but his "despair is perfect;" he only "gets as an answer a double portion of misery." The diary closes on February 2nd, 1794, on which day a visit to the squire is recorded. In the following year Cowper left Weston for Norfolk; and henceforth Teedon disappears from the poet's history. He died in 1798, and was buried at Olney.

The third point on which Mr. Wright has something new to tell his readers is in connection with the poet's protégés. Few people are probably aware that Cowper, like Johnson, had any protégés at all; still less that they were to him a continual source of trouble and anxiety. The one, a boy named Dick Coleman, was the son of a drunken cobbler at St. Alban's, "who," says Cowper, "would probably have starved him to death or poisoned him with gin if Providence had not thrown him in my way to rescue him." This was during his residence with Dr. Colton, and in spite of his necessitous condition, which rendered him obligatory to other people, Cowper determined on maintaining the boy, and eventually he apprenticed him to a breeches-maker. But the lad turned out badly, and became a lifelong trouble to the poet. After his marriage Dick lived next door to his benefactor at Olney in a small house, spoken of by Cowper as inhabited by "Dick Coleman, his wife, and a thousand rats." In spite, however, of the ingratitude with which he was repaid, Cowper continued to help him, as the following letter, written from Weston to his publisher, shows: "There is one Richard Coleman in the world, whom I have educated from an infant, and who is utterly good for nothing; but he is at present in great trouble, the fruit of his own folly. I send him, by this post, an order upon you for eight guineas." In consequence of this fresh act of benevolence Coleman was enabled to get back to Olney, but only to continue his former practices. A few weeks later—in September, 1792, we learn from Teedon's diary that he was over at the lodge, probably drunk. The extract is as follows: "Worthy went over to Weston with my letter for the Esqr., but as they did not come (from Eastham), brought it back. Found Dick Coleman just come in, and advised Kitchener (Cowper's gardener) by all means, if they come, to get rid of him without Mr. Cowper's seeing him." At this point the worthless Dick Coleman disappears from the narrative.

The other protégé was a little girl, one Hannah Willson, the daughter of Coleman's wife by a former husband, who appears to have been taken into the poet's household about the year 1781. It was originally intended to train her for domestic
service, but Mrs. Unwin seems to have unduly indulged her, and before long we find her regarded as one of the family. She is always referred to in Dr. Grindon’s ledger, which Mr. Wright has carefully examined, as “Miss Hannah”; and afterwards, as we learn from Teedon’s diary, she was sent to a school at Bedford. On leaving school she returned to Weston, and as Mrs. Unwin became more feeble, the management of the household devolved entirely upon her. But again the poet’s kindness was shamefully abused. Hannah entirely neglected her duties, and cared only for dressing, and walking, and writing love-letters. Mr. Teedon, as we learn from the diary, makes “her twelve crow-pens.” He often “drinks tea with Hannah and madam.” One day we catch a glimpse of Hannah’s ingratitude: “June 24, 1793. Hannah came in very wet from a heavy shower; warmed, dried, etc., and not so much as returned a thank.” On Lady Hesketh’s arrival a few months later she is aghast at the condition of things in the poet’s household, but is apparently unable to effect a reformation. “Hannah’s amazing extravagance,” she writes to her cousin in May, 1794, “has not cost less than one hundred and fifty pounds since last July! What can become of our poor cousin, sick or well, if she is to go on in this manner I cannot guess. All in my power I have done to put some stop to such shameful proceedings, but in vain; the boarding-school has finished what Mrs. Unwin’s absurd, unpardonable indulgence had begun, and what is to become of her I know not. She literally does nothing but walk about, and dress herself; and write love-letters. If you saw her sweep the village with muslin dresses of twelve shillings a yard, and feathers a yard long, you would really think it was some duchess. I have told her that the daughter of a man of five thousand pounds a year would not be allowed to dress as she does. . . . All he (Cowper) is worth in the world would not half keep Hannah, taking finery and idleness into the account, for she puts out all her clothes and linen to be mended, as well as made. I am sure she is a singular instance of foolish fondness; and now Mrs. Unwin lies in bed till past one, this girl never attends her in her room, or does the least thing for her in return for all her indulgence.”

In answer to this letter Mr. Johnson soon afterwards arrived at the Lodge, and at once began making arrangements for removing the poet and Mrs. Unwin into Norfolk. They went, but whether Hannah went with them we are not told. She, too, disappears from the narrative, and Mr. Wright never mentions her again.

On leaving Weston, Cowper seems to have had a presenti-
William Cowper.

sent that he should never return; for on the shutter of his bedroom window he wrote the following hopeless lines:

Farewell, dear scenes, for ever closed to me;
Oh for what sorrows must I now exchange ye!

These lines, together with the date, "July 22, July 28, 1795," may still be seen; but the lines which followed were long ago carefully obliterated by an industrious housemaid. They were these:

Me miserable! how could I escape
Infinite wrath and infinite despair!
Whom Death, Earth, Heaven, and Hell consigned to ruin,
Whose friend was God, but God swore not to aid me!

July 27, '95.

For five years longer the agony lasted, during which time the clouds hardly ever lifted. In September he wrote to Lady Hesketh, regretting that he bad left Weston. "There, indeed," he says, "I lived a life of infinite despair, and such is my life in Norfolk... I remain the forlorn and miserable being I was when I wrote last." In the following year Mrs. Unwin died. At first Cowper would not believe it: "She was not actually dead, but would come to life again in her grave, and then undergo the horrors of suffocation, for he was the occasion of all that she or any other creature upon earth ever did or could suffer." Johnson led him to the death-chamber, when he gazed for a few moments on the features he had loved so well, uttered one passionate cry of grief and left the room. He then asked for a glass of wine, took two pinches of snuff, and never spoke of Mrs. Unwin again.

A melancholy interest attaches itself to his last original poem, "The Castaway." It is founded on an incident in "Anson's Voyages," of a poor fellow washed overboard and drowned. The unhappy poet draws a comparison with the lost sailor and himself:

We perished, each alone;
But I beneath a rougher sea,
And whelm'd in deeper gulfs than he.

This terrible conviction never left him. When shortly before his death the doctor asked him how he felt, he replied, "Feel! I feel unutterable despair." A few days later Johnson ventured to speak of death as a deliverance from evil. As Cowper seemed to listen he went on to say that Christ had gone to prepare a place of blessedness for all His children, and therefore for him. It was enough; with a cry of anguish the dying man entreated his relative to say no more. For five days longer the poet lingered. Miss Perowne once offered him some refreshment. He would not take it. "What can it signify?" he murmured; and those were the last words he
uttered. He died on April 25, 1800. "From the moment of his death until the coffin was closed," says Mr. Johnson, "the expression into which his countenance had settled was that of calmness and composure, mingled as it were with holy surprise."

The exquisite lines of Mrs. Browning are the most fitting commentary on these words:

Like a sick child that knoweth not his mother while she blesses
And drops upon his burning brow the coolness of her kisses,
That turns his fevered eyes around—"My mother! where's my mother?"
As if such tender words and deeds could come from any other!

The fever gone, with leaps of heart he sees her bending o'er him,
Her face all pale from watchful love—the unwearied love she bore him!
Thus woke the poet from the dream his life's long fever gave him,
Beneath those deep pathetic eyes which closed in death to save him.

Thus? Oh, not thus! no type of earth can image that awaking,
Wherein he scarcely heard the chant of seraphs round him breaking,
Or felt the new immortal throb of soul from body parted,
But felt those eyes alone, and knew—"my Saviour! not deserted!"

JOHN VAUGHAN.

ART. V.—THE OLDEST COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS.

STUDIES IN THE "MIDRASH TEBHILLIM."—NO. II.

WE cannot penetrate far into the "Midrash" without encountering remarks that bear upon questions which are at the present day being earnestly debated amongst ourselves. Prominent among such subjects is the question of the so-called "headings" of the Psalms. The reader of the "Midrash" is at once reminded of the gulf which divides the current English view of the subject from the view of these earliest native expositors.

In the original language the heading, it should be remembered, is sometimes a portion of the first verse of the psalm, as in Ps. xv. and passim; sometimes it constitutes an entire verse, as in Ps. lxxiii.; while sometimes, again, as in Ps. xviii., it forms an entire verse and runs into a second; and in Ps. li. it occupies two entire verses.¹ Now, the third psalm is the first psalm in the Psalter which has a heading—"A Psalm of David, when he fled from Absalom his son"—but what is

¹ See the disquisition on the subject in my work, "The Gradual Psalms; a Treatise on the Fifteen Songs of Degrees, with Commentary based on Ancient Hebrew, Chaldee, and Christian Authorities." Hayes, London, 1874.
striking in the “Midrash” is that considerably more than one-half of the entire exposition of the psalm is devoted to a discussion of this heading. It is a very unsatisfying discussion; it guesses a moral reason why this psalm should stand next to its predecessor, because a bad son is worse than the worst enemies who rage against the Lord; it constructs a trivial parable of a king enraged with his son to explain how David, on his ascent of Mount Olivet to escape from Absalom, could weep, and at the same time say this psalm; it blunders in its etymology both Hebrew and Greek, playing upon the name of Hushai the Archite, at one moment as if “Archite” had something to do with the Greek ἀρχιτέκτων, and the next confusing it with the Hebrew word of similar sound, which means “my companion—and mine own familiar friend,” but which, unfortunately for such a reference, begins with an entirely different letter of the alphabet. Such a discussion is not edifying as regards its substance; but as regards its mere bulk it is significant and representative. It is representative of a fact which pervades the entire range of Hebrew literature upon the Psalms—the fact, that is, that in the Hebrew view the so-called “headings of the Psalms” were, so to speak, no headings at all, but each an integral part of the psalm to which it belongs, and never (so far as is known) omitted from the recitation of the psalm. With ourselves, on the contrary, the fashion has prevailed of regarding them as a kind of gloss, supposed to be due to what is often the clumsy guess of some editor of the collection, and lightly to be stripped off by the more enlightened science of the modern student. It is a fashion which has no doubt been in some degree supported by the unfortunate way of printing the psalm-headings in the Authorised Version of the Bible, where they are separated in type from the remainder of the psalm, and are not included (as they invariably are in Hebrew) in the verse-numbering of the psalm. But of such an idea there is not a trace in Hebrew literature. That there are difficulties in the way of these psalm-headings is undoubted. But it is not so clear that we are upon the right track for overcoming those difficulties when it is gravely asserted that the headings of the Psalms belong to the same category as the subscriptions to the Pauline Epistles of the New Testament. In what does the resemblance consist, it may be asked, save in the difficulties in which the subscriptions would involve the expositor? If, in the true spirit of science, we endeavour to lift ourselves above the embarrassments of the commentator and view the question as one of precise and accurate reasoning, then, as regards all external considerations, the psalm-headings and the New Testament subscriptions stand in a position not of analogy, but of
the most marked contrast. In the case of the subscriptions we know who made them; we know when and where they were made; and we have ancient copies of the Epistles, which do not contain them. But in the case of the psalm-headings we have nothing of the kind; we can find in the literature of the Hebrew nation no trace of a time when they were not known to the commentators upon the Scriptures, and (so far as the world knows) there never was an ancient copy of the Scriptures which did not contain them.

The "Midrash," on the fourth psalm, opens with an observation which is of some service to us in one of our embarrassments in our interpretation of the Psalms. The first verse of the psalm begins with the words: "To the Chief Musician on Neginoth, a Psalm of David. Hear me when I call, O God of my righteousness." The "Midrash" continues: "R. J." (who may be R. Judah or R. Isaac) "says, Whatever David said, David said with reference to himself, and with reference to the congregation." The observation is of value to us, because it is precisely the principle to which we are obliged to resort in applying certain psalms to Christ. In a psalm, for example, like the forty-first, which, by general admission amongst Christians, is applied to the Passion of Jesus of Nazareth, describing the treachery of Judas in the words, "Yea, Mine own familiar friend, whom I trusted, which did eat My bread, hath lifted up his heel against Me"—in such a psalm we encounter words of a different tone: "I said, Lord be merciful unto me: heal my soul, for I have sinned against Thee." How can such words be applied to Jesus of Nazareth? How could orthodox Christianity put into His mouth such a phrase as "I have sinned against Thee"? The difficulty is at least as old as the time of Augustine in Christian thought. We must understand, he says, that Christ speaks in such passages in the person of His members. In fact, to adopt the words of the Hebrew expositor of the "Midrash," what the Son of David said with reference to Himself He said with reference to the congregation. It is pleasant to find that a principle of interpretation which is quite indispensable to us is conceded by those who would dissent so widely, as the author of the "Midrash" would, from many of the theological positions which we occupy.

For yet one other reason the opening of Psalm iv. is noticeable. It presents the first occurrence in the Psalter of that

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1 Perhaps R. Isaac, editor of "Tosaphos." Or may it be (Rosh Yeshibak), Head of the Academy? See Wolf, ii. 918.

term which has occasioned so much discussion and is rendered in the English Bible by the words, "To the Chief Musician." Notwithstanding several differences of opinion as to details, almost all modern expositors seem to be agreed that the term has reference to some feature or other of the musical presentation of the Psalm to which it is prefixed. This applies not only to writers in English or Latin or German, but even to Hebrew writers of post-medieval, or comparatively late date. Thus, in the latest reprint of the great Rabbinic Bibles there are two modern Hebrew commentaries in which this sense is unreservedly assigned to the word. At an earlier date Ibn Ezra, amongst Hebrew writers, recognises it; Rashi recognises it and Radak recognises it. But the line adopted by the "Midrash" reminds us of the very striking contrast between all this and the older Hebrew learning upon the question. In the older learning it is hardly too much to say that there is not a trace of the word being understood in a musical sense. The line adopted by the "Midrash" is to a certain extent representative of the line that was generally accepted, not only in early Hebrew literature, but in early Christian learning likewise. It should be remembered that the root of the word for "To the Chief Musician" also means in Hebrew (1) victory, and then (2) continuance, permanence, eternity. Now the "Midrash" takes the three words in the superscription of the Psalm together: To the Chief Musician: On Neginoth: a Psalm. "This Psalm," it continues, "is to be uttered with three kinds of praise corresponding to these words: with perpetuity; with minstrelsy; with psalmody. With minstrelsy, which belongs to prophecy, according to what was said by Elisha the prophet: "But now bring me a minstrel. And it came to pass when the minstrel played that the hand of the Lord came upon him" (2 Kings iii. 15). Lamentatzaach means "Him to whom it is seemly to conquer: whose eternity is for ever and ever." Another exposition is: "To Him who is conquered by His creatures." This is entirely at one with the earlier versions and commentaries upon the word, while one and all seem to ignore any connection of the word with musical performance. The LXX rendered it by εἰς τὸ τέλος. The Vulgate accordingly has it in finem. St. Jerome gives Victorii. Aquila has τῷ νικῶντι. Symmachus has ἐπικικεῖν. The Chaldee Targum paraphrases it by a word which means for singing; not as Delitzsch puts

1 Warsaw. The commentaries alluded to are called "Metzudas David" and "Metzudas Zion."
The Oldest Commentary on the Psalms.

it: “liturgisch zu singen,” for there is no notion of “liturgisch” inherent in the word. And the Talmud refers it to the world to come. The preponderance of considerations, no doubt, justifies our modern way of understanding the word; but this unanimous silence in antiquity upon our way is at least striking. One modern writer observes that the LXX. and Vulgate rendering defies all reasonable conjecture. It is perhaps a question of which we have hardly got to the bottom as yet. And if our judgment is ever revised it will probably be in some degree due to men’s attention being arrested by these unexplained phenomena in the problem, and by this contrast between the old learning and the new.

The “Midrash” on the fourth Psalm contains a fine description of God hearing prayer, which it may be well to quote as one of the better specimen of its style. The extract turns, it may be premised, upon the passage in Ezekiel, which places the throne of the Most High above the living creatures and the firmament:

R. Phinehas said in the name of R. Judah: “An idol is called near, but it is in reality far off. As it is said in Isaiah (xlvi. 7): ‘They bear him on the shoulder; they carry him;’ but the end of the matter is, (though the idol is) with him in the house. Isa. xlv. 13, mixed with the above text. One cries unto him, yet can he not answer. But the Almighty is not so. He is far off, yet He is near, and there is none nearer than He is.” As R. Levi said: “From the earth to the firmament is a journey of 500 years; and the clouds of the firmament are a journey of 500 years; and so between one firmament and another; and above the firmament are the hoofs of the living creatures (in Ezekiel’s vision).” R. Chaldo said: “Even the hoofs of the living creatures are a journey of 500 years; and the legs of the living creatures are as much as all this; and the backs of the living creatures are as much. And the throne of the Most High is at as great a height as all the rest put together above His world. But when a man enters the synagogue and stands behind the pillar, muttering his prayer, the Almighty, blessed be He, gives ear!”

The seventy-second Psalm is one of the so-called Solomon Psalms. The “Midrash” yields little or no help towards the solution of the one or two difficulties of translation which it presents. It passes in total silence, for example, the very important clause which one English translation gives as “Prayer also shall be made for Him continually,” and the other, “Prayer shall be made ever unto Him.” It is commonly said in the English world of the present day that the rendering “unto” cannot be defended, and must be given up in favour of “for.” This occasions some distress to those who regard the Psalm as a poetical prophecy of Christ, and who are in the habit of addressing prayer to Christ. It is therefore worth while to say that the familiar translation “unto” is

1 Pesachim, 117a, med.
not quite so incapable of defence as it is sometimes conceded to be.

Gesenius says that the word "unto" indicates, broadly speaking, neighbourhood. He assigns to it the meanings: (1) juxta, (2) post, (3) circa, (4) inter, (5) metaphorically, pro.

From an entirely different point of view Rashi reaches a similar conclusion, and (on Jonah ii. 7) says that whenever the word occurs in Holy Scripture it is to be taken as "opposite to," "in front of."

In this connection it is worth while to cite Gen. xxv. 21 (though the word is not the same): "And Isaac intreated the Lord for his wife." Here again there is no authority for saying that the word means strictly "for," though no doubt the passage comes to that. Gesenius says that it means Coram, ante oculos, etc., as it undoubtedly does; and we can hardly be surprised that the Talmud should say, "Prayed opposite his wife for his wife;" and that Rashi should explain it of Isaac standing in one corner and Rebekah in the other, and so offering their prayers.

The argument, then, is this: In the Psalm passage we have a word which strictly means neither "unto" nor "for." It is a word of locality. Taken literally, the statement is: "Prayer shall be made ever in front of Him." Whether that is to be explained as "to Him" or as "for Him" is a question that must be decided by other considerations. It is, in any case, time the world knew that those who have with many a sneer driven out the old translation in the English Prayer-Book have not got the argument quite all their own way.

The "Midrash," indeed, yields no light upon this particular question; but it is, nevertheless, quite explicit on the subject of applying the Psalm to Christ. One of its expositions says: "'Give the King thy judgments.' This is the King Messiah."

The direction which it takes in dealing with the heading of the Psalm is perhaps worthy of notice. The translators of the English Bible seem to have had some hesitation in dealing with the preposition which is susceptible of so many senses. They have put it "A Psalm for Solomon," while in the margin they give the alternative, "A Psalm of Solomon." Even that, it might be contended, did not necessarily mean that the authorship might be attributed to Solomon. The "Midrash" does not entertain such a thought. The Psalm with them is David's Psalm, and the reference is to Solomon. David said with respect to Solomon also, "Give the king Thy judgments, O God." And according to the "Midrash" the prayer was fulfilled in Solomon's judgment of the two harlots, when Solomon illustrated not man's judgment, but God's, in that
he reached his decision without witnesses and the usual formalities of a human court.

The “Midrash” on the seventy-second Psalm introduces us to what is the universal view of the Hebrew writers upon the two words for God in the Old Testament, Elohim and Jehovah. It will be seen that the fact of there being two words for God in Scripture was no discovery of modern writers, although the conclusions drawn from that fact as to the authorship of Scripture are entirely products of the atmosphere of modern thought. The Hebrew writers with one consent appear to take Elohim as describing God in His attribute of justice and Jehovah as God in His attribute of mercy. Rashi points out that in the account of creation the Bible says, “God (i.e., Elohim) created,” and not “the Lord Jehovah created,” because at first God intended to create the world in His attribute of justice, and it was only when He saw that it could not continue on those conditions that He introduced the attribute of mercy. The universe, in fact, which God made at first was a universe that needed no exercise of mercy—that demanded nothing but that it should be made in perfect justice, each part in its place and none intruding upon the province of another—a universe in which anything like mercy or forbearance might be conceived as a superfluity or even an impertinence until the balance was disturbed by the calamity of the Fall. Now, the “Midrash” on the Psalms, starting from the words, “Give the king Thy judgments, O God,” dwells upon the quality of mercy as conveyed in the name Jehovah, though it brings the attribute of mercy into creation also.

“R. Jusai bar Chanina said, when the Almighty sought to send Moses into Egypt, Moses said to Him (Exod. iii.), And when they shall say unto me, What is His name? [what shall I say unto them] the Almighty said to him, I tell thee (it is) ‘I AM THAT I AM.’ You find (the word) I AM written three times (indicating, say the Jews, that God meant He would be the same in the creation, in the present deliverance, and in the future). The Almighty said, ‘In mercy I created the world and in mercy I will guide it.’”

Now that this distinction between the names Elohim and Jehovah prevails consistently in the usage of Scripture can perhaps hardly be maintained. Nor, however, does the unquestioned distinction between Jesus and Christ consistently prevail. We find Elohim used in places where the design is to describe God as the God of mercy and deliverance; for example, in the exclamation of Balaam upon the deliverance of Israel from the plot of Balak, and conversely we have Jehovah used in passages where the idea of judgment seems to be dominant. It is only fair to the old Hebrew writers to
say that these things were all noticed by them and explanations of the anomaly were suggested. Whether we agree with them or not, many a passage of Scripture will be found to receive a higher light and a deepened colour if regarded through this medium. A reader who had expected the contrary might be surprised to find in how many of the passages of the Hebrew Concordance not only a certain propriety is discoverable, but a new force and beauty is imparted by observing this distinction in the names of God. Elohim, it is well known, is not strictly speaking a personal name at all, but rather an official name. In connection with this attribute of justice, it is itself a common name for judges; thus in the case of the servant whose ear was to be bored with an awl (Exod. xxi. 6), “Then his master shall bring him unto the judges” (Elohim), and in the offence of trespass, “the cause of both parties shall come before the judges (Elohim), and whom the judges shall condemn he shall pay double to his neighbour” (Exod. xxii. 9). It is presumably this usage of the word that underlies that distinction of it as a name of God which the Hebrew writers endeavour to establish.

With respect to the name of Jehovah, which the “Midrash” regards as the personal name for that particular El or Elohim whom the Hebrews acknowledged, it is worth while to notice under what particular colour Scripture exhibits it upon one or two significant occasions. When Moses stood upon Mount Sinai with the two tables of the Commandments in his hands, “the Lord descended in the cloud and stood with him there and proclaimed the name of the Lord” (Exod. xxxiv. 5). It was apparently the object of God to declare the precise character in which He wished to be regarded by man. But what did He say? The true force of God’s declaration is in some degree obscured by the way in which the words are grouped in our English Bible. There the Divine proclamation stands thus: “The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in goodness and truth” (Exod. xxxiv. 6). But in the Hebrew Bible the words are differently grouped by very strongly marked divisions in the accentuation: “The Lord, the Lord; a God merciful and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in goodness and truth.” 1 In short, the subject of the whole proclamation is the incomunicable name, the Lord—the Lord; and the drift of the predication about it was that that name stood for God, manifested in His attributes of mercy, long-suffering, and grace.

There was one other occasion when God Himself dwelt upon

1 Or perhaps even: “The Lord, the Lord, is a God merciful and gracious;” for that is the correct Hebrew idiom.
the associations of the name Jehovah. It was the occasion referred to by the "Midrash" when Moses was to be sent to rescue the chosen people. God says: "I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob by the name of God Almighty, but by My name Jehovah was I not known unto them." It was an act of mercy that He was about to perform in deliverance, and this He will have ever associated with His name Jehovah. He does not say that Jehovah was not known; we are told, on the contrary, that it was; but, as Rashi points out, He says He was not known by it, i.e., men had not thought of Him under it as the God of mercy—a character of which the name Jehovah was for ever intended to be the monument. Hitherto men had thought of Him chiefly as the God of justice, or as the God of power, or as the God of origin; but henceforward He would be known primarily as the delivering God.

It is in exact accordance with this conception that in Scripture the name Jehovah first appears upon the scene, when the effect of man’s sin upon God’s creation is to be narrated. Then it was that the universe first needed the exercise of mercy; first needed (so to speak) to meet God under a new character; and so, in the twentieth chapter of Genesis, the story of creation has to be told again, but this time in a relation wholly new and with Jehovah, the name that was to suggest "the kindness and philanthropy" (Tit. iii. 4) of God, added to the old name Elohim, which had set forth God in His character of abstract justice.

And before passing away from the subject, it is well to notice that there is one verse in the Scripture, the whole point of which probably lies in the contrast between these two names of God. In the most familiar of our English versions of the Psalms it runs thus: "In God’s word will I rejoice: in the Lord’s word will I comfort me" (Ps. lvi. 10, P. B. V.). That rendering tends to obscure the contrast which the psalmist intended to bring out. It seems to fix attention upon some contrast between rejoice and comfort. No such antithesis was known to the psalmist. He meant to contrast nothing else but the two names of God. The structure of his verse is in the highest degree artificial. In Hebrew it consists of only six words, three in each of the two clauses into which the verse is divided. The words in the second clause are identically the same as those in the first, with one exception, and that is that the name for God is changed. Rendered with precision the words stand thus: "In Elohim I will praise a word: in Jehovah I will praise a word." In point of fact, what the psalmist probably meant is that under whatever aspect he contemplated God he always found material for praise; and the
"Midrash Tehillim" is probably scientifically correct when it comments on the verse in these terms:

"In God will I praise a word; in the LORD I will praise a word." What is the meaning of "In God" and what the meaning of "in the Lord"? Where it is written "God" it (refers to) the attribute of justice, and where it is written "Lord" (i.e., Jehovah) it (refers to) the attribute of mercy; as it is said (Exod. xxxiv. 6), "The Lord, the Lord, an El merciful and gracious." David said before the Almighty, "If Thou comest upon me with the attribute of justice I will praise Thee": (that is the meaning of) "In Elohim I will praise a word." "And if Thou comest upon me with the attribute of mercy I will praise Thee": (that is the meaning of) "In Jehovah I will praise a word."

H. T. ARMFIELD.

ART. VI.—THE RIGHTS OF NATIONAL CHURCHES.

In the anxiety of many excellent persons that there should be as little difference as possible between the chief branches of the Christian Church, they are in danger of forgetting to some extent the independence of different Churches one of the other, and the unimportance of uniformity, or even similarity, so long as they hold the main essentials of the Christian faith.

The origin of National Churches was even to be distinguished in the time of the Apostles, when St. Paul grouped together "the Churches of Judæa," "the Churches of Galatia," "the Churches of Macedonia." Another instance of nationality is seen in the fact that the converts from Judaism were always allowed to continue the Mosaic worship, while the Gentiles were free from its regulations. It was not till the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, about 135 A.D., that the main body of Jewish Christians finally separated from the Law.

Dean Jackson points out that the Churches planted by St. Paul could not appeal to St. Peter, nor those planted by St. Peter to any other Apostle. "Admitting," he goes on, "the laws and discipline of all the Churches planted by St. Peter, by St. Paul, and other Apostles had been the self same, yet could they not in this respect be so truly and properly said one visible Church, as the particular Churches planted by St. Paul, especially in one and the same province, were one Church, albeit their laws or ordinances had been more different. It is probable, then, that there were as many several distinct visible Churches as there were Apostles, or other ambassadors of Christ. . . . It is, then, profession of the same faith, participation of the sacrament, and subjection to the same laws and ordinances ecclesiastic which makes the visible Church to be
one. It is the diversity of independent judicature, or supreme tribunals ecclesiastic, which makes plurality of visible Churches, or distinguisheth one from the other. That which makes every visible Church to be more or less the true Church of God, is the greater or less efficacy or conformity of its public doctrine and discipline for enapping or fashioning the visible members of it that they may become live members of the holy Catholic Church (the true invisible body of Christ) or living stones of the new Jerusalem. Every true visible Church is an inferior freehold or nursery for training up scholars that they may be fit to be admitted into the celestial academy. . . . There have been as many visible Churches independent each on other, for matter of jurisdiction or subjection to one visible head, as there be several free states or Christian kingdoms independent one of another. The subordination of Church to Church is in proportion the same with the subordination of the several states wherein the Churches are planted. The best union that can be expected between visible Churches seated in kingdoms or commonweals independent one of another, is the unity of league or friendship. And this may be as strict as it shall please such commonweals or Churches to make it. To make the Church seated in one absolute state or kingdom live in subjection to another Church seated in another kingdom, or to any member of another Church or kingdom (head or branch), is to erect a Babel, or seat of Antichrist, not to build up one holy Church to Christ. This practice of usurpation of the Romish Church hath been the reason why the Christian world for these many years hath been more confused and disordered than the synagogue of Mahomet."

When Christianity first began its systematic organization it was all within the limits of one great empire. The Apostles had followed the civil divisions in the founding and extent of their Churches, and their followers carried out the system on the same lines. The Roman Empire was itself divided into dioceses with subordinate provinces. And the Churches obviously took their model in setting up metropolitical and patriarchal power and the union of dioceses from this plan of the State. As in every metropolis, or chief city of each province, there was a superior magistrate above the magistrates of every single city, so likewise in the same metropolis there was a bishop whose power extended over the whole province, whence he was called the Metropolitan or Primate, as being the principal bishop of the province; and in all places the see of this bishop was fixed to the civil metropolis, except in Africa, where the primatery passed from bishop to bishop, according to seniority. In the same way as the State had a Vicarius in every capital city of each civil diocese, so the Churches in
process of time came to have their exarchs, or patriarchs, in many, if not in all, the capital cities of the empire.

It was in consequence of the breaking up of the Roman Empire that Provincial Churches have been succeeded by National Churches.

"The external causes of the change are to be found in the history of the Teutonic kingdoms which rose upon the ruins of the Roman Empire. The limits of those kingdoms were constantly shifting, and were determined without regard to the limits of existing dioceses or provinces. For, whereas the latter had been determined, in Roman times, chiefly by the areas of settlement of the original tribes of the Celts, the latter were determined by the areas of settlement or conquest of the intrusive tribes of the Teutons. Each kingdom found an ecclesiastical organization existing, and endeavoured to incorporate it. The earlier bonds began to give way under the pressure of the new need of keeping the kingdom together. The king gathered together the bishops and clergy within their domain, irrespective of the earlier arrangements. The bishops and clergy obeyed the king's summons without regard to the questions which have been raised in later times as to the precise nature of his authority. . . ."

"It was in this way, by the holding of meetings at which both the ecclesiastical and civil elements were represented, and which dealt with ecclesiastical no less than with civil questions, that there grew up the conceptions of both ecclesiastical and political unity, which, more than physical force, welded together the divers populations of what are now Spain, France, and England, each into a single whole. The older Roman imperial arrangements lasted on, but only for limited purposes. The province was superseded by the nation in almost all respects, except that of internal discipline." ¹ It is interesting to observe that the first consolidation of the English dioceses into a National Church was a purely ecclesiastical act, without any royal assistance; the summoning of the Council of Hertford by the great Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus, which took place on September 24, 673.

The unity of primitive times was a unity of the main points of doctrine, not of uniformity of practice. Every Church was at liberty to make choice for herself in what method and form of words she would perform her services. It was no breach of unity for different Churches to have different modes and circumstances and ceremonies in performing the same holy offices so long as they kept to the substance of the institution. What was required to keep the unity of the Church in these matters

¹ Hatch.
was that any particular member of any Church should comply with the particular customs and usages of his own Church.

The independence of National Churches is illustrated by a primitive rule that every Christian, when he came to a foreign Church, should readily comply with the innocent usages and customs of that Church where he happened to be, though they might chance, in some circumstances, to differ from his own. "This was a necessary rule of peace, to preserve the unity of communion and worship throughout the whole Catholic Church; for it was impossible that every Church should have the same rites and ceremonies, the same customs and usages in all respects, or even the same method and manner of worship, exactly agreeing in all punctilios with one another, unless there had been a general liturgy for the whole Church expressly enjoined by Divine appointment. The unity of the Catholic Church did not require this . . . and, therefore, no one ever insisted on this as any necessary part of its unity. It was enough that all Churches agreed in the substance of Divine worship; and for circumstantial, such as rites and ceremonies, method and order, and the like, every Church had liberty to judge and choose for herself by the rules of expediency and convenience." The idea of one uniform Church throughout the world is merely an unconscious recollection of the long feverish dream of papal supremacy. "This rule is often inculcated by St. Austin as the great rule of peace and unity with regard to all Churches; and, he tells us, he received it as an oracle from the wise and moderate discourses of St. Ambrose, whom he consulted upon the occasion of a scruple which had possessed the heart of his mother, Monica, and for some time greatly perplexed her. She, having lived a long time at Rome, was used to fast on Saturday or the Sabbath, according to the custom of the Church of Rome; but, when she came to Milan, she found the contrary custom prevailing, which was to keep Saturday a festival; and, being much disturbed about this, her son, though he had not much concern about such matters at that time, for her ease and satisfaction consulted St. Ambrose upon the point, to take his advice and direction how to govern herself in this case, so as to be inoffensive in her practice. To whom St. Ambrose answered, 'That he could give no better advice in the case than to do as he himself was wont to do; for,' said he, 'when I am here I do not fast on the Sabbath; when I am at Rome I fast on the Sabbath; and so you, whatever Church you come to, observe the custom of that Church, if you neither take offence at them nor give offence to them.' St. Austin says, 'This answer satisfied his mother, and he always looked upon it as an oracle sent from heaven.' He adds, moreover, 'That
he had often experienced with grief and sorrow the dis­
turbance of weak minds, occasioned either by the contentious obstinacy of certain brethren, or by their own superstitious fears, who, in matters of this nature, which can neither be certainly determined by the authority of Holy Scripture, nor by the tradition of the Universal Church, nor by any advan­tage in the correction of life, raise such litigious questions, as to think nothing right but what themselves do; only because they were used to do so in their own country; or because a little shallow reason tells them it ought to be so; or because they have, perhaps, seen some such thing in their travels, which they reckon the more learned the more remote it is from their own country. ' Thus he wisely reflects upon the superstitious folly and contentious obstinacy of such as dis­turbed the Church's peace for such things as every Church had liberty to use, and every good Christian was obliged to comply with. 'For,' as he says in the same place, 'all such customs as varied in the practice of different Churches, as that some fasted on the Saturday, and others did not; some received the Eucharist every day, others on the Sabbath and the Lord's Day, and others on the Lord's Day only; and whatever else there was of this kind, they were all things of free observation; and in such things there could be no better rule for a grave and prudent Christian to walk by than to do as the Church did wherever he happened to come. For what­ever was enjoined that was neither against faith nor good manners was to be held indifferent, and to be observed accord­ing to the custom and for the convenience of the society among whom we live.' This he repeats over and over again as the most safe rule of practice in all such things, wherein the customs of the Churches varied, that wherever we see any things appointed, or know them to be appointed, that are neither against faith nor good manners, and have any tendency to edification, and to stir men up to a good life, we should not only abstain from finding fault with them, but follow them both by our commendation and imitation. By this rule all wise and peaceable men always governed their practice in holding communion with other Churches; though they did not altogether like their customs, they did not break com­munion with them upon that account.'

In the same way, "A great many things were at first allowed to every bishop in the management of his own diocese, which were afterwards restrained by the decrees of national councils. As to instance only one in particular: every bishop anciently had liberty to frame his own liturgy for the use of his own Church.

1 Bingham.
It is clear that there was no necessity, in order to maintain the unity of the Catholic Church, that all Churches should agree in all the same rites and ceremonies; but every Church might enjoy her own usages and customs, having liberty to prescribe for herself in all things of an indifferent nature, except where either a universal tradition or the decree of some general or national council intervened to make it otherwise. To this purpose is that famous saying of Irenæus, upon occasion of the different customs of several Churches in observing the Lent fast: 'We still retain peace one with another: and the different ways of keeping the fast only the more commends our agreement in the faith.' St. Jerome, likewise, speaking of the different customs of Churches in relation to the Saturday fast, and the reception of the Eucharist every day, lays down the general rule, 'That all ecclesiastical traditions, which did noways prejudice the faith, were to be observed in such manner as we had received them from our forefathers, and the custom of one Church was not to be subverted by the contrary custom of another; but every province might abound in their own sense, and esteem the rules of their ancestors as laws of the apostles.' After the same manner, St. Austin says, 'That in all such things, whereabout the Holy Scripture has given no positive determination, the custom of the people of God, or the rules of our forefathers, are to be taken for laws. For, if we dispute about such matters, and condemn the custom of one Church by the custom of another, that will be an eternal occasion of strife and contention; which will always be diligent enough to find out plausible reasonings, when there are no certain arguments to show the truth. Therefore great caution ought to be used, that we draw not a cloud over charity, and eclipse its brightness in the tempest of contention.' He adds a little after, 'Such contention is, commonly, endless, engendering strifes, and terminating in disputes. Let us therefore maintain one faith throughout the whole Church, wherever it is spread, as intrinsical to the members of the body, although the unity of the faith be kept with some different observations, which in noways hinder or impair the truth of it. For all the beauty of the King's daughter is within, and those observations which are differently celebrated are understood only to be in her outward clothing: whence she is said to be clothed in golden fringes, wrought about with divers colours. But let that clothing be so distinguished by different observations as that she herself may not be destroyed by oppositions and contentions about them.' This was the ancient way of preserving peace in the Catholic Church, to let different Churches, which had no dependence in externals upon one another, enjoy their own liberty to follow their own customs.
without contradiction. As Gregory the Great said to Leander, a Spanish bishop, 'There is no harm done to the Catholic Church by different customs, so long as the unity of the faith is preserved;' and, therefore, though the Spanish Churches differed in some customs from the Roman Church, yet he did not pretend to oblige them to leave their own customs and usages, to follow the Roman. He gave a like answer to Austin, the monk, Archbishop of Canterbury, when he asked him, 'What form of Divine service he should settle in Britain, the old Gallican, or the Roman? And how it came to pass, that when there was but one faith, there were different customs in different Churches; the Roman Church having one form of service, and the Gallican Churches another?' To this he replied, 'Whatever you find either in the Roman or Gallican, or any other Church, which may be more pleasing to Almighty God, I think it best that you should carefully select it, and settle it in the use of the English Church, newly converted to the faith. For we are not to love things for the sake of the place, but places for the sake of the good things we find in them; therefore you may collect out of every Church whatever things are pious, religious, and right; and, putting them together, instil them into the minds of the English, and accustom them to the observation of them.' And there is no question but that Austin followed this direction in his new plantation of the English Church."

"Neither was this liberty granted to different Churches in bare rituals, and things of an indifferent nature, but something in more weighty points, such as the receiving, or not receiving, those that were baptized by heretics and schismatics, without another baptism. This was a question long debated between the African, and Roman, and other Churches; yet without breach of communion, especially on their part who followed the moderate counsels of Cyprian, who still pleaded for the liberty and independency of different Churches in this matter, leaving all Churches to act according to their own judgment, and keeping peace and unity with those that differed from him.' This is further illustrated by the independency of bishops, especially in the African Churches."2

Another instance of divergence and independence was the mode in which the Jewish Sabbath was treated. Some Churches, those of the Patriarchate of Antioch especially, not only observed the Christian Lord's Day, but also the Jewish Sabbath. On the other hand, some Churches used to fast on the Saturday, or Sabbath, as well as on the Friday, because on the former our Lord lay in the grave, as on the latter He was crucified.

1 Bingham.  
2 Ibid.
The Rights of National Churches.

Some well-known points of divergence in the first three centuries were these:
1. The time of keeping Easter.
2. Was Saturday a fast or a feast?
3. Was Lent a period of forty hours, or forty days, or other different periods?
4. The variety of creeds.
5. The differences in the rules of provincial councils; e.g., Elvira, Arles, and Ancyra.
6. Differences between East and West as to the canonicity of certain books of the New Testament.
7. The gradual adoption of the decrees of the general councils. They won their way progressively, by their intrinsic importance.
8. The number of ancient liturgies. Of these there are said to be no less than one hundred. Every bishop had at first power to draw up his own liturgy. They may be classified under five or six families, according to the Churches in which they were originally used; namely, those of Jerusalem (or Antioch), Alexandria, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Rome. They are also to be distinguished as those of the Oriental and the Occidental Churches.

It is, in fact, altogether impossible to use the word "Catholic" of any ecclesiastical custom. Catholic applies to truths and to institutions, but not to ceremonies. The definition of St. Vincent of Lérins, a well-known presbyter of Gaul, who died about 450 A.D., "quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus," will hold good of truths and institutions, but not of ceremonies. No ceremony can be proved to have so august a usage. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are institutions attended by ceremonies—not ceremonies themselves. They are themselves Catholic, but the way of celebrating them has greatly varied. The descriptions of Pliny, of Justin, of the teaching of the twelve Apostles, and even of Cyril of Jerusalem, contain the germs of what has been elsewhere developed, but they are not identical with subsequent rites.

It is in accordance with these principles that the preface to our Book of Common Prayer lays it down "that the particular forms of Divine worship, and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things in their own nature indifferent, and alterable, and so acknowledged, it is but reasonable that, upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigency of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein, as to those that are in place of authority from time to time seem either necessary or expedient."

To the same effect is the Thirty-fourth Article on the tradi-
tions of the Church: "It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Whosoever through his private judgment, willingly and purposely, doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that others may fear to do the like), as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.

"Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying."

In the same way our Book of Common Prayer, in the Introduction on Ceremonies, declares that: "Although the keeping or omitting of a ceremony, in itself considered, is but a small thing; yet the wilful and contemptuous transgression and breaking of a common order and discipline is no small offence before God, 'Let all things be done among you,' saith St. Paul, 'in a seemly and due order.' The appointment of the which order pertaineth not to private men. Therefore no man ought to take in hand, nor presume to appoint or alter any public or common order in Christ's Church, except he be lawfully called and authorized thereto."

And again in the same introduction: "Christ's Gospel is not a Ceremonial Law (as much of Moses' Law was), but it is a religion to serve God, not in bondage of the figure or shadow, but in the freedom of the Spirit: being content only with those ceremonies which do serve to a decent order and godly discipline, and such as be apt to stir up the dull mind of man to the remembrance of his duty to God, by some notable and special signification, whereby he might be edified."

And at the close of it: "And in these our doings we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe anything but to our own people only: For we think it convenient that every country should use such ceremonies as they shall think best to the setting forth of God's honour and glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly living, without error or superstition; and that they should put away other things, which from time to time they perceive to be much abused, as in men's ordinances it often chanceth diversely in divers countries."

When, therefore, men go behind the "Book of Common
Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the Use of the Church of England,” and speak of the customs or practices of a Catholic Church to which they owe allegiance, they are not only transgressing a principle of Catholic order, but they are talking of what absolutely does not exist, and is impossible. They mean only that there are certain rites and ceremonies which they admire long in vogue in the Roman Communion, or even going back to the time before the division between East and West, and now laid aside by the Church of England, which was forced, in the course of time, to declare its independence and autonomy.

Such, then, are the rights of National Churches: independence of jurisdiction, independence of custom, independence of ritual, independence of definition, so long as there is unity with the principles of the greatest and most important assemblies of the whole of the united Churches, such as the First Four General Councils, in subordination to the supreme authority of the word of God contained in Scripture. And as we are anxious that all Christians living in one nation should belong to the same pure and Apostolical Church, we should take good care, by only insisting strongly on things of primary importance, to make easy to them the way of return.

Short Notices.


This is a course of addresses delivered in Bristol Cathedral, which are marked by the author’s well-known carefulness and lucidity. He had a great gift of expressing theological truth in clear and persuasive language; it is eminently exemplified in these addresses.


A series of Lenten addresses on the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah; clear and perspicuous, if not containing much that is original.


Dr. Bompas has pressed into the service of this pleasing little book any experience during his twenty-five years’ work in Canada which seemed to throw light on the Bible. Such a treatment is decidedly novel, and not without much charm. Many valuable illustrations are to be found. The jaded preacher or teacher will meet with much to refresh and stimulate his mind. An admirable index of texts quoted adds greatly to the value of the book.

Two volumes of capital sermons, that are certainly not over the heads of the village congregations for whom they are intended, and at the same time are suggestive and provocative of thought. They are Scriptural, plain and earnest, which is precisely what country people desire.


A series of meditations, not marked perhaps by much originality, but gracefully and affectionately written.


This will be an extremely useful little book to catechists or Sunday-school teachers. The writer's object is not so much to treat the arrangement of the Epistles and Gospels historically or exegetically, but more, apparently, to indicate the reason and meaning of the order of the Church's teaching. This has been done lovingly and carefully both for Sundays and Saints' Days. Ample material for lessons will be found under each head; material that may be expanded and adapted to meet the requirements of almost any class.


This is an ingenious calculation, based on the Great Pyramid, and working up the Mountains of the Moon, lately rediscovered by Stanley. It identifies Enoch with the Idri of an ancient Arabic MS. in Egypt; and also with Hermes.


A very clear and thoughtful manual, containing a defence of the existing practice of baptism, and sound and temperate answers to the objections of Baptists.


This is a story bringing in everything that can be said about dragons, St. George, and the local legends of Cornwall on the subject. The scene is laid in Cornwall, a county for which the writer evidently has great affection. There is much that is mysterious and interesting about that very ancient district, and the authoress has worked many local traits into her imaginative fiction.


This valuable monogram will be useful to the Biblical student as showing from various sources in ancient folk-lore that an aboriginal race can hand down their religious customs and superstitions to an incoming race; and that this fact accounts for such customs and superstitions among the Hebrews. Amongst these is a prehistoric ritual for the worship of the reproductive powers of nature, widely spread and of great antiquity; there are other customs, to be traced to the Amorites, such customs being found in races kindred to the Amorites. The belief in witchcraft is to be ascribed to the presence of the various conquered races. The author concludes that the religion of the Hebrews was one
of great morality, and when they fell into idolatry they were acting contrary to the principles of their religion.

MAGAZINES.

We have received the following (September) magazines:


THE MONTH.

With Saturday last, August 26 (says the Times), the fifty-two weeks of the harvest year were completed, so far as the statistics of home-grown produce are concerned:

In all 2,676,020 quarters have been returned as sold in the 196 statute markets, against 3,267,036 quarters in 1891-92, and 3,493,782 quarters in 1890-91, in each case for the fifty-two weeks after September 1. The average price now returned is 25s. 11d. per quarter, against 29s. 4d. in the corresponding week last year, 40s. 11d. in 1891, and 35s. 9d. in 1890. The quantities returned as sold are the smallest on record, and the same may be said of the average values. So far as can be seen, the coming harvest year will show an even worse result, although there are some who are hopeful in the matter. It may be pointed out that last year a very considerable percentage of the wheat crop, owing to the wheat being sprouted and badly harvested, was unfit for marketing, and had to be fed on the farm; and, again, particularly in the northern and eastern counties, the wet harvest spoilt a very considerable proportion of the malting barley crop. This year everything is being got in in good condition and well harvested, so that every pound will be available. We also hear on all sides that the new English wheat is giving great satisfaction to millers, and for the first time for several years is commanding, in a number of markets, a price equal, or very nearly equal, to the finest American wheat.

The first week in September was on the whole favourable for the completion of the corn harvest, and the reports now to hand (says the Times) speak very generally of this as finished. With scarcely an exception, however, the results are described as the worst known, and below what was expected. Over a large extent of country a good second hay crop has been, or is being, secured; but even with this the small number of stacks (of all kinds) is very noticeable in almost every district. . . . The corn markets last week were more promising, and with an increase of nearly 10,000 quarters sold in the 196 statute markets, home-grown wheat showed an increase of 6d. per quarter, though prices were still wretchedly low. Wheat stood at 26s. 9d., barley at 26s. 9d., and oats at 18s. 7d. per quarter, the latter being an increase of 1d. on the week.

In the second week the weather was, on the whole, favourable to the farm; the finish of the corn harvest had been but little interfered with,
while the few storms and cooler temperature had been of some benefit to the root crops. There was but little change to report in the corn markets. With nearly 3,000 more quarters of wheat sold in the 196 statute markets, an increase of 2d. per quarter was returned; the sales of barley were three times as heavy as in the previous week, and prices 5d. per quarter higher; while oats, of which one-third more were sold, showed a decline of no less than 1s. 3d. per quarter. The prices at the end of the week were: Wheat, 25s. 7d.; barley, 27s. 2d.; oats, 17s. 4d. All these prices are much lower than a year ago.

In charging the grand jury at Salford Sessions on August 14, Mr. J. Addison, Q.C., M.P., said there was throughout England an extraordinary diminution of crime, which had gone on steadily for such a period of time that they might attribute it to causes which he believed to be growing and permanent:

One stipendiary had told him that the list of drunk and disorderly cases had become less numerous. The two principal causes which might now be producing those effects arose out of the great moral and religious agencies always at work, but they might also attribute it in some degree to more recent agencies, two of which had more than attained their majority of twenty-one years. The first was the Elementary Education Act. Another cause was the Licensing Acts of 1872 and 1874. The primary intention of the last-mentioned Acts was to promote the order and good government of public-houses. They had also been closed at night. The immediate effect had been remarkable, and during the last twelve years those effects had deepened.

In the newly-published Blue-book on Reformatory and Industrial Schools it is stated that the total number of schools under inspection last year was 226, including 52 "reformatory," 140 "industrial," 12 "truant," and 22 "day industrial" schools. At the close of the year 24,266 boys and 5,085 girls were under sentence of detention in these schools. Colonel Inglis, the inspector of these institutions, regrets that so little is popularly known of their management and success:

A visitor (he writes) would see the raw material as it arrives; he would be shown the boys about to be discharged to situations; he would notice the complete transformation which a few years’ steady work and good influences have produced, and he would be shown the "record of discharged boys," showing their history for three years after their discharge. He would see numbers of letters from discharged boys, expressing gratitude to the school authorities, and showing in every line that they look back to the school as their home and their salvation.

The Committee of Council on Education have just issued their full report. It is a volume of more than 800 pages, and is known as Parliamentary Paper C 7089 I. It includes, besides the report signed by the Lord and Vice Presidents, which was issued some few weeks back, the reports of five chief inspectors of schools—viz., Mr. Blakiston, Mr. Brodie, Mr. Parez, Mr. Synge, and Mr. Williams, the last-named gentleman dealing with the Welsh schools. The volume also contains every important document, minute or instruction, issued by the Department during the year. The Standard gives a few of the salient points which have not previously appeared. For the year ended December 31, 1892, there was paid in annual grants to day schools £3,687,187 15s. 9d. Besides this sum £1,842,930 12s. 6d. was paid for fee grants for scholars. Annual grants to training colleges amounted to £138,332 18s. 5d., and the cost of administration was all but £233,000. The total expenditure of the public elementary schools reached the sum of £8,057,988 13s. 6d., or an average of £2 2s. per scholar. It is satisfactory to find that a considerable return is being received by the country for this prodigious outlay. The number of children present on the day of the inspectors’ visits to their schools was 4,609,240, and 3,870,774 were in average attendance. Eighty-four infant classes were warned as inefficient, and five were refused a grant. Of
schools for older pupils, 230 were warned as inefficient, and 21 were refused a grant. This is a very small percentage of inefficient schools out of the 30,000 now on the annual grant list. The teaching of the elementary subjects appears to be sound and good, and, out of 19,569 schools, 93 per cent. received the grant for success in a "class-subject." In the "specific subjects" of instruction confined to the senior scholars (those in Standards V., VI., and VII.), 90,000 scholars were presented in 1,816 departments, and 71 per cent. satisfied her Majesty's inspectors. The reports of her Majesty's inspectors of schools are highly encouraging. In the training colleges, of which forty-four are for resident students and fourteen for day students, Mr. Oakley and Mr. Fitch give excellent accounts. Mr. Fitch's report is of great interest. He says: "Many of the moral attributes which go to make up the character of a successful teacher necessarily escape analysis, and cannot be accurately estimated by hearing a single lesson, but much can be measured—the fluency and accuracy of speech, the attractiveness of manner, the skill with which the class is handled, the orderly arrangement of facts, the effectiveness of the questioning of recapitulation, the command of illustration, and the final outcome of the lesson, considered as an effort to enlarge the range of the scholars' reflection or knowledge." There can be no doubt, continues the Standard, that the keystone of our system of elementary education is the normal school. It is there that the teacher is fitted for his work, and that the high ideals of his calling are placed before him, and it is satisfactory to believe that these admirable institutions were never doing better work than they are at this moment.

The Report of the National Society states that during the year there has been an advance all along the line, and that the position of the schools, as regards accommodation, number on the registers, average attendance, and voluntary contributions, is at the present time better than it has ever been before. The statistics furnished by the Report show that, in spite of the surrender of a few Church schools to Board schools, the accommodation in Church schools has risen during the past year from 2,670,529 to 2,684,991, being an increase of 14,462. The average attendance has risen from 1,677,123 to 1,716,877, an increase of 39,754 for the year; while the number on the registers exceeds that for the previous year by 68,561. The amount of annual subscriptions towards the maintenance of Church schools shows an increase of £10,999, the voluntary subscriptions for the year having been £61,572, against £60,573 for the previous year. Last year's voluntary expenditure upon Church schools and Training Colleges raises the amount spent by Churchmen on their schools since the National Society was founded, in 1811, to more than £36,000,000. The committee state that the activity of Church school managers in repairing and improving their school premises so as to meet the latest requirements of the Education Department has been strongly evidenced during the past year.

The Bishop of London has sent a second donation of £100 to the Schools Relief Fund of the London Diocesan Board of Education. Among other recent contributions to the same fund are the following: Mercers' Company, 50 guineas; Sir Reginald Hanson, M.P., £25; Dean of St. Paul's (second donation), £50; "E. E. M.," £100; "N. L. B.," £20; Countess Beauchamp, £100; Sir W. Farquhar, £50; Lord Cadogan, £10 (annual); Merchant Taylors' Company, 20 guineas; Mr. S. J. Wilde, 10 guineas; Church Extension Association, £10; Lady Lee, £12; the Rev. E. J. Walker, £10; Mr. H. Wagner, 10 guineas; the Rev. T. A. Sedgwick, £25.
Bishop Tucker returned to Mengo on May 19, and on the 21st forty-three men and women were baptized, thirty-five at Mengo and eight at Chagwe. On Trinity Sunday the Bishop held an ordination.

The congregation was large and most attentive. The King was present in his usual place. The following is a list of the candidates:

Deacons.—Henry Wright Duta, Yairo Mutakyala, Yohana Muyira, Yonathan Kaidzi, Nikodem Sebuwato (permanent deacon), Zakaria Kista (permanent deacon).

Priests.—J. Roseoe, C.M.S. College; E. Millar, B.A., Trinity, Cambridge; W. A. Crabtree, B.A., St. Catherine's, Cambridge; E. H. Hubbard, C.M.S. College.

It was with the most solemn thoughts, and with the deepest feelings of gratitude to God, that I took part in this service. The foundations of a native ministry have been laid, and an immense increase of strength has thereby been given to the native Church.

Much regret is felt (says a correspondent of the Yorkshire Post) as to the reports which reach London about the health of the Bishop of Bedford, and these regrets will be shared by the many Yorkshire clergy who know Bishop Billing, and some of whom may still remember him as the Yorkshire Association Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. "Dr. Billing is better, though still weak; but it is a mistake to suppose, as some have, that the Bishop's illness originated with his recent attack of influenza. In reality, he has never been the same man since, when Rector of Spitalfields, he had a long and serious illness in 1883. Naturally robust, the Bishop played with a magnificent constitution, working night and day with extraordinary devotion in perhaps the most arduous parish in England. Even his high spirits and physical strength could not stand the strain."

We have much pleasure (says the Methodist Times) in announcing that Dr. Lunn has been received by Bishop Vincent and the Italian Conference into the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with a view to his immediate transfer to the Swiss conference of that world-wide community. When Dr. Lunn resigned his position in our ministry he took that step with the greatest reluctance and pain, but at that particular juncture it seemed to him inevitable, in order that he might have perfect liberty of action in obeying a providential call to promote the reunion of Christian Churches.

The eighty-ninth report of the British and Foreign Bible Society states that, while the society has not yet recovered the position which it held in 1888, the outlay of the year has been more than met, and the large deficit substantially reduced. The free contributions for the year, apart from the special fund, amounted to £137,545, being £23,032 more than in the preceding year. The sale of Scriptures yielded £99,833, being an increase of £2,961. The free contributions received from the auxiliaries in England and Wales (excluding legacies, subscriptions, donations and collections paid direct to the Bible House) amounted to £57,263 19s., which is the largest sum obtained from this source for upwards of twenty years. The expenditure has been £220,956, which is less than that of 1892 by £13,825. The great increase in the ordinary income was due to a legacy of £20,000, bequeathed by the late Rev. James Spurrell. The steady increase reported in the circulation for the last four years has been continued in 1892. It has reached a total of 4,049,756 copies, being 60,541 more than in 1891. There was an advance of 6,521 in the sale of Bibles. Testaments have diminished to the extent of 46,222. The total issues by the society since its formation now amount to 135,894,552.

At the Bible Christian Conference, which has just closed its annual sessions at St. Austell, statistics were presented showing an increase
of membership during the year of 1,101—the actual number of members 32,335. In the Sunday-schools there were 9,088 teachers (an increase of 138), and 55,264 scholars (an increase of 1,581). There were 858 places of worship in the denominational trust.

The thirty-ninth annual report of the Postmaster-General, issued last week, states that the estimated number of letters and parcels delivered in the United Kingdom during the year, ended March 31, was 2,785,270,000, being an increase of 2.5 per cent. on the previous twelve-month. Of the letters about 85 per cent. were delivered in England and Wales (28.95 per cent. in the London postal district), while for Scotland and Ireland the numbers were 9.07 and 5.93 per cent. respectively. The number of post-offices had been increased by 524 to a total of 19,162; of public letter-boxes by 1,771 to a total of 25,072. The number of officers on the permanent establishment of the department last March was 71,956, including 10,465 women. The postal revenue for 1892-3 amounted in round numbers to £10,344,000—an increase of £161,000 on the preceding year; the expenditure came up to £7,518,100—an increase of £384,100, or more than double the increase in revenue.

At a meeting of the Deer Forest Commission held recently at Wick (Sheriff Brand in the chair), Mr. Turner, factor for the Duke of Portland, stated that on his Grace’s Caithness estates, since 1880, upwards of £41,000 had been spent on new buildings, roads, and drainage. For the three years, ending August 31, 1892, the expenditure in connection with Langwell and Braemore establishments has been £12,393, and every penny of this sum which could reasonably be expended in the north of Scotland has been so expended, Caithness receiving £4,867 of that amount. The game department costs a little over £2,000 a year; all the feeding stuffs required for the dogs are purchased in the county; no game, except in an uncommonly good season, is sold, and then it is only sold to prevent waste. The greater part of the deer and rabbits killed are given away to the people of the district. Mr. Turner considers that the people of Caithness, and especially those on the Duke’s estate, are much better off with Langwell and Braemore under deer than they would be were they under sheep. On Langwell and Braemore alone about fifty men are regularly employed at an average wage of 3s. a day. It would make a difference to the country of over £10,000 a year if the sporting interests of Langwell and Braemore were seriously interfered with. The ratable value would very much decrease; the crofters would get little or no employment; and if the estates were let no one would dream of spending as much as the Duke of Portland does in the district.

Some 25,000 children have been sent away this season through the Children’s Country Holidays Fund, the offices of which are at 10, Buckingham Street, Strand. Many more children need the fortnight’s change of air from London, but the funds are at present quite exhausted.

The will of the late Mr. John Horniman, of Coombe Cliff, Croydon, contains the following bequests free of legacy duty:

The Peace Society, £10,000; Friends’ Foreign Mission Association, £12,500; Friends’ Home Mission Committee, £11,000; Friends’ Temperance Union, £2,000; Moravian Mission Society, £10,000; North Eastern Hospital for Children, Hackney Road, £10,000; London Temperance Hospital, £5,000; Howard Association for Prison Reform, £2,000; Kingston Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends for those in indigent circumstances, £3,000; Bedford Institute First Day School and Home Mission Association, £2,000; Friends’ Christian Fellowship Union, £2,000; Friends’ First Day School Association, £2,000; and to Mr. R. B. Brockbank and others, for the spread of Friends’ principles in Scotland, £20,000.

The personal estate was sworn at nearly £314,000.